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Challenges to the Implementation of Language-in-Education Policy

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**LANGUAGE POLICY AND PRACTICE IN SECONDARY
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CHALLENGES TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF
LANGUAGE-IN-EDUCATION POLICY

BY
S. M. ARIFUL ISLAM

DISSERTATION SUBMITTED 2015



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CV



After completing his Bachelor's degree in English from Dhaka University, S M Ariful Islam went to Dalarna University in Sweden for his Master's degree in English Linguistics. He completed his second Master's degree in Bilingualism from Stockholm University in 2008. He taught as a lecturer in English at Victoria University of Bangladesh and the University of Liberal Arts Bangladesh in 2008 and 2009. He came to Denmark in 2010 in Green Card Scheme and completed his PhD study at Aalborg University in 2015.

ENGLISH SUMMARY

Bangladesh, similar to other post colonial nations, has tried to ensure English linguistic capital available to its school population by significant pedagogical and policy reforms in the late 1990s. Among other changes, Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) replaced previous Grammar Translation Teaching. However, this ambitious policy change was unaccompanied by required changes in infrastructural and logistic supports, and very little was done to raise teachers' methodological awareness. More than a decade after this policy change, several research studies show that CLT has not been successful in bringing substantial innovation in English Language Teaching (ELT) in Bangladesh (Hamid, 2011).

This PhD project investigates “How is communicative language teaching (CLT) practiced by teachers and students as a matter of policy implementation in secondary school contexts in Bangladesh?”. In Bangladeshi secondary school contexts, government and non-government schools both in city and rural areas follow the same curriculum and language teaching methodologies; however, a sharp contrast of learners' success, particularly in English in national school leaving examinations from these two types of schools causes much concern (Hamid, 2011). In order to address the research question, seven schools have been selected. On the basis of result statistics of the recent last year, 2011 two schools with the lowest pass rate and two schools with the highest pass rates were selected in non-government schools category. In the government school category, one school from each of the highest and lowest pass rate category was selected. It is found most interestingly that both the schools with the lowest pass rate in non-government category were from the rural area whereas schools with the highest pass rate in government and non-government schools were from urban area. As a result, an additional category for selecting school became explicit, namely urban and rural. Later one more low pass rate school was added which was from urban area since number of students from low pass rate schools were very much few in number.

Using mixed methods, primary data of both qualitative and quantitative types are collected from selected schools, their students and teachers. Three different data tools are used to collect audio recorded data of classroom observation totalling 4 hours duration, students survey questionnaire of 231 students and semi structured interview of seven English teachers totalling 3 and a half hours duration. In each of the participating schools, first classroom observation was recorded which was followed by students survey questionnaire which was then finally followed by the semi structured interviews of the English teachers outside the classroom.

Data analytical strategies varies according to the type of data. Classroom observation data is analysed according to the contextualising (holistic) strategies as

classroom activities are different in different school settings. Classroom activities of individual school are described followed by an analysis of their following or deviating from the CLT Principles. In analysing this data, probable influence of three factors is discussed. These factors are teachers' qualifications, students' socio-economic condition and their parental educational qualification. Data from teachers' semi-structured interview is analysed following Categorical strategies which are based on the prompts used during conducting the interview. Finally data from students' survey questionnaires is summarised, organised and presented in SPSS data sheet for easily interpretable chart, graphs and tables, for example which skills students like most, class intervals of parental incomes and of parental educational level etc. By using null hypothesis and alternative hypothesis, statistical significance (*t*-test) is prepared to find attitudinal difference among students from different schools. Besides, by using Gamma test, effects of multiple variables are also found (i.e. whether feeling need of extra tuition is related to going to coaching or having private tutor).

Preliminary results indicate - "why and how disparity is found among schools in implementing CLT". Complete data analysis, consisting of SPSS software for quantitative data and other qualitative data analytical approaches, reveals in detail that government's policy change initiatives for ELT is not unanimously successful in terms of CLT implementation. Significant levels of methodological differences exist among schools in teaching English, primarily due to lack of qualified teachers, their in-service training, lack of sufficient government support to minimise the gap between urban versus rural and government versus non-government school categories respectively. It varied significantly from school to school mostly due to teacher qualification ensured by overall school management and administration. Within the CLT continuum, low performing poor schools were far from teaching English following CLT method whereas high performing schools were implementing it much more effectively.

Learning English in particular and education in general in Bangladesh is a commercial commodity truly consumed by all classes of people according to their affordability (Anu Muhammad 2014) and as such is a genuine reflector of class system inherently present everywhere in Bangladesh. This has now become complete hegemony commonly accepted by common people that education runs along with money and who can afford it, will get it and who cannot will not get it. This has become such a common sense knowledge that nobody raises a question about the lack of roles of the government in providing equal education to all of its citizen. As a consequence, a wide variety of social classes are reproduced, mainly in form of 'haves and have nots', the rich remaining rich and the poor remaining poor (Tollefson, 2011). Thus constitutional declaration of *Section 2, Article 17(a)* and *Section 2, Article 19(2)* in the national constitution turns into a constitutional irony

for the nation and a verbal rhetoric for the government, both of which is very far away from reality.

The present thesis adds to already existing knowledge about how and why the teaching of the English language differs from high to low performing schools with empirical data and recommendations. In doing so, the thesis recommends that quality control must be maintained from the Ministry of Education in terms of approving any new non-government schools. Moreover, similar standard salary should be provided to all new teachers, ensuring teacher qualifications within the subjects taught, in this case English, - based on a Bachelor's and Master's degree, while providing in-service teacher training with post-training evaluation activities etc. Without ensuring quality teachers, government's aim for providing English linguistic capital to its population would remain only a verbal dream, not any achievable reality.

From the epistemological point of view, the present project tried to establish a problematic link between language policy and language learning as identified by Shohamy (2006). It is largely relevant that through particular policy decisions, language policy and language learning become integrated with each other for the successful teaching and learning of a second and foreign language. For example, each policy decisions regarding which languages to teach and learn in schools, at what age teaching of these languages should start, number of years and hours of study, who is qualified to teach and who is entitled or obligated to learn and which methods, materials, tests etc. can significantly influence language learning outcome.

DANSK RESUME

Bangladesh har, i lighed med andre postkoloniale nationer, forsøgt at sikre engelsk som en sproglig kapital for sit skolevæsen ved hjælp af betydelige pædagogiske og politiske reformer i slutningen af 1990'erne. Blandt en del andre ændringer blev Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) indført i stedet for den tidligere brugte Grammar Translation-undervisning (GT) i 1997. Imidlertid blev denne ambitiøse politiske ændring ikke ledsaget af de nødvendige ændringer i støtte til infrastruktur og logistisk, og meget lidt blev gjort for at øge lærernes metodologiske bevidsthed. Mere end et årti efter denne politiske ændring, viser adskillige forskningsundersøgelser, at CLT ikke har haft succes med at bidrage med nogen væsentlig innovation af Engelsk Sprogundervisningen (ELT) i Bangladesh (Hamid 2011).

En vigtig effekt af introduktion af CLT var en drastisk stigning i beståelsesprocenten i grundskolens afgangseksamen (Secondary School Certificate (SSC)) i de følgende år. Da engelsk er en af de afgørende faktorer for den samlede beståelsesprocent (Sharifuzzaman 2011, Hamid 2009) i Bangladesh, ville det ikke være urimeligt at sige, at en højere beståelsesprocent i engelsk banede vejen for den samlede højere beståelsesprocent ved afgangseksamenen (SSC). Bortset fra undtagelserne i 2001 og 2003, blev den samlede beståelsesprocent ved med at stige frem til 92,67 % i 2014. Denne bemærkelsesværdige stigning i beståelsesprocenten har imidlertid rejst kritik blandt undervisningseksperter. Denne kritik af kvaliteten af engelskundervisningen har været over hele landet og har ført til en række artikler (Hasan 2014; Hoque 2014; Khan 2014; Majumder 2014; mannan 2014; Nahid 2014; Prothom-alo Reporter 2014; Tamim 2014; Wasif 2014; Wadud 2014) om problemer og kvaliteten af uddannelse generelt i forskellige dagblade. Blandt adskillige problemer nævner disse artikler, at denne enormt høje beståelsesprocent ikke skyldes forbedring i kvaliteten af undervisningen, i stedet er det på grund af for generøse karakterbeskrivelser fra Undervisningsministeriet (Iqbal 2014; Wadud 2014), mangel på effektive og kvalificerede lærere (Majumder 2014), overdreven brug af nemme eksamensspørgsmål – i tilgift til effekten af læk af eksamensspørgsmål (Iqbal 2014).

Faktisk kom kvaliteten af uddannelse i almindelighed og kvaliteten af undervisningen i engelsk i særdeleshed under skarp kritik, da et flertal af studerende, efter at have bestået S.S.C. og H.S.C. (Higher Secondary Certificate) eksamen, ikke var i stand til at score det krævede minimum til adgangsprøverne til forskellige offentlige universiteter i 2014. Blandt alle studerende, der gik op til en sådan prøve i forbindelse med optagelse på Dhaka universitet, dumpede cirka 80 procent af dem (University Reporter 2014). Kvaliteten af engelskundervisningen er direkte relevant her, eftersom den høje dumpeprocent i optagelsesprøven især skyldes manglende beståelse af engelskdelen af optagelsesspørgsmålene. Med andre ord kan de studerende ikke fortsætte deres universitetsuddannelse med den viden, de får fra

deres SSC- og H.S.C.-uddannelse. Det er værd at nævne her, at ud af 135 samlede disponible pladser på engelskstudiet på Dhaka Universitet, kunne kun to kandidater bestå optagelsesprøven (University Reporter 2014). Dette er det generelle billede på de fleste andre offentlige universiteter i Bangladesh. Selvom en optagelsesprøve ikke kan anvendes som et mål for at vurdere kvaliteten af uddannelse, efterlader den manglende evne hos de fleste studerende til at opnå beståelseskarakteren på engelsk (ikke den kvalificerende karakter, som er meget højere) et spørgsmål om kvaliteten af engelskundervisningen. Det forholder sig faktisk således, at undervisningen i engelsk befinder sig på den samme tvivlsomme niveau, som før CLT-metoden blev introduceret.

Dette ph.d.-projekt undersøger spørgsmålet: "Hvordan praktiseres Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) af lærere og elever i gymnasiet i Bangladesh?" For at undersøge dette spørgsmål søges et svar på en række underspørgsmål der har til formål at afdække det overordnede forskningsspørgsmål. Disse yderligere spørgsmål er: 1) Hvordan bliver CLT implementeret på gymnasier med henholdsvis høje og lave beståelsesprocenter i Bangladesh? 2) Hvordan adskiller de faktiske CLT aktiviteter i klasseværelset sig på skoler, der klarer sig godt i forhold til skoler, der klarer sig dårligt? 3) Hvordan oplever eleverne CLT lektionerne? 4) Hvilke mulige faktorer kan forklare forskelle i elevernes succesrate? 5) Hvilke mulige faktorer kan forklare forskelle i gennemførelsen? Og 6) Hvordan oplever lærerne CLT i deres sædvanlige undervisningspraksis?

I gymnasiesammenhænge følger både statslige og ikke-statslige skoler i Bangladesh i både by- og landområder de samme læseplaner og sprogundervisningsmetoder. Imidlertid vækker en voldsom kontrast mellem elevernes succes i disse to typer af skoler, især i forbindelse med engelsk ved afgangseksamen, stor bekymring (Hamid, 2011). For at undersøge den problemstilling blev der udvalgt syv skoler. På baggrund af statistiske resultater for 2011 blev to skoler med den laveste beståelsesprocent og to skoler med den højeste beståelsesprocent valgt i kategorien ikke-statslige skoler. I kategorien for statslige skoler blev en skole fra hver af de højeste og laveste kategorier vedr. beståelsesprocent valgt. Senere blev endnu en skole med lav beståelsesprocent føjet til, da der var meget få studerende fra skolerne med lav beståelsesprocent. De studerende fra det sidste år af ungdomsuddannelsen (10. klasse), blev anset for vigtige af to årsager. For det første har denne årgang allerede i et par år haft været udsat for CLT. Og for det andet fordi de får afgangsbetegnelse efter at have bestået SSC-eksamen. Sammen med de studerende fra 10. klasse, blev også deres engelsklærere udvalgt som deltagere i dette projekt.

Ved hjælp af blandede metoder (mixed methods) blev primære data af både kvalitativ og kvantitativ karakter indsamlet fra udvalgte skoler, deres elever og lærere. Det var lyddata, der blev optaget fra klasseværelseobservationer af i alt 4 timers varighed, besvarelse af spørgeskemaundersøgelse af 231 studerende og semi-strukturerede interviews af syv engelske lærere af i alt 3,5 timers varighed. I hver af de deltagende skoler blev klasseværelseobservationen optaget, og den blev fulgt op

af eleverne via spørgeskema, som derefter blev fulgt op af semi-strukturerede interviews af engelsklærerne uden for klasseværelset.

Strategierne for analyse af data varierer efter typen af data. Data fra klasseværelsesobservationen analyseres i henhold til de kontekstualiserede (holistiske) strategier, eftersom at klasseværelseaktiviteter er forskellige i forskellige skolemiljøer. Aktiviteter i klasseværelset i de enkelte skoler beskrives efterfulgt af en analyse af, hvorvidt de følger eller afviger fra CLT principper. Ved analysen af disse data bliver en mulig påvirkning af tre faktorer diskuteret. Disse faktorer er lærernes kvalifikationer, elevernes socioøkonomiske forhold og deres forældres uddannelsesmæssige kvalifikationer. Data fra lærernes semistrukturerede interview bliver analyseret efter strategier af forskellige karakter, som er baseret på vejledningen, der er anvendt under udførelse af interviewet. Endelig bliver data fra elevernes spørgeskemaer opsummeret, organiseret og præsenteret i et SPSS datablad med henblik på letforståelige diagrammer, grafer og tabeller. Ved at bruge nulhypotese og alternativ hypotese bliver den statistiske signifikans (t-test) udarbejdet for at finde holdningsmæssige forskelle blandt de studerende fra forskellige skoler. Desuden bliver der ved hjælp af Gamma-testen også fundet virkninger af flere variabler (dvs. om en fornemmelse af behov for ekstra undervisning er relateret til at få vejledning eller en privatlærer).

De foreløbige resultater fra analysen af de kvalitative og kvantitative data vedrørende spørgsmålet: "hvorfor og hvordan der findes ulighed blandt skoler vedr. gennemførelsen af CLT?" indikerer, at regeringens initiativer vedrørende ændring af politikken for ELT ikke er nogen entydig succes med hensyn til implementeringen af CLT. Der eksisterer bemærkelsesværdige niveauforskelle i anvendt metode mellem skolerne i forbindelse med engelskundervisningen, primært som følge af manglen på kvalificerede lærere, på efteruddannelse for lærerne og manglen på tilstrækkelig offentlig støtte til at minimere afstanden mellem skolerne i by- og landområder og statslige versus ikke-statslige skoler. Der blev fundet betydelige forskelle fra skole til skole hovedsagelig på grund af lærerkvalifikationerne, som den samlede skoleledelse og administration har ansvaret for. Inden for et CLT kontinuum, var skoler med lav beståelsesprocent langt fra at undervise i engelsk efter CLT metoden, mens skolerne med høj beståelsesprocent var ved at implementere metoden meget mere effektivt.

Undersøgelsen viste også, at skoler med høj beståelsesprocent bruger CLT mere effektivt på grund af ansættelse af højt kvalificerede lærere med høj løn, vedligeholdelse af andre former for støtte samt med en god skoleledelse og administration. Men disse højtydende skoler er ikke tilgængelige for studerende med dårlig økonomiske baggrund. Det forholder sig snarere sådan, at kun studerende fra de højere sociale klasser kan få adgang og råd til de månedlige udgifter forbundet med at gå på disse skoler. I Bangladesh er det at lære engelsk i særdeleshed og uddannelse generelt en handelsvare, der i sandhed forbruges af alle sociale klasser i forhold til deres betalingssevne (Anu Muhammad 2014), og som sådan er det en

ægte afspejling af et classesystem, der i sagens natur er til stede overalt i Bangladesh.

På baggrund af de empiriske data bidrager denne afhandling til allerede eksisterende viden om, hvordan og hvorfor undervisningen i det engelske sprog adskiller sig på skoler med høj beståelsesprocent i forhold til skoler, der klarer sig dårligt. Dermed anbefaler denne ph.d.-afhandling, at Undervisningsministeriet skal fastholde kvalitetskontrollen i form af godkendelse af enhver ny ikke-statslig skole. Desuden bør der gives samme standardløn til alle nye lærere for at sikre, at lærerkvalifikationerne inden for undervisningsfagene, i dette tilfælde engelsk, er baseret på en bachelor- og kandidatgrad, samtidig med at der gives efteruddannelse m. v. Uden at sikre kvalitetsundervisning vil regeringens mål om at give sin befolkning en sproglig kapital i form af engelsk fortsat kun være en drøm, ikke nogen opnåelig virkelighed.

Fra et erkendelsesteoretisk synspunkt har dette projekt forsøgt at skabe en sammenhæng mellem sprogpolitik og sprogindlæring, områder som af Shohamy (2006) er blevet udpeget som værende problematiske. Det er særdeles relevant, at sprogpolitik og sprogindlæring bliver integreret med hinanden gennem særlige politiske beslutninger, med henblik på en vellykket undervisning og læring af et andetsprog eller et fremmedsprog. For eksempel kan enhver politisk beslutning om, hvilke sprog der skal undervises i og læres i skolerne, i hvilken alder, i hvor mange år og gennem hvilke metoder, samt hvem der er kvalificeret til at undervise, influere betydeligt på udbyttet af sproglæring. I forbindelse med Shohamys (2006) identifikation af manglen på forskning, der forbinder sprogpolitik med sprogindlæring, har denne undersøgelse bevidst overvejet forskellige politiske beslutninger og har fundet sammenhængen mellem sprogpolitik og sproglæring relevant.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- ADB- Asian Development Bank
- BA-Bachelor of Arts
- BANA- British-Australia-North America
- BANBEIS- Bangladesh Bureau of Education Information and Statistics
- BDT- Bangladesh Taka
- B.Ed- Bachelor of Education
- BELTA- Bangladesh English Language Teachers' Association
- BISE- Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education
- BRAC- Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee
- CAMPE- Campaign for Popular Education
- CLT- Communicative language teaching
- CBI- Content-Based Instruction
- CIDA- Canadian International Development Agency
- CPD- Continuous Professional Development
- CT- Core Trainers
- DfID - Department of International Development
- DSHE-Directorate of Secondary and Higher Secondary Education
- English Association of Bangladesh (EAB)
- EFL- English as a Foreign Language
- EiA-English in Action
- EIL- English as an International Language
- ELCDU-English Language Curriculum Development Unit
- ELT- English language teaching
- ELTIP-English Language Teaching Improvement Project
- ESL- English as a Second Language
- ETTE-English for Teaching and Teaching for English
- GB- Great Britain
- GoB- Government of Bangladesh
- GT - Grammar Translation

HSC- Higher Secondary Certificate

L2- Second Language

MA- Master of Arts

MoE- Ministry of Education

MPO- Monthly Payment Order (MPO)

NCTB- National Curriculum and Textbook Board

NGO- Non- Government Organisation

PACE- Post-Primary Basic and Continuing Education

PTI- Primary Training Institutes

PTLP- Primary Teaching Learning Programme-

PSC-Public Service Commission

QUAL-Qualitative

QUAN-Quantitative

RRC- Regional Resource Centre

SBA -School Based Assessment

SRC- Satellite Resource Centre

SEQAEP-Secondary Education Quality and Access Enhancement Project (),

SSC -Secondary School Certificate

SLT- Situational Language Teaching

SMC- School Managing Committee

SPSS-Statistical Package for Social Science Research

STLP-Secondary Teaching Learning Programme-

STT-Student Talking Time

TBI- Task-Based Instruction

TEFL-Teaching English as a Foreign Language

TF-Teacher Facilitators

TQI- Teaching Quality Improvement

TQI-SEP-Teaching Quality Improvement in Secondary Education Project

TRP- Total Physical Response

TTC-Teachers' Training Colleges

TTT- Teacher Talking Time

UGC - University Grant Commission

UK- United Kingdom

USA- United States of America

USD- US Dollar

UNESCO- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

UNICEF- United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. BACKGROUND

The field of 'language policy and planning' emerged as a means for problem solving within national language planning, with multidisciplinary approaches from diversified workplaces and academic institutions. Planning and policy making take place in all such areas according to a particular set of language needs i.e. native or foreign language competence, spoken fluency, grammatical or written skills etc. Within the domain of language-in-education policy, language policy decisions take place in the specific contexts of academic institutions in relation to the teaching and learning of home languages, foreign, and second languages. In most countries with a centralised education system (including Bangladesh), language-in-education policies are imposed by central authorities i.e. government agencies, Ministries of Education, regional and local education boards, and schools (Shohamy 2006). Through these organisations, language education policy trickles down in a top-down process which is reflected in teacher-training manuals, teaching materials, curricula, and tests, which are then practiced, reinforced or side-lined by teachers, students, and other stakeholders. It is noteworthy here that language-in-education policy does not take place in isolation; rather it is closely interconnected with various political agenda (Shohamy 2006:76) and social and economic factors (Hamid & Baldauf 2008, Hamid 2009), which makes the implementation process very complicated in reality.

One such decision made by language-in-education policy concerns the selection of a language teaching method from a variety of options, depending on language needs, goals, and learnings situations of learners. Although all methodologies aim at successful language teaching, they do vary substantially from one another in relation to learners' needs, teaching goals, teachers' qualifications in methodological knowledge, classroom techniques, teaching/learning materials, and the time required for completing the teaching and learning activities in an academic calendar year.

In Bangladesh, the teaching of English has experienced a methodological shift since policy makers have apparently assumed that learners were not able to learn English successfully after 12 years of learning it on primary, secondary, and higher secondary levels of education. Reasons for their failure to learning English were assigned to the traditional Grammar Translation (GT) teaching method (NCTB 2003), which was replaced with the communicative language teaching (CLT) method. CLT commenced in the year 1997 supposedly with an added emphasis on removing previous method's drawbacks involved in learning English. It is worth mentioning that it were the same English teachers (of the GT method) who were

now expected to teach the new CLT text materials with utterly new and different classroom activities. Considering teachers' qualifications, teachers' training in CLT was prioritised. However, a mass level training programme for all English teachers was not substantially considered by the policy makers before initiating CLT.

Although CLT was started in all secondary schools at the same time, not all teachers were provided training on it from the very beginning. A very slow selection process for training English teachers from different schools took place, where only short-term training on CLT was provided (Chapter 3). Moreover, a foreign donor nation funded this teachers' training project, which ended very drastically only after three years, leaving more than 55000 (out of 60000) English teachers untrained in CLT (Hamid 2010). Ironically, the decision for shifting from the traditional method to the CLT method was made due to pressures by the same donor-funded project on the Ministry of Education (MoE) (NCTB 2001, details in Chapter 3). Later, the teacher-training project continued its training activities with funding from internal sources, with the consequence that only 35000 of 60000 English teachers were trained in CLT before 2010 (Hamid 2010). In the meantime, although similar training projects started under both government and Non-Government Organisations' (NGO) initiatives, they could neither complete the whole task of teachers' training, nor convert teachers from the traditional GT method into teachers with CLT awareness.

Among many others, one important effect after the initiation of CLT was a drastic increase in the pass rate of Secondary School Certificate (SSC) examinations in the following years. Since English is one of the vital determinant factors for the overall pass rate (Sharifuzzaman 2011, Hamid 2009) in Bangladesh, it would not be excessive to say that higher success rates in English paved the way for overall high pass rate in public examinations. With the exceptions of 2001 and 2003, steady progress in the overall pass rate can be noted in the table below, leading to the record percentage in the pass rate of 92.67% in 2014.

Year	Total Pass (%)
2000	41.58
2001	35.22
2002	40.66
2003	35.91
2004	48.03
2005	52.57
2006	59.47
2007	57.37
2008	70.81
2009	67.41

2010	78.19
2011	82.16
2012	86.32
2013	89.28
2014	92.67

Table 1: Result of SSC Examinations (BANBEIS 2014)

This steady increase in the pass rates may indicate brilliant progress in secondary education in Bangladesh. While the Education Minister remarks on this record pass rate as a sign of quality development (Nahid, 2014), the Chairman of the Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education Board Dhaka, comments that a communicative curriculum, lesson topics, and question papers are easy to learn, and as such students have easily scored high marks (Sharifuzzaman 2011).

However, this remarkable increase in pass rates has raised criticism among teaching experts. This criticism about the quality of English teaching has been nationwide, leading to a series of articles on the problems and quality of education in general in various daily newspapers (Hasan 2014, Hoque 2014, Khan 2014, Majumder 2014, Mannan 2014, Nahid 2014, Prothom-alo Reporter 2014, Tamim 2014, Wasif 2014, Wadud 2014). There are also many articles in academic journals too, which will be discussed in detail in the literature review on language policy in Bangladesh. Among various problems, these articles mention that this huge pass rate is not due to an improvement in the quality of education. Instead, it is due to too-generous grading instructions from the Ministry of Education (Iqbal 2014, Wadud 2014), a lack of efficient and qualified teachers (Majumder 2014), excessive use of easy question papers leading to a ceiling effect¹, in addition to the effects of the leaking of question papers (Iqbal 2014).

In fact, the quality of education in general and the quality of English teaching in particular came under direct criticism when a majority of these students, after passing the SSC and Higher Secondary Certificate (HSC) examinations, could not even score the pass mark in admission tests to various public universities in 2014. Of all the students who took such a qualifying test for Dhaka University, approximately 80% failed (University Reporter 2014). The quality of English teaching is directly relevant here, as the high failure rate in the admission test is particularly due to a failure to pass the English section of the admission question paper. In other words, students cannot continue their university education with the knowledge they get from their SSC and HSC educations. It is worth mentioning here that out of 135 available places in the English Department at Dhaka University, only two candidates could qualify in the admission test (University

¹ 'Ceiling effect' refers to the extremely high scores obtained by students due to very easy question papers that cannot differentiate students' performances through an appropriate

Reporter 2014). This is the general picture for most other public universities in Bangladesh. Although admission tests cannot be used as a measure for assessing the quality of education, the inability of most students to score the pass mark (not the qualifying mark which is much higher) in English leaves a question mark on the quality of English teaching. In fact, the teaching of English is in the same questionable state where it used to be, before the initiation of the CLT method.

1.1.1. AIMS & OBJECTIVES

While this deterioration of overall standards and quality of education occurs throughout the nation, it takes place to varying extents in different categories of schools: high and low performing schools, government and non-government schools, urban and rural schools. In a post-result study of every public examination, schools in urban areas - particularly from government schools and some selected non-government schools are found to be performing extremely well (in terms of pass rate and quality of teaching and learning). On the contrary, all the schools from remote and rural areas of Bangladesh are performing at levels that can be considered average, low, or extremely low. It can be emphasised that all extremely low performing schools are in rural areas.

These extreme differences between high and low performance levels of schools are the major concern of this PhD project. Taking these differences in school performance in SSC examinations and the quality of English language teaching (ELT) as points of departure, this study aims at investigating how CLT actually takes place at micro levels in different schools. In addition to examining this issue, this research projects aims at coming up with recommendations for balancing an equal implementation of CLT in all schools as a matter of language-in-education policy. Since this study concerns schools' performance, individual learners' performance is not being studied here. Instead, classroom teaching - along with all relevant efforts at teaching and learning in English from the perspectives of students, teachers, schools, and policy makers at both the macro and micro level) - is the focal point of this study.

1.1.2. RESEARCH QUESTION

The main research question of this study is "How is Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) practiced by teachers and students as a matter of policy implementation in the secondary school context in Bangladesh?" In order to investigate this question, several other additional questions were considered, in order arrive at comprehensive research findings. These additional questions are as follows:

1. How is CLT implemented in secondary schools with high and low pass rates in Bangladesh?

2. How do actual classroom activities differ from high performing schools to low performing schools in conducting CLT lessons?
3. How do students experience CLT lessons?
4. What possible factors can explain differences in students' success rates?
5. What possible factors can explain differences in implementation?
6. How do teachers experience CLT in their regular teaching practices?

1.1.3. RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

It appears essential to conduct a study on the present research question for several reasons. The rationale for this study mainly originates from the field of language policy and planning, CLT, and practical differences between high and low performance schools.

1.1.3.1 Language policy and planning

From the background of language policy and planning, it is worth mentioning here that macro language planning at the national level does not always work in a sequential manner, and has often failed to produce desired changes in language behaviour (Kaplan & Baldauf 1997, 2008; Pennycook 1998, Canagarajah 2005, Liddicoat & Baldauf 2008, Nekvapil 2011, Kamwangamalu 2011). Since “language planning can start at different levels and can bypass certain levels, thereby causing the translation process to occur in a non-sequential manner” (Kheng & Baldauf 2011: 940), a close look at the micro level (at the individual institutions) is emphasised by experts in language-in-education policy. The argument for such a view is that although there are many local or micro-level language issues which cannot orchestrate national concerns, still they are of very significant consequences for small organisations, for example schools (such as how teachers' language teaching in their classrooms conforms to language policies), private companies (in supporting and using official language), hospitals (the language for interactions between patient and doctor) etc.

Considering the remarkable differences from school to school in relation to administration, school infrastructure, students' backgrounds and above all teachers' qualifications, the present thesis found its basic rationale for conducting research in how macro language policy - devised by the Ministry of Education - passes through all of its organs down to individual school teachers and gets implemented inside the classroom.

1.1.3.2 Language policy and language learning

Within the general framework of language policy, language-in-education policy is much more precise about its purposes, activities, and goals. It is mainly an important issue in a centralised language educational system, where language-in-

education policy produces various forms of language imposition, teaching instructions, and teaching materials. Two problems are identified within the specific domain of language-in-education policy (Shohamy 2006). The first one regards the principal agents of language-in-education policy, namely teachers, and the second one is about the lack of research works which shows interconnections between language-in-education policy and language learning. Both of these problems require illustrations.

Firstly, the agents of language education policy are, in most cases, educational staff and personnel, including teachers, principals, and inspectors. Although these agents are responsible for carrying out the language education policies in academic systems, classes, schools, and districts, they are rarely listened to in the process of policy formulations (Shohamy 2006). These agents are like ‘soldiers’ (Shohamy 2006) or ‘gatekeepers’ (Chua, Kheng and Baldauf 2011) in carrying out language education policies without raising any questions about its quality, appropriateness, or relevance for successful language learning and teaching in schools. They follow orders; they internalize the policy’s ideology, and the agenda it expresses in the curriculum, in textbooks, and in other materials. Thus, teachers, supervisors, and inspectors ensure that language policies are implemented by mediating between language-in-education policy and its implementation.

This micro-level implementation stage is very significant because policy agents, particularly teachers, may follow or override the policy instructions (Chua, Kheng and Baldauf 2011). Hence, the necessity for involving teachers in the process of making language-in-education policy is significantly important. Teachers’ knowledge, preparation, and training should be considered, since “teachers are those who are expected to carry out the language-in-education policy through their teaching practice in their classrooms” (Shohamy, 2006: 80). Therefore, a careful consideration of the entire implementation structure, which consists of both a top-down approach and a bottom-up approach, is essential (Chua, Kheng and Baldauf 2011).

The second problem, mentioned by Shohamy (2006), concerns an unsettled relation between language policy and language learning, with the additional problem of a lack of research in this particular domain. According to her, many incongruities are found between what is mentioned in policy and what happens in actual contexts. While these incongruities can take various forms in various polities, she emphasises the need for research connecting language policy and language learning:

Not only is there little knowledge about the connection between language policy and language learning, there are hardly any studies that follow up the implementation and practices of policies. While policy makers believe that such connection exists, there is no evidence to show that this is in fact true. (Shohamy 2006: 144).

Connections (or disconnections) between what is specified in policy documents and how these policies are actually implemented at the micro-level may be observed in each case of policy decisions regarding which languages to teach and learn in schools, at what age the teaching of these languages should start, the number of years and hours of study, who is qualified to teach, who is entitled or obligated to learn, and which methods, materials, tests etc. should be used to learn the target language. Through these particular policy decisions, language policy and language learning become integrated with one another for the successful teaching and learning of a second or foreign language.

1.1.3.3 Communicative language teaching

CLT paves the way for rationale for conducting the present study, since it is in practice in Bangladeshi education systems. The adoption of CLT has been very widespread all around the world including in East Asian countries (Littlewood 2011), particularly because of its apparent success in the Western world as a teaching method (Bax 2003, Thompson 1996). The most frequently-mentioned reasons are: CLT is a means of success in learning English, it is associated and synonymous with globalisation, it is a way to prosperity and career progress (Kramersch and Sullivan 1996:200; Luk 2008, Bax 2003), and it is a corrective model for shortcomings found in other models i.e. GT method and Direct Method (Mitchell 1994, Bax 2003). It is worth mentioning here that the CLT method was developed for Western educational systems and was not apparently expected to be directly applicable in educational systems in Asia or other parts of the world. In addition to these reasons, there are also a number of misconceptions and misunderstandings (McDonough & Shaw 2003, Thompson 1996, Littlewood 1983, Wu 2008) forming a 'CLT attitude' which might have worked as a leading factor for its world-wide adoption without consideration of its local appropriateness in other parts of the world. Among others, these misconceptions include that CLT means no teaching of grammar, no corrections of grammar, teaching of only spoken skills, and no need to consider local contexts etc.

Compared to previous language teaching methods, CLT requires a total paradigm shift (Jacobs and Farrel 2003) in pedagogical practices i.e. from product-oriented instruction to process-oriented instruction, from drills and various forms of rote learning. Jacobs and Farrel (2003) also mention important changes associated with the CLT paradigm shift, including learner autonomy, the social nature of learning, curricular integration, a focus on meaning, learners' thinking skill, alternative assessment practices, and teachers as co-learners. Taking this paradigm shift as a 'quantum leap' (Chow & Mok-Cheung 2004, cited by Littlewood 2011:551) into consideration, traditional teachers are expected to change their roles from knowledge-based ones to a competence-based ones, from being knowledge transmitters to multi-role educators, and as such need to develop new teaching

skills, change their ways of evaluating students, develop their ability to adapt textbooks, and improve their own language skills (Littlewood 2011).

Taking all these adaptations into consideration for this CLT paradigm shift and these changes (particularly for teachers), the present project has found its rationale for conducting research on how CLT is being implemented inside the classroom. Policy decisions have been made for teacher development, materials have been developed, and academic instructions flow down from the top levels (the Ministry of Education, Board of Education) to the bottom level through training programmes. It is worthy of investigation to see how much of the CLT paradigm shift has taken place in various schools.

1.1.3.4 High verses low performing schools

Schools in Bangladesh are informally categorised as high or low in quality depending on their past performance. High and low performing schools (both government verses non-government and urban verses rural) differ from each other in relation to teachers' recruitment, teachers' qualifications, teachers' remuneration, teachers' in-service training opportunities, school administration and, above all, school-based language policy and planning. Considering teachers as the main policy 'agent' or 'soldiers' (Shohamy 2006), it is the fourth rationale for this study to investigate how teachers' differences in their academic capacity, qualifications and experience can play a role in conducting communicative classroom activities.

In spite of all these differences from school to school, it is particularly important that students and teachers go through the same curriculum, syllabus, and public examinations, where students are assessed for their academic achievement. Consequently, it is repeatedly found in the statistics of the results for the SSC examination every year that high performing schools have high pass rates in contrast to the low pass rates of low performing schools. This has become such a pervasive picture that Bourdieu's (1977) concept of cultural reproduction is perfectly well suited to the education contexts in Bangladesh. Schools are just working as social tools for reproducing and maintaining social class systems. Access to high performing schools is not equally distributed among students. Rather its access mostly depends on parental efforts, parental financial conditions, and even on parental determination to struggle for social upward movement through their children's education.

1.2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1.2.1. CRITICAL THEORY IN LANGUAGE POLICY

Largely influenced by Marxist theory, critical theory developed by Bourdieu (1991) and Foucault (1972, 1979) explains how reproduction in social inequality takes place and how it is maintained in social systems. With a view to diminishing this social inequality and maintaining social justice, critical theory aims at uncovering "systems of exploitation, particularly those hidden by ideology, and to find ways to overcome the exploitation" (Tollefson 2006:44). With key terminologies from critical theory i.e. *ideology*, *power*, *structure*, *structural constraints*, *state*, *hegemony*, *class*, *dominance*, and *minority*, Tollefson (1991, 2006, 2011) has developed historical-structural approach (discussed in detail in the Ideology section) for studying language policy which focuses on language education. Such an approach provides a clear understanding for investigating how language policy may serve the interests of social elites in keeping English out of the reach of the mass people to prevent their social upward mobility.

Such a historical-structural approach, based on critical theory, is significant for studying very distinctly stratified and centralised education systems (Hossain & Tollefson, 2007) in Bangladesh. There are three types of instruction, differentiated according to the medium of instruction, religion and, above all, social stratification: Bangla-medium schools, English-medium schools, and Madrasha or schools, which use religious instruction for Muslims. In Bangla-medium schools, in both government and non-government (see more in the section Government and Non-government school context) schools, all subjects are taught in Bangla. In contrast, English-medium private schools are much better in providing a "globalized curriculum, imported from the UK, for the preparation of the social elite" (Imam, 2005:477). Rahman (2011) contends that Bangladesh, with such a stratified educational structure and an inconsistent language-in-education policy, suffers from the "most difficult educational problems including high drop-out rates, poor attendance, and poor development of literacy skills in either Bangla or English among a large number of populations". Due to the lack of democratic access to English language education, 'social division' (Hossain & Tollefson, 2007) and 'social polarization' (Imam, 2005) exist very perilously between the social elites (who can ensure English education for their children) and the masses (who can bestow only Bangla-medium education) (Rahman 2011).

In the present study, the historical-structural approach (discussed in detail in Chapter 2) helps both in finding and explaining various historical and structural factors that create differences among various school institutions in Bangladesh and their success or failure in public examinations. These historical and structural

factors explain why and how the success anomaly is created among schools in language learning through CLT inside classrooms.

1.3. SUMMARY OF CHAPTERS

Chapter 1: Introduction, aims & objective, research question, rationale for the study, theoretical framework, summary of chapters

Chapter 2: Literature review on language policy and language planning is elaborately discussed with additional focus on its approaches and philosophy along with ideology. Within an historical-structural approach of critical language policy and planning, this literature review also focuses on how language policy has often been used to serve the purposes of social elites and dominant groups. In addition, this review shows how language-in-education policy branches from language policy in general, with a focus on learning an additional language and why this additional language is mostly English. In this particular context, the spread of English as a second language (ESL) and the spread of CLT become interrelated and intertwined. The chapter ends with a historical review of language teaching, the characteristics of CLT, the CLT paradigm shift, misconceptions about CLT, and CLT experiences in various parts of the world.

Chapter 3: This chapter frames language policy and CLT in the Bangladeshi context. It also discusses policy documents from a teacher-training manual prepared by the NCTB (National Curriculum and Textbook Board), various teacher-training projects, and research articles on the problems and challenges that Bangladeshi schools confront while implementing CLT inside classrooms.

Chapter 4: This chapter deals with methodology for the present research project. Mixed method research methodology has been used, since data from both qualitative and quantitative types have been used in order to grasp a complete micro-level implementation of CLT.

Chapter 5: Data collected from classroom observations from seven participating schools is analysed in this chapter. This chapter shows how CLT is implemented in classrooms, how this implementation is different from one school another, and the most feasible explanations. While explaining these differences, data integration and triangulation in the present project starts partially here, since information from semi-structured interview and students' survey questionnaires is utilised.

Chapter 6: Data analysis of semi-structured interview data shows how individual teachers from participating schools differ in relation to their educational and training background, their recruitment process, their concept, experience with and knowledge about CLT. This data analysis also illustrates their needs, problems, and challenge in CLT.

Chapter 7: Data analysis of students' survey questionnaires presents illustrations on students' experience of learning English through CLT. In addition, a short glimpse at their family backgrounds exposes how students differ in their family capital, which influences their English learning experience.

Chapter 8: A fully-fledged data integration of all these three types of data takes place in this chapter. Besides this, a detailed discussion of all the additional questions of the main research question in light of the data analysis results is presented here.

Chapter 9: The results of the thesis, with recommendations, are explored in this conclusion chapter.

Reference

Appendices

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW ON LANGUAGE POLICY AND PLANNING

2.1. DEFINITION AND NATURE

At the beginning of language planning history, there were several other competing terms for the field. *Language planning* seems to have been the most popular term (Cooper 1989:29) and the most widely accepted among those initial and similar terminologies i.e. *language engineering* (*²Miler 1950), *language development* (*Noss 1967), *language regulation* (*Gorman 1973), *language management* (*Jernudd & Neustupny 1986). It is worth mentioning here that, even within the discipline, the two terms “*language policy*” and “*language planning*” are often used synonymously (Cooper 1989:29, Kaplan 2011:925). Cooper differentiates language policy from language planning as the former being the goals of the later, although he himself uses the terms synonymously at times.

This distinction between language planning and language policy is more specifically pointed out by Kaplan (2011:925) in his chapter on macro language planning. He mentioned that *language planning* is a mostly visible activity conducted by the government of a nation in order to achieve “massive changes in a society” or which is “intended to promote a systematic linguistic change in some community of speakers”. Language policy, on the other hand is a body of ideas, laws and regulations, rules, and practices intended to achieve planned language changes in the society, group, or system (Kaplan 2011). When policies exist in such concrete shapes, Kaplan (2011) continues, only then can language planning be evaluated. In other words, in the absence of language policy, language planning cannot be adjusted. Moreover, language policy may have different realisations at different levels, from the strictly formal level of language planning documents and declarations to informal expressions of political or social intentions. Thus, symbolic and substantive policy intentions fall also under policy statements (Kaplan 2011:925).

Shohamy (2006) also explicated the distinction between language planning and language policy in almost exactly the same way as Kaplan (2011). Shohamy (2006: xv, xvi) adds the term “mechanisms” or “language policy tools” (i.e. language education policies, language tests, language use laws, sanctions, penalties etc.) while making this distinction. According to her, language planning refers to decision making for the intervention and controlling of language behaviour by the

² * marked authors are cited in Cooper 1989:29

government, whereas language policy refers to a set of principles mostly about language use and behaviour that may be manipulated and influenced via various mechanisms. Shohamy (2006) extrapolates that language policy should be examined and interpreted in broader ways rather than only considering the declared or explicit official policies. She emphasises that the interpretation of language policy should be in relation to the varieties of mechanisms or policy tools used by those in authority who impose, perpetuate, and create *de facto* or implicit language policies far beyond the declared official policies. Throughout the present dissertation, language policy is used in an inclusive way with the meaning of symbolic and substantive, overt and covert (Schiffman 1996), and explicit and implicit policy issues (Shohamy 2006).

The definition of the discipline of language planning has experienced different foci in different times of its development. Cooper (1989) quotes twelve definitions of language planning where it is found that Haugen termed language planning as the “normative work of language academies” (*Haugen 1969:701). *Thorburn (1971:254) referred to language planning as applying “the amalgamated knowledge of language to change the language behaviour of a group of people”. *Rubin and Jernudd (1971b: xvi) add the term 'deliberate' and define language planning as “deliberate language change”. *Jernudd and Das Gupta (1971:211) add additional dimensions of language planning and define it “as a political and administrative activity for solving language problem[s]”. The concept of language planning for solving language problems is repeated in other definitions by *Fishman (1974b:79), *Tautly (1974:56), and *Neustupny (1983:2).

Cooper (1989) discussed the merits and demerits of each of these definitions in terms of four questions “Who plans what for whom and how?” (1989:31). He made a good synthesis of all previous developments in the definitions of language planning. Although he retains the term ‘plan’, he refuses to accept the concept of problem-solving activity. He argues that it is not wrong to define language-planning as solving language problems, but it is misleading since language planning activities are also directed at achieving some non-linguistic goals. According to him, neither are language-planning decisions restricted only to governments, government-authorized agencies, and other authoritative body, nor are they limited to solving language problems. Besides, he prefers the term “influencing language behaviour” to “changing language behaviour” (1989:45). He thus challenged the traditional concept of language planning and made some expansion in it. To him, language planning “refers to deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes” (1989:45). Cooper argues that his definition does not restrict the planners to any particular authority or agency, nor does it delimit language planning to any target group. From this definition, acquisition planning is added as the third basic component of language planning (the two others being status planning and corpus

planning), which is dealt with elaborately in applied linguistics with the teaching of languages (first/second/foreign language teaching and planning).

The discipline of language planning and policy does not stand on its own right, instead it is a multifaceted field related to the political, economic, social and linguistic goals of the community in question (Aktuna 1997). As such, the fields of linguistics, political science, economics, sociology, sociolinguistics, and social psychology have contributed to shaping and explaining various critical issues within language planning and policy (*Rubin & Jernud 1971:xiv). The multidisciplinary nature of the field is grounded in the true nature of language goals or language problems. Karam (1974:108) is cited in Cooper (1989:35), saying that, “regardless of the type of language planning, in nearly all cases the language problem to be solved is not a problem in isolation within the region or nation but is directly associated with the political, economic, scientific, social, cultural, and/or religious situation.”

2.2. HISTORY

2.2.1. CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY OF LANGUAGE POLICY & PLANNING

Nekvapil (2011) draws a historical outline of the development of language planning in Eli Hinkel (ed.) *Handbook of Research in Second Language Teaching and Learning*. He also draws readers’ attention to the dichotomy of planned versus non-planned changes in language activities, rules, beliefs and practices. To him, non-planned changes in languages were the primary focus of linguists trained in structuralist procedures until the formation of the field of sociolinguistics in the 1960s. Until then, any planned interference in language activities were viewed as negative. According to Nekvapil (2011), there are four historical types of language planning: pre-modern, early modern, modern, and post modern. Two particular features are of specific importance here. Firstly, several of these types (or their features) may be present in the language planning system of a specific country, though each historical type refers to a particular period. Secondly, the post-modern type of language planning broadly corresponds with the ecology³ of language paradigm.

The pre-modern type of language planning:

³The ecology-of-language paradigm is based on developing linguistic diversity around the world, which promotes multilingualism and foreign language learning (Phillipson & Skutnabb, 1996). It strongly supports linguistic human rights for speakers of all languages through language planning and policy.

The most recent pre-modern type of language planning dates back to the initial activities of the language academy *Académie Française*, which was founded in 1634. This academy was established by the initiatives of Cardinal Richelieu who wanted to use the unity and order of the language for strengthening the unity and order of the French state during its period of restabilisation. Cooper (1989) mentions that the aim of this academy was “to give explicit rules to our language [i.e., French] and to render it pure, eloquent, and capable of treating the arts and sciences” (1989:10). Though activities for achieving this aim were supposed to be the publication of grammar guides, dictionaries, and manuals of rhetoric and poetics, finally only dictionaries were written. Thus, the French academy became a model for language academies in other European nations.

The early modern type of language planning:

This type of language planning is characterised by the linguistic and cultural demands of the European national movements of the 19th century. Several ethnic minority groups later formed the nation states (the Slovaks, the Czech, the Norwegians, the Finnish, and other nations) which were “oppressed by more powerful nations within a single ethnically heterogeneous state unit” (Nekvapil 2011:872). Nekvapil (2011) mentions Haugen (1969) who expounds an essay written in 1836 by Ivar Aasen, a Norwegian language reformer. According to Haugen, that essay contains a language planning paradigm with all the necessary components which should be essentially present in a language planning programme, for example selection (of norms), codification (in grammatical rules and dictionaries), elaboration (of language functions) and propagation (of extending its users). Several characteristics of the early modern type of language planning are noteworthy, for example, major changes in the selection of a variety to be standardised, the selection of orthography, and enriching the lexicon with the formation of new words.

The modern type of language planning:

Main examples of this type of language planning (along with some early modern and modern-type characteristics) come from the language planning activities of Soviet Union during 1920s and 1930s. The promotion and spread of Russian, with its Cyrillic alphabet, was rejected, as Russian was often associated with the previous oppressive tenure of the Russian czars. Therefore, emerging new languages had the basic task of language planning in the creation of new alphabets, orthography systems, the modernisation process with new terminologies, and, above all, the production of textbooks. Soviet language planning was influenced by leading experts and linguists (E.D. Polivanov, N.F. Jakovlev et al.) who advocated the developing field of structuralist linguistics. They combined their work on the graphisation of language and the development of phonological theory within structuralist linguistics.

According to Nekvapil (2011), the Prague Linguistic School in Czechoslovakia in the 1920s and 1930s carried the clear features of the modern type of language planning which is more oriented to micro social problems rather than to macro social problems. The Prague School's theory of language planning was devoted to the elaboration of the majority Czech standard language, which later came to be known as the 'cultivation approach' to language planning. This theory of language cultivation became famous and accepted to a certain degree by classic language planning. There is also the policy approach to language planning which, along with the cultivation approach, which is quite active in Europe and is applied to several minority languages.

Haugen and classic language planning are often thought of together since the end of the 1960s when 'language planning' was popularised in the linguistics literature by Haugen (1959). Haugen's work was mainly devoted to the Norwegian language situation, largely related to both the Scandinavian and European traditions of language planning (one state, one language), which was later paradoxically (and unsuccessfully) applied to "Third World" nations (Baldauf et al. 2007). Haugen's original definition of language planning was also narrow, covering only what later came to be known as 'corpus planning' (Nekvapil, 2011). The introduction of the concept 'plan' was the essential component of language planning, thus making it a branch of 'social planning'. Besides, it was also heavily influenced by the concept of 'decision-making procedures' for language planning, thus connecting it with 'decision theory'.

There were also forerunners of language planning in American academia, for example C. Ferguson and J. Fishman. Extensive international research was conducted with American funding, particularly concentrating on language situations in the Third World, on multilingual developing nations (often referred to as the "the social laboratory of the Third World" (Fishman 1969). Most of these nations gained their independence due to collapse of colonial systems after the Second World War, when these nations were in need of quick reform and recovery in political, social, economic, and language problems. Much attention was given to the linguistic aspects of the socio-cultural unit (nationalism) and political (administrative) integration (nationism). As a result, both 'status planning' (the selection of a variety of languages for various functions in a state) and 'corpus planning' (graphisation, lexicalisation, and modernisation) originated. As language planning was conditioned by language situations in society, a more general discipline - sociolinguistics- came into being (Nekvapil 2011).

The post modern type of language planning:- This type of language planning encourages variation and protects plurality (Neustupny 2006). Besides language ecology (Kaplan & Baldauf 1997:311), linguistic human rights (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 1995), linguistic imperialism (Phillipson 1992) and, above all,

language endangerment (Nekvapil 2011) is also covered in the post-modern type of language planning.

An implicit critique of the early theory of language planning, together with the historical development of the whole discipline, raises several issues for further discussion. Firstly, language planning is not limited to developing nations, but also takes place in developed nations. Secondly, it takes place not only at the state (macro) level but also at the meso and micro-level (Canagarajah 2005; Liddicoat & Baldauf 2008). Thirdly, it represents the interests of socially-conflicting groups instead of non-differentiated social groups.

2.2.2. RESEARCH DEVELOPMENT IN LANGUAGE POLICY

Thomas Ricento (2000) categorised the (historical) developments of language policy research in a much more concrete manner, in three stages, namely early work, the second stage, and the third stage. According to him, all these stages have been shaped by three instrumental factors: macro socio-political, epistemological and strategic factors. Macro socio-political factors are involved with different events and processes at the national and supra-national level, for example in uncovering the sources of structure in socio-economic inequality and costs and benefits of a language policy which argues for learning a particular language.

Ricento (2000) then continues to explain how these three factors were influential in the early works of language policy. According to him, there was a convergence of several factors, which formed language policy and planning as an identifiable field in the early 1960s. Decolonisation and state formation (macro socio-political), the predominance of structuralism in the social sciences (epistemological), and the widespread belief- particularly in the Western world - that language problem could be solved (strategic) are the three main elements in the first phase of language policy and planning. Due to decolonisation, new nation states were in need of status planning and corpus planning, in addition to regulating diglossic situations of both colonial languages and local languages. The early stage of language policy and planning thus reflects various works on typologies and approaches to language planning. Particularly worth mentioning are Einar Haugen's (1966) language planning model for Norway and Heinz Kloss' (1966) typology of multilingualism. The research works of Fishman et al (1968) and Rubin and Jernudd (1971) focused on various problem-solving activities with goals oriented at national development, linguistic homogeneity (linguistic diversity was perceived as an obstacle), and modernisation.

After reviewing several contemporary edited volumes and recent critical discussions, Ricento (2000) found the following important characteristics of this early period of research works in language planning:

1. National, regional, religious, political or other types of groups' unification, modernisation in the Western pattern, or democratisation were the most frequently desired goals of language planning.
2. Language could be planned, similarly to other resources with value.
3. Status and corpus planning were treated separately.
4. Language was considered separately from its socio-historical and ecological contexts.

There were limitations among these characteristics and contemporary authors were aware of one another's limitations. Ricento (2000) comments that these criticisms were related to decision making and implementation. However, more complex and fundamental issues were by passed, for example issues concerning language choices, individual and group identities, socio-economic structures, and hierarchies of inequality did not come into the characteristics of the early work of language policy and planning.

The second stage (the failure of modernisation, critical sociolinguistics, and access) of language policy works is considered to have spread largely from the early 1970s to the late 1980s, though some of the characteristics of the early stage were still in continued. In spite of decolonisation, new nation states were in fact more dependent on the colonial countries than they used to be under colonial rule (Ricento 2000). Scholars from this stage rightly name it the neo-colonial era. They became clearly aware that “earlier attempts in language planning, including models proposed by Haugen (1966) and Ferguson (1966) were inadequate” (Ricento 2000:14). Several factors indicated the failure of the field of language policy. The failure of modernisation in the developing world is one such factor in which language policy and planning was considered as ‘a branch of resource management’. Ricento (2000) comments that such a point of view in language policy and planning would certainly lead to failure, “given the complexity of the task, the countless and uncontrollable variables involved, the difficulty of evaluating the effectiveness of policies, and the virtual impossibility of engineering society in nations with long and complex colonial history” (Ricento, 2000:14).

In the second phase of language policy, researchers became interested in the social, economic, and political effects of language contacts. Instead of studying language as an entity in a defined social context (status planning for standardising, selecting and distributing domains for language functions, and diglossia), sociolinguists now started to focus more on the status and relations of different speech communities. Researchers now tried to analyse connections between community attitudes and language policy and explain why a particular language had certain roles higher or lower than another language, what social and economic consequence this high or low status of a language brought to its speakers. The second phase of language policy and planning is thus mostly characterised by an awareness of the negative effects of language policy, its intrinsic limitation of favouring the economic benefits

of elite classes in society, its facilitating access to power and money for certain languages and varieties, and thus influencing and delimiting the language rights of speakers of indigenous languages.

The third stage (of the new world order, post-modernism, linguistic human rights) of language policy is roughly estimated to be from the mid-1980s to the present day. Since this stage is still in its formation period, various topics are covered in current research works. Many dominant global events have been formed by the conditions of the third stage, which are massive migrations, of populations, the re-emergence of national ethnic identities (Hong Kong for example) coinciding with the breakup of the Soviet Union and the evolution of national identities in Eastern and Western Europe, and the formation of regional coalitions (such as the European Union). Keeping pace with these global events, various topics have been focused on in this third stage of language policy research. Among them, language loss (in Alaska, Australia, the USA, the north of the Soviet Union, Africa) has received particular attention with the growing debate about the ‘benefits of bio/linguistic diversity’ verses ‘language loss’. Robert Phillipson’s (1992) voluminous work on “linguistic imperialism” (linking imperial languages and the fate of indigenous languages and their associated cultures) interpretes language as means for propagating unequal power divisions and resource distribution. Linguicism (originally coined by Skutnab-Kangas (1986)) and linguistic genocide appear in the language policy research, when thousands of speakers of indigenous languages are not capable of learning the language of modernisation (English) and are denied access to social and economic progress. This process finally ends up in indirect marginalisation and language loss, since indigenous people, finding no alternative, decide to shift their language.

However, Phillipson (1992) has received criticism for lacking empirical evidence (Conrad 1996, Davies 1996) and being too deterministic and monolithic in his assumptions and conclusion. Some authors agree with Phillipson's view of linguistic imperialism; however, they have differed with him in being more nuanced in their contextual and historical descriptions of events and practices. Being associated with post-modernist theoretical approaches, these scholars have explored language situations in India, Malaysia, Singapore, Hong Kong (Pennycook 1994, 1998), and Jaffna in Sri Lanka (Canagarajah 1999). Pennycook (2000) makes a distinction between the “structural power” of English and “discursive effects” of English, while commenting on and criticising Phillipson's linguistic imperialism.

According to Pennycook (2000), Phillipson is more concerned with the structural power of English, its hegemony, explicit and implicit beliefs, purposes, and activities for characterising ELT businesses around the world, and for maintaining it as the world's dominant language. The problem with this structural power approach is that it “lacks a sense of agency, resistance, or appropriation” (2000:114). On the other hand, Pennycook continues, Phillipson is not (or is less) concerned with the

discursive or local effects and the intentions of local people. This discursive effects approach explains how English's related ideologies are imposed on local users of English around the world, and how these ideologies are received and appropriated by them local.

To sum up his discussion on the growth and development of research in language policy and planning, Ricento (2000) remarks that this third stage is clearly distinct from the previous stage of language planning theories and models. He adds that, although researchers (such as Fishman) were aware of the hegemonic and ideological problems of language policy and planning, these problems were not central to their research. Moreover, those researchers were very content in language planning as it had been used for many benevolent purposes, though they admit that it had also been used for less benevolent purposes. Critics of classical language planning (Tollefson 1991, for example) utterly disagree with the view that language planning can be neutral, beneficial, or capable of problem solving. Ricento (2000:20) says that "this is precisely the sort of attitude that post-structural and neo-Marxist critics identify as ideological, and one which easily becomes hegemonic".

2.3. PHILOSOPHY AND APPROACHES

There are different philosophical approaches behind any given activities conducted within the field of language policy. There was a major philosophical influence on the "theoretical justification for aligning states with nations" (Réaume & Pinto 2012:37). This was mainly to consider the central question of language policy: whether one language should be promoted through convergence or whether linguistic diversity should be encouraged and protected. During the formation of European 'nation states', philosophers advocated for the need for one single language for fostering and engendering solidarity. In each of these cases, winning languages were standardised, pushing out all other minority languages as unnecessary. Philosophers seemed to have no work after the completion of nation state formation (Réaume & Pinto 2012). Then they turned their attention to domestic language policy, particularly focusing on linguistic uniformity. A recent philosophical development in the field of language policy and planning is multiculturalism - the co-existence of several cultural backgrounds within one political entity.

Réaume & Pinto (2012) discuss the philosophy of language policy from two different approaches: non-rights-based approaches to language policy and rights-based approaches to language policy. Within the non-rights-based approaches, they explore the normative arguments for and against unilingualism and plurilingualism. In order to have a common language, different arguments are made. Firstly, the huge economic burden of maintaining too many languages is reduced by simply selecting one national language. Many countries are not capable of such a huge

investment. Secondly, having the majority or common language as the national language is a precondition for national identity and solidarity, democratic engagement, and a vibrant civil society. Thirdly, there is the risk of providing equal opportunities to all languages in a multilingual country, which again is a matter of requiring enormous economic budgets to provide equal access to speakers of both the majority and minority languages, including job opportunities, documents, and logistics for learning etc. Finally, having one common language seems to be supported by the concept of globalisation, where learning one language that is understood by a wider number of speakers around the world gives opportunities for all sorts of business, professional, and academic communication.

Réaume & Pinto (2012) then continue to argue in favour of plurilingualism or linguistic diversity. According to them, the diversity of language arguments is based on the broader concept of language value. Among the benefits, first comes the analogy of biological diversity, similar to which the diversity of linguistic resource is very useful to humankind. This is particularly because each language is said to be the repository of knowledge related to the living conditions of its particular context. Secondly, this bio-linguistic and bio-cultural diversity is “holistic in shape...capable of informing and enriching all people, albeit diffusely” (Réaume & Pinto 2012:40).

On the other hand, there are various language related rights under the rights-based approach to philosophy in language policy. Firstly, there is the most traditional right of human being, which is the right to express oneself in any particular language one desires. It provides rights to speakers of a non-dominant language in all communication with one another, whether in private or public settings. Secondly, Kloss' (1977a) distinction between tolerance-oriented rights and protection-oriented rights is discussed by Réaume & Pinto (2012). Tolerance-oriented rights are not negative though, but are less generous with an attitude of tolerance. Protection-oriented rights suggest a need for government action to protect a language. There is another idea in between these tolerance-oriented and protection-oriented rights, which are ‘promotion-oriented’ rights. In addition to protection-oriented rights, promotion oriented rights suggest positive actions so that speakers of a language may flourish.

Réaume & Pinto (2012) add that there was an important refinement of Kloss' tolerance and protection based rights conducted by Patten (2009). Patten's rights are called accommodation rights and official language rights. With accommodation rights, governments have positive duties to create and provide scope for speakers of minority languages to use their languages. These accommodation rights are in fact exceptions to the wider and general rules of dominant language use. For example, accused persons are often offered the opportunity to use their own language so that a trial may be fair in court. This type of limited exercise indicates that accommodation rights are based on the complete instrumental purposes of the

communicative function of language, education, or mobility, rather than on its expressive or identity-related value (Patten 2009). The status of the official language provides only symbolic value in many cases, with the implication of equal or semi-equal status to minority languages. Considering all these rights together, Réaume & Pinto (2012) make a continuum along the negative-positive axis. Tolerance rights entail more-negative liberties; accommodation rights provide some limited positive obligations, while official language rights entail more-extensive obligations on the part of the government.

2.3.1. IDEOLOGY

The field of language policy and planning is heavily imbedded in the social, political, economic, and educational issues of any given entity. This multidisciplinary nature of language policy calls for distributing resources, allocating benefits, and reserving facilities for different groups of people in society (Tollefson 2011). According to Tollefson (2011), a discussion on ideology in relation to the role of language is essential. This is particularly important in second-language acquisition (SLA) amidst a wider array of challenges concerning conflicts in national and ethnic interests, inequality in social and economic conditions, and crises in international security, environment, and economy. He rightly says,

Standard language ideology, the ideology of monolingual (English) classrooms, the ideology of variation, and implicit ideologies in teacher education, SLA, research methods, and other aspects of L2 [second language] education have direct consequences for the social positions of learners, teachers, and others; and it is such social positions that individual gain (or are denied) access to economic resources and political power (Tollefson, 2011: 813).

At this stage, the concept of ideology needs to be explained. It starts with “the fundamental idea that social knowledge represents natural, necessary, and inevitable social relations that are in fact contingent, historical and advantageous to the ruling class” (Tollefson 2011:801). It refers to processes by which existing ideas and hidden systems of thought, assumptions, beliefs, and behaviours that favour ruling classes become common sense assumptions, and are neutralised, normal, natural, inevitable, and invisible. In this way, common sense ideology helps in sustaining the interests of the ruling class through education and other institutional training, where children are prepared “to fit into and accept the existing class relations” and unequal power relations” (Fairclough 1989:33, 84). To unpack these ‘neutralised’ systems in society is the most frequent research aim within the domain of this ideology where “language is of the central concern because it is viewed as always ideological.” (Tollefson 2011: 802).

In a cognitive approach to ideology, van Dijk (1993a) mentions “social knowledge” or “social representations” particularly because these representations are formed

among members within a community through socially shared ideas, beliefs, norms, and attitudes. “Black”, “white”, “native speakers”, and “foreign speakers” are various such examples of social representation. These social representations play an important role in influencing individual understanding of ideas. For example, by the use of the term “native speakers” of any language, people understand that particular language is being spoken by its native people with their accent, grammar etc. van Dijk (1993a) discusses “stereotypes” and “categorisation” both of which are social representations but are differentiated from each other in terms of “accuracy or legitimacy” (van Dijk 1993a cited in Tollefsson 2011:802). Both of these forms of cognition are very important, natural part of human cognition. However, sometimes some of these categorisations become very far from being true and become exaggerated, are distorted and negatively represented, leading to stereotypes. These types of stereotypes can be corrected through education and information that is more accurate.

Though categorisation is flexible and can be modified whenever necessary with new forms of categorisation or information, ideologically-based stereotypes are relatively rigid and are very difficult to modify with new information. Moreover, stereotypes play a significant role in social functioning, which mere categorisations do not do. Tollefson (2011) refers to Pickering (2001:3) in which it is said that stereotypes impose “a sense of order on the social world in the same way as categories” (Pickering 2001:3), but they deny any sort of flexible thinking in terms of “the interests of the structure of power” (Pickering 2001:3). Thus, stereotypes “attempt to maintain these structures as they are” (Pickering 2001:3) and reinforce “the conviction that existing relations of power are necessary and fixed” (Pickering 2001:3). In different words, stereotypes support and work for maintaining existing, unequal social relations in favour of powerful and dominant groups.

One limitation of the cognitive approach to ideology is that it does not specifically mention how social knowledge or representations are made or how they are routinely practiced in daily life. This limitation has brought about the creation of an institutional approach to ideology, that is mainly practiced in education, communication systems, and the mass media. The main function of these institutions is to reproduce ideologies that serve the interests of socially dominant class (Fairclough 1989; Tollefson 1991, 2011). Fairclough asserts, “The general point is that education, along with all other social institutions, has as its ‘hidden agenda’ the reproduction of class relations and other higher-level social structures, in addition to its overt educational agenda” (1989:40). Ideologies in education are particularly well-researched by Bourdieu, whose primary claim is that “schools reproduce unequal social relations by requiring particular education practices, which thereby legitimise particular forms of knowledge (those of the upper middle class)” (Tollefson 2011:804). Concerning mainly the theoretical concepts of “habitus” and “capital”, Bourdieu’s (1991) concept of social reproduction has been very much influential in research on second language acquisition. The concept of

habitus consists of a set of dispositions that guide individual actors to act and react in particular ways on a regular basis. These dispositions “are inculcated, structured, durable, generative and transposable” (Thompson 1991:12).

In an earlier attempt, Tollefson (1991) used other terms in critical theory in relation to language ideologies. Critical theory is very much significant in explicating power analysis in society by using ideologies, the role of the state, and the relationship between social constraints and individual freedoms. Power, state, hegemony, structure, structural constraints, class, dominance, minority are all different terms that essentially describe how language policy has been created by different ideologies in society. Power is an ability to gain one's aims and control of events. In this sense, according to Tollefson (1991), power is characteristic of institutional structures, rather than characteristic of individuals in isolation. The individual's exercise of power depends on their relationship to the institution to which they provide meaning of actions. According to Fairclough (1989), there is a dynamic relationship between structure and power, and thus power is fundamental to both individual action and social organisation. Although in this power-controlled society individuals are in subordinate positions and are dominated by power holders, individuals in general are not completely powerless. They may unite to disrupt the social order of dominance in order to bring about changes in society. Language can be used as one major instrument in exercising and controlling or disrupting power.

The concept of power is related to the concepts of government and state. Government refers to a group of individuals who share equally in the exercise of power. State, on the other hand, “is an independent source of power with an interest in retaining and expanding its dominance” (Tollefson 1991:10). The state uses language policy mechanisms in order to maintain power. Fairclough (1989) has a slightly different view of the state power, that is controlled by a “dominant bloc” (1989:33) consisting of capitalists, an alliance of capitalists including professional workers. Again, power is often used to coerce opposing people and to force them to consent (Fairclough 1989) to what the dominant group are doing, as part of hegemony (Tollefson 1991). Hegemony is the successful production and reproduction of an ideology where it becomes commonly accepted that language justifies social divisions and social inequality (Tollefson 1991). For example, people believe that speakers of a dominant language will receive more benefits than speakers of minority languages, and thus they feel that dominant-language speakers will have the authority and power to control political and economic institutions.

Structure refers to the medium and the result of human actions in a society, not the list for categorising or classifying people. In any given social setting, all institutions have structural power, which shapes the actions of its members and thus positions them in the social structure. In this sense, there is a dialectal relationship between individual actions and social structures. Class is the most important structural category, where grouping of people is done based on occupation, income and other

factors. In any economic production, class refers to different (antagonistic) positions and as such validates the necessity for class struggle, which is very important to bring about social change. It is worth mentioning here that language is one of the domains for class struggle, as dominant groups want to exercise power through gaining control over language (Tollefson 1991).

In language education, it is of particular interest that dominant classes select their preferred language as the medium of education and their preferred language teaching methodology to gain control over their preferred language, and thus reproduce and secure their position in society. In the concept of hegemony, this process is naturalised so that this production and reproduction of access to the preferred language by the dominant class becomes a common sense belief among subordinate people. Subordinated people, who do not have the capacity to expand their choices they can make, are always dominated. Their options to select alternatives are limited in comparison to the dominant class' people or, in other words, their choices are constrained. In the case of constrained linguistic choices, economic disadvantage is created for the subordinate group or minority (both ethnic and immigrant) people. Tollefson (1991) argues that most social science fails to explain structural and historical factors that produce such choice-constraints.

Two approaches in language policy and planning are particularly important for understanding choice-constraints in relation to the failures of learners in particular and the failure of language policy in general. These two approaches in language planning and policy are the neo-classical approach and the historical-structural approach. To start with the neo-classical approach, there are certain characteristic preliminary assumptions of neo-classical research. Within this approach, the individual is the key point to understanding social systems. Individual decisions are free and predictable, and social science research should focus on the analysis of individual decisions. Differences between various socio-political systems are due to the cumulative effects of individual decisions.

However, neo-classical approaches have theoretical obstacles to judging equity or fairness of policy in the planning process. This is mainly because, as outsiders (unrelated to historical contexts), policymakers are only concerned with policy goals, not with the appropriateness of policy; they provide ineffective and limited critiques of individual decisions, and they do not include historical and structural factors. Tollefson (1991) mentions that the neo-classical approach is particularly unsuitable for language policy as it cannot provide answers to the following three linguistics issues. Firstly, it does not explain why and how a particular language community is formed, i.e. when people of certain societies decide to learn a particular language, including other social aspects of language acquisition. Secondly, it fails to address the critical factors of language maintenance and language shift, i.e. why people of certain societies strictly decide to maintain their language rights even through protest or war, and why certain other people decide to

shift from their indigenous language to a dominant language. Thirdly, the neo-classical approach often wrongly posits the notion that language change is natural, instead of explaining how and in what contexts planning decisions can bring about linguistic changes.

As a counter-tendency to the neo-classical approach, there is the historical-structural approach (primarily derived from critical theory (Tollefson 1991) which focuses on the origins of constraints on planning, on “the sources of cost and benefits involved in the choice” (Tollefson 1991:32), and on the social, political, and economic factors which constrain or impel changes in language structure and language use. The historical-structural approach differs from the neo-classical approach mainly in the unit of analysis. The rational decisions of individuals are the primary focus of the neo-classical approach, whereas the origins of costs and benefits are the focus of historical-structural approach. In the case of learning a new language, these costs can be hours of study, tuition fees, and benefits can be finding a better job or being allowed to emigrate . Why do people choose to learn that language at those costs? Are those benefits worthy of those costs? What language choices can people make? Sources of such cost and benefits are analysed within the historical-structural approach. Apparently, having observed language use as “a mundane, practical activity like many others” (Thompson 1991:4), Bourdieu has suggested that linguistic theories should focus on language as a social-historical and practical phenomenon, rather than only as an internalised/idealised phenomenon of Saussurian or Chomskyan linguistics dissociated from social-historical or contextual factors .

Thus, within the historical-structural approach, language policy is a mechanism that serves the interests of dominant socio-political groups and reproduces those interests repeatedly. Within this approach, research goals in language planning are to uncover the historical basis for and structural mechanisms affecting policy decisions to serve or undermine certain political or economic interests. Language planning is thus inseparable from the political economy, and is not different from other class-based structures. This approach also tries to discover “historical and structural pressures that lead to particular policies and plans and that constrain individual choice” (Tollefson 1991:32).

These differences between neo-classical and historical-structural approaches can be more vividly clarified by the example of the motivation for second language acquisition. Since motivation plays a significant role, the failure to learn a language is often accused of being due to a lack of it. If two students react quite differently to learning situations and one of them works hard and does well, it is considered that he is highly motivated, whereas if the other student fails to learn, he lacks motivation. That is the explanation which comes from the neo-classical approach which searches for interpretation only within the individual. However, this explanation is not satisfactory, for the particular reason that not all students are

equal in their rate of success or failure in learning a language. This can be due to many other external factors from learners' background. Students from high socio-economic backgrounds are more likely to succeed, whereas students from other socio-economic backgrounds are not. In this context, it cannot be said that students' failures are due to lack of motivation, rather that they are due to all those additional factors. Thus, it is worth asking whether students can control the influences of those additional factors. These two approaches call for a wider focus of language planning and policy, both inside and outside of individuals.

2.4. TYPES OF LANGUAGE PLANNING

The most discussed types of language planning are status planning and corpus planning. These two types of planning processes are vitally important particularly for new nation states. Status planning is necessary for allocating the functions of languages in a community (Cooper 1989) and as such is concerned with factors external to language and linguistic aspects. In this planning, there are two important issues (Kaplan & Baldauf 1997): selecting a language for various functions of a state/ community, and implementing them. Language selection refers to choosing from competing languages or dialects, which establishes a language as the proper linguistic norm with status (Kaplan & Baldauf 1997). Cooper (1989) discusses several such statuses: official, provincial, wider communication, international, group, educational, school subject, literary, religious, mass media, work etc. In most of these cases, the selection process is usually conducted by political leaders, the elite, or the enlightened people of society. In the implementation stage, the selected language is put into place through adoption, spread, acquisition, correction, and evaluation.

Corpus planning is concerned with the internal aspects of language or linguistic issues that are developed by specialists in linguistics. These linguistic aspects are orthographic innovation (i.e. designing new or changing script and reform system), pronunciation, changing or developing language structure, vocabulary expansion, and the simplification of register, style, and the preparation of language materials (Kaplan & Baldauf 1997). These various linguistic developments appear by both different and similar names in works by other authors like Cooper (1989). Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) refer to Vikør's (1988,1993) mentioning of a number of underlying principles that shape corpus planning. These principles are grouped into following four major categories

- *Internal linguistic principles (phonemicity, morphophonemicity, simplicity, etymology, invariance and stability);*
- *Principles regarding attitude to other language (rapprochement or adaptation, reaction [purism]);*

- *Principles regarding relationship between the language and its users (majority, liberality, prestige, counter-prestige, usage, estheticism, rationalism); and*
- *Principles derived from societal ideologies (nationalism, liberalism, traditionalism, democracy/egalitarianism, modernity, authority).*

(Kaplan & Baldauf 1997:38)

Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) talk about language acquisition under the implementation of status planning and later they mention it as language-education-planning. Cooper has expanded language planning into one more type, namely acquisition planning. Acquisition planning is primarily concerned with the organised efforts and planning for language instruction for learning a language (Cooper 1989) and, as such, is the major area of interest of the present thesis. Drawing examples from various language situations, he explains that language acquisition planning activities can be grouped according to their goals and means for achieving those goals. In order to achieve goals, acquisition planning can be distinguished into three types. Firstly, there is the acquisition of a second or foreign language that takes place in non-native country, for example learning English in Bangladesh, or Bangla in the USA. Secondly, there is the reacquisition of a language that was once a vernacular or was lost, for example, the re-nativisation of Hebrew or Irish, or the revitalisation of Maori. Thirdly, language maintenance can also be a type of language acquisition planning, so as to prevent any sort of language loss or language shift. In this case, language maintenance ensures that a particular language gains new generation of speakers who learn it through formal education.

In relation to the means of achieving these goals, language acquisition planning can be of three types. Firstly, there is creating opportunities to learn a language through various methods, for example, classroom instruction, providing access to materials in the target language, and producing literature, newspapers, radio and television programmes in simplified versions. Secondly, there are methods that create, increase, or improve incentives to learn a language. These incentives can take various forms, for example, including English as a compulsory school subject, making French or English skills a requirement for getting a job or emigration. Thirdly, there are activities that can generate and increase both learning opportunities and their incentives at the same time (Cooper 1989).

Thus, acquisition planning is much more than only planning language instruction, though that is the primary focus of language acquisition planning. This instructional process is the major concern at every level of organisation, starting from the Director General of the Ministry of Education to classroom teachers. The process moves downward in a spiral fashion, starting at the top level, descending, and widening to various levels of practitioners who may either support or resist implementing the policy in practice (Cooper 1989). However, it is worth

mentioning here that, while travelling from the top level, the policy's strength becomes reduced and it is not implemented as it was originally intended. That is why many language-planning specialists talk about considering both top-to-bottom and bottom-up approaches for any planning and policy process to be successful.

It is quite pertinent here to talk about another distinction within language policy: macro language policy and micro language policy. Macro language policy refers to "large scale and systematic, involving specific actions that are planned and carried out in order to promulgate language policies and to obtain certain results" (Kheng & Baldauf 2011:937). This definition indicates that macro language policy exists in the form of text and actions, as it is deliberately planned. It also includes all processes before the formulation of texts, the formation of law, and its implementation. Macro language planning and policy are formed in an overt and formal way in status planning, corpus planning, language-in-education-planning, and prestige planning. This macro-level planning thus produces a process through which actual implementation can take place at different stages. Actors involved at these various stages of the policy-transmitting process need to follow instructions for the successful implementation of policy.

However, despite the process of controlled and deliberate planning at the top level of the macro stage, implementation at the micro level does not always work out "in a clear linear progression" (Kheng & Baldauf 2011:937). Citing examples from Singaporean language policy and implementation, Kheng & Baldauf (2011) mention that stakeholders have multiple interpretations of policy that may vary from the original intentions of policy makers. These interpretations have significant roles to play in implementation processes that are, at times, emphasised or de-emphasised depending on how these interpretations are made by stakeholders. Besides, teachers also need to be fully prepared and well trained with the necessary skills and knowledge in order to implement language policy.

In order for the reforms to become a reality, the MOE (Ministry of Education) needs to translate these reforms into policies for different audiences - curriculum planners, educators, teachers and students. Furthermore, when it comes to implementing language policy inside the classroom, it is the teachers (on their own and in collaboration with pupils) who are the gatekeepers, not the planners and policymakers. Essentially, the teachers hold the power as they are placed in the position of mediator between the policy and the pupils, and they are in control of how their classes are to be engaged with the texts (Kheng & Baldauf, 2011: 937).

This micro-level implementation, particularly by teachers or other agents in other domains, becomes very significant because these actors at the micro level may follow or override the policy instructions. Besides, there might be many other factors for which policy instructions at the macro level could produce various results at the operational level. Therefore, attention to the entire implementation

structure needs to be considered for putting policy into practice. Both macro and micro level policy need to be taken into consideration for this purpose. According to a frame developed by Kheng and Baldauf (2011), a classical top-down approach is thus complemented with a bottom-up approach, as the translation process within the classical top-down model does not always follow a linear fashion. To complicate this translation process, language planning can start at any level between supra-macro and infra-micro levels and “can bypass certain levels, thereby causing the translation process to occur in a non-sequential manner” (Kheng & Baldauf 2011:937). Moreover, micro and infra-micro planning may be influenced by a range of local and contextual factors, causing various policy directions.

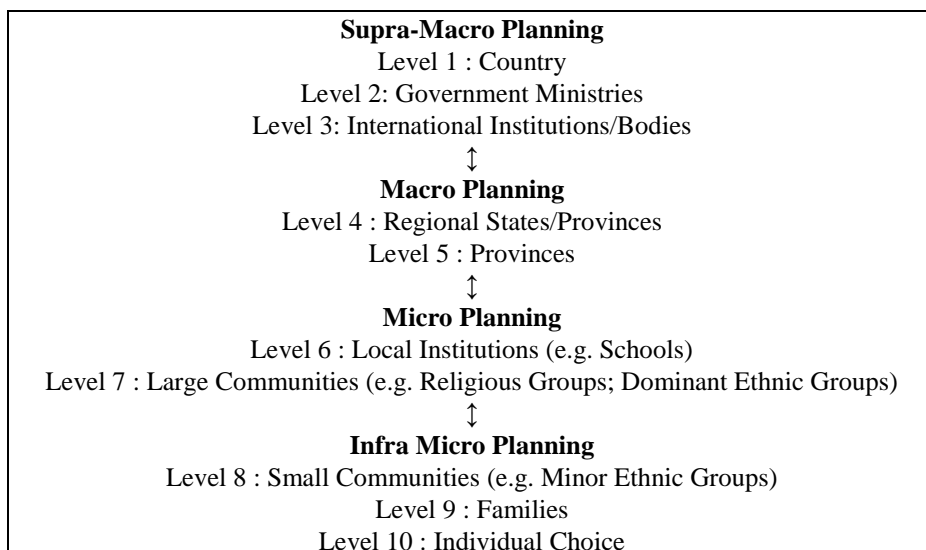


Table 2: The four stages and ten levels of macro and micro policy planning (Kheng & Baldauf 2011: 940)

2.4.1. LANGUAGE-IN-EDUCATION POLICY

Language-in-education planning can be considered a development within language acquisition planning. Language-in-education planning is a specialised area of language planning and, as such, is quite different from language planning in general. Language planning in general deals with all sectors of language issues in a community or nation, whereas language-in-education planning deals only with the education sector. In an effort to differentiate language-in-education policy from language planning in general, Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) mention that there are six stages of language planning: pre-planning, survey, report, policy, implementation and evaluation. Language-in-education policy appears in between the stage of report writing and policy formulation. This branching of language-in-education

policy consists of several sub-categories: curriculum policy, personnel policy, material policy, community policy and evaluation policy.

Language Policy and Planning

1 = *PRE-PLANNING Stage: historical research, cost estimation*

2 = *SURVEY Stage: design, test, disseminate, collect data*

3 = *REPORT Stage: write report, test recommendations*

4 = *POLICY Stage: design and test policy strategies*

5 = *IMPLEMENTATION Stage: devise, implement strategies*

6 = *EVALUATION Stage: Evaluate all phases and feedback into the system*

Language-in-Education Policy

7 = *EDUCATION Policy: separate from general policy*

8 = *CURRICULUM Policy: what languages, when*

9 = *PERSONNEL Policy: in-service, pre-service training*

10 = *MATERIAL Policy: what, how much and how soon*

11 = *COMMUNITY Policy: parental attitudes, funding sources, recruiting teachers/students*

12 = *EVALUATION Policy: evaluation of curriculum, student success, teacher success/interest, cost effectiveness, societal change, basic policy.*

(Kaplan & Baldauf 1997:124)

Curriculum policy:

Within curriculum policy, the primary concern deals with the space in the curriculum allocated for language instruction in an academic year. Since the academic year and school days are limited (in an average 38 weeks x 5 days x 6 meetings x 50 minutes = 5700 minutes/60 minutes = 95 hours) (Kaplan & Baldauf 1997), not everything can be included in the curriculum, and making an addition to the curriculum for language instruction needs careful attention to what is to be reduced or eliminated from the existing curriculum. The second concern within curriculum policy deals with when language instruction should start in the whole academic system. While there is a tremendous dichotomy in the discussion about effectiveness between the early and late start in learning a second language, an early start causes more expenses, as it requires more space for a longer duration in the academic curriculum.

The third issue within curriculum policy deals with the concern about teaching methods. There are different alternatives in teaching methods, such as the traditional mass lecture method and the communicative method. With a smaller class size, it is possible to conduct CLT through using pair work, group work, and the target language as the medium of instruction in the classroom instructions. In other cases, one or more other subjects, i.e. science or mathematics are also taught in the target language. This type of content-based language teaching requires highly-specialised teachers and teaching materials, which expand even further both the cost and space required for learning the target language. Thus, in order to find

more space in the academic curriculum for extra language instruction, it is necessary to build up a model that permits more time than sixty minutes a week, reduces class size, and increases opportunities for real communication in and outside classroom (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997).

Personnel policy:

After the curriculum policy, the personnel policy also requires significant planning in order to select the cadre of teachers who will teach the target language. These teachers themselves need to be reasonably fluent in the target language, with necessary training in language pedagogy. Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) mention three problems or challenges involved in personnel policy. These are, namely, the source of teachers, the training of teachers, and the rewards for teachers. These challenges have been solved following various strategies. For example, as a stopgap measure, untrained and limited competent teachers are often employed on a short-term basis, particularly immediately after selecting a language to be taught, as there might not be many indigenous teachers. These indigenous teachers often take three years to become competent enough in teaching the target language (Kaplan & Baldauf 1997). Another short-term strategy is to import native speakers in the target language (as is the case in Japan, which hires a good number of both competent and native speakers), but which is on one hand costly, and on the other hand risky, as not all competent native speakers are well trained in teaching. Besides, these native speakers often create a sense of discrimination and dissatisfaction among the indigenous teaching pool. Yet another strategy to fill the lack of language teachers is found when language teachers in one language (Russian language teachers in China for example) are retrained to teach another language (English). One strong fallacy here is that neither teachers nor teaching skills in one language can be generalised into others.

The second challenge within personnel policy concerns the training of the indigenous teachers of a foreign language. According to Kaplan & Baldauf (1997), two issues are worth consideration in teacher training. The first is about achieving and maintaining proficiency in the target language, and the second is about incentives in order to get teachers in the pool of teaching the target language. It is very unlikely that a huge number of qualified people will enter into teaching jobs unless the government provides sufficient incentives for teachers. These incentives can be provided in two major ways. The first is to cover the costs for teachers being trained in the target language and in general pedagogy. The second is to provide a long-term career lines for language teachers and create scope for maintaining their proficiency. If language teachers do not have high social respect with a good salary, people will not select this as their career. In addition to subsidised pre-service training and adequate rewards, in-service training by highly qualified trainers can help language teachers to maintain their proficiency in the target language. This in-service training can take the form of visiting the native country of the target

language so that teachers may ‘retool’ their spoken proficiency with pronunciation skills.

Material policy:

Language teaching takes place through content, although learning a language is the primary task. Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) mention two specific problems related to material policy: firstly, choosing what content will be used for teaching the language, and secondly choosing what methodology will be used to provide language instruction. Since the objective of learning a second language is to increase learners’ range of vocabulary, a wide range of languages across the curriculum is now in fashion. There has been also a long debate between the simplicity and authenticity of language materials. Some think that, although simplified materials are more accessible to learners, they run the risk of losing interest in the materials. In contrast, authenticity of materials ensures wider access to a large number of vocabulary. Furthermore, these materials should be taught through an adjustable teaching methodology that is to be selected along with what is known about language learning and what the objective of language learning is. Careful attention is also given to awareness of the skills from the teachers’ point of view so that they conduct classroom activities to the expected levels of policy outcomes:

Language-in-education planning must select an appropriate methodology, must guarantee that the materials to be used are consonant with the methodology, provide authentic language, and are also consonant with the expectations of teachers (Kaplan & Baldauf 1997:134).

Community policy:

Language learning and teaching takes place in a community, which can exert significant influence on it. As funding comes from the community (from tax revenue, legislature, or a governing body), its attitudes to language learning need to be taken into consideration. On one hand, people in the community may have different attitudes towards learning a particular language in general or towards language teachers as a group. These attitudes may have diverse impact on curriculum designers and on teachers’ and students’ activity (Kaplan & Baldauf 1997). Therefore, it is an important aspect of language-in-education planning to develop a variety of ways to deal with community’s attitudes.

Evaluation policy:

Evaluation is conducted for two main reasons; firstly to justify whether expenditure on implementing a policy is cost effective, and secondly, to modify any policy formulations with feedback from evaluations. It is important to develop evaluation mechanisms, in order to determine whether the predicted language proficiency (or any other language changes) has been achieved within allocated time frame, through policy implementation.

All these subcategories of language-in-education policy need to be well maintained for the successful implementation of language-in-education policy. The next section will continue on to how additional language learning, particularly English learning, takes place in language-in-education policy.

2.4.2. LEARNING AN ADDITIONAL LANGUAGE

Learning an additional language is an integral part of language-in-education, and as such is, in most of cases, designed at the national or regional level. It may also be locally designed at times at the institution level or even at the classroom level. Additional language learning is one of these policies that can take place with many variations (Cenoz & Gorter 2012), because it depends upon the goals of the educational programmes, target language status, and the intensity of using different languages. According to them, although there is a great diversity of languages being learnt as an additional language, English is the most common language learnt either as a first language or second language.

Why English:

English being learnt as an additional language is such a common phenomenon that it demands almost no explanation now-a-days. The reasons for this are that, for example, it is the most widely spread language for international communication; there is a need for globalisation; it is a resource for opening doors to better opportunities; it is associated with social and economic mobility; its dominant presence in media, advertisements and on the internet, in business, science and technology, in tourism, film and music, and many more (Crystal 2003, Graddol 1997). It is worth mentioning here that the all-round presence of English is founded in the historical past of UK imperialism (Melcher & Shaw 2011), the economic and military super-power of English speaking countries, and the dominating expansion of the integrated global economic market. According to Tollefson (1991) this process of bringing English down everywhere in the world is known as “modernisation” (Tollefson 1991:82).

It seems relevant to talk about the modernisation (in relation to why English) theory, according to which underdeveloped societies can overcome their poverty or economic limitations by adopting institutional structures, industrialised systems, and patterns of behaviour that are found in Western societies. Modernisation is thus understood often as “Westernisation” where all developed societies are similar in their social systems. Underdeveloped societies should thus discard their own traditional systems by attempting to adopt modern Westernised systems “to reproduce the achievements of “industrialisation” (Tollefson 1991:82). Modernisation theory, according to Tollefson (1991), is also related to the conflict between capitalism and socialism by supporting the view that private industrialisation is essentially progressive, can liberalise manpower and can lead to

a particular kind of democratic state. In this way, Western societies can serve as models for underdeveloped nations.

Tollefson (1991) argues that the modernisation theory is related to the spread of English and of ESL teaching in two particular ways. Firstly, the English language is viewed as the tool for modernisation. Secondly, modern social organisations prefer monolingualism (preferably English) to multilingualism, for practical advantages. This second view is further explained by Grabe and Kaplan (1986), whose views on English monolingualism are summarised by Tollefson (1991). In order to be up to date in modern scientific information, market-driven research and other academic journals, a single dominant language is necessary, and English is the most effective tool for this access. Tollefson (1991) explains (from a branch of UNESCO that deals with scientific information) that approximately 85% of all information stored or abstracted worldwide is in English. Every country needs many people fluent in English to access and to properly utilise this information.

Although it may be true that English is a useful tool for facilitating modernisation all around the world, modernisation theory has been criticised due to its failure in relating the spread of English to inequality and exploitation (Tollefson 1991:83, 2002, 2011). According to him, English as a tool for modernisation is ideological and has been criticised on two main points. Firstly, the spread of English maintains an unequal relationship between developed and developing societies, and secondly, English has assisted in institutionalising these unequal relationships in developing societies. In his explanation, he mentions that the dominance of English does not depend solely on language proficiency, but rather also on institutional structures (i.e. due to a lack of computer networks, a society might not be able to retrieve or use data), and on political relationships (certain authorities or governments of a nation might be denied access to information sources for political relations).

Tollefson (1991) continues his argument that inequality due to English as a tool for modernisation may also take place within a developing nation (intra-nationally). Most of the colonial and post-colonial societies have a dual-system: Westernised, developed, and industrialised on the one hand and traditional, underdeveloped, pre-industrial on the other. The amount of wealth and income is the only factor that differs widely in this dual system. It may appear that this distinction has a lot to do with the urban-rural distinction and, as such, could provoke migration from rural to urban areas. However, although large scale migration does take place, it cannot remove this dualism. That is why existence of slum areas just within the heart of a city in each developing country is visible; people firmly separated by geographical locations, economic conditions, social life styles, and language usage. Phillipson (1992, 1996) re-emphasised similar dualisms: i.e. centre-periphery (1996) in relation to the involvement of politicians and academic experts, and priority-negligence in relation to English-medium and state schools (1996) in many post-colonial African and Asian countries.

Furthermore, Tollefson (1991) continues, there is a clear linguistic difference between two societies in the dual system. The spread of English does not take place equally in both of these societies. Individuals and groups from the Westernised societies learn English and use it more fluently with idealised native-speaking accents and culture. Here, English is a practical tool for getting membership of this society. In contrast, people from traditional societies do not have good access to learning this English (only the local English, if at all). However, Tollefson (1991) admits that unequal access to learning English is not the only cause for the unequal distribution of power and wealth. Similarly, Ricento (1994:426) also admits that ELT policy and planning cannot be regarded as “the scapegoat for the failures of education in the third world”. However, English is no longer a neutral tool unrelated to political, economic, and imperial influence (Ricento 1994); instead, the role of English also involves both linguistic and cultural hegemony. It also helps in institutionalising “the gap between sectors and to establish a significant practical barrier to anyone seeking to move from one to the other” (Tollefson 1991:85). In this way, arguments in favour of the spread of English (and of modernisation) are inherently ideological, where English is in fact a “mechanism for establishing and institutionalising unequal social relationships” rather than a real practical development tool for common people.

ESL and CLT in language-in-education policy:

With the spread of English around the world, particularly through the process of modernisation, in the face of globalisation, and because of local empowerment, programmatic changes in ELT policy and practice are already affecting pedagogical practices in many circles (Canagarajah 2008). Among these changes, the CLT approach is the most common practice that has similarity to the global spread of the English language (Luk 2008). Both English and CLT originate from the West, where CLT nomenclature is a part of the dream of a better world for students (English learners) around the world. “Terms like [the]‘communicative approach’, ‘learner-centredness’, and ‘group work’ have long become for many non-native teachers and learners[,] synonymous with progress, modernization, and access to wealth” (Kramsch & Sullivan 1996:200). This has been the primary argument to revere CLT methods “as [the] ideal model in places outside its origin” (Luk 2008:247) particularly in the far Eastern part of the world, where English is learnt as a second language (ESL), as a foreign language (EFL), or as an international language (EIL). Methods and experts from the British-Australia-North American group (BANA group, in Holliday's 1994 term) are often accepted with little attention to non-BANA counties and their local contexts (Chowdhury & Ha 2008:307) which consequently results in “impractical or ineffective” English teaching in Non-BANA countries. Before going any further in this discussion, it is now imperative to talk about the origin and development of language teaching and the spread of CLT.

2.5. HISTORY OF LANGUAGE TEACHING

Foreign language learning has always been a practical concern throughout the history (Finocchiaro & Brumfit 1983, Richard & Rodgers 2001). In place of today's most widely studied language, English, five hundred years ago it was Latin that was dominant in education, commerce, religion, and government in the Western world. Other European languages like French, English, and Italian started to get importance in the sixteenth century due to political changes, and Latin was gradually displaced in spoken and written communication. The study of classical Latin and an analysis of its grammar and rhetoric were the model for foreign language learning from seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries (Finocchiaro & Brumfit 1983, Richard & Rodgers 2001). Children entering grammar schools during these centuries in England were given a rigorous introduction to Latin grammar, its rules, translation, declensions, and conjugations (Finocchiaro & Brumfit 1983, Richard & Rodgers 2001). A typical textbook in the nineteenth century consisted of lessons focusing on each grammatical point, rules on their use, and explanations with illustrations and examples. This approach to language teaching was known as the GT Method, or classical or traditional method since it was first used for teaching classical languages (Larsen-Freeman 2000).

Certain characteristics of the GT method are worth mentioning here, as it is still in use in modified forms in various parts of the world today (Larsen-Freeman 2000, Richard & Rodgers 2001).

1. Reading and writing are the major focus of the GT method, as reading literature is its primary goal.
2. Language is learnt through detailed analysis of grammatical rules, their application followed by translating sentences and texts both into and out of the target language. The use of first or learners' native language is thus retained and maintained for reference purpose.
3. The medium of instruction is the learners' native language.
4. Vocabulary selection is done depending only on the reading texts, their meanings are provided by using bilingual dictionaries and it is recommended that students memorise them.
5. Grammar is taught deductively i.e. by first presenting grammatical rules, followed by practice through translation exercises.
6. Accuracy is highly emphasised in all of these learning activities, where students were expected to have high standards.

These are still the characteristics of the GT method, which dominated European and foreign language teaching from the 1840s to the 1940s. However, this method has since been criticised as, simply by memorising grammar rules and vocabulary,

learners could only become competent structurally, and not communicatively (McDonough & Shaw 2003). Besides, the GT method created a serious lack of practice in spoken skill (Finocchiaro & Brumfit 1983), which became essential due to increased communication opportunities in the European Common Market (Richard & Rodgers 2001, McDonough & Shaw 2003). Public education systems were apparently seen as failing to produce such skills among learners. Though initially some phrase books and conversation books were produced for private use, several language-learning specialists were also attentive to how modern languages were taught in secondary schools. Several of these specialists in Germany, England, France, and other parts of Europe developed their own specific methods for reforming language teaching.

Frenchman C. Marcel (1793-1896) referred to children's language as a model for adult language learning, where the importance of meaning is given the most emphasis. Englishman T. Prendergast (1806-1886) was one of the first observers and recorders of child language behaviour, which takes place according to "contextual and situational cues to interpret utterances" (Richard & Rodgers 2001:7). He also noticed that children use memorised patterns, phrases, and routines in their speech. Considering his observation, he for the first time proposed the "structural syllabus" and supported the view that learners should be taught the most basic structures and patterns of the target language. His structural syllabus was in fact anticipating Situational Language Teaching (SLT). Language teaching methods like SLT and Total Physical Response (TRP) were also developed from Frenchman F. Gouin's (1831-1896) observations of children's language use. His method used language activities in different situations and on themes that consisted of a sequence of related actions. These related actions were organised and presented in oral language, with an emphasis on the fact that new teaching items should be presented "in a context that makes their meaning clear, and the use of gestures and actions to convey the meanings of utterances" (Richard & Rodgers 2001:8).

According to Richard & Rodgers (2001), the years from the 1950s to the 1980s were the most active period for the development of approaches and methods for language teaching and learning. The audio-lingual and SLT methods were developed in the 1950s and 1960s. Both of these methods were later superseded by the communicative approach. Other language teaching methods developed at this time were also attractive but only to a limited extent. Among them are the methods like the Silent Way, the Natural Approach, the direct method and TRP. In 1990s, Content-Based Instruction and Task-Based Instruction were also developed (with many other approaches and methods like Competency-Based Instruction, Cooperative Learning, Whole Language Approaches, Multiple Intelligences, suggestopedia, Counselling-Learning, and Lexical Approaches). However, by the 1990s, many language teaching specialists had left their beliefs that problems in language learning and teaching can be solved by developing new teaching methods. Many language teaching specialists and language teachers have now moved away

from following only one method; instead they use a careful combination of various teaching techniques and activities from different methods and blend them with their own teaching philosophy. This is known as the “principled eclecticism” to language teaching (Larsen-Freeman, 2000).

2.5.1. THE ORIGIN OF CLT

The origin of CLT can be traced back to the late 1960s when teaching methods based on the mastery of language structures were seriously questioned on the both sides of the Atlantic. In fact, CLT was developed as a response to previous structure-based methods (Savinton 1987; Littlewood 1981; Richard & Rodgers 2001). The SLT was the major British approach to language teaching immediately preceding the CLT method, whereas the audio-lingual method was mostly followed in the USA. Both the SLT and audio-lingual methods focused on drilling specific language structures depending on various situations and human behaviours. However, linguistic behaviour and human situations cannot be always predicted, as Chomsky (1957) pointed out, since the fundamental characteristic of language is creativity and uniqueness in individual utterances. British linguists, on the other hand pointed out that the functional and communicative goals of language teaching could not be met by structures-based language teaching (Larsen-Freeman 2000). Language teaching focusing on communicative needs was felt to be more appropriate than mastering language structures. Richard & Rodgers (2001) mention linguists Christopher Candlin and Henry Widdowson who advocated this view based on British functional linguists (such as Firth and Halliday) and Americans who worked on sociolinguistics (such as Dell Hymes, John Gumperz, and William Labov). Moreover, there was now an increased need in the learning of major European languages for the interdependence of European countries. The Council of Europe also realised this problem, which heightened the existing need for alternative methods of language teaching.

In 1971, a group of linguists started working on the possibility of teaching language courses on a unit/credit system, where each of the interrelated units was presented in portions. The group also studied the preliminary document prepared by the British linguist D. A. Wilkins who provided the functional or communicative definition of language, which served as the basis for developing a communicative syllabus for language teaching (Richard & Rodgers 2001). In his proposal, he made an analysis of two types of communicative meanings which learners needed to understand while learning a language. These are meanings within notional categories (i.e. concepts of time, sequence, quantity, location, frequency), and within categories of communicative function (requests, denials, offer, and complaints). This 1972 document was revised, developed, and expanded into the publication *Notional Syllabuses* (1976), which paved the way for the foundation of communicative language teaching. Wilkins' syllabus was incorporated into a set of principles for the first time in a syllabus by the Council of Europe. This CLT

expanded significantly from the mid-1970s (Richard & Rodgers, 2001) and was now regarded as an approach (instead of simply being a method) both by American and British linguists.

According to Savington (2002), CLT is derived from a multidisciplinary background, including linguistics, psychology, philosophy, sociology, and educational research. CLT has a focus on elaborating and implementing programmes and methodologies in order to promote functional language ability through learners' participation in communicative events. For other CLT experts, CLT refers to learning through pair and group work in problem-solving tasks. From a general point of view, the communicative approach aims at achieving communicative competence as a teaching goal, and develops procedures for teaching four language skills. The comprehensiveness of this approach makes it completely different from any other language teaching approach. However, Richard & Rodgers (2001) acknowledge that there is not a single authoritative or universally-accepted teaching model in communicative language teaching. For some people, CLT is little more than teaching grammar with the addition of functional teaching. As Littlewood (1981: viii) says systematic attention to both the functional view and traditional structural view can be combined "in order to achieve a more communicative perspective".

Some CLT experts (Howatt 1984, Richard & Rodgers 2001, Wesche & Skehan 2002, Littlewood 2011) have discussed weak and strong versions of CLT, where the distinction between them is made by pointing out that the weak version emphasises providing learners with opportunities for using English for communicative purposes and thus attempting to integrate such activities with the wider language-teaching programme. The strong version of CLT emphasises not only activating the inert knowledge of the language system to acquire the target language, but also at stimulating the development of the language system itself. According to Howatt (1984:279), "if the former could be described as learning to use' English, the later entails 'using English to learn it'".

Inside a teaching approach:

Now attention will be turned to the content of CLT and what is meant by it in relation to approach, method and technique. In fact, these theoretical terminologies help in understanding a language teaching theory or approach. Citing Anthony's (1963), original model, Richards and Rodgers (2001) quote the following about approach, method, and techniques:

The arrangement is hierarchical. The organisational key is that techniques carry out a method which is consistent with an approach.

...An approach is a set of correlative assumptions dealing with the nature of language teaching and learning. An approach is axiomatic. It describes the nature of the subject matter to be taught...

...Method is an overall plan for the orderly presentation of language material, no part of which contradicts and all of which is based upon, the selected approach. An approach is axiomatic, a method is procedural.

Within one approach, there can be many methods...

...A technique is implementational- that which actually takes place in a classroom. It is a particular trick, stratagem, or contrivance used to accomplish an immediate objective. Techniques must be consistent with a method, and therefore in harmony with an approach as well.

(Anthony 1963: 63-67, Cited in Richards & Rodgers 2001:19)

In this model, approach specifies the assumptions and beliefs about language and language learning, while method puts theory into practice by making specific selections of the particular skills and materials to be taught, and the order in which the materials will be presented, and techniques is the whole description of classroom procedure. Richards and Rodgers (2001) comment on Anthony's model as having the advantages of simplicity and comprehensiveness. However, it has some limitations, as it does not specify the nature of method itself, for example, and it does not specify teachers' roles, learners' roles, the role of learning materials, etc. It does not show either how an approach may be best realised in method, or how method and techniques are related to each other. For this reason, Richards and Rodgers (2011) have modified and added those points into Anthony's model for describing and comparing various language-teaching theories. In this modified model, approach and method are treated at the level of design, where objective, syllabus, content, the roles of teachers, learners, and learning materials are specified. They preferred the more comprehensive term 'procedure' instead of technique. In this way, "a method is theoretically related to an approach, is organisationally determined by a design, and is practically realised in procedure" (Richards & Rodgers 2001:20). Their model is given below:

Method



Approach	Design	Procedure
<p>a. A theory of the nature of language -an account of the nature of the language proficiency -an account of the basic units of language structure</p>	<p>a. The general and specific objectives of the method b. A syllabus model -criteria for the selection and organisation of linguistic and/or subject matter content c. Types of learning and teaching activities -kinds of tasks and practice activities to be employed in the</p>	<p>a. Classroom techniques, practices, and behaviours observed when the method is used -resource in terms of time, space, and equipment used by the teacher -interactional patterns observed in lessons -tactics and strategies used by teachers and</p>
<p>b. A theory of the nature of language learning -an account of the psycholinguistic and</p>		

<p>cognitive processes involved in language learning</p> <p>-an account of the conditions that allow for successful use of these processes.</p>	<p>classroom and in materials</p> <p><i>d. Learner roles</i></p> <p>-types of learning tasks set for learners</p> <p>-degree of control learners have over the content of learning</p> <p>-patterns of learner groupings that are recommended or implied</p> <p>-degree to which learners influence the learning of others</p> <p>-the view of the learner as a processor, performer, initiator, problem solver, etc.</p> <p><i>e. Teacher roles</i></p> <p>-types of functions teachers fulfil</p> <p>-degree of teacher influence over learning</p> <p>-degree to which the teacher determines the content of learning</p> <p>-types of interaction between teachers and learners</p> <p><i>f. The role of instructional materials</i></p> <p>-primary function of materials</p> <p>-the form materials take (e.g., textbook, audiovisual)</p> <p>-relation of materials to other input</p> <p>-assumptions made about teachers and learners</p>	<p>learners when the method is being used.</p>
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Table 3: A model developed by Richards & Rodgers (2001) describing elements and sub-elements of teaching methods

Following the above model, it may now be seen what the specific characteristics of the CLT method are. As has been mentioned before, there is no single authoritative term for the CLT method. Research on CLT suggests that there are many different specifications of the approaches, designs, and procedures of the CLT method. Littlewood (2011) rightly says that different elements have been focused on by different people in characterising CLT. It has been mentioned by Harmer (2007) that CLT is a generalised ‘umbrella’ term that focuses on learning sequences, which aim at improving students’ abilities to communicate.

2.5.2. THE CLT APPROACHES

As mentioned in the model above, the approach of a language-teaching method specifies the nature of language and the nature of language learning. The communicative approach to language teaching aims at developing ‘communicative competence’ (of Hymes' view, 1972), which tells what “a speaker needs to know in order to be communicatively competent in a speech community” (Richards & Rodgers 2001). Within this view of communicative competence, a learner needs to have both knowledge and ability for language use with respect to:

1. *whether (and to what degree) something is formally possible*
2. *whether (and to what degree) something is feasible in virtue of the means of implementation available*
3. *whether (and to what degree) something is appropriate (adequate, happy, successful) in relation to a context in which it is used and evaluated*
4. *whether (and to what degree) something is in fact done, actually performed, and what its doing entails*

(Hymes 1972:281)

Halliday's (1975) functional account of language use is also very influential in CLT. His description of the seven basic functions of language for children's first language use has helped in shaping CLT activities. These functions are as follows:

1. *the instrumental function: using language to get things*
2. *the regulatory function: using language to control the behaviours of others*
3. *the interactional function: using language to create interaction with others*
4. *the personal function: using language to express personal feelings and meanings*
5. *the heuristic function: using language to learn and to discover*
6. *the imaginative function: using language to create a world of the imagination*
7. *the representational function: using language to communicate information*

(Halliday 1975:11-17)

An important account, consisting of four dimensions, by Canale and Swain (1980) has been frequently cited and used in describing communicative competence in CLT (Richards & Rodgers 2001, Littlewood 2011). These are grammatical competence, sociolinguistic competence, discourse competence and strategic competence.

Grammatical competence consists of knowledge of vocabulary, grammar, semantics, phonology and other traditional foci of second language learning. This competence is similar to what Chomsky refers to as ‘linguistic competence’ and Hymes refers to as ‘formally possible’.

Sociolinguistic competence consists of an understanding of the social and contextual knowledge in which communication takes place, for example the role relationships of different participants, shared information and new information in the interaction, and the communicative purpose for the interaction (Richards & Rodgers 2001). In a word, sociolinguistic competence refers to the knowledge of the appropriate use of language in various social situations (Littlewood 2011).

Discourse competence consists of interpreting individual message elements from a continuous discourse, for example “by linking ideas in written contexts, by maintaining longer spoken turns, participating in interaction, opening conversations and closing them” (Littlewood 2011:546).

Strategic competence is an ability to cope with strategies that participants apply “to initiate, terminate, maintain, repair and redirect communication” (Richards & Rodgers 2001:160).

Littlewood (2011) has added one more dimension to communicative competence, which is socio-cultural competence. This refers to an “awareness of the cultural knowledge and assumptions that affect the exchange of meanings and may lead to misunderstandings in intercultural communication” (Littlewood 2011:546). Thus, the original model of communicative competence by Hymes (1972) was developed by Canale and Swain (1980).

Some prominent characteristics of language theory viewed within CLT have been mentioned by Richards & Rodgers (2001:161):

1. *Language is a system for the expression of meanings.*
2. *The primary function of language is to allow interaction and communication.*
3. *The structure of language reflects its functional and communicative uses.*
4. *The primary units of language are not merely its grammatical and structural features, but categories of functional and communicative meaning as exemplified in discourse.*

The theory of learning within CLT is not discussed as much as it has been for communicative competence. Richards & Rodgers (2001) mentions several elements that could be considered part of learning theory. The first of such elements is the communication principle, where activities involving real communication promote learning. A second element is the task principle, where activities use the target language to carry out meaningful tasks to promote learning. A third element is the meaningfulness principle, where language that is meaningful to learners promotes learning. Taking these three elements together, it may be said that learning activities should be selected “according to how well they engage the learner in meaningful and authentic language use (rather than merely mechanical practice of language patterns)” (Richards & Rodgers 2001:161).

2.5.3. DESIGN OF CLT

Objectives in CLT:

Some general objectives of CLT are applicable to all teaching situations. Some of these general objectives, mentioned by Piepho (1981), are:

1. *integrative and content level (language as a means of expressions),*
2. *linguistic and instrumental level (language as a semiotic system and an object of learning),*
3. *an affective level of interpersonal relationships and conduct (language as a means of expressing values and judgments about oneself and others),*
4. *a level of individual learning needs (remedial learning based on error analysis),*
5. *a general educational level of extra-linguistic goals (language learning within school curriculum).*

(Piepho, 1981:8)

Beside these general objectives, particular objectives for learning a language through the CLT method are made according to particular needs of learners. Particular objectives may concern skill types such as reading, writing, speaking, and listening within the frame of the communicative approach. While setting the particular objectives in a curriculum or language course, special attention is paid to learners' proficiency levels and communicative needs (Richards & Rodgers 2001:162).

The syllabus:

There has been extensive discussion on syllabus theory and syllabus models in the communicative approach. Although Wilkin's *Notional Syllabus* was credited for setting out the fundamental considerations for CLT (McDonough & Shaw 2003:17), it was criticised for lacking a systematic procedure for implementing it inside the classroom. Nunan (1988:37) emphasised that the grading of items (simple sentence structures before complex clausal structures) needed to be considered, "beyond linguistic notions of simplicity and difficulty". Nunan (1988) also added

that some forms of needs analysis are necessary. According to many British linguists, including Widdoson (Richards & Rodgers 2001:163), it only listed some notions and functions for replacing the list of grammatical items of previous methods. Nunan (1988:37) referred to Widdoson (1979) who criticised dividing language into units as misrepresenting the nature of language in communication. As such, several models and proposals were developed for a communicative syllabus. Richards and Rodgers (2011) have summarised Yalden's (1983), which are as follows:

<i>Type</i>	<i>Reference</i>
1. <i>structures plus function</i>	Wilkins (1976)
2. <i>functional spiral around a structural core</i>	Brumfit (1980)
3. <i>structural, functional, instrumental</i>	Allen (1980)
4. <i>functional</i>	Jupp and Hodlin (1975)
5. <i>notional</i>	Wilkins (1976)
6. <i>interactional</i>	Widdowson (1978)
7. <i>task-based</i>	Prabhu (1983)
8. <i>learner-generated</i>	Candlin (1976)

(Richards & Rodgers 2001:164)

A continuing debate on abolishing the syllabus concept has taken place. Some are in favour of removing the syllabus concept, “arguing that only learners can be fully aware of their own needs, communicational resources, and desired learning pace and path, and that each learner must create a personal, albeit implicit, syllabus as part of learning” (Richards & Rodgers 2001:164). Many others in fact are in favour of Brumfit's syllabus (1980) which consists of grammatical items focusing on notions and functions with grouped communicational activities.

Types of learning and teaching activities:

There are numerous activities compatible with communicative language teaching. Such activities emphasise that learners engage in communication and attain communicative competence. All such classroom activities necessitate the communicative processes of sharing information, negotiating meaning, and interacting in pairs or groups. Littlewoods's (1981) distinctions of ‘functional communicative activities’ and ‘social-interaction activities’ have been useful in categorising communicative teaching and learning activities. Functional communicative activities include sets of pictures for comparing and sequencing events, discovering missing information and completing it in a map or picture, following instructions to draw a map, following directions, and solving problems from given clues. Among various social-interaction activities are conversation and discussion sessions, role-plays, dialogues, debates, simulations, and improvisation etc. According to Nunan (1989), most learning tasks have three components i.e. goals, inputs and activities, which imply certain roles in designing communicative activities. He has emphasised the importance of learners’ roles, teachers’ roles and

the setting including the social community, and the need for feedback. Considering all these components together, he made a diagrammatic representation of task, along with its constellation:

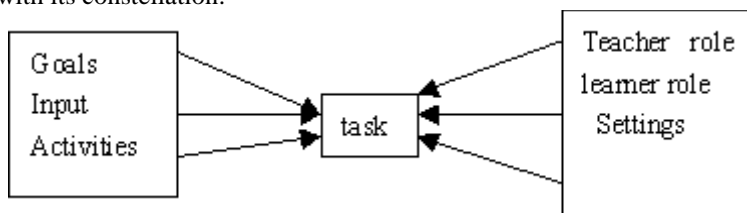


Figure1: A framework for analysing communicative tasks (Nunan 1989:48)

Learners' roles:

The goals and objectives of CLT, i.e. the emphasis on communicative competence and the processes of communication, make the learner's role in CLT completely different from the traditional role of a learner. According to Breen and Candlin (1980), the main role of a learner in CLT is that of a negotiator where s/he is continuously negotiating between her/himself, the learning processes, and the object of learning. S/he has to play various roles in joint negotiations within group and classroom activities and procedures, where s/he has to contribute as soon as s/he has learnt something. Here, learners need to remember that failure in communication is not due to individual faults; rather it is due to joint responsibility. Similarly, successful communication is also a joint product of the successful completion of communication (Richards & Rodgers 2001). Drawing upon the metaphor of 'play' and 'player' Dubin and Olshtain (1986) explain learners' and teachers' roles in a communicative classroom. Similar to a play, teachers have to observe what learners are doing, and similar to players, children have to participate actively in various activities as individuals, in pairs, or in small or large groups.

Teachers' roles:

According to Breen and Candlin (1980), a teacher has three main roles in the communicative classroom. The first one is that of a facilitator, where the teacher helps the smooth flow of conversation and interactions among various groups in the classroom. The second role is that of independent participant, where s/he participates in on-going conversations with each group in the classroom. The third role is that of researcher and learner, where s/he is expected to contribute to knowledge and ability formation from her/his observed experience. Besides, teachers may also play the role of need analysts, counsellors and group process managers in order to make the best use of CLT. As need analysts, teachers' roles are to identify learners' need, their goal for language learning and their present linguistic capacity. Teachers can identify these issues through one-to-one discussions with learners or through diagnostic tests, and then doing an assessment. Then they can plan their teaching and individual classroom activities accordingly. As a counsellor, a teacher exemplifies how to express oneself as a communicator

and how to interpret as hearer “through the use of paraphrase, confirmation and feedback” (Richards & Rodgers 2001:168). As a group process manager, a teachers’ role is to monitor learners’ activities, and find out their weaknesses (Littlewood 1981, Finocchiaro & Brumphit 1983) in grammar, lexis, and strategy. Teachers make their class less controlled by allowing students to perform in pairs or groups, and only later in the feedback session point out their weaknesses, help them in self-correction, and illustrate with examples where necessary (Richards & Rodgers 2001).

Role of instruction materials:

Teaching materials in the CLT approach are viewed as significantly important for “influencing the quality of classroom interaction and language use” (Richards & Rodgers 2001:168), and thus promoting communicative language use. Three kinds of materials have been identified by Richards & Rodgers (2001), which are text-based, task-based and realia. Text-based materials are numerous, and include various textbooks mostly to guide and direct communicative activities in the classroom. Much of the contents of such books are arranged, sequenced, and graded around language practices almost in a similar fashion to the structural syllabus. Some types of textbooks are prepared completely differently from the traditional or structural syllabus. In these cases, each of a pair of students has a different type of information, and students have to share them in a pair work through different role-plays. Task-based materials include various activities using games, role-plays, and simulations, all of which help in conducting communicative classes more effectively. Many of these materials are in the form of exercise handbooks, cue cards, activity cards, practice materials for pair work, and practice booklets. In other cases, there are also drills and dialogues in the interactional pattern of pair work. Realia is the use of real life, authentic material inside the classroom. Magazines, journals, newspapers, and advertisements are some of the language-based realia, whereas maps, charts, graphs, symbols, and pictures are graphic and visually-based realia. Both of these kinds of realia can be utilised for making meaningful interactions while implementing CLT.

Procedures:

How to implement CLT in an actual classroom “remains central to the discussion of the Communicative Approach” (Richards and Rodgers 2001:170). According to Richards and Rodgers (2001), a general description of the overall procedure for conducting a communicative class is not feasible, due to a variety of classroom activities, exercise types, etc. They mention that, though Savington (1983) has attempted to point out certain management procedure, for communicative classroom activities (role-plays, language games, group work etc.), these management techniques are not ‘exclusive’ to the communicative approach. Savington (1972, 1983) does not like the idea of isolating individual language skills (pronunciation, grammar, or vocabulary) from and before actually applying them in communication. In fact, this isolation is done in a communicative procedure

proposed by Littlewood (1981) who distinguishes pre-communicative activities from communicative activities. This distinction is made based on the “varying degree to which the different activities encourage learners to focus on (a) linguistic forms to be practiced, or (b) meanings to be conveyed” (Littlewood 1981:88). He summarises this procedural distinction of implementing CLT in the following way:

Pre-communicative activities: Since successful communication depends on establishing proper links between form and meaning, it is very imperative that learners get control over linguistic forms and grammatical structures with fluency. With these pre-communicative activities, teachers prepare and train learners with part-skills or isolated skills for communication, and they then practise them separately. This allows learners the capacity to produce acceptable language while communicating. Thus, these activities get learners ready with the essential skills and knowledge for actual communication at the next stage. These activities are of two subcategories: ‘structural activities’ (practicing pattern drills, sentence patterns etc.) and ‘quasi-communicative activities’ (practicing both communicative and structural tasks).

Communicative activities: Here learners engage themselves in communication using their skills and the knowledge learnt in pre-communicative activities. Depending on what is stressed in communication, these activities can also be divided into two subcategories. If the focus is on performing a task as best as one can with whatever skills one has, these tasks are called ‘functional communicative activities’. How perfectly a task is completed is the focus here. However, sometimes learners are also required to pay attention to social contexts where they need to go beyond simply performing tasks. These activities are called social-interaction activities. Littlewood presents this methodological framework in the following way:

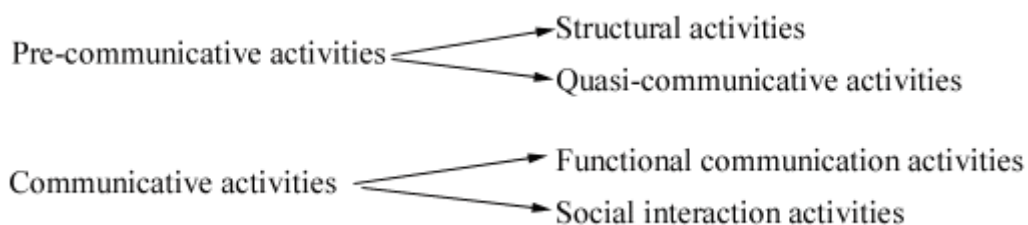


Figure2 : Framework for Communicative activities (Littlewood 1981:80)

It may be noted that pre-communicative activities are non-communicative in nature, in contrast to authentic communicative activities. These distinctions are quite similar to the analytic and experiential dimensions (of the communicative continuum) of learning in CLT developed by Littlewood (2004, 2011) in his later writings. These dimensions are summarised and presented in (Table 4) in a gradual manner where traditional teachers can slowly expand, develop, and convert their

controlled/grammar/traditional/analytic teaching into less-controlled/meaning-based/ communicative/experiential teaching. In this way, Littlewood (2011) believes that teachers (within the traditional practice) can develop and still “retain their sense of security and values in what they have done before” (Littlewood 2011:549).

Analytic Strategies		←→		Experiential Strategies	
Non-communicative learning	Pre-communicative practice	Communicative language practice	Structured communication	Authentic communication	
Focusing on the structures of language, how they are formed and what they mean, e.g. substitution exercises, inductive 'discovery' and awareness-raising activities	Practising language with some attention to meaning but not communicating new messages to others, e.g. describing visuals or situational language practice ('questions and answers')	Practising pre-taught language but in a context where it communicates new information, e.g. information gap activities or 'personalised' questions	Using language to communicate in situations which elicit pre-learned language but with some unpredictability, e.g. structured role-play and simple problem-solving	Using language to communicate in situations where the meanings are unpredictable, e.g. creative role-play, more complex problem-solving and discussion	
Focus on forms and meanings		←→		Focus on meanings and messages	

Table 4 : The communicative continuum as a basis for CLT (Littlewood 2011:550)

Littlewood (2011:549) summarises some specific features of classroom methodology drawn from several articles. He mentions those features as the following:

1. *message focus, including information sharing and information transfer*
2. *cooperative learning, including pair or group work*
3. *free practise*
4. *risk taking*
5. *communicative tasks as the basic organising unit*
6. *the substantive content, including school subject matter in the target language*
7. *psycholinguistic processing*
8. *attention to the appropriateness of language use*
9. *opportunities for learners to focus on the learning process*

To sum up the discussion on CLT methodology, it may be said that CLT has brought and developed changes, though quite diversified, from previous teaching methodologies in each area of approach, design, and procedure of a method. As has been already mentioned, CLT is now-a-days taking place in a wider variety of instructional settings, where classroom methodologies might also differ according to particular needs. However, three common CLT principles have been identified by Wesche and Skehan (2002) as essential to describing a classroom as communicative. These are as follows:

1. *Activities that require frequent interaction among learners or with other interlocutors to exchange information and solve problems*
2. *Use of authentic (non-pedagogic) texts and communication activities linked to "real world" contexts, often emphasising links across written and spoken modes and channels*
3. *Approaches that are learner centred in that they take into account learners' backgrounds, language needs, and goals and generally allow learners some creativity and role in instructional decisions.*

(Wesche & Skehan 2002:208)

2.5.4. EXPERIENCING CLT AROUND THE WORLD

CLT has been widely accepted by applied linguists and teachers around the world (Bax 2003, Thompson 1996) particularly in East Asian countries (Littlewood 2011), mostly because English and ESL are associated with the spread of globalisation (Tollefson 1991, 2011) and are thus instrumentally helpful for social upward mobility. CLT methods are seen “as having embraced the principles of success” (Luk 2008:247), since they are “synonymous with progress, modernisation, and access to wealth” (Kramsch and Sullivan 1996:200). Bax (2003) rather points out theoretical and historical reasons (already mentioned by Mitchell, 1994) for the widespread popularity of CLT, and that is because it “function[s] as a corrective for the perceived shortcomings with other approaches and methods, such as Grammar-Translation and the Direct Method” (Bax 2003:278).

CLT attitudes, misconceptions, and misunderstandings:

Bax (2003) is in fact very robust in finding out several mistakenly-ascribed features of CLT which he terms as the “CLT attitude”. These CLT attitudes are, according to him, a “direct by-product of a mistaken emphasis in the profession” (2003:279) by many teachers, trainers, and material writers- including native speakers- who operate these CLT attitudes. These CLT attitudes might also have led to the world-wide acceptance of CLT without considering its local appropriateness. Bax's CLT attitudes are as follows:

1. *Assume and insist that CLT is the whole and complete solution to language learning.*

2. *Assume that no other method could be any good.*
3. *Ignore people's own views of who they are and what they want.*
4. *Neglect and ignore all aspects of the local context as being irrelevant.*

Bax 2003:280

Similar to these widely held mistaken beliefs of CLT attitudes, there are some serious misconceptions about CLT practices (McDonough & Shaw 2003, Thompson 1996, Littlewood 1983, Wu 2008). Both Thompson (1996) and Wu (2008) have identified four major misconceptions in their respective writing.

In Thompson's (1996) view, the most “persistent and damaging misconception” is that “CLT means not teaching grammar” and where the structural part of language learning is “peripheral” (Littlewood 1983:2). He argues that there are good reasons for the existence of such misconceptions, since many applied linguists and textbooks (i.e. *Functions of English*) have suggested avoiding explicit grammar teaching. However, Thomson continues, explicit grammar teaching was never viewed as an opposing factor in CLT. Rather, a sound knowledge in grammar has always been emphasised for successful, natural, and effective communication. Of course, the question of how grammar is taught remains. Here, Thompson (1996:11) opines that explicit discussions on grammar should take place where learners will discover it from that discussion with the guidance of teacher instead of where the teacher covers the grammatical items. Thus, learners' understanding of grammar is emphasised through active discussions and discovery.

The second most common misconception is that “CLT means teaching spoken skill” which has arisen mainly because spoken ability is mostly emphasised by students in their communicative learning (McDonough & Shaw 2003:25). The other reason given by Thompson (1996) is that the nature of pair work to talk with partners and the emphasis on reducing teachers' talking time and increasing students' talking time might have produced such a misconception. Thompson refutes this misconception by arguing that communication takes place not only through spoken skills, but also by writing, reading, and listening to what others say. Two other misconceptions mentioned by Thompson are “CLT means pair work which means role-play (1996:12)” and “CLT means expecting too much from teachers(1996:13)”. These latter two misconceptions have a sense of validity, since there are many alternative uses of pair work, and teachers need to have better proficiencies in the target language.

Wu (2008) discussed four major misunderstandings of CLT in the context of China, which are CLT means exclusive focus on meaning, CLT means no explicit corrections of learner error, CLT means listening and speaking practice, CLT means avoidance of learners' first language. For the first misunderstanding, Wu (2008) says that both form and meaning are balanced in a communicative class in China, though many others reject CLT due to their misunderstanding of the over

emphasis on meaning. For the second misunderstanding, Wu (2008) suggests that a reflective type of error correction and positive feedback are rather helpful for learners for proper communication. Thirdly, communication should be practised in as many contexts as possible and in written and reading form including speaking and listening. For the fourth misunderstanding, Wu (2008) suggests that learners' understanding or competence is the goal of CLT, and in that case, a rational use of the first language or learners' native languages should be encouraged. Although maximising target language is practised in CLT, this should not be at the cost of learners' understanding the concept.

2.5.5. CLT PARADIGM SHIFT

After these serious “mistakenly emphasised CLT attitudes” and those misconceptions and misunderstandings, it is now wise to look at the “CLT paradigm shift” (Jacobs and Farrel 2003). In the past forty years of the CLT paradigm shift, teaching practices have in fact shifted from the positivist paradigm to the post-positivist paradigm, from the tenets of behaviourist psychology and structural linguists to firstly cognitive psychology and later to socio-cognitive psychology, contextualised learning and meaning-based views of language and language learning. Key components of this shift have been discussed by Jacobs and Farrel (2003:8), seven of which can be mentioned as following:

1. *from teacher-centred instructions, to learner-centred instructions*
2. *from product-oriented instructions, to process-oriented instructions*
3. *from decontextualised individual learning to a more socially-oriented contextualised learning*
4. *a shift towards individual differences*
5. *from drills and other forms of rote learning, to meaning*
6. *from learning for exams, to learning as a lifelong process*
7. *helping students to understand the purpose of learning*

Jacobs and Farrel (2003) have also identified eight major changes associated with the CLT paradigm shift. These major changes are:

1. learner autonomy
2. the social nature of learning
3. curricular integration
4. a focus on meaning
5. diversity
6. thinking skills
7. alternative assessment
8. teachers as co-learners

This shift from the traditional teacher-centred approach to student-centred CLT pedagogy is termed a 'quantum leap' (by Chow and Mok-Cheung in 2004, cited by

Littlewood 2011:551) which expects certain changes in traditional teaching role of teachers in Chinese contexts. These expectations are quoted here from Littlewood (2011:551); teachers should:

1. *change their views about language teaching from a knowledge-based one to a competence-based one;*
2. *change their traditional role as knowledge transmitter to a multi-role educator;*
3. *develop new teaching skills;*
4. *change their ways of evaluating students;*
5. *develop the ability to adapt the textbooks;*
6. *use modern technology; and*
7. *improve their own language proficiency.*

In fact, these expectations can be made for all teachers who experience this CLT paradigm shift in the profession. Various opposing factors and challenges in fulfilling these expectations have been reported from different countries (for Taiwan see Chang 2011; for Oman, Mahrooki 2012; for Pakistan, Shamim 2008; for India Sriharee 2012; for Bangladesh, Salahuddin 2013, Haider & Chowdhury 2012; Hamid & Baldauf 2011). In order to fulfill these experiences, teachers have confronted several challenges, some of which are classroom management, avoidance of English by students especially in pair or group work, teacher's lack of confidence and proficiency in using English etc. Moreover, in contrast to expectations, official CLT policies have been rejected by teachers in many cases. Hu (2004) is cited by Littlewood (2011) who mentions that, in spite of the intensive top-down promotion of CLT, Chinese classroom practices have not fundamentally changed. In South Korea, teachers report that they implement the CLT policies according to government recommendations, although they actually teach in an examination-oriented fashion (Shim and Baik 2004, cited in Littlewood 2011). In Malaysia, classroom teaching practice is again based on the traditional 'chalk-and-talk drill method' after the 'initial euphoria' of implementing CLT concepts (Pandian 2004 as cited by Littlewood 2011). In Bangladesh, an array of problems, challenges and shortcomings have been experienced, all of which will be discussed in the CLT in Bangladesh chapter in the next section.

CHAPTER 3. LANGUAGE POLICY AND PLANNING BANGLADESH

3.1. BACKGROUND

3.1.1. INTRODUCTION

The history of language policy concerning English learning, particularly in post-independence Bangladesh, has experienced an inconsistent developmental progress. Immediately after independence from Pakistan in 1971, there was an initial decrease in using and learning English which has been followed by a recent over emphasis on learning it. Before going on to discussing this in detail, a historical overview of English language learning, particularly as policy implementation, is worth doing. This historical review concerns both pre- and post-independence language issues in relation to Bangla, since the role and importance of Bangla has been one of the determinant factors in shaping the fortune of English in Bangladesh.

3.1.2. PRE-INDEPENDENCE CONCERNS

Bangladesh is a Bangla language-dominated monolingual country (the language is spoken by 98% of the total population), which has a very sensitive history of the movement for language rights. In the formation of Bangladesh as an independent country, the language issue was one of the most vitally important political issues. Immediately after their release from the British colonialism in 1947, both India and Pakistan were reformulating their own national language planning and policy. English continued to be used in the Pakistani administration as well as in other domains, and served as the link language between West Pakistan and the then East-Pakistan (Bangladesh). In spite of the tremendous geographical distance of 1000 miles covered by the Indian Territory, East Pakistan could continue being a part of Pakistan for the religious reason of Islam (Hamid 2011). However, due to cultural and linguistic differences -among others- much discrimination was created in the political, economic, and administrative rights of the people in these two parts of Pakistan. People of the then-East Pakistan found themselves miserably deprived and less represented, even though East Pakistanis were, demographically, a majority group.

This sense of deprivation began to turn into a solid concept for the language movement when the then-Prime Minister of Pakistan declared, much in the European concept of *nationism* (i.e. ‘one state, one language’) that Urdu would be the only state language of Pakistan.

But let me make it clear to you that the State language of Pakistan is going to be Urdu and no other language. Anyone who tries to mislead you is really the enemy of Pakistan. Without one State language no Nation can remain tied up solidly together and function (Quoted in Hamid, 2011; 194).

Similar statements followed from other Pakistani rulers and leaders. The first fume of independence was set alight by this insistent declaration of imposing Urdu on the non-Urdu speaking Bangladeshi community. Though no question was raised about the role of English at this stage, Bangladeshis did not accept the imposition of Urdu (Banu 2005). As a result, the Bangladeshi people resisted this language imposition thoroughly, and decided to protest against this decision in a mass procession on 21 February 1952. The West Pakistan administration ordered police open fire on this procession killing four students from Dhaka University. Then the movement for Bangla as the state language spread around the whole nation, and continued until 1954 when finally Bangla was declared the state language for the East Pakistan. The twenty-first of February is, since then, observed as a day of national mourning and is called “Mother Language Day” in Bangladesh⁴.

The aftermath of this language movement was huge for the nation. According to Hamid (2011) this was a wake-up call for the nation from disillusionment. The nation could now realise that freedom from the British Empire had not brought any true independence for the people of the then-East Pakistan. At this stage, the language movement gave birth to Bangladeshi nationalism (Banu 2005) and the movement “for a separate national and political identity, which they finally achieved through a nine-month long war in 1971” (Hamid 194:2011). Banu (2005:39) comments Bangladesh as a “twice-liberated country”, once from British imperialism in 1947 and once from Pakistani domination in 1971.

3.1.3. POST-INDEPENDENCE SCENARIO

In post-independence Bangladesh, the second significant impact of the language movement became clearly visible in socio-political and nationally administered language affairs. The newly independent nation unequivocally declared Bangla the national language in its constitution (Banu & Sussex 2001). This single-minded national language policy has also affected the role and functions of English in Bangladesh (Rahman 1991, Zaman 2004). As the first expression of obedience to Bangladeshi nationalism, Bangladeshis appeared determined to eradicate Urdu from

⁴Acknowledging the importance of native or indigenous languages on education, on 16th November 1999, UNESCO has declared to the observation of the 21st of February as ‘International Mother Language Day’, starting from the year 2000.

every sphere in the post-independence Bangladesh. Quite surprisingly though, the use of English was also discouraged, and the widespread use of Bangla was ensured (Banu 2005).

Thus, English lost its second-language status and was replaced by Bangla in almost all ways of language usage, mostly as the medium of instruction at the academic level and as that of communication at the administrative level. However, arguments often hold that Bangla was, in fact, not yet ready to replace every function of English (Hamid 2011). For example, Bangla was not ready to be the medium of instruction for higher education, since most books were written in English, not all of which could be translated into Bangla within a short time. As a result, the presence of English was still dominant in higher education. The people of this newly independent state realised that learning English was less important than learning Bangla, which would serve all purposes. These incidents led to the drastic decline in national proficiency levels of English in the decades after independence in Bangladesh. This initial marginalisation of English (as will be clear from the following section) is commented upon by Hamid (2007, 5th Nitobe Symposium) as the critical factor for the nationwide severe deterioration in English proficiency. A chronological history of English in Bangladesh since its independence until more recent years follows in the section below.

3.1.4. HISTORY OF LANGUAGE PLANNING IN BANGLADESH

The history of English in post-independence Bangladesh concerns more the policy implementations than the actual policy formulation. As will be clear from various macro language policy documents in Bangladesh, i.e. constitutional acts, Education Commission reports, and the National Education policy, the problem has always been in the challenges of actual policy implementation by the appropriate authority. In post independence Bangladesh, the roles of the Bangla language became specified for the first time in the national constitution of the government of Bangladesh, 1972. All the fundamental status, roles, and functions of the Bangla language are specified in it. Article no. 3 of the constitution has declared Bangla the “official language” both for communication and for use as the medium of instruction in all state academic institutions (Rahman 2010). This constitution also replaced the previous status of English during Pakistani tenure (Hossain and Tollefson 2007). According to this constitution, Bangla represents Bengali nationalism, which is defined as “the unity and solidarity of the Bengali nation which deriving its identity from its language and culture, attained sovereign and independent Bangladesh through a united and determined struggle in the war of independence” (Government of Bangladesh, 1972, as cited by Rahman, 2010:346). Rahman (2010:347) goes on to comment, “Bangladesh has not had a language-in-education policy”. According to her, language-in-education policy in Bangladesh has been influenced by governments’ decisions on determining and reflecting the constitutional status of Bangla. She explains that there are in fact three groups of

policy makers concerned about the role of Bangla and English. One group supports that English, in spite of its colonial and historical legacy since the inception of British imperialism, should be the language of education because of its strong association with global communication, economic prosperity, and modern technology (Hossain & Tollefson, 2007). A second group advocates the use of Bangla as it is a “pedagogically sound alternative, offering [a] reasonable opportunity for all students to acquire subject-matter knowledge, as well as permitting instruction in English as a foreign language”(Hossain, 2004 quoted in Rahman 2010:347). Yet a third group mediates between advocating the need for English and the need for addressing the negative impact of its use in creating social inequalities. A lack of coordination among these three groups has never been made in any of the six National Education Commission reports (1974, 1987, 1997, 2000, 2002, and 2003) with the latest National Education Policy 2010.

However, the constitution specifies nothing about the status, function, or uses of English, nor does it recognise the roles English plays as a tool for better socio-economic conditions and as a tool for upward or outward social mobility. It may be mentioned here that, while this is still the constitutional situation regarding English, the importance of English both for historical and practical reasons was realised in the nation's first educational commission report in 1974. With a view to making an overview of the education systems in Bangladesh, an assessment of English (among other issues) was made (Rahman1988). Several recommendations were made about language teaching and the medium of instruction, a summary of which are as follows:

- *Bangla will be the medium of instruction at all levels of education, as it is readily understood by the pupils, and it helps them in developing original thinking and imagination.*
- *Bangla is the compulsory language up to class 12. For higher education, particularly in the fields of science and technology, professional and vocational (education based on practical occupation) must be written and translated from other languages into Bangla.*
- *The necessity of learning English is mentioned, but it should take place from Class 6. For historical reasons and for the sake of reality, English will continue as a second compulsory language.*

(Rahman, 2009:30)

In the following year (1975), the MoE felt it necessary to assess the English language-teaching situation by. In an assessment made by an English Language Teaching Taskforce in 1976, several shortcomings of ELT at primary and secondary levels were found. The most prominent of these were a lack of competence in English among teachers and two years lagging behind of their assumed proficiency level by students (A. Rahman, 1988:102; S. Rahman, 2009:32). The taskforce also found a serious lack of trained teachers at all levels of

education, particularly in non-government schools (50%) and colleges (approximately 100%). It came up with recommendations that

- *Compulsory English learning may start from either from Class 3 or from Class 4. If it starts from Class 3, training on English language teaching should also be compulsory at the Primary Teachers Training Institute.*
- *Short- and long-term teacher-training programme should be conducted for secondary school teachers in order to solve the problem of the lack of competent teachers.*
- *New textbooks according to the needs and capabilities of students should be prepared and introduced with a new graded syllabus.*
- *In order to discourage rote learning, SSC and HSC examination should be devised in order to test students' comprehension and written ability in meaningful contexts.*

(Rahman, 2009:32)

A series of changes and innovations took place, and workshops and curriculum reports were conducted in the following couple of years. In July 1976, a National Curriculum Committee (NCC), which initiated several new changes apparently according to the recommendations made by the Taskforce was set up, along with the required preparation of new syllabuses and textbooks that were written for all classes by modern experts of ELT practices. The second change that the NCC suggested was the provision for learners for starting to learn English from Class 3, as it argued that an earlier start would give students a better foundation (Rahman 2009:33). This second change became active from the year 1980. In order to gear up the process of curriculum development, an intensive workshop was held on Writing English Teaching Materials in the year 1978. Its purpose was to train teachers in this field. In 1982, a curriculum report particularly for secondary and higher secondary levels was prepared. In this same year, several changes were made and revised testing procedures were implemented. Two years later, in 1984, a workshop on materials preparation, methodology, and teacher training was held.

Thus far, all these initiatives to improve the declining proficiency level of English might have worked. However, the government's legislation of the Bangla Implementation Act (*Bangla Procholon Ain*) was passed in 1987 in the parliament, ensuring the use of Bangla at every stage of administration, which might have demotivated the zeal for English learning (Banu 2000, Banu & Sussex 2001). The Nationalists' approaches for Bangla promotion activities were actively implemented (Banu 2000:59) in each national domain; most academic institutions started using Bangla as the medium of instruction. Bangla texts were not yet ready, particularly at the tertiary level, and as such, Bangla and English were used simultaneously as media of instruction. Besides, most of the mass-media broadcasts were in Bangla. Thus this Act had a drastic adverse effect on the standard of English (Hamid &

Baldauf 2008,) resulting in inadequate “attention to the teaching of English... at lower levels” (Rahman 2009:26).

This macro-level public policy emphasis on Bangla, however, gave birth to the alternative approaches to learn and practice English in the micro-level private sectors, particularly by members of elite classes. The strong influence of English in the job market, particularly in banking, multinational companies, non-government and international organisations, and in international education was prominently visible. Besides English serves as a marker for social prestige, upward and outward social mobility. Realising this strong need for English and finding no better government initiatives, a huge number of expensive tuition fee paying private schools started to proliferate at this time, mostly in English medium, particularly in urban areas. From an apparent assumption⁵ that English is better taught by teachers and learnt by students in these English medium private schools, most well off families send their children there. The government's lack of policy instruction from the beginning of these English-medium institutions has informally approved and encouraged English businesses privately at various micro levels⁶. The public-private, rich-poor, and urban-rural dichotomy (which will be discussed later in this section) started to become a common practical picture and became informally institutionalised, in direct contrast to the constitutional goals of uniform education⁷ (17a) and of removing inequality⁸ (19₂) from social systems (Bangladesh Constitution).

Much in contrast to English-medium schools, the English-learning situation is in worse condition in state supported government and non-government schools⁹,

⁵ The quality of education, including the teaching and learning of English, still needs to be investigated (Hamid 2011).

⁶ There are innumerable private institutes offering various courses on learning English including IELTS, TOEFL, GRE, GMAT etc. throughout the country. These institutions cost different amounts of money for the courses' students.

⁷ *Section 2, Article 17(a) The State shall adopt effective measures for the purpose of – (a) establishing a uniform, mass oriented and universal system of education and extending free and compulsory education to all children to such stage as may be determined by law;*

⁸ *Section 2, Article 19(2) The State shall adopt effective measures to remove social and economic inequality between man and man and to ensure the equitable distribution of wealth among citizens, and of opportunities in order to attain a uniform level of economic development throughout the Republic.*

⁹ If non-government schools or their teachers have the Monthly Payment Order (MPO), then teachers get 90% of the amount of their total salary. These schools are still non-government, as they are not directly and completely administered or controlled by Ministry of Education, as is the case for government schools.

particularly in rural schools. This became clear in a 1990 survey conducted by NCTB, as part of the British Government Overseas Development Administration project for the development of ELT in Bangladesh. The significant findings from this survey are mentioned below:

- The proficiency level of the majority of students is not at a satisfactory level as per the requirement of the existing syllabus and textbooks.
- This situation is very serious in non-government rural schools, where more than 95% of students in Classes 6 and 7 are not attaining the expected standards of English proficiency. More than 70% of students in class 6 and 80% of students in class 8 have non-existent levels of English proficiency.
- However, these statistics are comparatively better in government schools, where 50% of students in Class 6 and 75% of students in Class 8 are lagging behind the supposed proficiency level.
- Eighty percent of trainee teachers in Teacher Training Colleges are found to be not proficient enough (scoring less than 75% in a class test) to teach English materials for Class 8, whereas they have to teach until Class 10. Most disappointingly, 25% of these trainee teachers scored less than the minimum requirement of the class test (50%).

based on S. Rhaman 2009:33)

The year 1990 was quite remarkable for the governments' understanding of the importance of learning English and for bringing about some drastic changes in this regard. In order to stop the declining standards of English, from 1991, the government decided to introduce English as a compulsory subject from Class 1 through its implementing bodies (i.e. National Curriculum and Textbook Board). This decision seems to have largely been influenced by a controversial ideology (or even fallacy) of 'early exposure, better learning' (Phillipson 1992). In spite of strong opposition from the Bangladesh English Language Teachers' Association (BELTA) and the English Association of Bangladesh (EAB), this decision is still being actively implemented in Bangladesh. Considering this decision as 'unfortunate', Yasmin (2005) explains that it has aggravated the already complicated English language-learning environment. She says:

There are many stereotype problems in existence in Bangladeshi ELT[,] such as large class size, insufficient class-hour[s], inadequate [opportunities]to use the English language in classroom situation[s] and [a] lack of trained teachers. [The i]ntroduction of English at an early stage has made the situation more complicated.

(Yasmin, 2005:50)

These complexities of early exposure (already from Class 1) to English in classroom have been vividly pictured by Sultana and Nahar (2008). In their investigation of the present English-learning conditions in primary schools, they considered fifty primary schools both from urban and rural areas from where 1000 students from Classes 1 to 5 participated. They found a deplorable picture for rural

students, who were weaker than urban ones. In both rural and urban cases, fewer than half of students got above a 50% mark in their English test. Among other reasons for these poor performances, Sultana and Nahar (2008) found the most prominent being teachers' qualifications. Teachers' own proficiency in English and their pedagogic knowledge was far below the required level for effectively teaching communicative English at primary level. They recommended that teachers' academic qualifications needed to be considered during teacher recruitment. Teachers' awareness of CLT usage teaching was also emphasised by these authors.

The late exposure (after Class 5) has been discussed among the intelligentsia in Bangladesh for quite a long time. A. Rahman (1988) has emphasised several benefits for a later introduction to English in school (not before Class 6). Among other benefits, she mentions that it would reduce the burden for teacher training by re-allocating resources for the early introduction to English in teacher training and material development to English teaching at the secondary level. From the budget, more teachers could be employed to reduce student-teacher ratios whereas students would still get 1000 hours of English instruction, which is sufficient for successful English learning.

Amidst this poor management of the English-learning environment, a further aggravating decision was taken in 1994 by the MoE. It decided to initiate an alternative English version of the secondary curriculum for students of Class 6 to 10. This, similarly, would be applied to higher secondary school students from the year 1997. It is hardly pragmatic decision for a vast majority of students in the country, who are struggling with successful English learning. The approval of English version of the curriculum is feasible and accessible for only a limited number of elite class people. Therefore, some elite educational institutions (Rahaman 2009) have started teaching 'National Curriculum in English Version'. Besides, NCTB started "an ambitious project of translating textbooks of all subjects into English at the secondary level" (S. Rahaman, 2009:33). It may be commented upon here that these resources could be used for teacher training or other activities for the democratisation of English language learning all over the country. This has certainly affected and nourished existing divisions in social class, which is a direct violation of both constitutional goals of the government, as mentioned in article number 17_a and 19₂ of Section 2 of the Bangladesh Constitution.

3.2. FROM GT TO CLT

What follows 1991 was the stage of communicative language teaching in Bangladesh. As already mentioned, English would be introduced from Class 1 from 1991. Additional policy changes were now discussed in two main projects conducted by the NCTB which is one of the main policy agents of the MoE of the government of Bangladesh (GOB).

1. The first one was OSSTTEB (Orientation to Secondary School Teachers for Teaching of English in Bangladesh) from 1990-1995 *"to modify the English curriculum and designing textbook and teacher training"* (NCTB 2003:3).
2. The second one is ELTIP (English Language Teaching Improvement Project) *"to improve the communicative competence among the learners of Secondary and Higher secondary education levels and to train the teachers on communicative language teaching"* (NCTB 2001:3)

The formal implementation of CLT through ELTIP ran from July 1997 to June 2000 (NCTB 2001:33). The main objective of this project was to strengthen "human resource efforts of GOB through teaching and learning of communicative English" (NCTB 2001:1). Thus the government aimed at the international education and labour markets through communicative English language teaching. The main argument for changing the teaching methodology from the traditional GT method to the CLT method was based on the ground that students remained very weak in English, even though they attend school for many years and they had less emphasis in their speaking and listening (NCTB 2003:4). As a consequence of this, the argument says, students were deprived of higher education or of obtaining good jobs. Several reasons behind this argument have been mentioned for students' failure. These are as follows:

1. *lack of overall foreign language policy,*
2. *unsuitable textbook for communicative language practice,*
3. *defective English language teaching methodology,*
4. *defective English language teacher-training system,*
5. *defective English language testing and evaluation system.*

NCTB 2001: 1 - 2

It is quite pertinent to raise the question of whether the qualifications of the teachers who are actually implementing CLT in the classroom was considered. There might be two implications if teachers' qualifications were; not considered, one being policy makers perhaps assumed all teachers from all schools (both highest pass rate and lowest pass rate) were of similar and higher qualifications, and, as such, a short-term training course would enable them to teach communicatively. The other being teachers were not considered able enough to give opinions or have influence in policy formulations or implementation. In both of these cases, absolute fallacies took place. This is particularly because every school in Bangladesh is different in its logistic support, infrastructure, economic conditions, teachers' qualifications and recruitment, and above all in the socio-economic conditions of its students. An in-depth consideration of these variations might have led policy makers to think of better comprehensive preparatory plans both for teachers and schools, before abruptly implementing CLT.

A comparative methodological study shows that the GT method requires a traditional way of teaching using native a language (Bangla) with less demand on knowledge and proficiency in spoken English. However, CLT requires teachers to have a sound spoken proficiency in the target language (English) with methodological knowledge in CLT techniques for conducting classroom activities. Considering the number of secondary schools in Bangladesh, a vast majority are either in suburban or rural areas where qualified English teachers are not ensured during recruitment. Many of these teachers do not have the minimum requirement of English courses of 300 marks in their own Bachelor's degrees. Those teachers, whether they get training or not, can understand or apply very little of CLT in their classroom. Since teachers throughout the country were neither informed about, nor prepared for, the forthcoming changes in teaching methods beforehand, they were not ready to implement it from the inception of CLT. Considering that only a few teachers had CLT training in selected schools does not mean that all schools were ready to apply this method. It appears that, before going through the methodological shift in the Bangladeshi ELT context, judicious attention to all-inclusive pedagogical preparation with teachers' awareness was not considered. With this later goal, several teacher-training projects have been conducted since the inception of CLT in Bangladesh, which are discussed now.

3.2.1. ENGLISH TEACHER-TRAINING PROJECTS

Teachers' Training Colleges (TTC) and Primary Training Institutes (PTI) are the only two teachers' training institutes in Bangladesh. These institutions train teachers generally, not particularly focusing on English. Besides, they cannot cover all teachers, due to serious limitations in resource allocation. Moreover, there is a significant lack of a governmental authoritative body or initiatives for English teachers' education and training (Hamid 2010:303) and, as such, Bangladesh has to rely substantially on various donor-aided projects for English teachers' training, particularly for capacity building to cope with methodological changes. English teachers' training programmes are conducted in projects in association with the MoE funded by both external and internal sources. There are five such projects so far, which are:

1. English Language Teaching Improvement Project (ELTIP),
2. English in Action (EiA),
3. English for Teaching and Teaching for English (ETTE),
4. Secondary Education Quality and Access Enhancement Project (SEQAEP),
5. Teaching Quality Improvement in Secondary Education Project (TQI-SEP).

It is worth mentioning here that all these projects have their own limitations, although they have been compensating for the inadequacies caused by the vast need

for nationwide capacity building for school teachers. What follows is an in-detail study of how some of these projects worked, in order to train teachers for implementing CLT.

3.2.1.1 ELTIP Bangladesh (1997-2012)

The ELTIP project was funded by DfID (Department of International Development) of the UK Government, which worked in association with the Bangladesh MoE. The ELTIP project was implemented in three phases by NCTB under the direct control, supervision, and maintenance of the MoE. One component of the project was the English Language Curriculum Development Unit (ELCDU) based at NCTB, which worked as a project implementation unit (NCTB 2001:11). Within the framework in Figure 3, ELTIP started its activities in December 1997 with a Project Director at NCTB, four Regional Resource Centres¹⁰ (RRCs) - situated in regional Teacher Training Colleges in Dhaka, Chittagong, Rajshahi and Khulna) and 12 satellite resource centres¹¹ (SRCs) -Mymensingh, Feni, Rangpur and Jessor and government girls' / boys' schools in Dhaka). Each RRC had two English Language Teacher-Trainers to prepare, revise, and update the training manuals both for training SRC trainers and for English teachers of secondary and higher secondary levels. Each of the satellite centres had three teacher-trainers to work in coordination with RRC trainers.

The ELTIP-Phase 1 was completed in June 2002 (revised, NCTB 2003:4).ELTIP specified several preconditions for the success of this project. Some of the important ones regarding ELT methodology and CLT implementation are mentioned below:

1. *A commitment from MoE to a change from present 'traditional' English teaching methodology and textbook, to Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) principles, emphasising the development of learner centred communicative competence through language practice.*
2. *A commitment from MoE to introduce reformed, more communicative English tests at SSC and HSC levels after the project period.*

¹⁰RRC activities includes arranging training programmes for new teacher-trainers, designing, and revising training manuals, training schedules, monitoring and supervising training programmes of their respective SRCs, and arranging workshops and seminars for raising awareness on CLT (NCTB 2005:10).

¹¹SRCs are the actual sites for conducting teacher-training courses. SRC trainers are accountable to trainers of respective RRCs, the Project Director and ELTIP Phase 3 (NCTB 2005:10).

3. *A commitment from MoE to establish permanent systems in ELT curriculum development, teacher training, testing and evaluation. This necessitates transfer of staff to appropriate institutions on a full-time basis, with implications for increased recurrent cost.*
4. *A commitment from MoE to effective management of the proposed project.*
5. *Appointment of a suitable Project Director/trained and experienced curriculum specialist with appropriate qualifications and experience in contemporary TEFL (Teaching English as a Foreign Language) methodologies.*
6. *Recognition of English Language specialists as a distinct category from English Literature specialists and the appointment of personnel with EFL expertise as project staff. Where appropriate, further training in TEFL methodology and materials will be given.*
7. *A clear understanding of an agreement with the competency goals in English for secondary school and college leavers by all relevant stakeholders.*

NCTB 2001:20-21

It is relevant to comment here that the first precondition is simply donor-initiated pressure on the MoE to shift from the traditional method to the communicative method. Such a commitment to CLT from the MoE without any pre-consideration of teachers' opinions, suggestions, or capacity may appear quite irrational. A massive and all-inclusive teacher-training programme could compensate for any such hasty initiatives provided that ELTIP project was able enough to bring all English teachers into training programmes within a year or two. With the huge challenge of calling up 60,000 secondary English teachers, until 2010 ELTIP could only claim to have trained 35,000 teachers till the year 2010 (Hamid 2010:299). This means that it took a decade to train only half of the teachers, in a thirteen-day training course. A direct consequence of this half-done project was that it created a divide among teachers, those who had gotten the training, and those who had not. With all of its severely inadequate preparation at Phase 1, when CLT was started in Bangladesh, all teachers got new books to teach even though they did not know what to teach and how to teach according to the new textbooks, except those few who had gotten training in it. Those who had gotten training tried to implement it according to their own educational background and experience, and those who had not had any training tried to teach the new CLT materials in the old traditional GT method. Tremendously diversified reactions, comments, and criticisms started to be made about CLT implementation in the form of news articles and academic articles both - in national and international journals (which will be discussed hereafter).

At the end of the first phase, an evaluation of ELTIP was conducted by the MoE in May 2000. Some of the recommendations made by these evaluations were as follows:

- *Appointment of Local Trainers should be immediately filled in.*
- *Two more RRCs should be established in Sylhet and Barisal to meet smooth administrative/geographical coverage of the programme. This will require DfID resource/assistance accordingly.*
- *All trainers require receiving UK training either by project end or within an extension period (if DfID agrees to extend). This will require DfID resource assistance.*
- *Writing of Communicative grammar books for classes 6-12 is necessary and required to be included in ELTIP course. This requires DfID resource/assistance.*
- *ELTIP course should be included in the B.Ed programme. Accordingly integration should take place between RRCs and TTCs towards the delivery of B.Ed programmes. This will involve adoption of RELS (Regional English Language Specialists) into TTC.*
- *NCTB need to arrange a meeting between the Education Boards and the ELTIP Testing Team towards a shared strategy.*
- *Intensive training for question setters and script markers be organised to make revised curriculum and the training on Communicative methodology a success.*

NCTB 2001: 21-22

In its first phase, ELTIP trained 4000 teachers and 1000 examiners, got twenty-three local (Bangladeshi) trainers trained from abroad which were financially assisted by DfID, UK. The second phase (2002-2005) was completely financed by NCTB and seven Boards of Intermediate and Secondary Education (BISEs). In this phase, ELTIP conducted its activities through seven RRCs and twenty-seven SRCs. It had provided thirteen-day training courses to 14,663 teachers by April, 2005. From the evaluation of ELTIP phase 1 and 2, it was proposed that Phase 3 be extend until June, 2010. The objectives for continuing ELTIP Phase 3 (NCTB, 2005) were mentioned as follows:

- i. *A programme of in-service teacher training*
- ii. *Developing appropriate teaching-learning materials*
- iii. *Reforming examination system*
- iv. *Developing communicative in English language among the secondary education learners.*
- v. *Introducing contextualised grammar teaching and learning.*
- vi. *Monitoring of trained teachers in the classrooms.*

NCTB 2005:5

The rationale for continuing CLT is re-emphasised as a ‘must’ “to mould our educated people into the component of the Human Resources” and to produce “expert exportable high tech manpower with Spoken English proficiency to

enhance the bulk of foreign remittance” (NCTB, 2005:5). With these objectives in mind, ELTIP Phase 3 set as its target the training of up to 34,560 teachers with at least two teachers from each school/institution. It also aimed to set up thirty-seven SRCs, in addition to existing twenty-seven SRCs so that there would be at least one SRC in each district in Bangladesh. The goals after the successful completion of this phase were mentioned as follows:

- i. English will be taught all over the country in CLT Method.
- ii. English speaking environment in the classroom will be restored.
- iii. Situational/Contextualised grammar teaching and learning will be ensured.
- iv. Successful training network for English will be spread throughout the country.
- v. Effective manpower and human resources will be produced.

(NCTB, 2005:6)

The objectives and goals were much clearer and were explicitly explained. However, how many of these could actually be implemented in the classroom has always been a controversial issue. This is particularly because the actual policy implementation by teachers, along with their academic backgrounds, was not considered. A close look at the internal ELTIP structure or framework of how this methodological shift took place also reveals its weaker micro-level considerations, namely at individual schools’ levels with their English teachers. Though sufficient attention and preparation is made at the macro level on how this training program would run, this gets lost or becomes very weakly concentrated at the micro level. In order to implement the whole shift in teaching methodology, the following management structure was formed for the first phase (1997-2000, revised in 2001):

ELTIP Management Structure
ELT Policy-making body

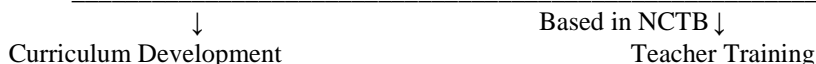
(MoE decision-makers, plus ELT Professionals and representatives of interested bodies)



Project Steering Committee
(Representatives of bodies with an interest in the project.)



Project Director



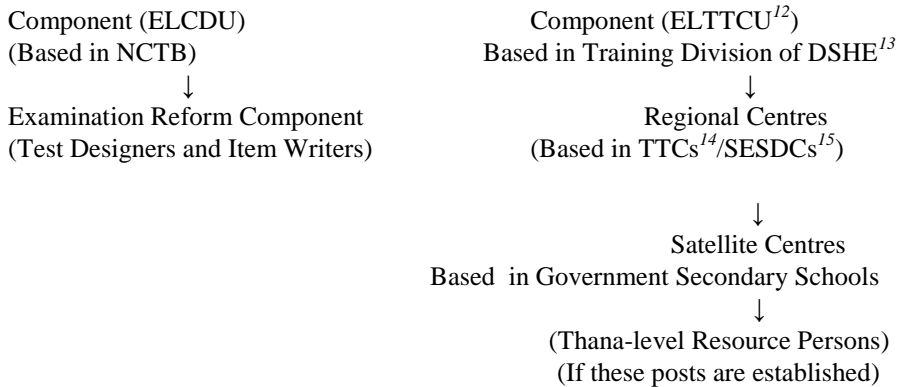


Figure3 : ELTIP Management (Source: NCTB, 2001:22)

It is noteworthy here that the journey of CLT methodology from the centre to the periphery or from the macro to micro level gets weaker and weaker, particularly in ELTIP Phase 1. The more one moves from the centre to the periphery, the more it becomes necessary to have a higher number of resource persons with available centres for training. Again, regional and satellite resource centres were not within close distances of a massive number of rural schools. Besides, the selection process of which teachers would next go to CLT training was significantly bureaucratic, and not so frequently available to schools in remoter parts of the country. Therefore, the practical preparatory stage was moving at a snail's pace in comparison to the hasty quick jump of introducing CLT methodology and teaching materials to schools. Instead, a longer-term preparatory stage would have been more appropriate before the drastic shift from GT to CLT.

It also appears quite pertinent to mention here that an all-inclusive micro-level consideration was not made by the governments' policy makers when deciding on such a major shift. Given the present nature of the Bangladeshi school context, members of the policy-making body are quite aware of differences which exist among schools in terms of their status (government vs. non-government), their differences in teachers' recruitment, English teachers' qualifications (with or without a BA/MA in English or ELT), the location of schools (urban-rural) and, above all the social class divisions of students (rich-poor and educated-uneducated family background). All of these play a significantly detrimental role in producing

¹² English Language Teacher Training Coordination Unit

¹³ Directorate of Secondary and Higher Secondary Education

¹⁴ Teacher Training Colleges

¹⁵ Secondary Education Science Development Centres

and reproducing the social divides and differences both among schools and among people through the school system. Such a very loosely formulated preparatory stage for CLT would make it available only to those who could afford it, keeping out the vast majority who could not. As appears in ELTIP's Project Proforma, Thana¹⁶ or sub-district level resource persons were not created at the beginning. Teachers from any secondary schools could perhaps have more readily referred to these Thana-level resource persons for their immediate CLT needs. These resource persons could arrange workshops, seminars or conference for local teachers, in order to solve CLT-related problems that may arise from individual schools or teachers in each local unit. Such top-down policy implementation suffers from a many problems that lead to policy failure. Experts in language policy have emphasised the inclusion of both top-down and bottom-up approaches, including macro-micro dimensions (Kheng & Baldauf, 2011) for successful policy implementation.

Present status of ELTIP:

After the ELTIP phase 1's completion, DfID was not interested any more in continuing the project (Hamid, 2011:300) and, as such, left the project in 2002 without giving specific reasons. The government of Bangladesh decided to continue the project's activities by drawing on internal funding from the NCTB and BISEs. Both NCTB and BISEs were unable and unwilling to allocate the amount necessary. Although BDT275 million (US\$3.43 million) was targeted, finally only the amount of BDT83.5 million (US\$1.43 million) turned up for Phase 2, which continued from July 2002 - June 2005. This funding was even worse in phase 3 (July 2005 - June 2010), when the project received only approximately BDT9.9 million (US\$0.12 million) from its estimated BDT278.7 million (US\$3.48 million) cost. Naturally enough, Phase 2 and 3 experienced severe financial restraints, which affected even the payment of salaries for project personnel. Amidst this disparity, ELTIP aimed at continuing until Phase 4 (July 2010 - June 2012), after which it could not conduct any of its training activities, as it had to end due to the lack of availability of funding.

3.2.1.2 English in Action (Project 2008-2017)

A GB£50 million project (Hamid & Honan, 2012) started its activities in May 2008 (Kirkwood & Rae, 2011) in the name of EiA, also funded by UK aid from DfID. A very relevant question is raised by Hamid (2011, 300) about whether or not DfID could have continued with the ELTIP project instead of initiating a new one. In its nine-year long project, EiA aims to reach twenty-five million people with its intervention activities involving students, teachers, and young adults. Thus, EiA has its wider range of objectives concerning both primary (Primary Teaching Learning Programme-PTLP) and secondary (Secondary Teaching Learning Programme-

¹⁶ *Thana*-a Bangla term for sub-district or a unit of local police station under each district

STLP) education, where it involves teachers, students, and the local community. In both PTLP and STLP, EiA has wide and varied teams to provide support, which include:

- *English teaching and teacher training specialists from The Open University (OU), UK*
- *Core Trainers (CTs), a group of specialist trainers, acting as mentors and facilitators to the Teacher Facilitators (TFs) and sometimes to teachers*
- *Teacher facilitators (TFs), specially selected and trained Government teachers, who act as facilitators and mentors to the teachers in schools in their locality.*

Source : EiA Website

EiA principles for teachers' professional development are followed in three major ways which are as follows:

- *Continuity support: where teachers continued access over a long period of time to build up their own learning through virtual support of audio video guides. through regular meetings and virtual guides accessible*
- *A School-based approach: teachers develop their professional skills in their classroom, they get support to reflect on their experience from Teacher Facilitators and fellow colleagues. Teacher Facilitators also visit classrooms to support teachers.*
- *Local capacity building: EIA's teacher facilitators are serving teachers and head teachers; through their involvement in EIA they are developing training and teaching expertise of long term benefit to their communities.*

Source: EiA website

EiA works with the public, NGO, and private sectors in Bangladesh. All types of teacher training and supportive activities at the *Upazila* (Thana) level are conducted by EiA with help from the existing government structures i.e. the *Upazila* Secondary Education Officers for STLP and the *Upazila* Education Officer for PTLP. EiA works with the Ministry of Primary and Mass Education and the MoE with a focus on in-service teacher training, the Diploma in Primary Education as pre- service training, curriculum development, examinations and assessment, and merging with Digital Bangladesh. EiA works with various NGOs, both at the local and at the national level. It says that it organises adult language clubs. Besides, it also claims to reach out-of-school children through its activities with UNICEF. EiA also works in partnership with private sectors. This includes all telecommunication (mobile) operators, state and private TV Channels, radio, and daily newspapers, through which it claims to have created an affordable English learning environment accessed by millions of learners.

3.2.1.3 ETTE

English for Teaching and Teaching for English is a British Council-initiated and funded project conducted from 2008-2010. It aimed at developing teachers' teaching skills in their classrooms by enhancing their access to materials, methods,

and opportunities. Since it was a small-scale project, it trained 2000 primary school teachers over its time span (Hamid, 2010:310).

3.2.1.4 TQI-SEP

The *Teaching Quality Improvement in Secondary Education Project* (2005-2011) was implemented by the MoE, Bangladesh and was jointly funded by Asian Development Bank, the Canadian International Development Agency, and the government of Bangladesh. As the name suggests, its purpose was to improve teaching quality at secondary schools through both initial and in-service teacher training. Among all training and other professional opportunities that it provided, attention to English teachers got the highest priority. This project provided a twenty-one-day CLT training course with particular focus on teaching four skills: listening, speaking, reading, and writing.

3.2.1.5 SEQAEP

Secondary Education Quality and Access Enhancement Project is a general education project implemented by the MoE and funded by the World Bank. The project ran from 2008-2014 in 121 *Thanas* (out of total 490 sub-districts). This project categorised secondary schools in Bangladesh into three groups. Group 1 includes the lowest-pass rate schools (0-45%), Group 2 includes the medium pass rates schools (46-70%), and Group 3 includes the highest pass rate schools (71-100%). SEQAEP gives most emphasis to the lowest-pass rate schools, provides six-days training courses for English and Mathematics teachers, and arranges extra lessons for students in Group 1 schools in its project areas. It has other intervention activities: writing teacher's books for English and mathematics, developing supplementary teaching and learning materials, producing demonstration lessons, training master trainers for training English and mathematics teachers, forming Mobile Training Resource Teams for the observation of post-training lessons, and providing one-day follow-up training every three months for English and mathematics (Hamid 2010:302). The difference between SEQAEP and TQI-SEP is that, while SEQAEP is exam-focused with an aim to increase pass rates and reduce dropout rates, TQI-SEP aims at improving teachers' pedagogical skills.

Hamid's (2010) overall discussion of these projects explains several issues to consider critically. Firstly, the government's limited initiatives through TTC and PTI cannot do the whole job of English teachers' education and training. Besides, TTC and PTI do not train English teachers, but rather give general training. This visible absence of government concern for English teachers' education and training is in contrast to the government's policies for English expansion and creating labour for the global economy. Hamid comments that even though it has English expansionist zeal, the government has not considered how many of its policies are implementable within the nation's internal resources and existing institutional

capacity. Since it has depended substantially on donor-funded projects, it may be deduced that the government has had little control over those projects when donors have stopped their funding. This has also led to the second critical issue of ELT in Bangladesh, which is a lack of coordination from the government on several similar projects running (almost) simultaneously. No arguments could be found for not continuing the ELTIP project and starting another project (EiA) where both are being funded by the same source. The differences between these projects are clear enough. However, leaving ELTIP along with its infrastructure, human resources and other logistics resulted in a huge loss of resources as these were not used in other new projects. In the past five years, all projects (TQI-SEP, SEQAEP and EiA) have focused partially or fully on secondary school English teachers' training, while not interacting or using one another's resources.

The limited lifespan and limited coverage of donor-funded projects has been pointed as the third major issue in Hamid's article (2010). Each of these projects works for a certain number of years and only in selected areas of the country. They do not even select all English teachers of each school in a particular area. The selection criteria followed by these intervention programmes creates conflict, division, and discrimination between project beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries. Hamid (2010) provides a concrete example from EiA training workshops, which took place in Three to Five Star hotels, instead of the RRCs or SRCs of the ELTIP projects. In the workshops, participating teachers also got iPods as exemplary tools for technology in English teaching. These teachers were not warmly welcomed back by their not-participating colleagues. Fourthly, there is a silent struggle for justification and assertions of superiority among personnel from various project groups. Hamid found personnel from ELTIP, TQI-SEP, and SEQAEP highlighting their own project's achievement or activities, while blaming others for wasting money. These projects, with the shared goal of teacher training, were thus producing hostility, either in implicit or explicit forms.

As recommendations for these above-mentioned critical issues, Hamid (2010) emphasises local and permanent capacity building for training English teachers in the form of government initiatives. He explains how expertise and infrastructure in the English departments of public universities could be used on a long-term basis for the training of primary and secondary English teachers. Foreign donations in that case might be used to strengthen the government's initiatives and policy implementations. Overreliance only on donor-funded projects will not be effective enough for any benefit of the nation to be permanent.

3.3. RESEARCH ON CLT PRACTICES IN BANGLADESH

Research on CLT in Bangladesh depicts a vivid picture of actual classroom activities, teaching techniques, and procedures that are much contrary to policy objectives and goals. A very grim picture of old and out dated language

methodology, followed by teachers' lack of qualifications is identified by Selim and Mahboob (2001). They identified several reasons for the apparent downfall of English learning in Bangladesh, which are summarised below:

- i. According to them, a defective method of language teaching is the main reason for the failure of English teaching and learning. As teachers did not receive any prior training on the new texts, they were lost while teaching them. Moreover, teachers also appeared unwilling to accept the new, as they had old orthodox views on pedagogy. Therefore, English continued to be taught as an additional subject, not as a language skill.
- ii. The authors found rigidity in the designs of the syllabus and teaching materials. Teachers could not conduct any innovative task.
- iii. Teaching methods in reality differ from school to school, depending on the attitudes of teachers, and the availability of facilities and teaching materials other than textbooks.
- iv. Teachers rely too much on the grammar translation of the text, instead of focusing on students' comprehension of the text.
- v. Classrooms are overcrowded and teachers are overworked and, as such, they cannot give individual attention to students, nor can they do any one-to-one interaction.

What Selim and Mahboob may indicate by 'defective methodology' is that there was no CLT implementation in classrooms as teachers were not trained on the same. This defective methodology has also been identified as inappropriate by Siddique (2004:19) who doubts the "relevance and feasibility of the communicative language teaching methodology in different cultural settings". In her investigation of CLT by practically situating it inside Bangladeshi English classrooms, she found several problems in CLT's implementation which arise from various academic, economic, administrative, infra-structural, and cultural factors. She used data from teachers who presented their struggle experiences at second national BELTA conference. According to her, although the concept of 'communicative competence' is an ideal one in the Western world, an effort to fully implement it amidst these kinds problems, without considering local contexts, is sure to make its success unreliable and challenging.

In her detailed explanations of the problems of CLT implementation, she mentions that the majority of teachers in Bangladesh start teaching without having any practical training. Besides, there is a very few chances for them for in-service training. As a result, teachers themselves are not aware of CLT, nor do they have any competences of their own. In this situation, she raises questions about these teachers' capacity for teaching communicative competence. As one of the economic constraints, she explains that teaching in Bangladesh is an underpaid job and, as such, most teachers become involved in teaching in more than one institution,

which she finds to be the reason for de-motivated teachers who do not take many initiatives in the classroom.

What seems appropriate to add here in addition to Siddique's comment, is that graduates with good grades are not interested in the present Bangladeshi teaching job market, due to its low salary. Although a degree in English is not a guarantee for a graduate being a brilliant teacher, a substantial methodological awareness is certainly a precondition for being a good English teacher. Many fresh graduates become teachers, quite often against their own desires, simply because they have not found a better job (author's own interactions with several teachers, including those who participated in the project). Siddique (2004) adds that there is also a substantial budget deficit for logistics of using CLT, i.e. oan verhead projector, computers, tape recorders, photocopiers, etc.

As for administrative restrictions, Siddique (2004) mentions that there is a strong rigidity in education and language policy, and in the curricula and testing processes, that has a negative impact on the teaching methodology and goals. ELT teachers always feel pressure to be exam- and result-oriented, and they are also told to complete the syllabus. Siddique finds a conflict between the English curriculum's design and the testing design. Speaking and listening are tested neither in exam nor in school based assessment (Hamid, 2008) and, as such, both students and teachers do not feel motivated in speaking and listening. Therefore, lessons based on these skills are not given appropriate attention. This results in the narrowing of the target of building communicative competence among students. Siddique (2004) also comments that rigid policy making, particularly in the hands of administrative staff, unskilled in ELT, has made language teaching more challenging. This is because their deficiencies and oversights in ELT are reflected in both material and testing design.

Besides, infrastructural limitations and cultural conflicts are also significantly present while implementing CLT in Bangladesh. English classes are of only 45 minutes duration in a regular school day, including attendance registration time. Moreover, due to a lack of qualified English teachers, teacher-students conversations in English do not take place. Again, as CLT is based on Western culture, it is in conflict with the attitudes of both teachers and students in its realities. Siddique's view is evident here, because teachers are now required to shift from a traditionally dominant role to a more liberal facilitator role. This is particularly true because students may assume their teachers not teaching, as they are more accustomed to seeing teachers in a dominant role (khan, 2000 as mentioned in Siddique, 2004). Similarly, teachers deem students disrespectful when arguing with them in communicative pair work or communicative games.

Siddique (2004) draws upon Dell Hymes' (1972) original formulation of the term 'communicative competence' based on a theory which shows the way to

stematically possible, the feasible and the appropriate competence. All these are linked to actually occurring cultural behaviour. After explaining all these aspects, she asserts that communicative competence have problems both in classroom and socio-cultural levels in Bangladesh. In opposition to the requirements of CLT, the genuine functioning and usage of the language is not possible, as a vast majority of students have neither the opportunity nor need to use English outside the classroom. It seems completely plausible when Siddique (2004) says that teachers are forced to use English in an artificial situation, instead of making it parallel to “actually occurring cultural behaviour”. In fact, students are focus only on the content and form of the text, instead of focusing on the meaning and on the process of building communicative competence.

Raising the similar doubts and questions about the effect of Westernised CLT in the Asian context, Hasan and Akhand (2009) mention a the critical qualification problem of teachers who themselves have been educated in the GT method. He adds that it is paradoxical that 95% of college teachers are product of GT, and now they have to teach CLT to their students. This results in many awkward situations and leads to frustration, with no feedback for students from teachers. This situation is similarly bad, or even worse, in the primary school context. In their study of English language learning in primary school contexts, Sultana and Nahar (2008) found that students in both rural and urban areas do not learn the expected proficiency from their CLT. Rural students do worse in this case. As for reasons for this, Sultana and Nahar found that English teachers’ own proficiency in English and pedagogic knowledge is below the level required for primary school teaching. They conclude their study with the recommendation (among others) that English teachers’ academic/subject knowledge should be taken into consideration when recruitmentis done, and that there should be at least one English teacher in each primary school.

Chowdhury and Ha (2008) criticise the appropriateness of Westernised CLT and its pedagogical suitability in the different context of Bangladesh, where the teacher-centred approach is a cultural norm. While discussing about the drawbacks of CLT, they mention that CLT is a manifestation of Western superiority in every domain of the ELT industry that is continuously promoted by the marketisation and commercialisation of TESOL and ELT worldwide, Anglo-centricity, and the native speaker fallacy. In reality, during implementation, this Westernised method with teachers in the role of facilitators conflicts with the local and traditionally- and socially-respected image of teachers. Besides this, teacher-student interaction is based on mutual respect, where the Western culture of using by first names and physical proximity may result in mutual discomfort and misunderstandings. Chowdhury and Ha (2008) conclude their study emphasising that there should be adaptation courses for Western-trained teachers after return to Bangladesh in order to re-adjust to their professional goals and students’ needs according to local contexts.

In her paper on ELT in Bangladesh, Yasmin (2007) discussed several aspects of CLT where she explicated that there is a serious lack of English teachers and, as such, graduates from other subjects are allowed to teach the subject on the secondary level. These teachers are trained in an in-service training course which is neither sufficient nor at an appropriate pace with the quick implementation of CLT. Very often, it is found that these teachers have very negative attitudes to CLT, for which three important reasons have been identified (Yasmin, 2007). Firstly, many English teachers are unmotivated because they could not get a better job. Secondly, due to the lack of a sufficient number of English teachers, most English teachers have to work hard with an extra teaching load and, as such, they cannot find the time to do the conversation parts in their classes. Therefore, they emphasises only on the grammatical parts. Thirdly, there is a common tendency among students and stakeholders to focus only passing exams, which in turn forces teachers to teach a narrowed down syllabus for passing examinations only.

That not all skills are tested in public examinations (reading and writing skills are assessed, but speaking and listening skills are not) has raised a serious criticism about the implementation of CLT, because communicative competence is the core element of CLT and is a policy goal of the Bangladeshi English-in-education policy. In their detailed investigation of testing communicative competence, Haque and Maniruzzaman (2000) explain the expected level of proficiency among learners and to what extent it can be measured. Drawing upon research literature of specialists Hymes (1972), Munby (1978), Canale and Swain (1980) and Candlin (1986), Haque and Maniruzzaman (2000) come to a synthesis of the three major components of *communicative competence*: i.e. grammatical competence (knowledge of vocabulary, morphology, syntax, semantics, and phonology/graphology for determining and accurately expressing the literal meaning of utterances in real-life situations), *sociolinguistic competence* (the appropriate use of language according to a specific context), and *strategic competence* (compensatory and production strategies learnt through experience in real-life communication, not through classroom practice in artificial communication).

Following a detailed explanation of what these components of communicative competence consisted of, Haque and Maniruzzaman (2000) emphasise including a collection of tasks at varied levels to recreate authentic situation in communicative testing. Such communicative testing should answer the question of what learners can do. In their list of questions (based on Morrow, 1979) for consideration during test formulations, the following are important:

1. How representative are the tasks in the test?
2. How far are real-life communications replicable in a test situation?
3. What assessment procedure should be exploited that will not affect test reliability? Should it be quantitative or qualitative particularly seeing as the

communicative test is a performance-based test and qualitative assessment is less objective?

4. Since communicative testing is considered as a performance-based test, it is necessary to consider what type of performance operations, the level of proficiency, and what sort of content area is to be used for the testing of oral and written performance and the test's format.

While criticising Morrow's list of questions, Haque and Maniruzzaman (2000) comment that these questions are inconclusive, and add that communicative competence and communicative performance should be differentiated in communicative testing. Besides, they also expressed that there is a lack of clarity in measuring grammatical, sociolinguistic, and strategic competences to a substantial extent because of using a test "made up of a certain number of items somehow selected and ordered/arranged". What becomes evident from their study is that it is now generally approved to measure the effect of communicative teaching through communicative tests with focus on reliability, validity, and practicality. These latter three are apparently missing from current testing practices in public examinations since apparently they do not test what they aim to teach in the name of CLT.

As a consequence of the fact that all four skills are not equally tested in the public examination, speaking and listening skills are neglected in the classroom (Yasmin, 2009). In her attitudinal investigation to CLT and its textbooks for Bangladeshi students, Yasmin (2009) found a very strong positive attitude to CLT among students, but she also found students' opinions about the incomplete implementation of CLT. Out of thirty-two students, twenty-eight liked CLT. However, several of them also expressed their concerns about CLT practices in their schools. They opined that CLT was incompletely applied in their schools, particularly because they could not find enough opportunities to practise speaking in the classroom. Two of them also doubted its implementation in remote (rural) areas. These same students also commented on the textbooks, about which twenty thought positively. However, they also explained that their teachers overlooked the exercises with pair- or group work, which created a gap in their learning.

In her literature review, Yasmin (2009) pointed out several typical characteristics of the Bangladeshi classroom, i.e. the teacher-centred approach, fewer student activities, the lack of a friendly relationship between teachers and students, huge class size, inadequate lesson duration, and the traditional reading-based teaching approach, all of which are due to a lack of proficient and trained teachers. As a consequence to all of these problems, CLT is not fully practised in Bangladeshi English classrooms. There is a mismatch between the CLT method and current teaching practices. Moreover, CLT has two vital (and interesting) misconceptions in Bangladesh, which are i) that grammar is not necessary in CLT, and ii) that speaking skills are the main concern of CLT (Yasmin 2009). According to Yasmin, due to these mismatches and misconceptions, CLT is resisted by many

practitioners. She refers to Quader (2001) who argues that “the main source of this resistance is the lack of a concordance between the examination, the syllabus, their notions about process of learning and the teaching method” (Yasmin 2009:51). Amidst this resistance, among students there is a strong positive attitude toward CLT, which has just been discussed in the previous paragraph.

In spite of the significant methodological shift through CLT, Hamid (2008) argues that teaching practices - particularly in the rural areas - have remained the same in the last two decades. In his article, he draws attention to data collected from interviews with six teachers, eliciting their views, perceptions, reactions in their teaching practices, professional development, and understanding of CLT. Out of six teachers, only one had had a thirteen-day training course, while others informed him that they had no clear idea of what CLT was. Hamid (2008) also mentions that receiving CLT training does not guarantee that it will be implemented in the classroom. Referring to Chowdhuri and Farooqi (2008), he adds that classroom observation exposed teachers' own methodology (based on their own beliefs and experience) although they had each received training in it.

Hamid's (2011) views are that the main reasons for the failure of successful ELT are rooted in state policy and planning. During the beginning of post-independence Bangladesh in 1970s, state policy delimited the scope, use, and growth of English in Bangladesh by overemphasizing the national language Bangla. Almost twenty years later (in the 1990s), after a realisation of the importance of English, an emphasis on English went beyond the actual implementation capacity of Bangladesh. The early start of (from Class 1) learning English in the national curriculum requires lots of resources from the state, which cannot be justified both for pedagogic and economic reasons. On one hand, this ambitious language policy in fact caused a huge loss of national resources that had already been spent on the teaching and learning of English. On the other hand, this budget could have been used in the teaching and learning of other subjects. Hamid (2011) opines that the ELT policy in fact represents a serious misapplication of both human resources and money.

There is a serious resource restriction that has a significant impact on educational achievement in general and proficiency in English in particular: the amount of public investment per student in Bangladesh is one of the lowest in the world, being only US\$2.90 per month. This very low amount of public investment implies two things: firstly that “the quality of education in general and the teaching and learning of English in particular cannot be ensured in secondary schools. This is particularly the case in non-government secondary schools in rural Bangladesh” (Hamid, 2011:198). Poor infrastructure, and a lack of educational equipment and other basic requirements (Huq, 2004; Hossain, 2009) constitute the common picture of depressing conditions in these rural schools. Without ensuring what is necessary for the successful teaching and learning of English and without allocating appropriate resources, a national commitment to more English is sheer ‘eye-wash’ (Hamid,

2011:198). He fortifies his argument with evidence from other studies (Mckay, 2002) that a larger budgetary allocation (of 33.3%) has produced a more significant growth in English language learning in Costa Rica than in Guatemala (1.7%) and Honduras (3.5%) (Hamid, 2008:21).

Secondly, Hamid (2011) continues, the very low governmental investment means that parental or family investment is very essential to achieving educational success. The ratio between these governmental and parental investments is 29% and 71% respectively. This huge amount of parental investment depends completely on family resources. Thus, children's quality of education and academic achievement is a matter of to what extent parents are investing or are able to invest, in their children's upbringing in various forms, for example, by providing food, accommodation, and books and other educational materials with extra private tutoring. His analysis of data collected from 228 students show a strongly-significant relationship ($p < 0.001$) between higher parental income level and higher scores in English proficiency tests. One significant investment of parental income takes the form of extra private tutoring, which has increasingly been adopted that in the same sample of 228 students; over 75% participated in private tutoring (Hamid, Sussex and Khan 2009). Statistics from Education Watch 2006 (Campaign for Popular Education-CAMPE 2007) show that "the cost of private tutoring constitutes a significant proportion of (42 percent in government schools; 29 percent in non-government schools) of the total education cost borne by families" (Hamid, 2011:199).

In a separate study on the relationship between English achievement and socio-economic disadvantage in rural Bangladesh, Hamid (2011) mentions that English (along with mathematics) is mostly liked among students with high family capital, whereas it is least liked by students of below average and low levels of family capital. Participating students in his studies opined that, due to poor teaching of English in schools, they have to take additional fee-paying private tuition. Family capital plays a critical role in this particular case. Those who did not do well in the subject of English blamed their poor financial conditions in which they cannot afford private tuition. On the other hand, students who did well in English expressed their opinion that, if they had been poor, they would not have done well in English. This is because their family would not have been able to pay the tuition fees (2011).

Among the student population, private tutoring is more desirable than schooling itself, because of the very strong belief that schooling only is not enough. As such, there is a social belief that private tutoring ensures learning success and achievement, creating socio-economic divisions among the student population in Bangladesh. Similar to these socio-economic constraints, parental level of education is also found to be important creating significant mean differences, both in proficiency tests and in the SSC examination. Here, it is found that students with

parental educational levels of at least secondary education did better than those with a lower level of education (Hamid, 2008:21).

Hamid (2011) therefore draws the conclusion that reasons for differences in students' English achievements are multitude, examples of which comprise social backgrounds including family, social and cultural capital, teaching quality, and school infrastructure etc. No matter where a student is from, s/he has to follow the same curriculum and the same school-leaving examinations. Again, their grades in this exam determine both their academic careers and professional careers both of which are competitive. In this circumstance, state policies must be held responsible to a considerable extent, as the vast majority of rural students fail due to the varying degree of differential learning conditions under which different groups of students learn English (Hamid, 2011).

Most of the non-government schools do not have a sufficient number of trained or qualified teachers. A sad picture of non-government rural schools is vividly drawn in a baseline study conducted by Haq (2004). As part of an NGO-based study of Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee's PACE programme (Post-Primary Basic and Continuing Education for training teachers of English, Mathematics and Science), the researcher collected data from fifteen schools with PACE training and fifteen schools outside this PACE training programme. All of these schools were situated in rural areas. Students' seating arrangements were very unsatisfactory, with narrow, insufficient, and untidy benches. There was not enough space inside the classroom to move around. Due to a lack of benches, several students sat huddling together in the same bench making them very uncomfortable and making it difficult to read, write, or even think. There was no scope for rearranging seats to conduct group work. Teaching was lecture-based and teacher-centred, using textbook and chalkboard as the only teaching materials. There was an absolute minimum use of teaching aids.

In his paper on language policy discourse and realities in Bangladesh, Hamid (2010) criticises the policies of 'English for Everyone' and 'Earlier exposure to English' that the state has adopted, and which were believed in to improve the nation's human resource capital so that it might participate in the global economy for local development. His point of view is that it is essential to consider the capacity of the teachers who would actually teach English in the class. His investigation exposes that the 'more and early' English approach by the government is sure to fail, as it has not adequately considered teacher education, teacher training, and enhanced infrastructure support through increasing the budgetary allocation. Although a limited level of short-term benefits from donor-funded teacher training programmes has been achieved, they have failed to address quantity and quality issues of CLT training. He concludes that policy making by itself cannot ensure desirable outcomes from ELT, if teachers' capacity building is not

considered essential and if comprehensive and sufficient measures are not put in place for this.

A similar picture is reflected in another study (Hamid & Honan, 2012) that investigates communicative English in the primary school classroom. Policy declared that a learner-centred approach should be found, in direct contrast with the teacher-centred approach in actual classroom activities. Hamid and Honan (2012) divided their classroom observation in seven stages and had them matched with a pre-determined checklist of activities. In each of these stages, authors found a reflection of traditional didactic pedagogies in an “orderly restrictive learning environment” where there was less scope for student-student interactions to make them learner-centred, and there were only 5.2% open-ended questions in all the observed classes. There was very little student-initiated talking; instead the traditional initiation-response-feedback format, which ensured teachers’ dominance in the class, was prominent. The language of instruction and interactions (both student-student and teacher-student) was mostly in Bangla. What the authors’ findings reiterate is that actual micro-level practice of language teaching is in contrast to the top-down policy instructions for child-centred pedagogy. Drawing reference from CAMPE 2001, where it was found that 90% of participating students got below the passing score in English (speaking skills were not considered), Hamid and Honan (2012) assert that relating communicative English with future employability is impractical and “far-fetched” (2012:153).

A need for eclecticism:

Emphasising a clear gap between the CLT method and its practice, Siddique (2004) refers to Hamid (2003), Chowdhuri (2001), and Sinha (2004), all of whom have echoed similar problems to those identified in her paper. All of them emphasised the need for the consideration of local contexts and traditional teaching concepts for successful English learning. Reflecting on Sinha's (2004) idea, Siddique (2004) asserts, “What sounded so good in theory has proved to be difficult to implement in the classrooms of Bangladesh” (2004:16). She concludes her paper by advocating the need for acknowledging and respecting “their indigenous teaching cultures and traditions and build on their experience even when learning from western expertise” (Siddique, 2004:26). This could be a hybrid approach of combining both GT and CLT, or the like.

A similar voice comes from another study by Rahman et al. (2009), in their experimental study of the EFL teaching strategy for ethnic children at the secondary level. In their study, they provided experimental teaching to a group of students of Class 9 for two weeks in a selected study area. An investigation was carried out in both control and experimental groups. They recorded pre-intervention scores and compared them with post-intervention scores. They admit that results found from their experimental study are not statistically significant; however, information from students and teachers apparently supports an approach with mixed methods (i.e. a

combination of several methods) for more successful teaching and learning, instead of importing CLT from the Western world. They conclude their study with an emphasis on adjustment to local needs.

3.4. SOME KEY ISSUES FROM ELT DISCOURSE IN BANGLADESH

3.4.1. STATUS & FUNCTION OF ENGLISH

The status of English in post-independence Bangladesh has never been well understood (Rahman 2009) nor clearly specified in the constitution. It is used neither for intra-national communication, nor for the purpose of a lingua franca. This has made the status of English debatable in Bangladesh (British Council 1986; Yasmin, 2005; Kachru, 2005). In spite of having no de jure status in Bangladesh, English is currently and largely a de facto language, after Bangla. Its widespread use in law courts, businesses, commerce, the media, and communication has conferred English a de facto second-language status, rather than it simply being a foreign language.¹⁷ The extensive code-switching behaviour (Banu & Sussex 2001) by a large portion of the population supports this argument. At present, all international communication is carried out through the English language (as was discussed before). The picture might appear more acute in the case of multinational and private administration, where the use of English is more-strongly emphasised for both global needs and local prestige. Most job advertisements in the private sector are published in English, in both Bangla and English newspapers. A command of the English language is a common requirement in all of these advertisements. Besides, annual reports in most private sectors are also published in English. English is now commonly realised as “an essential part of the middle class baggage” (Rahman 2009:24) and, as such, a tool for social advancement and development.

According to Rahman (2010), Bangladesh has not had any consistent language-in-education policy, which she argues, mainly because policy makers have been divided in their opinion on the proper roles of Bangla and English-in-education (discussed in Section 3.2.1). Besides, this Bangla-English dichotomy has only been restricted to the public sector, leaving the private sector completely free to decide which language to emphasise. This encouraged private enterprises to set up English-medium schools (Rahman 1998) in 1970s and 1980s when the status of English in Bangladesh was at perilous condition. These schools have now spread to each district, in Bangladesh particularly among the wealthier classes. In these numerous English-medium schools, the presence of English is so significant that

¹⁷ However, many disagree (for example, Prof. Kamaluddin, 2008) with accepting it as second language rather than a foreign language.

students are raised as bilingual and eventually become more dominant in English than Bangla. These increasing numbers of English-medium schools are producing a generation of English speakers, creating a socially-elitist class with a linguistic divide between students with an English proficiency learnt from Bangla-medium schools (Banu 2005:44). This has also intensified the rich-poor and urban-rural marginalisation to an extreme level.

A more pervasive and diverse picture of English usage may be noted among university students in Bangladesh. There are at present fifty-six private and twenty-six public universities in Bangladesh (source: MoE). In public universities, although the medium of instruction is optional and, as such, teachers accept academic tasks in both Bangla and English, private universities are run completely in English (even though there is no specification for this from the University Grant Commission). Banu and Sussex (2001) postulate that private universities are just an extension of English-medium schools. Therefore, using English in all academic arenas remains the most significant domain where students become bound to use English. Rahman (2005) comments that, in comparison with public universities, all private universities are well equipped with language laboratories, highly trained teachers, and the latest syllabus model for language teaching in each skill so that they can attract students in the competitive market of hunting for students. Therefore, the use of English increases (together with code-switching and code-mixing) at the university level.

It is certain that Bangladesh represents a country where English has an ever-increasing usage in various domains of everyday life. In these contexts, the time to examine the process of indigenisation or nativisation of English in Bangladesh has now come. A similar process took place with many other varieties of English in the world, including in India where English is now an established norm to be learnt/acquired by learners. Actually, this message is also conveyed by Rahman (2005:3) who says, “There could evolve a variety of English inevitably in Bangladesh, like India or Pakistan” where such kind of indigenisation does not symbolize a failure to learn English, but is rather an essential outcome of the surrounding social environment. Generally speaking, some distinct features of the Bangla language can be found in the English produced by Bangladeshis (Islam 2005). However, a corpus based sociolinguistic data collection with other linguistic investigations is necessary to find a conclusive picture about the errors in, or innovations of, English in Bangladesh (Banu 2000).

3.4.2. BANGLA-ENGLISH AND PUBLIC-PRIVATE CONFLICT:

In his paper, Hamid (2007) draws two types of dichotomies in the language planning of Bangladesh i.e. Bangla-English dominance in policy discourse and the public-private domain distinction in using English. These two dichotomies are not mutually exclusive; rather they are intertwined factors that shape the historical,

political, and socio-economic contexts of language learning in Bangladesh. The public-private dichotomy enables an understanding of Bangla-English relations, “since successes and failures in language planning in Bangladesh can only be understood within a framework of the contrasting language rules that apply to the public and private sectors” (2007:2).

Since these innovations are made in the public education system, the balancing of Bangla-English relations were considered for patriotic reason. The first of two strong examples of this comes from Hamid (2007:4), who says that the introduction of English in primary education in 1986 (implemented from 1991) “can be juxtaposed with the Bengali Implementation Law of 1987”. This law emphasised the use of Bangla “in all spheres and at all levels for government purposes” (Banu & Sussex, 2001:126). The second example comes from the University of Dhaka, where the introduction of English as a foundation course was accompanied by a similar course in Bangla. While public education has received an additional academic burden both in English and Bangla, private education, namely English-medium schools and private universities, have not.

The Bangla-English dichotomy has been compromised by a ‘balancing act’, where the promotion of English-in-education policy has always been accompanied by the promotion of Bangla. This has been done to make sure that the ‘strengthening of English’ by the government of Bangladesh (Ministry of Education, 2003) does not ignore the patriotic zeal for Bangla or the martyrs of the Bangla Language Movement of 1952 (Hossain & Tollefson, 2007; Musa, 1996). This balancing act between Bangla and English falls only within the public domains of the nation, allowing a large (and increasing) number of private domains completely their own choice of language practice. Private sectors do not follow the macro policy made by the government and, as such, emphasising English in these cases is not followed with an emphasis on Bangla.

English in Bangladesh has never enjoyed uninterrupted linguistic status (Hossain & Tollefson 2007). Although it enjoyed huge status and power in the pre-independence Bangladesh, after independence Bangla replaced the previous status of English in government activities as the administrative language (Ministry of Education, 1974) and in education as the medium of instruction. Bangla was made the sole national language of the country, due to the nation’s newly-attained independence and patriotic zeal. This relegation of English has substantially reduced its role (Banu & Sussex, 2001), also recognised by Rahman (1991:47) as “English hitherto dominating the educated, commercial and social scene was relegated, due to shift in emphasis and in national outlook, to a secondary position”.

3.4.3. PUBLIC-PRIVATE INVESTMENT/RICH-POOR OR SOCIAL DIVIDE

The secondary-relegated role of English in the public sector in 1970s might be attributed to the failure of language planning on the part of the state (Hamid, 2007). It is widely believed, among the common people, that this caused the nationwide deterioration of English proficiency in the following years. It appears national language planning did not consider people's wishes for learning and using it. As a consequence of this, English has found its place within the private sector. Again, the meagre amount of public investment at present has created various private enterprises for learning English through private investment. Private investment for various kinds of extra learning, from private tuition, coaching centres or institutes, and British Council including English-medium schools requires a lot of money. Hence, learning English through private investment continues to create social stratification through controlled access to English (Rahman, 2009), creating a serious social divide between the rich and the poor.

The state now is in need of addressing the question of whether to maintain an egalitarian society or to expand the 'social gulf', with knowledge of English as the dividing factor (Chowdhury, 2001). This divisive nature of English is also remarkably present in Bangla-medium public education, as achievement in language proficiency is mediated by several factors i.e. socio-economic status, private investment and geographic location of learners (urban versus rural) (Hamid, 2009). This social stratification is further strengthened between those in the population who can afford to go to school and take extra English lessons, and those who cannot (Tollefson, 2000).

3.4.4. RURAL-URBAN DICHOTOMY

A similar urban-rural division can also be made depending, on English-learning opportunities. Rural Bangladesh is a place for illiteracy, poverty, and underdevelopment, as a result of which the urban-rural distinction is also visible in students' socio-economic conditions, educational infrastructure, educational opportunities, and academic achievement. According to Hamid (2011), the results of national school-leaving examinations have reflected this urban-rural distinction for few decades, and is particularly prevalent in English. Those who fail in this examination mostly fail in English, and they are from rural schools.

3.4.5. EDUCATION SYSTEMS IN BANGLADESH

Early childhood education in Bangladesh starts in three main streams: the general education system, the madrasa education system (based on the Holy Quran and Hadith for Muslims students only), and the English-medium education system. Sanskrit and Pali education systems are also available to a certain degree for Hindus

and Buddhists respectively (BANBEIS¹⁸, 2007), while the English-medium education system is completely run through private entrepreneurship under the Oxford curriculum and is not within government concerns. The general and madrasa education systems are conducted in a parallel fashion, although madrasa institutions, teachers and students are much fewer in comparison to the general education system.

There are three main levels of general education system which are i. primary education, ii. secondary and higher secondary education and iii. tertiary education. Children from the age group of 6-10 years are enrolled in primary education from Class 1 till Class 5. The next level has three different sections, namely junior secondary (Classes 6, 7 and 8), secondary (Classes 9 and 10) and higher secondary (Classes 11 and 12). Thus, secondary and higher secondary education cater to students from 11-17 age groups. After passing the HSC examination, students can pursue their tertiary level of education. They can follow Bachelor's degree (for three years) followed by two-year Master's degree (from a college or university college), or Honours Bachelor's degree (for four years) followed by a one year Master's degree from public or private universities.

It is worth mentioning here that at all levels there are schools, colleges or universities that are completely funded by government as government institutes, those partially and jointly funded by the government and the local community as non-government institutes, and the rest are fully funded by private enterprises as private institutes. There are substantial qualitative differences among these institutes in relation to financial conditions, logistics, infrastructure, human resources and, above all, the quality of education. These differences are so diverse that Thornton (2006:183) has commented that "schools in Bangladesh are shaped by context, particularly the complex mix of colonial heritage, traditional Bengali culture, global change and Islamic influence". These diverse differences are further elaborated upon below, with a particular focus on the secondary level of institutes, i.e. schools.

3.4.6. GOVERNMENT VS. NON-GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS

There is a significant difference between government and non-government schools in Bangladesh in terms of number, quality, and management. There are total of 16,166 secondary schools in Bangladesh, out of which only 2% are managed, controlled, and financed by the Directorate of Secondary and Higher Secondary Education (DSHE) (Haq, 2004) as part of the MoE. The remaining 98% of schools are "sponsored and managed by local communities with government grants in-aid"

¹⁸ Bangladesh Bureau of Educational Information & Statistics, a section of the Ministry of Education, Bangladesh.

(Haq, 2004:31). These community-run schools are called non-government schools, and they receive salary support in the form of a monthly payment order (MPO) amounting to 90% of staff's salaries (Thornton, 2006), grants and stipends (*opobritti*) for girl students. In these non-government schools, 96% of total student population is enrolled (*ibid*) for their secondary education.

Government schools are controlled and monitored by government bodies in terms of teacher recruitment (centrally by the Public Service Commission (PSC), the total number of teachers, their remuneration, evaluation, and promotion etc. Usually the Head of the school decides what subject other teachers will be teaching. This largely depends on the need of the school, the teachers' expertise, and their willingness. In order to be an English teacher, a teacher needs to have English courses comprising 300 marks in their graduation course. English teachers also get their in-service training: ELTIP, TQI-SEP, or Continuous Professional Development (CPD). Teachers of other subjects get their subject-based in service training. All teachers are evaluated by the Head or Assistant Head of the school, formally or informally.

As is common to all other government jobs, teachers in government schools have to take a highly competitive preliminary test followed by a comprehensive written test, and finally followed by *viva voce*. Normally, selected candidates are well-qualified having a bachelor's degree in different disciplines of study that help them to get their relevant subjects for teaching after their recruitment. Their monthly salaries are supplemented by provident funds, medical and residence funds, bonuses, and yearly increases. Their positions are also linked to the hierarchic positions according to which they may be promoted to senior teachers or other administrative positions in the government's Education Department. All government schools are almost equally equipped with similar infrastructural and logistic facilities, and similar teachers' educational and other qualifications. Due to all these benefits, government teaching positions attract comparatively much better qualified applicants than non-government schools do. This may be one of the reasons that the lowest pass rate from a government school is higher than many high performing non-government schools.

Government schools normally have a large student intake for Class 1. Students are now admitted on the basis of a lottery system which has replaced the previous test system for admissions. Admitted students are then allocated to either the morning or day shift. However, there are admission tests for students who want to be admitted into higher Classes, depending on the availability of vacancies. The MoE organises such admission tests. The monthly tuition fee is very low (BDT15 or US\$0.19 USD) with an annual session fee of TBD1000 (US\$12.5).

In contrast to government schools, non-government schools are controlled and monitored by a school managing committee (SMC). These schools do follow the same curriculum, textbooks, and other academic materials as government schools.

The SMC of a particular school normally consists of local elites, powerful and sometimes enlightened people, together with some of the teachers and the Head of the school. Teachers of non-government schools are locally-appointed after having been qualified in writing, interviews and sometimes in demonstration classes. The better a non-government school is, the tighter and more rigid the teacher recruitment system. The worst conditions in the teacher recruitment system are seen in the non-government rural schools. Applicants for teaching positions in these schools are those who do not usually get any other (better) jobs. Being frustrated, they make their final try to be a teacher in such schools through the medium of SMC members. Often these applicants have to pay a good sized donation for the position. The remuneration for these teachers varies a lot from school to school, depending a lot on whether the school is MPO-listed. MPO-listed non government schools receive the basic salary for each teacher and other staff without any of the other extra facilities that government schoolteachers have. The non-MPO listed schools do not get this basic salary for any of the teaching staff. These schools are run fully on school funds and tuition fees collected from students. These categories of government subsidies create a serious classification problem among both teachers' qualifications and in their remuneration, leading to serious discrimination and stratification in the overall national education system in Bangladesh.

It is worth noting here that all students from both government and non-government schools (both MPO-listed and non-MPO-listed) have to sit the same public examinations: the Junior School Certificate and SSC. However, it is unfortunate that most non-government schools do not have a sufficient number of trained and qualified teachers. Haq (2004) observed the difference that almost one third of non-government secondary school teachers are trained, whereas 73% of government school teachers are trained. This difference is huge and makes a qualitative difference in teaching in these two types of schools (2004:32).

3.4.7. FROM GT TO CLT - A PARADIGM SHIFT

After a stage of initial marginalisation of English in the 1970s, the government has now realised the relative importance of English in the global economy and in communication. English has now itself experienced in a process of revitalisation within the timeframe of two decades (Hamid, 2007). Rahman mentions several such revitalisations of English planning activities, which can be summarised as follows:

1. Thirteen years of English compulsory study, which now starts from the first grade in the national curriculum
2. English teacher training sponsored by donor funding countries for quality improvement among teachers
3. Compulsory English language courses at the undergraduate level both in tertiary colleges and universities

4. Communicative Language Teaching instead of structural curriculum practices
5. Establishing of English-medium private universities through the enactment of the Private University Act, 1992

There is now a significant state commitment to present English teaching in the country. At the secondary level, English should be taught at least one class hour every day comprising 19% of the total curricular load, which continues up until 13 years of age. This super state commitment is challenged, especially as the resource allocated for this massive state commitment is only BDT482 (US\$6.50) per capita in public expenditure on education in general (Hamid, 2007; BBS, 2005). A quantitative increase in this budget may be a good provision for the qualitative development of English teaching and learning (Rahman, 2007, Education Watch, 2006). As a consequence of this meagre budget, English learning is largely unsuccessful with a deplorable proficiency level (Yasmin, 2005). Over 30% of all students who failed their national school-leaving examinations actually failed in the subject of English. Thus, the state's massive commitment to English, on one hand, and a very low budgetary allocation on the other, makes English learning a "white elephant" project (Hamid, 2007). In evaluating a project, Allen (1994:5, cited in Rahman, 2007) wrote "The present state of English language teaching in Bangladesh represents a significant misapplication of resources, time and money".

According to Hamid (2007), the present state of English learning has been crucially shaped by the language planning intervention of the government, which encouraged the Bangla-English dichotomy in the public sector, but remained non-interventionist in the private sector. Hamid (2007) characterises policies that tried to reduce and control English initially, and then became expansionist in zeal with no consideration to the management of expansion, allocation of resources or the effectiveness of costs, as transitory and short-sighted. He comments that "Thus, the strong, over dominant presence of English in the Bangladeshi curriculum consumes precious national resources but produces hardly any desirable outcomes" (Hamid, 2007:5).

3.4.8. ENGLISH FIRST PAPER & ENGLISH SECOND PAPER

In secondary schools, English is taught following two separate curriculum designs by the name of the English First Paper and the English Second Paper. English first paper concerns teaching of English by following the fixed textbook *English for Today*, developed and distributed by the NCTB of MoE, Bangladesh. This textbook consists of seen comprehensions in each lesson, followed by various communicative activities based on the comprehension and its vocabulary. On the other hand, the English Second Paper concerns mainly grammar teaching, by following one of the grammar books suggested by education boards. Lessons in these grammar books consist of unseen comprehensions, followed mainly by

grammar-based activities. Previously, there was the explicit teaching of various grammatical topics. The traditional GT methodology in both the English First and Second papers has been replaced by CLT method for the last fifteen years, the practice and implementation of which is the focal issue of this present dissertation.

CHAPTER 4. METHODOLOGY

4.1. MIXED METHOD

4.1.1. INTRODUCTION

Mixed Methods research is an emerging and developing paradigm in recent years with an inherent sense of being a viable alternative to both quantitative and qualitative research paradigms (Denscombe, 2008; Johnson et al., 2007; Bergman et al., 2008). It is very frequently in use in different branches of research i.e. the social, behavioural, and human science fields (Johnson et al., 2007; Jo Moran Ellis et al., 2006, Creswell, 2003). Though it is only very recently that this method has been used substantially by many researchers, it has long been developed over the course of a long history of works by the fieldwork sociolinguists and cultural anthropologists of the early 20 th century (Denscombe, 2008; Johnson et al., 2007; Creswell, 1999).

In an attempt to define mixed methods research, Johnson et al. (2007) analysed nineteen definitions given by different researchers. Among them, fifteen definitions find as their main characteristics the mixing of quantitative and qualitative research. They also find several other characteristics of mixed methods research from these definitions, which they discuss in detail before giving their own definition at the end. A summary of this discussion includes that there may be different points or stages of actually mixing or integrating quantitative and qualitative data. There are various opinions in terms of the breadth of mixing i.e. whether this mixing should occur at all points or only at the interpretation stage. There are different rationales for mixing these two types of data (discussed in detail later in this section). It is very important to determine at the very outset of mixed methods research that there is an orientation to mixed methods research. This orientation can be a bottom-up approach in which the research question drives the whole research approach. On the other hand, it may also be a top-down approach, where the researcher's quest is the driving force for conducting the mixed methods research. Johnson et al. (2007) comment that all mixed methods research is somewhere in between bottom-up and top-down approaches.

Although there is heterogeneity along with homogeneity in all of these characteristics and definitions, these similarities and differences are viewed by these authors positively, which enriches this third research paradigm. They provide their definition in the following way:

Mixed methods research is the type of research in which a researcher or team of researchers combines elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches

(e.g., use of qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, data collection, analysis, interference techniques) for the broad purposes of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration. (Johnson et al., 2007:123).

4.1.2. HISTORY

While historically explicating the position of mixed methods research, Johnson et al. (2007) relate it to the philosophical debates about approaches to viewing the world conducted by three major groups of philosophers. Firstly, there is singular or universal truths view (quantitative), led by Socrates and Plato; secondly, there is the multiple or relative truths view (qualitative) led by the Sophists, for example, Protagoras and Gorgias; and thirdly, there is a balanced or mixed view of these two extremes. Johnson et al. (2007) comment that these original debates about ways to view the world are still reflected in how knowledge is viewed in today's world, whether quantitatively or qualitatively. Mixed methods research is placed in between these two views, in order to "respect fully the wisdom of both of these viewpoints while also seeking a workable middle solution for many (research) problems of interest" (Johnson et al., 2007:113).

In an effort to align these three research methodologies chronological histories, Denscombe (2008:271) first admits that there is no common agreement about explicit dates. However, he draws three extended periods when these three methodologies were dominant in their practice. The first period was from the 1950s to the mid 1970s, when quantitative methodologies within the positivist research paradigm were leading. From the mid 1970s to the 1990s, there was a paradigm shift to qualitative methodologies within the constructivist research paradigm. The 1990s onwards has been the era for mixed methods within the philosophy of pragmatism. Thus, Johnson et al. (2007:117) say "We currently are in a three methodological or research paradigm world, with quantitative, qualitative and mixed methods research all thriving and coexisting".

According to Johnson et al. (2007), the concept of mixed methods research has also gone by several other names, including "multiple operationalism" (Campbell and Fiske 1959), "triangulation" (Web et al 1966; Denzin 1978), "blended research" (Thomas 2003), "integrative research" (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004), "multimethod research" (Hunter & Brewer, 2003; Morse, 2003), "triangulated studies" (Sandelowski, 2003) and "mixed research" (Johnson, 2006). It is very important to note that having all these different labels for "mixed methods" research does not mean, in fact, that there is any difference in the essential sense of the term. Instead, mixed method has been used in a broader sense (Greene, 2006) to include all aspects of methodology to form a third research paradigm (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). In this broader sense there are particularly those issues regarding the research design of data collection i.e. questionnaires, interviews, observations; research methods i.e. experiments, ethnographies etc.; and finally

philosophical issues i.e. ontological, epistemological, and axiological (Johnson et al., 2007:118).

Campbell and Fiske (1959), among all these researchers, show explicitly how multiple research methods are used to validate research purpose (Johnson et al., 2007:114). Denscombe (2008:271) gives them credit for establishing the intellectual roots of the paradigm on mixing methods. Campbell and Fiske (1959) used the term ‘multiple operationalism’, in which more than one method was used for validation purpose. In the next development of mixed methods research, the term ‘triangulation’ came to be used first by the Web et al. study in order to increase confidence “by minimising error in each instrument” (Johnson et al. 2007:114). Johnson et al. also mention Denzin (1978) who describes various types of triangulation: a) data triangulation, b) investigation triangulation, c) theory triangulation, and d) methodological triangulation. Denzin (1978) also talked about within-method and between-method triangulation. However, between-methods triangulation carries more research weight than within-method research, as between-method triangulation employs both quantitative and qualitative data. According to Denzin (1978), using between-method triangulation for mixing methods may eradicate any shortcomings inherent in one type of data source, investigator or method, since the results are then compared with another type of data source, investigator, or method.

4.1.3. RATIONALE

Different terms have been used for identifying the rationales for using mixed methods research by scholars in the field. Apparently, rationales (Johnson et al. 2007), reasons (Sieber, 1973), purposes (Greene, Caracelli & Graham, 1989; Sechrest & Sedana, 1995), and benefits of using mixed methods research/triangulation/methodological pluralism have often been identified in an overlapping fashion by various experts. Instead of going into a detailed description of how these rationales (‘rationale’ will be used from now on for clarity in expression) differ from one author to another, a listed summary, as follows, of the commonalities among them would provide a clearer understanding. Mixed methods research:

- I. Develops a creative way to do data collection
- II. Can lead to richer and thicker data
- III. Makes synthesis or integration of theories possible
- IV. Can uncover contradictions/controversies/paradoxes
- V. Can serve as the litmus for competing theories because of its comprehensiveness
- VI. May provide confirmation or corroboration of each method through triangulation
- VII. May provide richer data for developing analyses

- VIII. May be used to find a solution to any paradoxes that emerge due to combining two data sources
- IX. Can expand the breadth and range of inquiry through using different methods
- X. Serves a verification purpose
- XI. Provides some basis for estimating possible error in the measurement, and
- XII. Allows researchers become more confident in their findings

It may be mentioned here that, in addition to these above-mentioned rationales, there are many others, all of which have caused mixed methods research to be widely used and become more acceptable in a diversified field of research interests.

4.1.4. INTERPRETATION OF PRAGMATISM

It is very essential to understand the underlying philosophy of mixed methods research. Similar to the positivism of the quantitative research paradigm and the constructivism of qualitative research, pragmatism is the most referred to underlying philosophy in mixed methods research (Denscombe, 2008). Denscombe (2008) also mentions that there are four aspects of pragmatism visible in its use in various types of mixed methods research. The first aspect is the use of pragmatism for a fusion of approaches that aims to seek out challenges regarded as ‘sterile and unproductive dualisms’. Researchers with this facet try to find a common ground and address ‘incompatibility’ issues in search for compatibility. In the second aspect, there is the use of pragmatism in searching for the ground of a third alternative. This third alternative can provide social science researchers with an option when they feel that neither quantitative nor qualitative research alone can enable them to find proper outcomes. According to the third aspect, pragmatism is viewed as a new orthodoxy, where it is desirable to mix research types from different paradigms to find a sufficient answer. The fourth aspect of pragmatism in mixed methods research is the least expected one. This is expedient in nature which in fact refers to the common sense use of pragmatism with the implication that there is a lack of any certain principle behind a course of action. This type of pragmatism may indicate the danger of “anything goes” (Denscombe, 2008:274).

4.1.5. TYPES OF MIXED METHODS RESEARCH

John Creswell (2003) talks primarily about two different types of mixed methods research: sequential- and concurrent- type mixed methods research. He then further classifies sequential mixed methods research (as sequential exploratory strategy, sequential explanatory strategy and sequential transformative strategy) and concurrent mixed methods research (as concurrent triangulation strategy, concurrent nested strategy and concurrent transformative strategy). Out of these six types of mixed methods research, concurrent triangulation strategy is discussed here

in detail, as this strategy best fits the type of mixed methods applied in conducting this research study.

As an additional reference to different mixed methods data analysis typologies, the following box found in Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009) may be noted. It is noteworthy here that, in spite of many differences, there are many patterns that this in this categorisation shares with Creswell's (2003).

Parallel Mixed Data Analysis (parallel analysis of QUAL and QUAN data from different data sources) Conversion Mixed Data Analysis A. Quantitizing narrative data B. Qualitizing numeric data, including profile formation C. Inherently mixed data analysis techniques Sequential Mixed Data Analysis A. Sequential QUAL → QUAN analysis, including typology development B. Sequential QUAN → QUAL analysis, including typology development C. Iterative sequential mixed analysis Multilevel Mixed Data Analysis Fully Integrated Mixed Data Analysis Application of Analytical techniques From One Tradition to the Other
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Table 5: Teddlie and Tashakkori 2009: 264

Both Creswell (2003) and Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009) have discussed the need for some decisions and pre-considerations for using mixed methods research. Creswell's (2003) explication about the four decisions that have to be made in selecting a mixed methods strategy is also very relevant to this study. These four decisions concern the implementation sequence, priority of data, integration stage and theoretical perspectives of the mixed methods research. The implementation sequence refers to practical sequence of data collection i.e. whether qualitative or quantitative data is collected first. The priority of one data type over the other indicates whether qualitative or quantitative data is more highly prioritised during either the data collection and analysis period. The integration stage specifies when qualitative and quantitative data will be integrated i.e. will this take place during the data collection stage, the data analysis stage or the discussion stage? The final decision is about the overall theoretical perspective whether it should guide the whole research study or not.

A quite different type of pre-consideration is made by Teddli and Tashakkori (2009), who draws readers' attention to Onwuebuze and Teddli (2003). Onwuebuze and Teddli (2003) have explicated twelve pre-analysis considerations for researchers to contemplate while using mixed methods research. They have selected six out of them that are may briefly mentioned below:

1. Whether its purpose is complementarity or expansion

2. Whether mixed methods research is variable oriented or case oriented
3. Whether mixed methods research is explanatory or confirmatory in nature
4. To what extent a researcher may anticipate that QUAN and QUAL data will inform each other in the analytic process.
5. Whether a researcher is aware of the assumptions underlying the QUAN and QUAL data
6. Whether computer-assisted software will be used for both QUAN and QUAL data analysis.

All these pre-considerations for using mixed methods research are explained in the next section, since both sets of pre-considerations appear important to this study.

4.1.6. MIXED METHODS IN THE PRESENT PROJECT

It appears quite pertinent to consider all those above-mentioned issues while conducting mixed methods research. The above-mentioned review on the definition, history, rationale, philosophy, and types of mixed methods research has been considered for the present project. A description of the complete use of the mixed methods in this project is as follows:

Rationale: In order to address the research question “How is CLT implemented as a matter of policy implementation in the secondary school context in Bangladesh?”, both qualitative and quantitative data has been considered, for several reasons that are mentioned below:

- to collect richer and thicker data
- to expand the breadth and range of enquiry
- to uncover any anomalies/paradoxes inherent in one data type through triangulation of mixed data
- to provide verification, confirmation, or corroboration of each data type through triangulation
- to establish more confidence in research findings through this triangulation

Since the present project concerns the social reality of implementing CLT in the secondary school context, it is essential that there is confidence in the research findings. Taking policy documents as the data from policy makers’ points of view (the first dimension), qualitative data from observing classrooms and interviewing teachers will provide data at the agent level of policy implementation (the second dimension). Mixing the quantitative data of students’ survey questionnaires to this research adds the receiver’s perspectives on policy implementation (the third dimension), namely the difficulties students confront in learning English. All of these three dimensions of policy and its implementation are expected to increase the confidence of the research findings through using mixed methods. Using triangulation in research will also increase the accuracy (Moran et al. 2006) of the findings of this research project. Besides, the triangulation of qualitative and

quantitative data is also expected to expose the various perspectives of policy documents, i.e. at the theory level and at the implementation level. This helps the researcher to find the complementarities of the mixed methods (Greene et al. 1989) for the sake of seeking elaborations, illustrations and the clarification of the results from both the qualitative and quantitative data. Besides, the use of a mixed methods research design in the present project have increased the number of participants (Dzurec and Abraham 1993) i.e. both students and teachers.

The third alternative meaning of pragmatism (Denscombe 2008) is used as the philosophical ground for using mixed methods in this project. This third alternative can provide social science researchers with an option when they feel that neither quantitative nor qualitative research alone will enable them to find proper outcomes. In order to search for adequate answers to the main research problems of this project, mixed methods research is deliberately applied in the current project as the third alternative research paradigm.

4.1.7. PARALLEL MIXED METHODS DATA ANALYSIS STRATEGY

Considering the different types of mixed methods research, it has been decided in this project to follow the concurrent triangulation strategy (Creswell 2003) or the parallel mixed data analysis (Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009) method. These two types share similar characteristics, although the present thesis will use the term parallel mixed methods data analysis for the sake of clarity. Onwuebuozie and Teddlie's (2003) pre-analysis considerations and Creswell's (2003) four decisions (implementation sequence, priority of data, integration stage and theoretical perspectives) of parallel mixed method data analysis strategy are described in detail in relation to qualitative and quantitative data of this project.

Parallel mixed methods research is the most widely used mixed methods research type, and it consists of two separate data analysis processes. On the one hand, qualitative data is analysed following thematic categories in relation to various narrative data. On the other hand, quantitative data is analysed following descriptive and inferential statistics for the appropriate variables. Though both of them are independent understandings of the phenomenon under study arise from each type of data analysis. These understandings are integrated in the triangulation section of the thesis.

Pre-analysis considerations, which depict the present research as essentially explanatory in nature, are also made in the present project, as it tries to investigate the various social variables or phenomena that affect the successful implementation of CLT in Bangladesh. For the purpose of complementarity, the software programme SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Science Research) is used. While analysing the data collected, the researcher becomes aware of the underlying assumptions of both qualitative and quantitative data, which enables them to

integrate them appropriately in the integration section. The qualitative and quantitative data also inform each other throughout the entire of data analysis process, and there is occasional use of their (qualitative and quantitative data) 'cross-talks' (Teddl & Tashakkori, 2009) in analysing them.

Creswell's (2003) four criteria for selecting this parallel mixed methods data analysis have also been considered. Data collection took place in a separate fashion, though not in a parallel one as the researcher had to conduct the tasks of data collection alone. In most cases, the collection sequence was: qual → quan → qual (classroom observation → students' survey questionnaires → teachers' semi-structured interview), where one data type neither affected nor modified the other in the actual data collection stage. The qualitative type of data, namely classroom observations and teachers' semi-structured interviews, are given more priority. The quantitative data, i.e. students' survey questionnaires, is used to find additional information for confirming and explaining the findings from the qualitative data. The main integration of qualitative and quantitative findings will take place at the interpretation stage, although some occasional 'cross-talks' are there at the data analysis stage. The theoretical perspective is also noteworthy in the present study, as it serves as a guiding framework for the data collection and analysis in the whole project.

The following figure shows the use of parallel mixed methods research analysis in this project

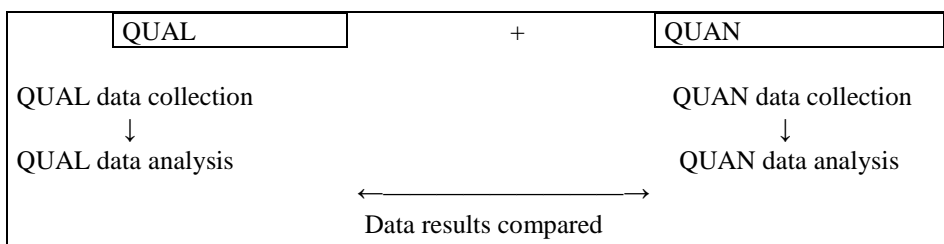


Figure 4: Parallel Mixed Methods Research (Source: Creswell, 2003)

4.2. DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURE

4.2.1. SELECTING SCHOOLS

In order to address the main research question, namely “How is CLT practiced as a matter of policy implementation in secondary school context in Bangladesh?”, it has been made more contextualised and reformulated as “How is CLT implemented in high and low pass rate secondary schools in Bangladesh?”

In this contextualised version of the research question, there is an indication to include high and low pass rate schools in Bangladesh. It is still necessary to consider narrowing down to one of the eight education boards in Bangladesh. Considering the highest and lowest pass rates of schools in recent public examinations, one may easily note urban and rural distinctions too, which is very obvious in all education boards. The Dhaka Education Board, consisting of Dhaka's (the capital city of Bangladesh) metropolitan city and the surrounding districts of many rural areas, is found to be a place where both the highest and lowest pass rate schools in urban and rural areas are available in their extremes. The Dhaka Education Board was therefore selected as the geographical domain inside Bangladesh for the purpose of the present research project.

The selection of schools has been done according to their performance¹⁹ in SSC examination in the last couple of years in the Dhaka Education Board. Though the schools with the highest pass rate's name are made available on the Education Board's website, no such list for the schools with the lowest pass rate is disclosed. Since the statistics of all schools' results in SSC examinations may be accessed through its respective Education Board, an application was made to the Chairman of the Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education, Dhaka, in order to gain access to last five year's result statistics of the results schools with both the highest and the lowest pass rates. A list of the top twenty schools with the highest pass rates and one list of the twenty schools with the lowest pass rates was collected. A careful scrutiny shows that, although schools with high pass rates had ranks that were almost constant over the years on the list, this was not the same for low pass rate schools. Schools with low pass rates were not found consistently in the same position on the list. If a school was at one position on the low pass rate list in one academic year, it may not be found on the list the next year. These shifts in the positions of the low pass rate schools are quite reasonable, as schools in these positions are normally under pressure to do better in the following year. It is worth mentioning here that these low performing schools do not cross over and appear under the category of high pass rate schools. Rather, these schools remain in the low pass rate category, though not on the list of those with the lowest pass rates.

In this situation, it appeared very difficult to select individual schools (particularly schools with low pass rates) based on their five-year performances. Therefore, it was decided to use the result statistics (Table 6) of the most recent last year when this project started, 2011 (the data collection took place from January-March 2012), with the assumption that these schools were still within the list of those with the lowest pass rates.

¹⁹ A general tendency that high performing schools are from urban areas whereas low performing schools are from remote rural areas including urban areas was noticed.

From the results of the year 2011, two schools with the lowest pass rates and two schools with the highest pass rates were selected in the non-government schools category. In the government schools category, one school from each of the highest and lowest pass rate list was selected. Most interestingly, it was found that both the schools with the lowest pass rates in the non-government category were from the rural areas whereas both the government and non-government schools with the highest pass rates were from urban areas. As has been mentioned already, an additional category for selecting schools became explicit, namely the urban and rural criteria. While visiting the selected schools, it was found that the number of students from low pass rate schools was very low. Later one more low pass rate school from urban area was added. The following table shows in brief the selection criteria of schools for this project.

School Pseudo name	School Performance	Pass Rate in 2011	School Category	School Location	Teachers' Pseudo name
School 1	Low pass-rate	12,5%	Non-government	Rural	Q
School 2	Low pass-rate	35%	Non-government	Rural	H
School 3	Low pass-rate	56,67%	Non-government	Urban	F
School 4	Low pass-rate	71,74%	Government	Urban	K
School 5	High pass-rate	99,76%	Government	Urban	G
School 6	High pass-rate	100%	Non-government	Urban	O
School 7	High pass-rate	99,89%	Non-Government	Urban	S

Table 6: Statistics of SSC Result 2011

4.2.2. IDENTIFYING DATA TYPES

The main research question of this project concerns CLT as a matter of policy implementation. Policy documents focusing on how English should be taught in secondary schools was collected from the DSHE. Besides, several officials were also interviewed for confirmation and clarification of different issues on CLT, which helped to gain a comprehensive understanding of the English-in-education policy in Bangladesh. Primary data for this project were collected from selected schools, their students, and teachers. As was mentioned already, both QUAL and QUAN data were considered for this project, making it mixed methods research in

methodology. Considering the depth and width of the present research, the following types and amount of data was collected:

1. Audio recorded data of classroom observations totalling 4 hours duration (QUAL 1)
2. Survey questionnaire of 231 students (QUAN)
3. Semi structured interviews of seven English teachers totalling three-and-a half hours in duration (QUAL 2)

Data for this project has the same source, meaning that these three types of data were collected from each of the participating schools. The first data type, classroom observation, was for addressing Question 1 and 2 of the additional research questions. This data concerned whether CLT was actually being implemented inside the classroom by the individual teacher of each participating school. Students' survey questionnaires, Data Type 2, were for addressing Question 3 and 4. Data Type 3, teachers' semi structured interview, were for addressing Question 5 and 6. Besides these initial purposes, explanations for all questions were in fact searched for from all three types of data. First, classroom observation was recorded, followed by students' survey questionnaires and then finally the semi-structured interviews of the English teachers took place outside the classroom. In fact, this sequence could help avoiding any unexpected influence of one data type on the another. The details about the preparation of these data collection tools are described below.

4.2.3. SELECTING PARTICIPANTS

In each of the participating schools, students from Class 10 were considered important for two main reasons. Firstly, as they were in the last year of secondary education, these students had had exposure to CLT for a couple of years from previous classes. Secondly, they were chosen because they would get their school leaving certificates after passing the SSC examinations. Thus, classrooms from Class 10 were the target place for recording their English language-learning activities. One classroom observation per school was recorded, with a total of seven classroom observations from seven different schools. Students of these observed classrooms were surveyed with questionnaires. There were various numbers of students in these classrooms, and thus the total number of students was 231. Finally, each class-conducting English teacher was then selected for the semi-structured interview from these seven schools.

4.3. PREPARING DATA COLLECTION TOOL

4.3.1. CLASSROOM OBSERVATION

The purpose of this data collection tool was to collect a comprehensive picture of how English teaching was actually conducted inside classroom. That the author was personally present at the site is expected to provide more details of classroom techniques that were followed by the teachers. In fact, a list of seventeen indices was prepared beforehand to be noted while observing the classroom. This checklist was prepared according to emphasis given on various classroom activities mentioned in the teacher-training manual CPD (Continuous Professional Development, 2009) for training English teachers. During actual training on CLT, teachers were practically shown “know how” of these different activities by trainers of the programme. Therefore these following indices might be expected to reflect in classroom practices as a matter of policy implementation. These indices are:

1. Students use of English
2. Includes all students in the class
3. Teacher movement in the class
4. Teacher encouraging students to ask question
5. Equal chance of participation
6. Students ask question
7. Class work
8. Pair/group work
9. Role-play
10. Class test
11. Teacher talk more
12. Students talk more
13. Teacher’s role during the class work
14. Pre-discussion before reading/writing
15. Grammar taught (How)
16. Use of teaching aid
17. Teacher’s language of instruction

Beside these indices, infrastructure along with logistic availabilities in the classroom was also noticed in order to grasp teaching-learning environment. Classroom observation was conducted by following the codes and principles of a good participant observer. The author entered the classroom with permission from the Head of the schools and the respective class teacher. The characteristics of a good participant observer was mentioned in the training manual of CPD Secondary English. Some of these good observer’s characteristics included informing the teacher before the observation, staying in one place during the lesson, making the teacher feel relaxed, not interrupting the teacher, talking to the teacher after the

class about the lesson, having a friendly smiling face, not directly criticising, rather offering suggestions to overcome problems. The author took his seat at the back of the classroom and finally thanked the teacher for letting him inside the classroom and recording it. Lastly there was an important characteristic of a good observer i.e. to “talk about the good sides of the lesson and what things can be improved for the future” (CPD, 2009:66). This type of discussion indeed took place about which explanation is given in the anecdote section.

The whole of the classroom observation was audio recorded with ‘Zoom H2 Handy Recorder’ (<http://www.4sound.dk/shop/haandholdte-optagere/zoom/h2n-handy-recorder.html>) which was placed in the front very close to the class teacher. It is worth mentioning here that duration of each session, topic of lesson and even the number of students varied from school to school. These differences are due to the fact that each school followed their own institutional plans and their adherence to them.

4.3.2. STUDENTS’ SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

Students’ survey questionnaire was prepared in three sections. First of all, in the background section students provided information about their name, roll numbers, parental education, occupation, income and siblings attending any educational institution. The purpose for this section was to see their approximate level of socio-economic condition determining the type of schools they were attending and to make a qualitative mapping of the investment their family capital might have in their English (and overall educational) achievement. The second section consisted of seven short questions where students were supposed to provide short answers for what they liked, disliked, in which skill they spent their time most for learning and for using in their practical life outside schools, in what other places they learnt and used English and finally who/what motivated them for learning English. Basically these questions were answered with words to show students’ priority for selecting one skill over other.

The third section of this survey questionnaire consists of five point Likert scale²⁰ where students could provide their degree of agreement for a certain statement

²⁰ Paul E. Spector (2007) defines Likert scale (or summated rating) as “a very popular device for measuring people’s attitudes, beliefs, emotions, feelings, perceptions, personality characteristics, and other psychological constructs” through which people “indicate their position on items along a quantitative continuum”. According to Brill, (2008), “Likert scale is a special type of the more general class of summated rating scales constructed from multiple ordered-category rating items”. Its one of the main characteristics is “the response category point for each item are individually labeled (e.g. *Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree*)”. There is a sense of equal distance among each points which is reinforced by using a set of consecutive integers like 1,2,3,4 or more. After data collection,

concerning their English language learning: Strongly agree, Agree, Do not know, Disagree and Strongly disagree. As obvious in its typical use, Likert scale does provide measurement in differences of opinions through various statistical analysis. These are more elaborately presented in the section of data analysis procedure.

4.3.3. TEACHERS' SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW

Teachers' semi-structured interview was intended to collect information about teachers' qualifications, teacher training, teaching experience, challenges in CLT, suggestions and criticisms etc. Comparative information collected from all these participating teachers in this regard was expected to build up a comprehensive explanatory review of how and why teachers might vary in conducting their classes. This data was also supposed to point out teachers' (strong) pedagogical ideology of different schools and their implementation in classrooms. Information on all these issues would carry a strong significance in the context of ELT policy and practice. Teachers' semi-structured interview consisted of principal categorical aspects of CLT which were followed by several prompts. Starting with the background questions of teachers' education, training and teaching experience, they were also asked to provide information about their salary. The categories for discussion in the semi-structured interview were their recruitment process in the school, their understanding of differences between CLT and GT methods, child-centred approaches in teaching, teaching different skills, their goals for teaching, their evaluation of students' learning, collaborative learning, challenges in CLT and criticism. In order to pull back the attention to these categories, teachers were given prompts when they were deviating from the main topic of discussion. Prompts were also used for demanding further clarification if teacher did not comment on any categorical aspects quite clearly.

4.4. DATA ANALYSIS

4.4.1. ANALYTICAL STRATEGIES APPLIED IN THE PROJECT

Before going on to the data analysis procedure, it is worthwhile to find some fundamental characteristics of mixed methods research in the present project. These are as follows:

- Parallel mixed method data analysis strategies were used with several of its processes in the present project. Both QUAL and QUAN data types had

both parametric and non-parametric tests may be applied. It is also a common practice to reduce the nominal level into one of two corresponding categories by combining all agree points and disagree points, for example, good or bad; accept or reject, similar or dissimilar etc.

their particular questions to serve the main purposes of the research question of this project. QUAL data tried to find out various characteristics of CLT found in the actual classroom data (QUAL 1), which were then discussed with the teachers in the semi-structured interview (QUAL 2). QUAN data was in fact adding statistical strength to the project to find any differences among students' opinion and if their opinions differ significantly (inferential techniques).

- QUAL and QUAN data collections took place separately one after another on the day of data collection or on the following day(s). It could not be done on the same day due to lack of availability of time in schools' routine or in teachers' schedule.
- Data analysis was done separately in a parallel fashion. First classroom observation data analysis (QUAL 1) was done followed by teachers' semi-structured interview (QUAL 2). In the mean time, mathematician was contacted for assistance in applying various formulas/techniques and for generating inferences including the use of SPSS software.
- In the meta-inference section, integration of results found from all three types of data will take place to come to a conclusion.

After reviewing literature on mixed methods research and considering data types of this project, the following data analysis procedure can be presented as data analytical guidelines for this project. A specific process of data analysis in the present project include the following:

4.4.2. CLASSROOM OBSERVATION DATA (QUAL 1)

- This was analysed according to the Contextualising (holistic) strategies as classroom activities were different in different school settings. The whole context is of enormous importance, rather than indexing utterly dissimilar classroom activities in different lessons. Classroom activities of individual school were described followed by an analysis of their following or deviating from the CLT principles. Participating schools were very significantly different in conducting class lessons, which were supposed to be taken in similar styles. Lessons of the English textbook had instructions, which teachers were recommended to follow in the classroom.
- A number of seventeen checklists were made to see if they were followed in each of the observed classrooms. However, these were not any categories as they were not considered for further analysis.
- Three factors were found very relevantly influential in students' poor or brilliant performance in classroom activities. These three factors were teachers' qualifications, students' socio-economic condition and their parental educational qualification. Their probable influence is discussed in all classroom observation data analysis.

- It was at this point of analysis that cross-reference was partially made between QUAL and QUAN data.

4.4.3. TEACHERS' SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW (QUAL 2)

- This was analysed following categorical strategies. As common to all semi-structured interviews, several prompts were used during data collection. Those prompts have been considered as categories along with several other new categories found in all interviews. Differences in teachers' qualifications and recruitment, Teachers' general view on CLT, Participatory based teaching and student centred approach, Teaching different skills, Teachers' teaching goal, Teachers' evaluation of CLT and students' improvement, Challenges in implementing CLT, Collaborative learning and Comments/Criticism of CLT.
- Teachers' similar or dissimilar opinions on each of the categories were analysed where each category was made to form appropriate units of information (UIOs) in CLT. Thus within one category, each UIO are made following internal consistency principle of similarity. Furthermore, all categories are mutually exclusive meaning one categorical definition does not merge with another categorical definition.

4.4.4. STUDENTS' SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE (QUAN)

- Descriptive and inferential statistics were applied in this project since they were more relevant than other types of statistics i.e. Univariate versus Multivariate, Parametric versus nonparametric.
- Data was summarised, organised and presented in SPSS data sheet for easily interpretable chart, graphs and tables, for example which skills students like most, class intervals of parental incomes and of parental educational level etc.
- This descriptive statistical data was used with inferential techniques to find statistical significance t-test with the use of null hypothesis, alternative hypothesis.
- There was use of Univariate/Multivariate statistics. Gamma test²¹ analysis was done to find effects of multiple variables (i.e. whether feeling need of extra tuition is related to going to coaching or having private tutor.
- There was use of parametric statistics. Using Likert scale, students' attitude were turned into numbers and then were analysed for statistical significance test.

²¹ A measurement of rank correlation where strength of association is measured between variables.

4.5. ANECDOTAL EXPLANATIONS TO DATA COLLECTION CHALLENGES

Many things happened during the actual data collection, a recollection of which may give readers some contextual information. An attempt is made here to describe all minute experience about data collection.

Getting access to individual schools was a big challenge for the author. He had to undergo a series of experience in order to convince them he was not from the Ministry of Education (MoE henceforth)/DSHE/BISE. Teachers from all lowest pass rate non-government schools became too much alert when they heard that somebody was going to visit their school. It could be that their school had low pass rate in the previous SSC examination for which they were worried about how to explain this to the visitor from MoE or DSHE. Besides, their number of students (in order to get MPO, schools are required to have a certain number of students) were also very few, even below the minimum number of students which might also be their reason for being so alert about the author's visit.

Besides, while collecting data, teachers from low performing schools expected pedagogical help from the researcher. In this case, an example may be given about what happened to find the first school. After selecting schools from the list according to result statistical found from the Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education, Dhaka, the address was collected locally from the 22Thana Education Office. Upon arrival and completing all formalities of getting approval, the English teacher took the author to the classroom where the teacher would conduct his class. In the semi-structured interview, the teacher of this school opted for Bangla as the medium of interaction in the interview (which was similar in the case of some other teachers' interviews). Then he requested the author to suggest him how he could improve his English teaching skills. Now this created a really critical situation for the author cum interviewer. This is because suggesting the teacher some classroom techniques for teaching English while interviewing him would certainly change his role as an interviewer. Besides, this may give suspicion about the interviewer role being dominant, leading and expecting answers in a particular way. It is quite understandable why two other participating teachers along with him wanted suggestions from the author for their improvement in their English teaching from the author. They possibly might have anticipated a superior status of the author who had gone there from abroad. This is a very typical rural way of thinking in Bangladesh.

The Headmaster of School 2 directly requested the author to give them something in return for their help of participating in the project. His original wordings were like this in Bangla, “amrao ekhon tar kach theke kichu asha kori- Now we also

²² Several Thana (police station) make one District in Bangladesh

expect something from him”. Then he requested the author to conduct a class on the same topic, which he wanted his students and the class teacher to see and learn. In addition to this request, the author found several terms in the semi-structured interview unknown to several participating teachers. This was a true dilemma for a researcher to consider. In one hand, clarifying those terms (i.e. collaborative learning, inclusive education, participatory based teaching or child-centred education) by the author may indicate that he was speaking more than the participating teachers. This may further imply his dominating role in the interview as well as expecting answers in a particular way from the participants. This is worth explaining here that all those explanations were given purposefully, so that participants were sure that they were providing their original thoughts and opinions in those topics. On the other hand, not clarifying those terminologies would leave the participants either in speechless situation as they were unaware of them or they would say something impertinent to the discussion. Therefore, in the interviews with teachers from the non-government schools of lowest pass rate, the author is found speaking more than the participating teachers.

It may be noted here that providing explanations about terminologies is also backed up by experts in the field of survey who suggests researchers to be flexible enough while conducting qualitative interview. Kvale & Brinkmann (2009) says the following about qualitative interviewing:

Recognising that some people may be harder to interview than others, it remains the task of the interviewer to motivate and facilitate the subjects' account and to obtain interviews rich in knowledge from virtually every subjects (2009, p.165).

The very need to explain some of these participants about CLT terminologies, in fact, indicates a critical truth that these teachers were unaware of CLT methods and thus were in dilemma of how to apply it inside the classroom. Besides, selecting Bangla as the medium of language for interview was also an indication of the lack of proficiency in English of these teachers of non-government low pass rate schools.

About using leading questions, Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) explicate that using leading questions to justify the reliability of interviewee's response along with the purpose of verification of interpretation is a well employed characteristic of qualitative research interview. Here interviewees have “an open range of response possibilities, including a rejection of the premises of the interviewer's question”. The authors add “The decisive issue is not whether to lead or not to lead, but where the interview questions lead, whether they lead to new, trustworthy, and worthwhile knowledge” Kvale and Brinkmann (2009:173).

To find the third school for this project was very challenging. As it did not have any school campus of its own due to some political and bureaucratic complicacies, the

school was actually kept hidden in the city slum area, where it rented part of another junior school (see Section 5.3.1.1 for details).

CHAPTER 5. CLASSROOM OBSERVATION DATA ANALYSIS

The classroom observation data is analysed with a short description of the classroom followed by teachers and students activities in the classroom. This observation is then analysed with a checklist of what CLT features are implemented in the classroom. Reasons for selecting a particular school is described in introductory paragraph while school information is described in the school setting paragraph. Finally information from teacher's semi-structured interview and students' survey questionnaire is employed to some extent to depict the complete data analysis from classroom observation.

5.1. SCHOOL 1

5.1.1. INTRODUCTION

School 1 was a non-government rural school which has the lowest pass rate of 12.5% in the SSC examination 2011 in the Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education, Dhaka. This was the main reason for selecting this school for this study.

5.1.1.1 School setting

The school was located far away from the metropolitan city which was equally close to four surrounding villages. The school had a natural setting with a narrow river flowing by in one side whereas there were long stretches of mostly paddy fields on other sides. The school premise itself consisted of two brick built one-storied buildings with tin sheds, housing seven classrooms). There was an open play ground separating those two buildings. The teachers' room was shared by the Headmaster (with his separate table and chair) of the school and other teachers (with a long table with several chairs around). There was no supply of electricity in the school indicating no possibility of computer facilities, or sound system for classroom purposes.

5.1.1.2 School operation

The school had an SMC as common to all non-government schools. The chairman of this committee who had HSC level of education was from one of these four surrounding villages. Teachers' positions for this school were advertised after which candidates had to pass a qualifying test followed by donation. In order to be a

teacher, one needs to have a Bachelor's degree (either from a college or a university) with the requirement of English courses corresponding to 300 marks in his/her Bachelor's degree. B.Ed (Bachelor's of Education) training is also a prerequisite to be an English teacher here. This teacher recruitment is controlled and conducted by the SMC of the school. A teacher's initial salary was 9000 BD taka (110 US \$ per month). After the recruitment, teachers were offered teacher training from the Ministry of Education or from other NGO when available. Teachers were evaluated informally in a discussion with the Headmaster. A need of more teacher training for all teachers, particularly at the local region (Sub-districts) was emphasised by the Headmaster due to lack of centrally arranged Dhaka based teacher-training programmes.

5.1.2. CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES

English classes were conducted in all six days, the duration of which was about 30-35 minutes. There were twenty-two students in Class 10 and out of them 16 were present in the class. Students had to attend 8 classes per day from 10:30 to 16:00 in six days in a week. The class took place in a classroom of a comparatively old building where there was too much dust everywhere inside the room. There were five sets of high benches and seat benches, five windows and a blackboard hanging with wire attached to a titanium wall. This wall was actually making the partition between two classrooms in this old building. This school had a primary section adjacent to it conducted by a separate administrative body.

After formally greeting the students, the teacher told his students that he was going to teach lesson number 1 of Unit 11 from the textbook. The lesson was about typical daily activities of a city slum boy. The teacher directly started reading aloud

²³There is a general requirement now-a-days that one needs to be centrally registered through a qualifying test certifying that he/she can be appointed as a teacher in any school upon fulfilling school specific requirements.

²⁴ Bachelor's degree from a college previously used to differ significantly from a university Bachelor's degree. After 1998, college level bachelor degree consists of several subjects with 300 marks in each and needs to be completed in three years. A university bachelor degree is a four year honours programme in one study subject with different courses. A one subject based bachelor degree from a university thus substantially differs in core subject knowledge from a multiple subject based college level bachelor degree. Besides, there are also university colleges which are now offering both university like four year-bachelor degree along with three year college level bachelor degree. All these colleges, university colleges, universities both in public and private categories differ significantly in terms of teacher qualification, teacher recruitments, infrastructure, logistic supports quality of education and overall administration.

of the text with Bangla translation. After finishing reading he asked his students if they found any difficult words or if they had any questions. He then started asking them questions from the text followed by true/false. Then he selected eight students one after another to read the same text loudly. Next he started asking Bangla meaning of some English words from the text. Both these questions answers sessions and vocabulary meanings activities were conducted in English. Next the teacher told his students to write at least ten sentences from the lesson of city slum boy. The teacher started checking the writing when some students were done with writing. The teacher himself read aloud their writing while checking them. Finally he gave them the same writing task as their homework. Throughout the classroom activities, the teacher spoke in English except translating the text into Bangla.

5.1.3. ANALYSIS

Analysis of the activities taking place inside the classroom revealed that there were not any characteristics of CLT to be observed. Immediately after greeting the students, the teacher started reading the text loudly without any pre-discussion or warming up session on the topic he was going to teach in that day. Much to the characteristics of the GT method, he used smaller chunks, phrases or sentences from the text and translated them literally into Bangla. The following examples show how he did this translation in his class:

He came with his father, mother, brother-- *she eshecche tar baba, ma, bhai* and grandmother—*ebong dadar shathe* to Dhaka in search of a living—*bachar tagide. Bachar tagide she Dhakai eshecche tader shathe.*

Again doing this type of translation was not error free. There were couple of mistakes while he was translating these chunks of sentences:

He could not afford to go to a doctor or buy medicine for himself—*she nijer jonno dakter er chikitsha grohon kortecche ba daktarer kacche jaini.*

The correct meaning of this sentence should be

tar nijer jonno daktarer kacche jaoa ba oushudh kenar moto shamortho cchilo na.

This wrong translation could also be considered with the grammatical mistakes that were made in his own speech. While talking to the author, he claimed that he used English as his medium of instruction in the classroom. His use of English with such sentences, such as “I am English teaching”, “I am talking this story”, “Listen to attentfully”, indicated the lack of English skills of the teacher himself. Many of his

utterances were without any ‘principal verb’ or action word. “...next day you will home work...”, “Now, the end of my lesson”. In addition to this, he used very short and closed sentences which were just to command students. For examples, “Now read this story. Shanzida, stand up. Read the story first line”, “Now read the story, silent reading for five minutes. Now read this story”, “If you find any difficult words, you ask me soon”. These short sentences could hardly stimulate students to think and make their own contribution to the class. There was no open discussion at all. The teacher asked only the closed questions of which answers could be directly copied from the text.

Several important criterion of the GT method were found while observing this class. Firstly, the learners' native language was used as the medium of instruction throughout the class. There was no explanation about how to use these vocabularies in students own sentences or usage. Instead, as it appeared from the observation that students had memorised these vocabulary meanings in Bangla and were just reproducing them when the teacher asked them to do so. In addition to this the teacher also taught them to find and memorise the corresponding words from the text. Secondly, repetitions and rote learning (memorising often without learning), fundamental characteristics of the GT method were in fact significantly present in the whole of this English class. Reading aloud with translation, vocabulary meanings in Bangla and finding English synonyms from the text were routinely repeated by almost each student in the class. Finally, The teacher had the sole authority both in selecting students and the task. This typical teacher role of the GT method was very strong throughout the session.

At this point of discussion, attention may be given to the teacher's compliance to indices from the CLT method prepared from teacher-training handbook on CLT. The Table 7 offers an overview that majority of the indexes were not complied. As a CLT lesson, the teacher did not appear to comply with the objectives specified in the text. There were four pictures with stimulating questions to make students think and formulate their own answers by having a look at those pictures. The purpose was very much communicative in nature which was to hold pre-discussion before starting the lesson. Without referring to these pictures or holding discussion on these questions, the teacher in fact followed GT ways and started reading aloud the text which was then repeated by his students.

Index	Conformity to index
1. Students use of English	No, except copying and quoting from the text
2. Includes all students in the class	Almost
3. Teacher movement in the class	Only in the front
4. Teacher encouraging students to ask question	Yes, if they have problems
5. Equal chance of participation	No voluntary

	participation
6. Students ask question	No
7. Class work	Yes
8. Pair/group work	No
9. Role-play	No
10. Class test	No
11. Teacher talk more	Yes
12. Students talk more	No
13. Teacher's role during the class work	Check, control & correction
14. Pre-discussion before reading/writing	No
15. Grammar taught (How)	No
16. Use of teaching aid	No
17. Teacher's language of instruction	Relies heavily on Bangla for translating text, vocabularies. English only for short sentences to command students.

Table 7: School 1 Classroom Observation checklist

In the interview with the author, the teacher claimed that he used to speak in English in the class. However, his use of translation into Bangla and use of English only for commanding students in short sentences showed that only to a minimum level. It appeared that the teacher invited and expected only the closed questions regarding vocabulary from students as he said, "If you find any difficult words, you ask me soon... Find out this hard word." However, as it is seen from the Table 7 that no questions were raised from students in response to this invitation. All classroom tasks were initiated by the teacher and imposed on them and students were just doing that. As for the class work, students were asked to reproduce ten sentences (beside their reading with translation and vocabulary). Though the teacher forbade them to copy, students in fact copied directly from the text instead of making sentences on their own. There was no question from students, they were only replying when they were selected. There was no role-play, class test or pair/group work in the day of data collection. From the survey questionnaire, it is found that eleven students out of sixteen disagreed and four strongly disagreed that they had to do role-play in the class. Concerning the class test seven students responded disagree, 3 did not know indicating that the majority of them had not done any class test. Out of sixteen students, 13 students liked to work in pair/group and the similar number of them said that they did work in pair/group in the class.

As already mentioned, the teacher was authoritative in the class where students did not initiate any discussion. Teacher-talk was more prominent than students-talk.

During the class work, the teacher's role was to check and control that they were all doing their work. Besides, he also corrected them when necessary. No pre-discussion session was held before the reading or writing session. Grammar was not taught in the class observed though twelve students agreed that they memorised grammatical rules. No realistic material was used as teaching aid and as mentioned before the teacher used mostly Bangla in the class except a few sentences in English to command students.

Having a look at the table of CLT features, it may be said that this was just a typical class of GT method though the text was meant for CLT. This creates a vicious gap when the material and method do not match each other. Here CLT text was taught in GT method.

5.1.4. FACTORS THAT NEED TO BE CONSIDERED FOR STUDENTS' POOR CAPACITY

In a discussion with the Headmaster of this school, he explained that they had not got any good quality students, the consequence of which was the worst result in 2011 SSC examination. This accusation against students' quality is worth discussion because this was a very common practice among teachers, particularly of low pass rate schools. Teachers of such schools explained students' poor results referring to a lack of good or brilliant students, who instead got admitted into high pass rate or better schools. As a consequence, no matter how better teachers taught in classrooms, according to these teachers' view, it was actually beyond the capacity of these students to do good results. This same view was given by the English teacher of this school who in his interview with the author explained that students could not understand him if he conducted classes in CLT. He said "Village children will not understand the meaning of English if class is taken communicatively" (author's translation).

However, students' poor capacity needed to be considered in relation to teachers' qualification, their socio-economic condition and parental educational qualification instead of treating isolated factor.

Teachers' semi-structured interview with the author reveals much of the information about their lack of expertise in CLT. The English teacher of this school had college level Bachelor's degree, Bachelor in Education and CLT training. Much in common with other participating teachers, he did not want to be a teacher. Being disappointed with other ambitions in life, he just decided to be an English teacher when he found that his friends were going to set up this school. By the time of applying as an English teacher, he had completed his Bachelor of Education programme and 300 marks requirement in English in his Bachelor Degree. When he found that his own qualification matched with the requirement of an English teacher, he applied for it. He had now twelve years of teaching experience in

English. After the methodological shift from GT to CLT, he received only TQI-SEP (Teaching Quality Improvement for Secondary Education Programme) training for 3 days and the first phase of CPD for 24 days.

He himself being taught in GT method in his school days, he was much more familiar with the GT method rather than CLT or any other method learnt from CLT training. In his interview he told the author that though he knew direct method, audio-lingual method in addition to the GT method and the CLT method, he used GT method the most in the class. The following conversation between the teacher and the author is interesting for two main reasons.

A: Which method do you apply in the class?

Q: It is grammar translation method which is applied most in the class.

A: what is the reason for it?

Q: Village children will not understand the meaning of English if class is taken communicatively. After taking a class in GT way, I ask them in CLT ways to know if they have understood. As we have to use Bangla in GT method, if we use Bangla, they catch it quickly.

A: How does GT differ from CLT?

Q: CLT is English to English but GT is telling meaning in Bangla, explain vocabulary. These are the differences between these two.

A: As CLT is emphasised, how much are you trying to implement it in your practical teaching?

Q: I am trying very much so that they can go ahead in their communicative English, so that they can develop in communicative English, they can converse with others. I am teaching them dialogue. That's it.

Firstly, a serious dilemma was found in this case. According to him the village students were not capable of understanding English activities. However, students' understanding of English classes would hardly be ensured without ensuring teachers' teaching efficiency with English proficiency. Due to low levels of skills in English, teachers were unable to prepare and guide students in comprehending lessons. Similarly students were equally unable to recognise CLT activities. The second point to note here is the teacher's concept of CLT and GT methods. He believed that if he had used English in the class (even though he taught according to GT method) it became CLT and telling meaning and explaining vocabularies in Bangla was GT method. For this reason, he tried to teach dialogues as an effort to teach communicatively. In addition to using fossilized English knowledge in the class, his overall English teaching in the class fell within the traditional GT method. Such a lack of methodological awareness might easily mislead a teacher creating an obstacle to implement CLT successfully in the class. In this case, short-term training could not convert such GT teachers into CLT teachers (as said by the Headmaster of School 2).

After teachers' qualification, the second influential factor on students' poor capacity could be their socio-economic condition. Most of the students from this school were from families with a monthly income of BDT1000-3000 (US\$12.5 – 37.5) except two who had BDT9000 (US\$112.5). With this meagre amount, it might be assumed that their family could hardly spend any money for their children's education, as they had to rely solely on this income to meet their other basic needs (food, clothes, medicine etc.) Though all the sixteen participants said that they had had house tutor in English in the last two years, none of them had gone to a coaching centre. To clarify this point, house tutors could play an important role on students' performance, as it created a difference when some students made use of it while other did not have this option. (Hamid, Sussex & Khan 2009).

Most students from the school were from poor family background where parents were not highly educated. Out of sixteen students, 11 students reported that their parents had education only till class five or below class five. It might be very difficult or even impossible for such parents to motivate or help these students in their academic activities. It could not be expected that students would learn successfully in a worst case situation where all these three negative factors (teachers' qualification, their socio-economic condition and parental educational qualification) combined together. Most methods with specialist requirement like CLT would hardly be successful.

5.2. SCHOOL 2

5.2.1. INTRODUCTION

This was also a non-government rural school which had the pass rate of 35% in the SSC examination in 2011. The reason for selecting this school was to add one more school in the lowest pass rate range from the rural area to find if there were similar or different reasons for their low pass rates and to increase the depth of the study.

5.2.1.1 School setting

The school was situated in a village far away from Dhaka city. It took almost two and a half hours by bus and by local rickshaw. There was no electricity in the school and there was no electricity driven modern technologies that might help in the educational process. The whole school premise comprised 1.5 acres of land and two mud built houses with titanium sheds. There were a total of five classrooms in these two buildings. There was a separate office room for all teachers including the Headmaster.

In one of the five classrooms, classes for Grade 10 were held. This classroom had a partition in the middle to accommodate another class of students on the other side. The places for doors and windows of these classrooms were wide open without any protection or shade. Therefore, the classrooms remained open 24 hours a day. There were four sets of benches. The teacher had a desk but not any chair. There was a blackboard of around 1.5 square meters at the back of the teacher's desk. There were thirteen students present in the class in the day of data collection.

5.2.1.2 School operation

A short history of the school is also relevant here. The school was established in 1965 as a junior high school (till Class 8). Directorate of Secondary and Higher Secondary School (DSHS) approved its status as secondary school (till class 9 and 10 followed by SSC examination) in 1995. The first batch that appeared in SSC examination was in 1997. However, the MoE did not approve the MPO as a result of which the school could not appoint any new teachers. As a result, no English teacher wanted to come to this school. The only English teacher who used to teach English classes, retired a year ago. A new English teacher was appointed, but due to the problem of MPO, he had not joined yet. It is also pertinent to add a short note on the SMC. The Chairman of the SMC of this school was an ex-parliamentarian with MA degree and the vice chairman was a local businessman. All other members were from the village that had secondary level of education.

5.2.2. CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES

The teacher formally started the class with a greeting. He then asked his students about the homework he had given the previous day. The homework had been given from a 25Model Test Paper Solution Guide book instead of the text book. The homework was actually a typical question paper of previous SSC examination from this model test paper which was based on Lesson 1 from Unit 20 of the Text book. The teacher asked his students if they had prepared their homework. He gave them 2 minutes to revise their homework. Then he selected a student to read loudly from the passage with Bangla translation. While all other students were listening to the loud reading, the teacher corrected pronunciation, word meaning and translation of the passage.

²⁵ Model Test Paper Solution Guide is actually commercially produced notebooks from the market that collects S.S.C. examination question papers of different boards from last few years. They also make many sample question papers similar to the patterns of S.S.C. examinations and give solutions to those questions. Students are often misled by the assumption that they will get questions common to such types of guide books in their S.S.C. examination.

T: He had just repaired his net- *ortho ki etukur (what is the meaning to this extent?*

Two students appropriately translated the meaning in Bangla: *Jalti she shobematro meramot kore nie ashlo.*

T: *Jal ti she meramot kore nie ashlo.* And he noticed that the weight of the donkey had broken it in several places—*etukur ortho bolo ekhon* (tell its meaning now).

Reading loudly with translations continued around half of the lesson time and he asked seven students to do this loud reading. Then he asked meaning of vocabularies after which he gave them the task of writing question-answers from the model test paper. The teacher gave different questions to different students so that they could not copy each other. After finishing their tasks, students got their work checked by their teacher. When the question-answer writing was done, the teacher himself read aloud the next passage from the next model test paper. He also provided meanings of some difficult vocabularies. It is worth mentioning that the teacher himself did not translate the passage while reading it aloud although he asked his students to do that. He gave them homework for the next day which would be the same like today i.e. loud reading with translation, vocabulary meaning, question-answer writing followed by the teacher's reading of the next passage for another day's homework.

5.2.3. ANALYSIS

Table 8 offers an overview of degree of compliance with the indices from the CLT method prepared from teacher-training handbook on CLT. Having a look at these indices with reference to classroom observations referred to above, one may notice that all basic characteristics of communicative classroom were missing here.

Index	Conformity to index
1. Students use of English	No
2. Includes all students in the class	Only selective students
3. Teacher movement in the class	Only in the front
4. Teacher encouraging students to ask question	No
5. Equal chance of participation	Only volunteers
6. Students ask question	No
7. Class work	Yes
8. Pair/group work	No
9. Role-play	No
10. Class test	No

11. Teacher talk more	Yes
12. Students talk more	No (read and translate)
13. Teacher's role during the class work	Standing at the desk
14. Pre-discussion before reading/writing	No
15. Grammar taught (How)	No
16. Use of teaching aid	No
17. Teacher's language of instruction	Bangla

Table 8: School 2 Classroom Observation checklist

The teacher tightly controlled the classroom activities where he neither asked students any open questions for free discussion nor did students raise any questions. The language of instruction for the whole lesson was Bangla. It was quite surprising that students did not bring the original textbook; rather they brought a model test paper guide. The teacher did not follow the lesson objectives of the textbook; instead he followed the question pattern and their solution in the model test paper. But before doing that he made his students read aloud the passage in the question paper with vocabulary meaning followed by question-answer writing. This utmost emphasis on reading and writing together with vocabulary meaning in native language was in fact a basic characteristic of the GT method. Besides, no reference to grammatical structure of the text was made, explicitly or implicitly. This aspect of GT method is completely in contrast to the CLT method where speaking and listening skills are of paramount importance.

When asked if he conducted any speaking session in pair/group or role-play, he replied in the negative and said that only dialogue was done sometimes. He added that

It may be best but in such a school, we follow the way by which pass rate can be increased. Our school managing committee chairman, former MP, who works in a non government university often visits our school. He sits with us with the book and says "teach this way, if you teach this way, more students will pass. It is the priority here; later topics will be seen later" (author's translation).

It is worth mentioning here that though speaking and listening skills were given priority to reading and writing in the CLT method, in the current examination system there is no direct assessment of speaking and listening in the SSC exam. As such speaking and listening skills were often not practiced and often ignored in many schools. This school, having the problem of lowest pass rate in the Education Board, was concerned only with how to increase the pass rate in order to get its 26MPO for the secondary section. He said accordingly that to increase the pass rate

²⁶ There is a condition of certain percentage of pass rate to get MPO from the Ministry of Education.

was the target of his teaching and as the model test paper guides were made in the same pattern of the SSC exam, there was no alternative to using these guides.

This tendency to prepare students for passing the exam only, often has the consequence that students do not learn any skills for practical usage. This difference between learning for passing in the exam and learning for skill development in practical English communication was also disparagingly mentioned by other teachers. It might be for that reason that the teacher still adhered to be concerned about the pass rate. In the interview, the teacher seemed convinced that what he was doing was correct to the best of his knowledge. He said that he himself had been taught in this way when he was a student. According to him, English was taught in the same way in surrounding schools. Although he felt that he was trying his best, he repeated several times that skilled teachers in English were badly needed in Bangladesh.

To sum up the classroom analysis, it might be said that the teacher was actually following a method suggested to him which mostly resembled the GT method. Students were passive followers who were dominated and controlled by the teacher in classroom activities.

It is important to add a discussion on the teacher's qualification, students' socio-economic background and their parental educational qualification. At the very beginning of the semi-structured interview, the teacher mentioned that he was not an English teacher. He was appointed as a Bangla teacher and had received all training on this. He did not even fulfill the minimum requirement of English courses of 300 marks in his Bachelor's degree. After the retirement of the previous English teacher, no new English teacher joined the school. That was why he had been encouraged to take English classes and according to him he was doing this for the "situation demand". The teacher's background information provided an explanation for why his classroom activities might not conform to CLT indices.

The teacher emphasised several times the importance of skilled teachers both in his school and in the whole country. Being in a disqualified position, he knew and felt perhaps better than many teachers what a skilled teacher could do. Whenever asked about any CLT methodological tools being implemented or not, he could not answer anything except the need for skilled teachers, who in his view should be able to teach with all methodological awareness. Here he was only teaching what he had been imposed to teach as a 'situation demand'. The Headmaster of this school held the view that traditional GT teaching had been better for rural schools because students could at least memorise and learn something. Now they could not learn anything as they could neither memorise nor be taught by expert CLT teachers. He further noted that teachers educated in the ELT should be appointed as English teachers who would be both theoretically and methodologically aware. According

to him “no training programme can prove adequate to prepare GT teachers as CLT teachers” (author’s translation).

About the socio-economic condition of these students, it is noticed that out of thirteen students, ten students did not know their family income whereas three students informed that their family income was BDT9000 (US\$112,5), BDT5000 (US\$62,5) and BDT4000 (US\$50). Of them nine students wrote that their fathers were farmer, three students wrote that their fathers were shopkeepers and one did not fill up in his father’s occupation. If all other students had the similar range of income, one might assume that their family income did not facilitate their study. All students mentioned housewife as their mothers’ occupation which might give us the impression that mothers helped their son/daughter in their academic activities. In fact, nine students wrote that they received parental help in solving problems in English. It was found from the questionnaire that except five fathers and two mothers, all parents had below 10th grade education. There were even five fathers and two mothers who had no education at all. This academic profile gave an impression that parental academic influence was not substantial enough to perform well in English learning. Thus it may be commented that these students were learning English in a worst case situation where three negative factors combine together .

5.3. SCHOOL 3

5.3.1. INTRODUCTION

This was a non-government urban school with a pass rate of 56.67% in the SSC examination in the year 2011. Though it had more than 50% pass rate, it was the lowest pass rate in the non-government category of urban area schools. Arguments for adding this school were mainly two. Firstly, for the sake of comparison, one non-government urban school in the low pass rate range was necessary. Secondly, the number of students in the other two non-government schools were much lower than schools in the category of high pass rate government or non-government schools. Therefore, it was thought appropriate to add this school so that more students could be added for the quantitative purpose of the study.

5.3.1.1 School setting

School 3 was located in a densely populated area with very congested houses attached to a narrow roads in Dhaka Metropolitan city. The author experienced much hassle to find this school²⁷ which was located in a densely congested slum

²⁷ At the beginning, the school was set up by some enlightened educationist and teachers from various institutions of Dhaka University. Due to political influence,

area where two tin shed blocks were raised face to face keeping a very narrow place in between them. The narrow place was used as a common place for students of both an adjacent junior high school and school 3. In one side of this narrow place there was an entrance to this school and in another side there were tin shed rooms which were actually residence of some small families. There were small kids in those families from where baby cries and noises were coming during the school hours.

In this shabby, poor condition the school was run by the administration of the junior high school. In order to reduce cost, School 3 got as few teachers as possible to cover all classes. The English (plus Math teacher) was one of them. A professional teacher would be more costly and perhaps for that reason this school selected a college going student who could at least conduct classes. The quality of teaching was not a question here, rather high quantity of pass rate was a very big requirement so that the school could continue having the registration status and could regain its MPO in future.

5.3.1.2 School operation

Nothing could be heard about its SMC. In fact the Headmaster of the school tried hard to continue the school activities amidst various opposing challenges mentioned in the school setting.

5.3.2. CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES

The classroom was tremendously small (measuring not more than 8-10 square meters). There were eight sets of small benches (high benches and seat benches) placed very much in a congested way of two rows. There were five sets of benches in one row and three sets of benches in another row. The space between these rows was very narrow where students could not easily move. These two sets of benches were allowing very little place for a chair in the front facing students, leaving a small open corner near the door in the front where the teacher stood. There was a small piece of blackboard in the middle of the front wall behind the chair. There

the school lost its MPO along with its original school campus. As the school could not manage any land procurement, it became landless and campusless. Several times, it rented some buildings in the city to continue normal school activities, but due to heavy expenses, it had to shift. Finally, the school came to a compromise with a junior high school (till grade 8). School 3 with its valid registration of conducting classes for Class 9 and 10 followed by S.S.C examination, used the premise of the junior high school, got its students enrolled in Class 9 after finishing Class 8. Thus the purpose of both the junior high school and School 3 was served by each other through making a compromise.

was only one window on the side of the door facing a closed wall, thus not allowing sufficient sunlight or air inside the classroom.

The class began with the teacher asking if students had read the lesson that he had taught the previous day. The lesson was about Devenport High School for Girls. Finding no response he said in one sentence that the lesson was about a Principal advising his students what they would be able to do after finishing their education at this school. Then he told them to listen to him while he was translating the text of that lesson in smaller phrases, chunks of sentences or sometimes in full sentences. Much to the surprise, it was found that the teacher did not need the text book; he could retell the whole text from his memory. From the very beginning of his translation, he was very much focused on various forms of parts of speech. After finishing the translation part, the teacher asked his students to write down the summary of the passage in five sentences. While students started writing, he repeated more than five times that they would have to write the summary and they should not copy complete sentences from the text. When the allocated time was over, he stopped them writing. Then he started asking them questions from the text followed by asking vocabulary meaning. Then he checked the summaries written by students. Finally he gave them homework.

5.3.3. ANALYSIS

The detailed description of these classroom activities just confirmed that it was a typical class of GT method. Most interestingly the teacher himself memorised the whole text, repeated it from his memory with translation. From the beginning till the end, he dominated the class; he talked the most, directed the flow of classroom activities and controlled them in the classroom. In both translation and all other activities, he used Bangla as the medium of instruction. In his interview, he informed the author that he followed his method which was basically based on grammar. The following conversation in fact shows his ideology of English teaching in the class:

A: Please tell me how you teach CLT in your class?

F: At first, I notice/search the lack of my students from grammatical basis and try to solve their grammatical problems. Then I try to give them hand writing task on it. I try to make them understand that English is never limited to syllabus; it is beyond any syllabus specifications. That is why I try to teach them going beyond the syllabus and try to give them something unexpected.

A: How do you complete syllabus then?

F: At first I find out all grammatical points from the syllabus, then I teach them. When grammar is complete, I take practice classes on those grammatical points.

A: Now discussion is going on about CLT, the textbook is prepared on that ground and each lesson has some objectives with communicative focus. Do you follow those objectives in your teaching?

F: I have my own method, I follow that method first. Then I follow the book.

It was indeed found in his class that his teaching was based on GT method. While translating the chunks, phrases or sentences of the text, he referred from time to time to forms of different words and asked them explicitly why a certain form of word was used in a particular way in the text. For example, he said in the class:

After they leave school, they should be confident. In Bangla, school tag korar pore tader ke atmo bishshashi hote hobe. Here what should come after be: verb/noun/adjective? After be, being, been, which parts of speech comes? Adjective. Then 'confident'- what are the last three letters of confident. -ent. If last three letters are -ent, then it is adjective. It was given in writing in the class. So they should be confident.

A look at checklist in table 9 reveals that none of the CLT requirements are maintained here. Much like the traditional way, he held no pre-discussion on the topic he was going to teach on that day. There were pictures in the text for stimulating ideas and for matching dialogues which were completely ignored at the very beginning of the class. Similarly there was no pre-discussion in the CLT fashion before the writing task. He instructed them to write the summary of the text in five sentences with a heading and a finishing sentence. No pair work and role-play was done. Students did not ask any questions, instead they simply tried to answer when they were asked to do so.

Index	Conformity to index
1. Students use of English	No, except copying and quoting from the text
2. Includes all students in the class	Almost
3. Teacher movement in the class	Only in the front
4. Teacher encouraging students to ask question	No.
5. Equal chance of participation	No voluntary participation
6. Students ask question	No
7. Class work	Summary writing
8. Pair/group work	No
9. Role-play	No
10. Class test	No
11. Teacher talk more	Yes

12. Students talk more	No
13. Teacher's role during the class work	Check, control & correction
14. Pre-discussion before reading/writing	No
15. Grammar taught (How)	Explicit
16. Use of teaching aid	No
17. Teacher's language of instruction	Relies heavily on Bangla for translating text, vocabularies and for interaction

Table 9: School 3 Classroom Observation checklist

In the interview, the teacher informed the author that speaking was not taught at all in the class whereas writing was given top priority. However, this writing was not a process based task, rather it was a product-oriented tasks where students were asked to write a summary of a topic from the text or any other topic. The teacher's description of how he conducted the writing tasks clarifies that it was indeed done in a traditional GT method.

In writing, first I start with subject and object, then I deal with other parts of speech like noun, verb, adjective etc. Then I make it Bangla, then with those subject and object, I tell them to make sentence in English. First I tell them the Bangla meaning line by line. Then they are translated into English. They are given homework to write down on any kind or types of topic, whether it is correct or incorrect. Thus they are made understood. Thus writing is done. Or I may also give them a topic and tell them to write on it about one or two pages. (author's translation)

Although he said that he used to hold a pre-discussion on the writing topic, the above quotation confirmed that it was far beyond the communicative way. It was true that teaching in GT method helped his students more than CLT because these students, being too weak in English grammar, would hardly be able to write any free hand composition in accordance to CLT method. It appeared from this school contexts that CLT was neither feasible for the teacher to implement nor for the students to receive lessons. Having been informed about the CLT method, the teacher finally told the author that from the beginning of the next academic session, he would do more speaking than writing in the class.

The teacher's background information exposed some reasons for the teacher being non-communicative in teaching through CLT method. At the time of interview, he was a student of 2nd year Bachelor's degree from a nearby college. He had not got any training nor did he have any other courses in English except his own education. Therefore he was just teaching in the way he himself had been taught in his school education. In fact, he got an opportunity to teach in this school as the Principal was

his father's friend. Having a lack of methodological awareness, he seemed to be lost at times during the interview.

Turning attention to students' background questionnaire revealed that most fathers of these students were very short scale businessmen, drivers, electricians, conductors or service holders. The highest family incomes of these students were BDT30000 (US\$375) for one, BDT20000 (US\$250) for three and BDT5000-13000 (US\$62,5 - 162,5) for the rest of them. Most mothers of these students were housewives which entailed that mothers perhaps helped these students to solve their academic problem. However, it was found in the background information that fifteen mothers and twelve fathers out of seventeen parents had education between Class 0 to Class 10. This implies that parental academic influence was not substantial enough for their better academic performance. Nor could it be assumed that their socio-economic condition enabled them to have support for additional teaching. Thus this school provided another example of learning situations where three negative factors (teacher's qualification, students' socio-economic condition and influence of their parental) combined together.

5.4. SCHOOL 4

5.4.1. INTRODUCTION

This was a government school situated in the urban area with a pass rate of 71.74%. This was one the lowest pass rate among all government schools in 2011 and as such was considered appropriate for participating in this study.

5.4.1.1 School setting

This school was located in the centre of Dhaka city inside railway government colony (residential area for railway staff). The school consisted of a three storied L-shaped building and a large playground. There were thirty classrooms, 600 students in day shift (from 12:30 pm till 4:30 pm) and 800 students in the morning shift (from 8 am till 12 pm). There were in total thirty-five teachers for both shifts.

5.4.1.2 School operation

School operation was done according to rules and regulations from the Ministry of Education.

5.4.2. CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES

The teacher started the class with a greeting followed by the unit and lesson number he wanted to teach on that day. It was about life styles of the Magh, a tribal (minority) group in Bangladesh. First of all, he asked questions about activities done by the Magh people in pictures. This was actually a warming up session where students were invited to share their opinions what was going on in the pictures. After discussing this in English for a while with several students, the teacher read the text aloud in smaller chunks, phrases and sentences and paraphrased them into easier English. He asked vocabulary meanings of difficult words while reading aloud the text and if necessary clarified their meanings in English and in the cases of difficult words, supplemented them with Bangla words for those meanings. Then question/answer asking followed the reading session. After that the teacher prepared his students for a diagram with a process description of the Magh's traditional food. He carried out again a pre-discussion for this task where he explained his students that they would have to use linking words while describing the diagram. This grammar teaching was, though explicit, completely relevant as students would use them in the writing then. He also conferred about probable vocabularies which students might need in this task. Finally he prepared his students for performing a pair work, but the bell rang marking the end of the class. He gave this lesson as homework to his students.

5.4.3. ANALYSIS

In this class, it might be noted that the teacher used English as the medium of instruction throughout the class. Similar to all other better performing schools, this made him different from all worse performing non-government schools. This gave the class more chances for English interaction and communication between students and the teacher. In the pre-discussion session before reading the text, he invited and encouraged answers and comments in English from his students about what the Magh people were doing in the pictures. He extended the discussion with similar other minority groups' name in Bangladesh so that students might familiarize themselves with the topic, the Magh. It was noted from the teacher's reading of the texts that he quite frequently referred to difficult words into simpler English. For example he supplied the word 'wet' for 'damp', 'made of straw or thatch' for 'thatched', 'red pepper' for 'chillies' and so on. He used Bangla words for some difficult words and thus he reduced the use of Bangla (native language) in his CLT class for words like fermentation-gajon prokria, thatched hut- kureghar, timber-katth. It was also found in his reading of the text that he raised some short questions to the text immediately after reading a sentence and offers clarifications - if students failed to answer them. It might have more effect in drawing students' attention as the teacher was asking questions:

Timber or bamboo posts support the platforms --So what supports the platform?

The bamboo shoots are also eaten in a different way -- How do you eat in different way?

As in-reading tasks, these questions helped the teacher to retain the students' attention and the students to be responsive and interactive.

After the reading session, the teacher conducted a question/answer session where four students were asked questions. In terms of inclusive teaching, this class could not incorporate each and every student in its activities. Seven students (same students were repeated sometimes) participated during the reading activities by asking questions or by providing Bangla meaning of some words. Out of thirty-four students, only eleven students learnt either partially or substantially in these classroom activities. Most of the others were found less responsive and less motivated in the class. The teacher was not found active in integrating them in these activities which might have interrupted the regular flow of the class.

In the pre-discussion before writing, the teacher focused both on the content and the grammar or form. He wrote down the key words on the blackboard which students might use in their actual writing. Besides, some difficult words were translated into Bangla. Grammatical points linking words were explicitly explained as it was found relevant to describe the process of preparing a food. Here he made reference to English 2nd paper where students learned only grammar and composition following completely GT method. As English 2nd paper was taught in a different class, making a reference to it enabled students to find a practical use of the grammatical rules.

Finally, the teacher's initiation for arranging his students for pair work could not be successful due to the time restriction which had been complained by all teachers participating in this project. Most of the teachers either had to cut short their lesson plan or leave the class incomplete as English class had only 30 or 35 minutes duration. This day to day incomplete classroom activities led ultimately to the teachers' inability to successfully complete the course or students better achievement. The teacher admitted this in his interview:

A: Do you believe using English as language of instruction in the classroom helps in achieving your goal?

Q: I believe 50% or 60%, not 100% because the students are weak and maximum time in 365 days we get only 150 or 160 classes. So in short time we cannot be able to give them better or perfect teaching. They are deprived in this situation.

As a consequence to this, the teacher seemed to accept the reality that students from financially solvent family paid for extra tuition. However, he expresses the view that private or extra tuition is not necessary if students come to school regularly. Another consequence of time restraints in English class was that teachers had to be

selective about which lesson to teach and which not to; otherwise a teacher would face severe challenges in attaining good results both for his students and school. He explained that most English teachers selected only those lessons (writing based) which were important for examinations and ignored speaking and listening based lessons. As he preferred to teach each lesson, he faced much challenge. If he taught listening and speaking based lesson, he said, his students also commented on them as less or no important.

A close look at Table 10 offers an overview of degree of compliance with the indices from the CLT method prepared from teacher-training handbook on CLT. As common to many other teachers, this teacher also asked questions only to some of the students. The number of these best performing students in this school were not that many and as such, it might be, he had to select only those students who were able to do a particular task. As this selection was based only from the volunteer students, it might not be said that the majority students of this class were able to communicate fluently, which otherwise would not be possible from a random selection. No pair work was done due to time restrains, no role-play or class test was conducted in the class. Having a look at all of these features, it appears that the teacher tried to make it more of a CLT class in nature however with some limitations.

Index	Conformity to index
1. Students use of English	Yes, those who participates
2. Includes all students in the class	Repeats same students from volunteers rather than including all.
3. Teacher movement in the class	Only in the front
4. Teacher encouraging students to ask question	Yes
5. Equal chance of participation	Only volunteers
6. Students ask question	Yes
7. Class work	Oral Q/A
8. Pair/group work	Attempted but failed...
9. Role-play	No
10. Class test	No
11. Teacher talk more	Yes
12. Students talk more	Rarely initiate any discussion
13. Teacher's role during the class work	Asked questions in oral interactions
14. Pre-discussion before reading/writing	Yes
15. Grammar taught (How)	Yes, explicitly

16. Use of teaching aid	No
17. Teacher's language of instruction	English

Table 10: School 4 Classroom Observation checklist

The discussion may now be considered in relation to teacher's qualification, socio-economic condition of students' family and their parental educational background. This teacher was an MA in English with ELT training in CPD and 10 years of teaching experience. His background seemed to have prepared him with the necessary methodological awareness for teaching in CLT. The teacher's knowledge seemed to have enabled him to make his class as communicative as possible. Students' background questionnaire informed that thirty out of thirty-three students were from the income range between BDT4000- 15000 (US\$50 - 187.5) and their fathers' occupations were (low paid) government jobs, small-scale business etc. All of their mothers were housewives except one. This income range could partially be used to invest for extra academic costs. Yet it was found in the questionnaire that twenty-seven agreed to have private tutors and twenty-six students agreed to have gone coaching centres in the last two years. Again parental educational background for most parents were higher secondary or SSC. This gave impression that there might be parental academic influence for which twenty-four students either strongly agreed or agreed. It may now be said this school had a mediocre position in relation to socio-economic condition of students' family and their parental educational background though the teacher's qualification was to expected level of a CLT method.

5.5. SCHOOL 5

5.5.1. INTRODUCTION

This was a government and urban school with a very high pass rate of 99.76% in the SSC examination 2011. Therefore it was selected as participating school for this study.

5.5.1.1 School setting

This is a government school located in the centre of the Dhaka Metropolitan city. As in all other government schools, it had well-structured buildings for accommodating morning and day shifts. There were two three storied long buildings with open playgrounds. The whole school premise was surrounded by a high wall. There were a total of twenty-five classrooms, Headmaster's office, assistant Headmasters' office, teachers' common room, laboratory for science students and so on. There was electricity inside classrooms with five fans, though not any computer or loudspeaker. The classroom was spacious where students'

seats (high benches and seat benches) were arranged in three columns; two wider side columns with a middle smaller column. The teacher's chair was at the front with a table. The whole wall at the teacher's back side was used as a blackboard. There were in total eighty-six students in Class 10 out of which thirty-three were absent. English classes were of 35 minutes duration which were taken 5 days a week.

5.5.1.2 School operation

Government schools are controlled, monitored and administered by the Ministry of Education. The details of such school operation is presented in the literature review section of this study.

5.5.2. CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES

Today's class formally started with greeting. There was noise from students settling down. Then the teacher tried to calm them down and asked an introductory question as a pre-discussion to the lesson he wanted to teach on that day. Both the teacher and students used English for their interaction. The name of the lesson was "Take Off" which was about journey by plane. The teacher read the text aloud for his students, paraphrased it in easier English which was followed by question-answer session. Finally he told his students to write a paragraph on journey by plane.

5.5.3. ANALYSIS

The teacher seemed to hold a pre-discussion on the text he was going to teach. The warming up question of "have you any experience of journey by plane?" got a negative response from all students except one. The teacher told him to describe that. While the student was describing his whole experience in brief, the teacher helped him with cues, vocabulary and ideas to make it detailed. The following conversation showed that the teacher was in fact encouraging him to elaborate his experience:

S1: My first journey by plane was very exciting. I went to the airport, bought a ticket, I show the checker my passport and visa and the ticket. Then I got into plane and I went to my...

T: Got into the plane, next?

S1: Then the plane slowly started and the...

T: Where did you sit in the plane? Where-- did you sit-- in the plane? (repeats with pause)

S1: I sitted beside the window.

T: Beside the window fine. Did you see anything from your plane?

S1: Yes sir. I saw many things from the window. It just like a, look like some ants.

These stimulating questions from the teacher's part actually kept the class interactive from the very beginning. At the same time he also wanted the students to participate in oral question-answer session on the content of the lesson. First, he gave his students five minutes for silent reading of the text. After the silent reading the teacher asked an open question about the texts and found several volunteer students who raised hand. He pointed one of them to reply. Then he read out the text loudly and told them to listen to him carefully. After finishing reading, the teacher started question/answer session orally. The teacher did not comply with the criteria of inclusive teaching as he selected the same students twice or three times for answering questions. The speaking interaction thus remained confined only between the teacher and highly motivated risk taking students.

It appears that the teacher did not encourage the rest of the students to join the conversation. This might be the reason that students did not initiate any discussion or raise any question by themselves; rather some enthusiastic students among them were only ready to respond to the open or closed question by the teacher from the text. This was how students' speech activity was severely reduced in the classroom which was mainly dominated by the teacher speaking and controlled by his teaching goal. The use of pair or group work techniques could have increased student-student interaction in the class, which was not used either. The learner-centredness characteristics of CLT, i.e. students initiating/selecting topics, speaking more on it with teacher being a facilitator or moderator role were thus not fulfilled.

Table 11 provides summary of degree of compliance with the indices from the CLT method prepared from teacher-training handbook on CLT.

Index	Conformity to index
1. Students use of English	Yes
2. Includes all students in the class	Repeats same students from volunteers rather than including all.
3. Teacher movement in the class	Only in the front
4. Teacher encouraging students to ask question	Yes
5. Equal chance of participation	Only volunteers
6. Students ask question	No
7. Class work	Yes
8. Pair/group work	No
9. Role-play	No
10. Class test	No
11. Teacher talk more	Yes
12. Students talk more	No
13. Teacher's role during the class work	wrote next task on the

	blackboard
14. Pre-discussion before reading/writing	Yes
15. Grammar taught (How)	Yes, inductively
16. Use of teaching aid	No
17. Teacher's language of instruction	English

Table 11: School 5 Classroom Observation checklist

In his classroom, he seemed to do implicit grammar teaching as he picked up and explained any important grammatical aspects from the lesson. From the students' responses he attempted to differentiate formal and informal answers, explicated grammatical rules i.e. the use of present continuous and past continuous tense. In this way he taught grammar in the class implicitly from the text, which was in fact a characteristic of CLT. In answer to the question "Why did Masum look at Nila and Becky?", a student replied "Because he felt nervous, so he saw them." Then the teacher gave him the following explanation:

T: Yes, actually, he was feeling nervous. Here is the term, I would like to mention, that is in present continuous tense you cannot say 'I am feeling, he is feeling'. This is grammatically incorrect. But you can use past continuous. He was/she was/I was feeling. Because, actually Masum was feeling nervous. So he looked at Nila and Becky.

At the end of the question-answer session, the teacher decided that his students understood the text well. Then he moved on to the class work which was writing of past experience of journey by plane in a paragraph. As pre-discussion to the writing tasks, he wrote down main points on the blackboard in accordance with which students would write the task. He gave them five minutes to finish it. Similar to the pre-discussion of reading the text, the writing down of clues on the blackboard may be considered pre-discussion to the class work of writing a short paragraph, though he did not carry out any oral discussion.

The teacher seemed to try hard to manage the severe time restriction. While students were engaged in writing the paragraph, the teacher wrote down gap filling questions on the blackboard. Here he did not play the role of a facilitator or monitor to find if his students were facing any difficulties while writing the task. He might have thought of covering all tasks of the lesson. Exactly after five minutes, he started checking the students' writings. But he could not finish checking all students' writings nor could all students finish writing the task as the bell rang for finishing the class. He then quickly rushed on to the gap filling questions which he decided to do collectively with all students orally. After finishing the gap filling questions, the teacher gave them homework to finish the paragraph writing. Thus he declared the end of the class and left the classroom.

From above discussion and as shown in table 11, it may be noted that about half of the indices were maintained in this class. Several factors might have worked behind this (more or less) successful CLT class. Firstly, the teacher himself was highly educated with a PhD in English along with 12 years teaching experience and training in CLT –(ELTIP & TQI). He had a tendency to make the best use of his knowledge in the CLT method. Besides, his preparing the gap filling task on the blackboard while students were engaged in class work (writing paragraph) indicates his effort for managing time restriction in a class of 35 minutes duration. He even rushed very quickly with gap filling questions orally with all students. He also prepared his students for reading and writing with pre-discussions and taught only those grammatical points which he came across while teaching the text. These Pre-discussion and implicit grammar teaching were important characteristics of CLT. Both the teacher and students' use of English made the class fluent and more communicative in nature.

Secondly, students' socio-economic background with the influence from their parental education might be a strong force behind most of the students' good performance in the class. Students' survey questionnaire from this school revealed that forty students out of fifty-three got help from their parents in solving problems in English. Moreover their socio-economic background also seemed to be strong. Three families had income of lower amount which are BDT6000 (US\$75), BDT10,000 (US\$125) and BDT15000 (US\$187,5). Otherwise in all other cases the family income range was between BDT20000 and 80000 (approximately US\$250 to 1000). This higher amount of family income indicated that a good proportion was invested for children's education purposes. It became explicit from the students' survey questionnaire that twenty-six participants had had house tutors in the last two years whereas 30 participants had gone to coaching centre. With this social and cultural capital (Hamid 2009), these students became more responsive in the classroom achieving better success in English language learning. Though the teacher commented on his students as "by birth they are very good, by birth they are meritorious", it was clearly deduced from this information that this 'inborn merit' was in fact the gift of parental investment both economic and academic.

From the classroom observation data it was quite noteworthy that no student raised a question; instead most of them were ready to respond to the teacher's question. The teacher did not try to motivate those students who were not inclined to respond. While this was not inclusive in nature, teachers often refuted such criticism as motivating each student would consume a lot of time in a large class. It was also noted from the data that no role-play, no pair or group work was done which might be due to the fact that there was no such task in the lesson conducted that day. The teacher pointed out that some lessons were designed for reading and writing while others were for speaking and listening, while still others were for all four skills. He mentioned in his interview that he followed tasks of individual lesson in the classroom. From this perspective, he completed all tasks of the lesson, in addition to

which he had prepared 'fill in the gaps' activities for his class. Class tests were not taken on the day of data collection but thirty-six and fourteen of the students marked 'strongly agree' and 'agree' respectively for the statement "I have to attend class test in English."

It is now quite clear that the teacher had the sole agency of conducting the class according to the policy instructions from the Ministry of Education. In this class, it was seen that the teacher tried to conduct each task mentioned in the lesson objectives for that day, though he said with firm voice that most of the teachers were following their own method, and they were not following the CLT as the method of teaching. In answer to the question whether using English as the medium of instruction could help improve students' English skills, the teacher says,

Of course. If the teachers are well trained, well expert and well wishers, otherwise not. I think, the text or in short the teaching materials that present materials can do better if we apply them effectively in the classroom. I think all methods are good. Method may be better or best but no method is useless. Actually in the classroom, especially in English class, most of the teachers do not follow any scientific method. He or she can teach his own method. Whenever he likes in this way. This is the fact.

To sum up it may be said from the above analysis that this teacher tried to implement CLT as a policy agent and he did that in his regular teaching practice. Here a learning situation is conducive to CLT environment where all factors are very much in positive condition.

5.6. SCHOOL 6

5.6.1. INTRODUCTION

This was a non-government urban school with the highest pass rate of 100% in the SSC examination. In fact, this school has occupied its first position in the top twenty schools and college in the country for several years. For this reasons, this school was selected for this study.

5.6.1.1 School setting

This was an elite class school equipped with each facility of a modern school which was situated inside the Dhaka Metropolitan city. In one side of the school, there was a highway connecting the international airport and the Dhaka Metropolitan city to other parts of Bangladesh. There were various other institutions and residential buildings surrounding this institution. The school premise had its boundary with a main gate where there was a small box room for the security guards. There were at

least two security guards all the time to check students' (in their school costume) identity cards and record guests entry to the school and their purpose. After the entrance, there was an open and large play ground with various game courts painted on it with different sports instrument. On the other sides, there were two buildings closely situated and connected to each other. One of these buildings were eight storied and the other was five storied. All buildings had their long corridors and elevators beside stair rooms. The whole campus comprised around 4 acres of land.

There were total fifty-three classrooms in all these buildings. Besides, there were separate office rooms for subject-based teachers i.e. separate office rooms for English teachers, Bangla teachers, social science teachers and so on and so forth. There were total twenty-two teachers' office rooms. The head masters of both Bangla and English versions had their separate office rooms. The Principal of this institution was an acting Brigadier General of the Bangladesh Army who was responsible for the day to day operation and administration of the whole institute (both school and college). He had his office with his secretary who sat in another office adjacent to it for giving appointment and maintaining other secretarial activities.

There was a medical centre, indoor sports room, teachers' conference room, Computer lab accommodated in various buildings.

5.6.1.2 School operation

Section officer of the school was asked questions in order to get information about school operation. From the information he gave, it became clear how this school differed from other participating schools in terms of its governing body, teacher recruitment and above all the social class level it maintains.

This was an autonomous type of institution with both school and college sections in both Bangla and English versions. It had an autonomous governing body which was chaired by the Secretary of the Ministry of Education and other elite members from both private and public sectors. This governing body decided and conducted teacher recruitment. Teaching posts were advertised in the daily newspapers. Teachers' primary requirement was to have an MA degree in the core subjects offered in both Bangla and English. There were separate groups of teachers for Bangla and English versions. As a teacher recruitment process, applicants had to appear in a competitive test followed by viva and finally with a demonstration class. After being recruited, new teachers were given 8-10days of training internally organised by the institute. Teachers were also sent to various teacher-training courses arranged by NAEM (National Academy for Education Management). Besides, some other day-long training courses were also arranged in the school. Teachers were evaluated formally on an annual basis, on which promotion with increment in salary depends a lot. At the initial level, a teacher got around BDT20,000(US\$250)

which was double the salary of a non-government (with MPO) rural school teacher. Students had to pay admission fee which was BDT12,000 (US\$150) for students of Class 9 and 10 and BDT10,000 (US\$125) for students of Class 6, 7 and 8. Monthly tuition fee was BDT825 to 950 (US\$10.31 - 11.87) depending on the class a student attends.

There were altogether 182 teachers and around 4000 students making a teacher-student ratio of 1:22. There were two shifts in both Bangla and English versions. Each class duration was 40 to 45 minutes. Teachers had to take classes 6 days a week, though the maximum number of classes a teacher took in a week is twenty-two. This number was thirty-five to forty-two for a non-government rural school teacher. Beside regular classes, there were English related extracurricular activities, language lab activities and daily arrangement of extra teaching for weak students. Classes were taken on full swing basis uninterrupted by the SSC examination which was the case for many schools. This was particularly the case for those schools which were used as exam centres during SSC examination.

5.6.2. CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES

In the day of data collection, there were in total fifty-five students, out of which forty-nine students were present. There were a total of sixty seats which were arranged in three columns. These seats were immovable but had separate desks and chairs. The teacher's desk was placed on a long low lying stage making the teacher visible from each of the class. A long stretch of the wall behind the teacher was painted black and was used as blackboard. There were five electric fans but not any loudspeaker, computer or multimedia. Both of the side walls of the classroom had glass windows.

The class began with a greeting followed by the lesson number of the day which was Unit 18, lesson 3 International Mother Language Day. The teacher asked his students some questions from the picture, after which he gave them two minutes to read and prepare questions silently. There was a question/answer session in a conversational fashion after the reading session. The teacher gave them an individual task for five minutes which was gap filling in a passage. The initial correction of this individual task was done by the next student in pair. Then students were suggested to make groups in each column to share their ideas on probable answers for those gaps which were apparently difficult for them. In the meantime, the teacher wrote new, unknown vocabularies from the passage on the blackboard. When students were done with their discussion, the teacher drew their attention to these new vocabularies, asked about their meanings, discussed them in English and gave their Bangla meanings where necessary. After the vocabulary discussion, the teacher started checking the gap filling from the passage and he did this correction by asking each group to read particular sentences of the passage and to give answers to the gap. The wrong answers of any of these groups were

corrected by another groups and finally by the teacher if necessary. The class ended with the completion of this activity.

5.6.3. ANALYSIS

The teacher held a pre-discussion before starting the actual class. He asked several questions from the picture in the lesson, encouraged students to talk about the monuments, its significance. In fact, these warming up questions were given in the lesson to be originally conducted in the classroom. The teacher also started discussing the clues for writing a paragraph at the end of the class but had to give it as homework as the bell rang for the next class. For having an answer, the teacher seemed to select students only from the volunteers, though from time to time he asked questions to the students who were not risk taking. Though he moved in between the columns, came very close to students and motivated them to participate or speak in the class. Though students were participating when they were volunteering or when they were asked a question, they were not found to raise any questions during the observation. Students were asked to participate in a class work of gap filling which they first did as an individual task, and then they were asked to share and correct their answers in pairs and in groups. Each group of students was found actively participating in this discussion.

Table 12 provides an overview of degree of compliance with the indices from the CLT method prepared from teacher-training handbook on CLT.

Index	Conformity to index
1. Students use of English	Yes
2. Includes all students in the class	Mostly volunteers, also asks less motivated ones in back seats.
3. Teacher movement in the class	Only in the front
4. Teacher encouraging students to ask question	Yes
5. Equal chance of participation	Only volunteers, others need to be asked
6. Students ask question	No
7. Class work	Yes
8. Pair/group work	Yes
9. Role-play	No
10. Class test	No
11. Teacher talk more	Yes
12. Students talk more	No
13. Teacher's role during the class work	wrote next task on the blackboard

14. Pre-discussion before reading/writing	Yes
15. Grammar taught (How)	No
16. Use of teaching aid	No
17. Teacher's language of instruction	English

Table 12: School 6 Classroom Observation checklist

As indicated in table 12, there was no role-play nor any class test in the day of data collection. Class tests were organised centrally by the school in each month. Though the teacher talked more than the students, there was interactivity in the class. Grammar was taught in a separate class 'English Second part' and no reference to any grammatical aspect was made either implicitly or explicitly. No teaching aid was used. All these activities and discussions were conducted in English and all participating students use English. What happened in this classroom can now be related to the teacher knowledge, students' socio-economic condition and their parental educational influence.

The teacher had educational background in English, both BA and MA. Besides he completed his training in ELTIP, in service training from this school and research methodology course from Malaysia. He had been teaching English for five years then. Both Bachelor and Master Degrees dealt with many courses of language teaching and learning methods besides the practice of appropriate use of grammar, the practice of four skills with other basic courses from literature or linguistics. From this basic educational background, such teachers were already methodologically aware of ELT. In addition to this knowledge, this teacher got in-service training both from his institution and from NAEM. In his teaching practice, it was found that he tried to make his class as much CLT in nature as possible.

Most students of this school were from elite classes of the city. Out of forty-nine, only six students had family income in between BDT20,000 to 25,000 (US\$250 - 312.5). The rests had family income in different amounts between BDT30,000 to 80, 000 (US\$375 - 1000). Around 50% of the students either agreed or strongly agreed that they had received private tuition and the same was true for going to the coaching centre. Good socio-economic condition might have been one of the factors for sending students for extra teaching. It is worth mentioning that coaching centres or private tuition is more frequently visible in Dhaka than any other part in Bangladesh. Many of the coaching centres claim to be the best in providing coaching with guaranty for success in the SSC or HSC examinations.

Academic backgrounds of students' parents were also noteworthy. Only one father had HSC and two mothers had SSC (six mothers had HSC) as the lowest level of educational qualification. All the rests of the parents were either BA, MA, with different occupations such as doctor, engineer, businessman, government job. However, thirty-eight mothers were housewives with the implication that these mothers were more engaged with their children's education, help them to solve

problem, monitor day to day completion of homework and preparation for class test or terminal examinations. This became clear in the students survey questionnaire where altogether thirty-five out of forty-nine students either agreed or strongly agreed that their parents used to help them in solving problems in English. Besides, forty-eight out of forty-nine students have either agreed or strongly agreed that their parents used to encourage them to raise question in the class if they had had any problem in English. This high level of parental educational influence might also have a significant impact on students' performance in English in the classroom.

5.7. SCHOOL 7

5.7.1. INTRODUCTION

This was also a non-government urban school with a top pass rate of 100% in the SSC examination in 2011. The purpose for selecting this school was to find if there were similarities or differences between two school with the highest pass rate.

5.7.1.1 School setting

The school was located in the centre of the Dhaka Metropolitan city. The school campus was on 1.18 acre of land and consisted of a five storied large L-shaped building and a separate three storied small building for the Principal and her office. The main entrance to the school premise was on the ground floor of the five storied building. After entrance to the school, the front side of the L-shaped building was used as a playground and students assembly ground. There were three large teachers' room, a computer lab and a prayer room etc.

5.7.1.2 School operation

This was a privately funded school which is run by a governing body. The chairman of the governing body was a current member of the parliament and the secretary of members was the Principal herself. The rest of the members of the governing body were from different elite class of the society. Teachers' recruitment were conducted by the governing body. Teachers' jobs were advertised in the newspaper which then followed three steps (written test, viva and demonstration class) before final appointment. English teachers had both Bachelor's and Master's degrees in English which was a primary requirement to be a teacher in this school. All teachers had their training on TQI-SEP. All teachers got 20000 BD taka as salary at the initial level which increased yearly after an annual evaluation. This school had three branches, all of them in the Dhaka Metropolitan city. There are in total 450 teachers and among them there were 30 English teachers. There were around 8000 students in all campuses and seventy students in each class.

During admission all students had to pay an admission fee of 2500 BD taka (31.25 USD) along with a monthly tuition fee of 600 BD taka (7.5 USD). Students had to attend 7 classes per day. Teachers had to teach at least five classes per day. Each class was of 40 minutes duration except the first class which was of 1 hour duration for some formalities (will be described very soon). There were also arrangements for English related extracurricular activities such as debating, quiz, extemporary speech, spelling competition. There was both a debating club and an English language club along with a computer lab.

5.7.2. CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES

Classrooms were very spacious for accommodating seats with desk for 70. There were in total 71 students in the class and out of them 54 were present in the class. Students' seats were arranged in four columns with sufficient space in between for teacher's or students' movement. There were two or three students in each set of benches. There was electricity in the classroom with loud speakers and electric fans. The loud speaker was in fact controlled centrally from the Headmaster's office for announcements along with the regular activities of singing of national anthem and recitation from the holy Quran.

After these initial formalities, the teacher started roll calling and then he informed the class that he would conduct the class on what he had taught in the previous class. The lesson was about May Day on which the teacher raised different questions and asked them randomly to different students. He selected students with their roll numbers which reduced the chance of selecting the same students repeatedly. Thus he tried to make the class inclusive. Besides, from the very beginning he interacted with his students directly and thus he ensured that the class became interactive, though he himself talked more than all his students together. One benefit from this teacher talking was that students got a lot of listening practice since the teacher's language of instruction was English. The following extract from the classroom observation may show this:

T: Yes, my one question here, you can share two or three students; you may stand up by role 3, 4 and 6.

Why did the working classes people fight? Why did the working classes people fight?...

S1: I mean by basic privileges – a minimum wage, safety laws and eight hour workday.

T: Yes, do you support it? (addressing the rest of the students)

Ss: Yes,

T: Yes, only the basic rights.

Yes, three types of rights here. Basic rights? Five or seven. Five basic rights. Education, shelter, treatment, then... Basic

rights, one can fulfill his basic rights if he has money. If he gets proper salary.

The inclusive tendency became clear when he reconfirmed one student's response from the rest of the students. Moreover, the nature of teacher's questions in each interaction was not closed, rather open type allowing students to comment on it with what they thought or felt.

This question-answer conversation on the content of the text continued for 10 to 15 minutes and then he turned to the grammatical part of the lesson. He picked up words of various classes from the text of the lesson and asked his students about its class name, function and finally suggested them to make a sentence using that particular word. These word classes included parts of speech, participle, gerund and then he extended his discussion to voice, tense and structure of sentences etc. What made his grammatical discussion relevant here was that he picked up each and every word, phrase or sentence from the text and then discussed their grammatical aspects in detail. This nature of grammar teaching made it implicit because sentences or words were neither from detached texts nor was grammar the sole focus here. Combining the text and grammar together made this class much different from other classes under observation in this study.

Next, the teacher turned his students' attention to questions of summarising. Here he also gave them ideas about the nature of questions that would come in the final exam. Among various questions, he mentioned true/false, multiple choice question, short-question answer from a given text. He asked several short questions to students and then he selected students for making three groups of students. The first group would ask questions, the second group would answer them and the third group would give feedback or corrections. The teacher decided which group to ask questions and he monitored and interrupted conversations when necessary. Almost at the end of this discussion, there was another announcement centrally from the Headmaster's office. Shortly after this announcement, the bell rang, the teacher thanked and left the class.

5.7.3. ANALYSIS

As the second class from the same lesson, the teacher did not hold the pre-discussion with some warming up ideas or from the picture of the text. This might have been done in the previous class on the same lesson. Rather he asked a question about the content of the text as a continuation of the previous discussion. He asked his students if they supported that May Day was “based on the topics about the working classes people”. Then he started lecturing in fact on this issue for a couple of minutes and from time to time he asked questions about it. This teacher was fond of talking a lot in English, even interrupting students. As his medium of instruction was English, students got listening input from their teacher. Students' equal chance

for participation and inclusive education was increased by the teacher's use of students roll number for random selection of students for asking question. Though students did not raise question in the class, the teacher encouraged them both to raise question and to raise hands for answering questions. There were group works in the class when the teacher divided students into groups for asking question, answering them and for giving feedback to questions. Though the teacher still monitored and controlled students question-answer session in groups, in fact he used student-centred approach for a part of the class time. There was no role-play in the day of data collection and it seemed that it was conducted less often in the class as only fifteen out of forty-nine students agreed out that they had to participate in role play in the class. Again, there was no class test in the day of data collection but all students either agreed or strongly agreed that they had to attend class test. Grammar was taught in the class as it appeared in the text and the teacher held a detailed discussion on that grammatical topic.

Table 13 offers an overview of degree of compliance with the indices from the CLT method prepared from teacher-training handbook on CLT.

Index	Conformity to index
1. Students use of English	Yes
2. Includes all students in the class	Selected students randomly with their roll number
3. Teacher movement in the class	Only in the front
4. Teacher encouraging students to ask question	Yes
5. Equal chance of participation	yes
6. Students ask question	No
7. Class work	Yes
8. Pair/group work	Yes
9. Role-play	No
10. Class test	No
11. Teacher talk more	Yes
12. Students talk more	No
13. Teacher's role during the class work	wrote next task on the blackboard
14. Pre-discussion before reading/writing	Yes
15. Grammar taught (How)	Yes, details in implicit way
16. Use of teaching aid	No
17. Teacher's language of instruction	English

Table 13: School 7 Classroom Observation checklist

The above discussion on the checklist shows that there was much communicative nature in this class which may be explained in the light of teacher education, students socio-economic background and their parental education.

The teacher of this school had both Master and Bachelor degrees in English indicating an awareness with substantial knowledge in ELT. Besides he had teacher training (TQI) from NAEM. He had 20 years language teaching experience which might also have helped him in finding out what classroom techniques work best in conducting any lesson. In his interview, he explained that though grammar was taught separately in English second period, whenever he found grammatical points in CLT text materials, he raised questions and held a short but clear discussion on it. This gives students an immediate explanation of grammar functions to build up a meaningful communication, which was very significant to this teacher. He said,

If they don't know the words or changing of the words, change of the tense, narration or passive rules, if they don't know they will not be able to write freely. Grammar should be admitted, it should be introduced among students. If they don't know grammar, how is it possible to write better?

This specified the use of his knowledge and experience in teaching where he made the best use of both the CLT method and the GT method. This was one of the explanations why his students were obtaining very good result in the examination. He also suggested a change in the question pattern for a better use of materials taught in the class.

Students' socio-economic background also played a significant role behind this high quality education. They had to pay monthly tuition fee of around 600 taka (7.5 USD) with an initial admission fee of BDT2500 (US\$31.25). Out of forty-nine, forty students went to the coaching centre for extra teaching in English. Of these same, seventeen students had private tutors. All these expenses together made a handsome amount of budget which could only be defrayed by economically solvent families. Students' survey questionnaire revealed that only one family had BDT 10,000 (US\$125) as the least amount of monthly income. Two other students have BDT15000 (US\$187,5) and BDT16000 (US\$200) respectively as the second and the third lowest amount of income. The income level for the majority students' family started from BDT20000 (US\$250) with BDT100,000(US\$1250) as the highest amount, 80000(US\$1000) as the second highest and BDT75,000 (US\$937,5) as the third highest income. Several student families had these same amounts of income of this range which must have kept an important influence in making extra tuition or other facilities available to students for better academic achievement.

It is also worth mentioning that most parents of these students had either Bachelor's or Master's degree and most of their mothers were not working which implied that these mothers devoted a lot of their attention to their children's education, by

helping in homework, monitoring their academic progress and many more. Of these, four mothers were educated up to secondary level (SSC) whereas other twelve mothers had higher secondary level of education. The remaining thirty-three mothers had Bachelor's degree education which could be best used by helping in their children's education.

All these positive aspects of the three influential factors of teacher's education, socio-economic condition of students' family and their parental educational in addition to the quality of school might have led to better performance in English for these students.

CHAPTER 6. ANALYSING SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW DATA

Teachers' semi-structured interview protocol consisted of several questions around teacher's teaching practices, ideologies, and experience about CLT implementation. It was in fact conducted in a very informal way so that teachers felt completely relaxed. They were then asked to share any challenges, problems, limitations that they (might) have encountered in their CLT practices in their classrooms. In each case, a semi-structured interview was conducted with teachers after the classroom observation and this was done for two particular reasons. Firstly, this would avoid any interview influence on the classroom activities for observation. Secondly, this would allow a post classroom discussion with teachers on any interesting activities found from the observation. What follows is a comparative interpretation of teachers' opinion against each question that was used as interview prompts. Table

Table 14: Teachers' qualification of participating schools

School Name	School Category	School Performance	Teachers' Name	Education	Training	Experience
Sch. 1	Non-government rural	Lowest	Q	Bachelor Degree with 300 marks course in English	CPD 1, 24 days	12 years
School 2	Non-government rural	Lowest	H	Bachelor Degree without 300 marks course in English	Nil	10 years
School 3	Non-government Metropolitan	Lowest	F	Undergraduate 2nd year	Nil	2 years
School 4	Government Metro	Comparatively low	K	MA English	CPD	10 years
School 5	Government Metro	Highest	G	MA English, PhD	ELTIP, CPD	12 years
School 6	Non-government Metro	Highest	O	MA English	ELTIP, In-service training	5 years
School 7	Non-Government Metro	Highest	S	MA English	TQI	20 years

fourteen may be used as a quick reference to comparative view of teachers education, their training, and experience.

6.1. DIFFERENCES IN TEACHERS' QUALIFICATION AND RECRUITMENT

The first question “How and why have you become an English teacher” was not directly related to the implementation of CLT; however, it served a good purpose of beginning the discussion. The significance of including this question was to find out what qualification a teacher needed to have to apply for the job as an English teacher and how he or she had to perform in the recruitment process. The better the quality and conditions of schools, the more rigid teacher recruitment procedure and better qualification of teachers may be expected. The following discussion around this question reveals how the seven schools under investigation had different requirement criteria and a different recruitment process for the job as an English teacher.

While asked why they chose to be an English teacher, three of them replied that it was their aim in life to teach English while four others became English teachers because they had failed in their first plan and as such had to be English teachers. Teacher Q said that he wanted to study in a medical institute but failed. Then he continued his degree programme in a college in Dhaka where he completed courses in English equivalent to 300 marks. Later when he heard from his friends about this school near his village, he decided to apply. In fact his friends were the initiator for setting up this school who might have facilitated him in becoming English teacher. He said that

Those who has set up this school are my school friends. One day they told me they had a vacancy for English teacher. By that time I completed 300 marks in English and B.Ed (Bachelor of Education) at Titumir College in Dhaka. Since this school is close to my home, I joined as English teacher.

Theoretically he had all requirements to be an English teacher and he said that he had to appear in a qualifying test. After being employed, he also got training in TQI-SEP. However, attending his class for observation exposed that all his qualifications were below the level of expectation. In fact, he used English in short sentences of closed question-answer sequences which were full of grammatical errors. His English proficiency was not substantial enough to conduct any conversation at the discourse level, nor could he implement at all CLT techniques mentioned in the lesson.

Teacher H from school 2 was found even in a worse condition than teacher Q. He mentioned that though he was a Bangla teacher, he had to take English classes too as it was a situational demand. He did not even have the basic requirement of 300 marks English courses in his Bachelor Degree, nor did he get any training on

teaching CLT. When he saw the announcement, he submitted an application, paid donation²⁸ and became a Bangla teacher. When the last English teacher retired, he was suggested to take English classes which were conducted according to the suggestion of school committee. He notified

But the problem is I have got my appointment as a Bangla teacher and I did training on creativity, SBA and other training courses like CPD 1 and CPD 2 for Bangla subjects. But now I have to take English classes for the situational demand as teachers cannot be appointed and the regular teacher retired from teaching. Therefore school has selected me to take English classes. Otherwise I would not have to take English classes (author's translation).

This utter lack of qualification forced him to conduct his class at the marginal level of just checking and giving homework without any active engagement type classroom activities. Instead of the textbook, this homework was actually based on a model test paper solution guide. No practice of listening, speaking was taking place. Only reading of the passage with Bangla translation was done followed by writing of the question-answers from the guide book. With the commitment to increasing the pass rate of his school, he was preparing his students only for passing the exam; implementation of CLT method was not his teaching goal at all.

A still worse condition was reflected in the selection and qualification of the teacher F who was basically a student of Math in Bachelor Degree programme in a nearby college. He said that he was extremely fond of English, so he was teaching English. His job had not been advertised and he got it due to his father's reference to the Principal of this school. He reported

My father has good relation to Akbar Sir, the Principal of this school and he helped me to be an English teacher (author's translation).

He did not have to appear in any qualification test nor did he get any training on CLT after getting this job. During classroom observation, he was found to be teaching English in the traditional method.

Much contrary to these above-mentioned qualification and selection criteria, teachers in government schools are selected through nationwide announcement and qualifying test followed by viva. The government's PSC conducts this whole selection process through a recruitment committee. G explained

Actually in government schools, not only English teachers, but all teachers are recruited by recruiting committee formed by govt. And for recruiting teachers in government schools, all government facilities, not facilities actually procedures are

²⁸ Money paid by the teacher to the selection committee to get the job

strictly maintained and actually according to merit as far I know meritorious students are always preferred to recruit as a teacher.

Basic qualification to be an English teacher is the same as in non-government schools, namely 300 marks courses in English in the graduation programme. If there are no English graduates, Headmasters decide which teacher with this basic requirement will teach the English classes. However, teachers with Bachelor's degree in English are directly given English classes to teach. In this study, teacher K and teacher G were English teachers from government schools and both of them had Bachelor Degree in English. Teacher K completed his Master Degree in English whereas teacher G completed his PhD. Both of them got TQI-SEP training and they were methodologically aware of various CLT techniques.

These requirement criteria and recruitment processes are even more restricted in best performing non-government metropolitan schools. Teacher O and teacher S were from two of these schools. They had to go through similar selection processes where they had to appear in the preliminary written test followed by interview and finally by a demonstration class. O confirms that

the recruitment process includes first written test, then viva voce lastly he (an applicant) will have to demonstrate in the class, whether he is suitable, then he will be teacher at [school 6].

This demonstration class is a relatively recent development in recruitment processes, particularly in the non-government school, colleges and universities where just before the appointment, the whole recruitment committee sits in a classroom and observes the demonstration class of rigidly selected, short listed candidates. If convinced about an applicant, the recruitment committee agrees to appoint her or him. Both teachers (O and S) having their MA in English, got their job through such a selection process and later they received TQI-SEP training. They were found much methodologically aware of teaching English. Both teachers, particularly O, were more focused on students' results and both of them pointed out limitations of the CLT method. They indicated a clear difference between implementation of CLT and students' results in the exam (see teachers' general view on CLT).

These variations in qualification among English teachers in different schools and their different recruitment criteria for appointment imply serious consequences for the appropriate implementation of CLT. These have indicated ineffective nature of English language teaching in Bangladesh from two points of view. Firstly, all teachers are teaching or supposed to teach the same material or textbook in a similar way; however, with the use of their own qualification, it becomes a completely different use of the text. A hierarchical view starting from theory to method and then to teaching techniques inside the classroom reveals that a detrimental anomaly occurs at the implementation stage inside the classroom. Teachers are the sole actors who can actively work for the policy or against the policy and may devise their

lesson plan accordingly. However, when they are completely unaware of a theory, they cannot implement it. When they are unconfident of some CLT techniques in the classroom, they will need in-service training (or post-training if first time training is not enough), monitoring and evaluation. In addition to a substantial training package, monitoring and evaluation package is very much essential for appropriate implementation.

Secondly, in better performing schools, teachers were found confident enough to handle methodological techniques skilfully. They supported the effectiveness of CLT method, however they emphasised the need for grammar as well. They implemented CLT and blended it with grammatical references which obviously made these CLT classes more meaningful to students. This particular difference in classroom activities conducted by teachers created massive qualitative difference between high and low pass rate schools. This influence of teachers' qualification might also be present in students' performance inside the classroom. According to the teachers interviewed, students from high pass rate schools were efficient, could understand and interact with teachers frequently and fluently whereas students from low pass rate schools were less or not interactive at all and passive.

6.2. TEACHERS' GENERAL VIEW ON CLT

When prompted to share their experience on CLT, different opinions were found and knowingly or unknowingly, three of them were not following it at all or implementing it to the least content in their classes. These teachers either did not get any training on CLT or did not want to implement CLT method in the daily teaching practice. Teacher Q told that most of the time he taught his class in traditional GT method although he knew about direct method²⁹ and audio-lingual method. He explained that village children's proficiency was very poor and would not understand the class if classes were taught in the CLT way. To him, CLT meant teaching through English whereas GT meant through Bangla. He was asked about his concept of the difference between CLT and GT method and he said:

CLT is English to English but GT is telling meaning in Bangla, explain vocabulary. These are the differences between these two (author's translation).

To implement CLT at its best he tried to do dialogue based speaking which was not done so often, he said. Teacher H felt substantial lack of concept about CLT and avoided commenting on it by saying that it would be better to teach English if he got training on it.

The similar is true for teacher F who also seemed to have lack of ideas about CLT. Thus when he was asked to share how he used to teach CLT in his class, he told,

²⁹ in this method, target language is used from the very beginning.

At first, I search the lack of my students from grammatical basis and try to solve their grammatical problems. Then I try to give them hand writing task on it (author's translation).

This explicit focus on the grammatical structures and arranging lessons in that pattern is a very basic characteristics of traditional GT method. While this is a very pragmatic point of view to have a 'need analysis' of students, it is also conflicting with the current target of the government's education policy, namely the implementation of CLT in the classroom. Thus two teachers H and F are unknowingly opposing CLT implementation.

A much comprehensible experience about CLT is found from teachers in the government schools and high pass rate non-government schools. Teacher G was very frank to comment that not even 5% of the knowledge or experience gathered from the teacher training was implemented by the majority of teachers in the classroom. According to him the reason for this was students' and their parents' expectations; they wanted brilliant result in the exam instead of learning English for practical communicative need. He said,

They want to learn the way in which they would get good marks in the exam or they will make good results in the exam. So actually by applying the communicative approach in the classroom, 100% success is not achieved.

Here this teacher clearly indicated a contrast between these two expectations. One is to get a very good result in the exam and the other is the implementation of CLT to teach English for practical communicative needs. All other participating teachers, both from better and worse performing schools, also commented that they wanted their students to get good results. It reveals a critical situation about current CLT practice in Bangladesh which is that 'implementing CLT and getting good results in the exam seem to be conflicting aims'. All teachers wanted good results, however, their techniques were much different from each other. One of them was not using the text book, two others were teaching CLT textbook in a GT way, four others were trying to teach communicative English but said that they could not fully implement it due to different practical problems. In fact, the reason became very clear in the comments made by K, from (school 4) a comparatively low pass rate government school. He said that to his knowledge most schools were teaching only those skills which would come in the exam, other skills were less practised. He exemplified that writing was mostly practised for the exam whereas listening and speaking were not. Therefore students were relatively passive in these skills. About his students he commented that

They can write well, because through the year they learn only how to write, how to secure good marks. Speaking, listening and reading is passive there. It's the drawback of learning language in Bangladesh in most colleges and schools.

The teacher O from the highest pass rate non-government school echoed the same message. He said that most of his students were very good in writing because, as he said:

Due to defective testing system, only writing is emphasised instead of the all of the four skills, because they want their students to get very good grades.

This defective exam system was further elaborated by S, from another highest pass rate non-government school. According to him, there were many clues in the picture which might be used for conversation in the class. Since pictures did not come and only passage was quoted in the final exam, he said that

...students don't feel interested in telling us something on a picture.

However, he did not mean that pictures should also have been set in the exam question paper, as it might have been challenging for question setters. Perhaps he meant that including speaking test with picture description might have raised students motivation level to talk about pictures in the class.

It may be seen from the above discussion that the effect of teachers' qualifications was reflected on their comments, understanding and general views on CLT. High awareness of CLT method enabled teachers at the better performing schools to practically apply it and to manage obstacles while applying it in the classroom. On the contrary, teachers from low pass rate schools could not give their substantial views on CLT. In fact, school 1, school 2 and school 3 expected suggestions from the author about how to teach English better. This request made the author conduct their interviews in such a way that he was sharing CLT techniques in detail with them. (see appendix for detailed interviews).

6.3. PARTICIPATORY BASED TEACHING AND STUDENT CENTRED APPROACH

Participatory based teaching is one of the main criteria for successful CLT. All participants are included in classroom activities to ensure better learning. This inclusive nature is emphasised in the teacher-training programme which shows explicitly how teachers may attain inclusive learning. The concept of 'inclusive education' refers to an ideal society where "every young person is enabled to receive quality opportunities to learn" (CPD Secondary English, 29). It centres around a number of other key concepts on children, education system and school, diversity and discrimination, process to promote inclusion and resources. A detailed look at

concept about children can help understand how each student is viewed in the policy documents.

- *All children have the right to education within their own community*
- *All children can learn and any children can experience difficulties in learning*
- *All children need to be supported in their learning*
- *Child centred teaching benefits all children*

(Quoted from CPD Secondary English, 2009:29)

Besides, policy documents also emphasise identifying and overcoming barriers to inclusive education, increasing real participation of all, collaboration, partnership, participatory teaching and learning in order to promote inclusive education. In order to grasp how much of it is attempted in the classroom, the following prompts were used during interviews:

1. Do you make sure inclusive education through your teaching? How?
2. Do you use pair or group work/role play in the classroom? How?
3. How do you manage interactive classroom activity, especially when you have a big class size?

When asked about participatory based education and child-centred approach, teachers from all worse performing non-government schools were either quite unsure of inclusive education or did not implement it at all showing various reasons. Q said that it was not done in the way it was mentioned in the policy documents. He explained that village students English was less good, they felt hesitation and fear to interact with teachers. In order to remove hesitation and fear, he tried to give them time. However, he said,

tader prottek ke somoy deya sombhob na, dui, char pach jonke shomoi di. -It is not possible to give time to everyone, I give time to 2, 4 or 5 of them (author's translation).

This was clearly indicative of not inclusive or child centred approach in his teaching. It is worth mentioning that he had a manageable class size of 20-22 students in which inclusive education would have been possible.

H from school 2 informed that he did not follow any participatory based teaching which was done by the Headmaster of the school. He did not conduct any pair or group work in his class. However he added that he made his classes inclusive by asking question to each students. He said,

As there are few students, it is possible here. But in some of the classes if presence of students are high, then it is not possible to ask everyone. Then I decide that I ask

this question to this group of students and the next question to another group of students so that no one is left apart (author's translation).

Although F claimed to have done participatory based teaching in the class, it was not found in the activities in the day of data collection. He informed that he could not conduct any pair or group work in the class. He explained,

Because I get very limited time, only 30 minutes. I cannot cover that completely in 30 minutes. If First part is taken in one day, second part is taken on another day. So I cannot cover that in time. So I have to be very quick (author's translation).

Government school teachers informed about limitations and difficulties of conducting pair/group works in the class. G from school 5 found participatory based teaching very much effective if teachers could make lessons interesting. He added that pair and group work was done for SBA purpose; however, he repeated that this was only for the purpose of formality instead of the benefits for students. K from school 4 raised two main problems which were, firstly, in a class duration of thirty-five to forty minutes, it took time to arrange pairs or group among eighty to one hundred students. Secondly, pair or group work caused noise which disturbed other surrounding classes. K added,

Students, when I want to group, make the classroom noisy. Headmaster rushes to the classroom to see what happened. He is harsh, it is very confusing and embarrassing to us.

Similar problems were also mentioned by O and S from schools 6 and 7, two of the highest pass rate non-government schools. However, O stated that motivating each of the unmotivated students was very time consuming as such it was not possible for him to do that. Pair and group works were difficult to manage, however he arranged them in his own way i.e. by making pairs with the students sitting beside him. S on the other hand seemed to be very enthusiastic himself who in order to ensure participatory based teaching, tried to ask question to students from each corner of the classroom. Arranging pairs or groups of sixty or seventy students was very challenging as it created noisy and chaotic situations; yet he was found to do that by forming three groups from different corners of the classroom. These groups of students kept standing while the rest of the students used to ask them questions. This is how he managed group work in a large class.

6.4. TEACHING DIFFERENT SKILLS

Teachers' views on teaching different skills vary significantly from teacher to teacher in the schools under investigation. This question is very important as there are methodological differences in teaching of these skills, i.e. speaking, listening, writing, reading, grammar, vocabulary in an English class. The discussion on these

questions focused around the following prompts to gain knowledge about their practicing method.

1. Are all skills equally emphasised in your class? Or Is/are any of them prioritised? Why?
2. How do you teach spoken English (with accent, stress and intonation)?
3. How is writing/reading taught now compared to earlier/traditional way (pre-discussion/process or product based etc)?
4. How do you teach grammar in your class? (explicitly/implicitly)
5. What is your role when they are engaged in classroom activities?
6. Do you use teaching aids/materials other than textbooks? Why & how?

When asked, Q from school 1 replied that speaking was practiced according to dialogues and this was done less than any other skills. The following conversation about teaching listening and speaking reveals nothing in particular about CLT techniques.

A:...let us talk about listening and speaking in your class. How do you do them?

Q: I speak in English in the class, read the story or poem, and then I let them read. I check their pronunciation and give as homework. Next day I check their work and find more of their mistakes which I correct them again (author's translation).

However, in his class it was found that his use of English was at the word level and full of grammatical errors which might have (negative, if any) impact on students' learning of English. For practicing writing skill, he just used to tell them to write on any topic from a list which were suggested for their exam. In the interview, he said that he used to discuss some clues before telling them to write, however, he also mentioned that students memorised those topics at home. Therefore this pre-discussion could not have any influence on their writing. However, he was not found to have any pre-discussion before reading the text on the day of data collection. Grammar was taught according to different structures which he wrote on the blackboard and students were encouraged to copy them. Much in the GT way, however, grammar was taught in a different class where it was given more emphasis. Q mentioned at one point that he followed the GT method most in teaching all these skills, however, after TQI training he started to do these tasks more in the CLT fashion. He said,

I used to teach less communicatively before and it was mostly in GT method. There was less sharing from the students' part. Now they have to speak following dialogues, ask question to one another (author's translation).

H, in fact could comment only on his teaching writing which he believed that his students did after memorising. He emphasised that only two or three students could

write free hand without memorising. This writing was not any composition writing, instead it was writing question answers from the model test paper guide. He taught speaking in dialogue based ways and he said that he was not teaching grammar which was done by the Headmaster of the school. Almost similar emphasis on writing is given by F, from school 2. This writing skill was conducted through gap filling, problem solving and writing paragraph. Writing paragraph was done in a product based way of very much traditional GT method. He explained the writing procedure as follows:

In writing, first I start with subject and object, then I deal with other parts of speech like noun verb, adjective etc. Then I make it Bangla, then with those subject and object, I tell them to make sentence in English. First I tell them the Bangla meaning line by line. Then they are translated into English (author's translation).

Most surprisingly, he believed that students would automatically have speaking skills if they were good in writing. Speaking through dialogue was the least practiced activity in his class. His class was found to be conducted completely in the GT way. At the end of the interview he was asked which skills he would give most priority to if he taught his classes in CLT; he replied that these skills would be vocabulary, translation and grammar.

Teachers from both government schools expressed the same point of view that they tried to cover all skills in each lesson. G said that the whole teaching procedure took place according to the text. Some lessons had emphasis on writing, while other had on speaking, still others had combinations of two or three skills. Thus skills were taught according to objectives of the lesson. Then he mentioned that to the best of his knowledge most secondary schools did not follow the method. Similar information also came from K who wanted to teach each lesson and skills in his class but students requested him to teach only the important lessons from the text that might come in the exam. Except writing, students hardly felt motivated in other skills. According to G, teachers themselves would need to be well experts, well trained and well wishers (of students) if CLT materials were to be implemented. To him,

...all methods are good. Method may be better or best but no method is useless. Actually in the classroom, especially in English class, most of the teachers do not follow any scientific method. He or she can teach his own method. Whenever he likes in this way. This is the fact.

G mentioned two main reasons why teachers did not follow any scientific method for teaching. Firstly, for private tuition purposes, teachers were not teaching properly in classes as they think then students would come more to them for private tuition. He further added that private tuition and coaching must be stopped for ensuring better teaching in the class. Secondly, there was lack of supervision from the head of the institution, if they did not understand the importance of SLA, or if

they were inexperienced or unable or disqualified, then it became easier for teachers to ignore implementing it. That is why, according to him, head of the institution should also be brought under training courses. He added,

They [Headmasters] will not teach classes but they will understand the importance of learning or teaching English. If she or he has any idea about the method, he will be able to supervise.

In addition to G's opinion about private tuition, K stated that most schools were focusing on result oriented skills, instead of teaching all skills in the class. As questions from all skills did not come in the exam, most teachers were not conducting speaking, listening and reading skills. However, for his own teaching practice, he tried to teach vocabulary by using flashcards and emphasise writing skills. He could not practice other skills too often as the students were from very poor level railway employee family and their English proficiency was very poor. He added,

They are fully weak in English. They wish to receive lecture fully in Bangla. In this situation my speaking skill is decreasing day by day.

A comparatively much better picture was found from two best performing non-government schools where both teachers O and S were confident. Nevertheless, they emphasised the limitations of CLT and their inability to implement all tasks according to CLT. O was talking about the defective exam system in the final exam for which only writing was important. Speaking was done sometimes whereas other skills were done if they got time. He said that it was very essential to have very good grades for the institution, so writing was emphasised for the sake of results and reputation. Besides, he had very short stipulated time to finish the whole syllabus and as such could not focus on teaching other skills.

Actually speaking skill is not, is sometimes practiced; only just asking something, not more than this. I think other skills can be practiced if we have much time. It is very difficult if we don't have time. We have very short stipulated time to finish the syllabus in time.

He mentioned that grammatical references were made while using CLT textbook but explicit grammar teaching took place in a different session named English 2nd paper. S also gave the same information about explicit grammar teaching in English 2nd paper. What makes S different from other teachers is that he prioritised speaking, made his students talk more in the class by making reference to similar experience of the text and by letting them share in the class.

A: How do you teach different skills like, you know, speaking, listening, reading & writing?

S: Sometimes I change my discussions. I change my topics and link it with the topics side by side, I turn to another story, and if he knows the story, previous matters, I ask him to tell me something. A travelling suppose, 'Have you ever gone to Singapore? Or Cox's Bazar? 'Yes Sir', replying 'yes sir', 'please tell something about your journey, five lines about your journey'. Then he is telling us.

A: Hm. That's very good. Are all skills equally emphasised or do you prioritise any skill?

S: Prioritise any skill. In my English classes as an English teacher I am giving priority or giving emphasis to speaking in these particular classes.

he made several groups in the class, one group raised question, a second group replied and the third group checked or added to the answer of the second group. He mentioned that he conducted pre-discussion for writing tasks in the similar fashion. The writing topic was thus discussed verbally before actual writing was done. Grammar was taught implicitly in English first paper (discussed in Section 3.4.8) which was taught in communicative way. While reading the CLT text, reference was made to different sentence patterns and vocabulary (which was paraphrased). From the above discussion, it is now clear that each teacher is teaching the same CLT textbook in different ways, according to their knowledge, experience, training and above all according to the needs of their institutes. Since these teachers significantly differ from each other in these characteristics, their implementation also differs both significantly and qualitatively.

6.5. TEACHERS' TEACHING GOAL

The methodological goals of language policy should merge with individual teacher's goal and only then a successful implementation of a method may be expected. The goals for the major shift in English teaching methodology is to ensure skill based acquisition of English, instead of learning any particular topic, content or literature (English for Today: 229). For practicing these basic skills, the textbook has been designed and developed using various activities of reading texts, dialogues, pictures, diagrams to be conducted individually, in pairs and in group (Preface, English for Today). The expectation is that all these activities would make class more interactive through students' active participation. Therefore recreating the text situations as much as possible inside the classroom will enable students to use their English skills in real life situation outside the classroom.

Keeping these particular policy goals in mind, teachers were asked to share their goals of teaching and expectations from their students. To make it a focused discussion, the following prompts were used

1. Do you want your students to i. To use English in communication ii. To achieve knowledge about English to analyse its grammar.
2. Do you believe using English as language of instruction or using it for most of the time in the classroom helps in achieving your goal? Please explain

In answer to these questions, all participating teachers stated that their teaching goal is to increase the pass rate, to attain outstanding results from their students. This is a very crucial need indeed as the worse performing schools needed to increase their pass rate either for getting 30MPO or to sustain MPO. For the best performing schools, they need to be the best for the sake of reputation, attracting brilliant students from all social classes, particularly from upper classes. However, by using prompts, a more specific dimension was given to the discussion. Q said that according to CLT it should be the ability to communicate but he emphasised good results. He said,

Q: According to the goal of CLT, I should say that my students should do what I do or even do more than what I do in the class. I expect that all of them will be able to communicate.

A: Hmm. Tell me what you want them to be able to do. Tell me your own view.

Q: I want them to make good results, be expert in English (author's translation).

Though he believed that using English as the medium of instruction would help students to learn skills; according to him village children would not understand him. As their proficiency in English was very poor, Bangla translation was very essential for them. H emphasised that increasing pass rate was his target too. He said,

They will need English in their exam, in the work place. That is the purpose mainly. And I want they learn it in this way. I want my students to learn and meet up the need of time.

He felt it very essential that there should be parental support in home work in addition to school teaching. He admitted that he did not do any CLT at all in his class for which he felt a very critical need of efficient and methodologically aware teachers in English. F had the same teaching goal which was to get grade A+ from his students. When asked if he used English as medium of instruction, he explained that many students felt bored and did not understand anything as they were not habituated to it from their early childhood. He explained the following about speaking,

³⁰ Monthly Payment Order about salaries for teachers.

It is not done because, I have told, I try to fill the lack students have. Many students feel bored, which is the main problem, because they are not habituated from their early child life. If I want to change this habit now, time is necessary (author's translation).

Besides good results, teachers from better performing schools had an additional teaching goal to make them expert in English for practical life. Both G and K wanted good results in the exam from their students who would be equally proficient in their practical use of English. However, K did not believe that 100% of using English as the medium of instruction would improve students' English proficiency. He explained that

because the students are weak and maximum time out of 365 days we get only 150 or 160 classes. So in short time we cannot be able to give them better or perfect teaching.

The teacher O hoped that all of his students would be expert in all four skills though he did not find as such, only a few of them are equally expert in all four skills. S had very high expectations from his students. He wanted both grammatical and communicative competence from them as they were very meritorious. He said that "If they know the grammar and at the same time if they know the sentence pattern, then they should read how these words are arranged here". He said that "English as medium of instruction helped his students in language learning as he said I am always giving them instructions to know some various types of words, their changes and interchange of parts of speech and their various usages".

From the above discussion, it becomes clear that individual teachers differed significantly in their teaching goal. All teachers were acting according to their goal. Worse performing schools considered increasing pass rates as their only teaching goal whereas better performing schools considered both pass rate and practical use of English as their teaching goal.

6.6. TEACHERS' EVALUATION OF CLT AND STUDENTS' IMPROVEMENT

This issue was discussed with teachers to find information about how they found their students in accommodating CLT techniques in the class and how they found this method in increasing students' overall speaking skills.

Teachers from the three low performing schools seemed to be less aware of the effectiveness of CLT, two of them did not have any training on CLT. They had nothing or very little to comment on the effectiveness of CLT. The teacher F added that at the time of admission, students could not even read, but at the end of class nine, they could solve grammatical problems. The similar experience was also

shared by K, who found his students at the beginning struggling to cope with CLT as they could not understand, however the situation was much better at the time of interview. According to G, if teachers were qualified and if they wished, they could implement CLT properly in the classroom. He added that he found his students very brilliant in adjusting CLT method as he said,

Most of the students are meritorious. I think this is the main factor, this is the main factor. Actually, there is no credit of our teachers. This is my own opinion.

This is how he awarded all credits to his students for good results. O also claimed that his students were very sharp and could adopt any CLT or other techniques very easily. However, he admitted that due to certain practical restrictions he could not apply all CLT techniques. He clarified that they [English teachers] have to finish syllabus on time, we have few classes. Basically in our schools, we have two shifts, so we cannot do all activities properly.

Quite contrary to his expectations that students would do equally well in all four skills, O found them very good only in writing. He said that this could be an effect of defective exam system where only writing quality was assessed. However, he found this method effective through which students were improving. He admitted that he could not implement CLT 100%, only partially in the classroom. From various tests conducted in classrooms, he realised the development in students' English skills. S also found his students were very good in learning English and as such he found them very good in understanding and adopting CLT techniques. He said,

In my class when I give them lessons, and to communicate with me and to tell me something in English, they are showing their eagerness to speak something with me.

He also added that from their use of English with various vocabularies and reading the text, he could well realise that his students were improving in English skills.

This section of evaluation of CLT explicitly shows a demarcation of both schools and teachers who were implementing CLT in the class and who were not. Teachers from low pass rate schools complained about students being poor in English and very weak in their study. On the contrary, teachers from high pass rate schools found their students very brilliant in both learning and adjusting CLT techniques for learning English. Students being weak or brilliant in learning became an issue for further argumentation in the implementation of CLT.

6.7. CHALLENGES IN IMPLEMENTING CLT

Teachers were asked to comment on any challenges they might have faced in teaching English through CLT. Several challenges were mentioned in interviews

with teachers about CLT implementation, for example time restraint, feeling need of more training, lack of expert teachers, need of extra logistic support etc. Q from school 1 mentioned that conducting classes with pair or group work would not be challenging if he did sufficient preparation before the class. Time restraint was not any problem for him. However, he felt that if he had got more training on CLT, it would have helped him to implement CLT more effectively in the classroom. He said,

...if we are offered more training programme with practical teaching, it would be very good. (author's translation)

H, on the other hand pointed to the serious lack of English teachers in the whole of Bangladesh. He repeated it several times when he was asked about any challenges for successful implementation of CLT in his school. It might be that his opinion was substantially influenced by what he experienced from his school.

Challenges are already well known to the government. There is a serious lack of English teachers in our country. There are many schools where there is no English teacher (author's translation).

F emphasised severe time restriction as the main debar for him to implement CLT as various CLT techniques needed time. The Principal of his institute would not increase time as it would hamper other classes. Besides, making his students regular in attending classes was another challenge for successful implementation of CLT. K stated that maximum English teachers of other schools used to teach only important chapters for the exam whereas he always preferred to teach all chapters from the text. As a result he always found it challenging to cover the whole text book in 150 or 160 classes in an academic year. Besides, students also did not like his teaching all chapters as he said:

So it is very challenging for me to teach 'English for Today' because I want to teach all chapters but my working days are very short. Or when I want to teach unimportant listening or reading based chapters, students tell me 'Sir it is not important'.

Students' protest against teaching those less important chapters appeared to him as a challenge. G was found struggling to manage time to conduct his regular classroom activities. O mentioned several problems in implementing CLT in his class. Of these, large number of students and odd sitting arrangements were the most noteworthy. He said,

Large number of students is a very big problem. For this reason we cannot implement it, we cannot adopt all the methods, we try. We have a very good intention that all students must participate, but we can't...If we want to implement

this method, some noise will be created, that noise might create disturbance to students of other classes. Odd sitting arrangement is also a problem.

While explaining his opinion, he added that a class of forty students would be an ideal one where each could participate. He said,

There are many things that are related to this. First we are to arrange the environment. For communicative English we must have environment i.e. language lab, classroom accommodation, time, good trained teacher. These are very necessary.

S talked about a complete different challenge in teaching English through CLT. He complained,

The system. I want to blame the system. It is in the examinations, they are not facing any problem on the pictures. Yes, in the first paper, there are various types of pictures, they are talking, they are giving their ideas. But these type of questions are not set in the examinations.....So students don't feel interested in telling us something on picture.

It was pointed out to him if setting pictures in the exam was his intention, he added that it would be more challenging for the question setters. Thus he found teaching picture description or speaking about pictures more challenging as students felt least interest in it.

In this section, it is found that all teachers faced some challenges in teaching English. However, the nature of these challenges were not the same. Some of them were very basic in nature i.e. need more training, lack of expert teacher, large number of students in the class, lack of time whereas others were not basic to CLT implementation i.e. teaching all lessons, use of picture in the text. Apparently, those basic challenges seemed to be the most crucial factors in effective CLT implementation.

6.8. COLLABORATIVE LEARNING³¹

Collaborative learning is emphasised (in the teacher-training manual) in CLT as it helps to share experience, challenges or problems among teachers that they encounter in their day to day teaching practices. Observing other teachers' classes is one of the most liberal type of collaborative learning activities. Besides, teachers may of course discuss whenever they find themselves in comfortable situations.

³¹ Though it is not directly a part of the CLT programme, it is discussed in detail in teachers' training-manual as conducive to CLT implementation.

Participating teachers of this project were asked to comment on their collaborative learning activities in their schools.

Teachers' experience differed from school to school about the practice of collaborative learning. Q seemed not to know much about teachers' collaborative learning. While explained, he was completely unsure of how his colleagues would have reacted if he had gone to observe his colleague's class. However, he appreciated this as a very nice strategy to learn and accentuated that he would not mind if others observed his class. At the end of this discussion he confirmed that he had not done any collaborative activities with his two other colleagues. H, from school 2 said that if he faced any problem, he tried to solve it by himself with the help of grammar book and dictionary first of all. If he failed, he used to go to his colleagues and finally to the Headmaster. He said,

I try to understand, if I fail, I go to other two teachers, if I fail again, I go to the Head Master. Headmaster often sits with us about how we can teach better. He often visits our class and suggests us about teaching (author's translation).

He said that he himself could not observe his classes as he was already overburdened with too many classes per day. He hardly found any free time to attend and observe Headmaster's or other teachers' English classes. F said overtly that there was no collaborative learning in his school. The following conversation reveals that he seemed to be over confident:

A: *Do you do any collaborative activities or share among yourselves?*

F: *No, there is no such type of sharing.*

A: *How do you solve any problem or exceptional situations, or challenges while teaching?*

F: *There have been problems, but I have not yet faced any problem in teaching English. I have faced some problems in Math, but not in English.*

K also informed that there was not that much practice of collaborative learning at his school. He said,

Collaborative learning is not prevailing in this school. My ideas, views. Sometimes I share my opinions with other English teachers. But it is very low.

A much better, comfortable and collaborative learning environment is in practice in two high performing non-government schools. O informed that his collaborative learning started at his school immediately after appointment. He informed,

At the beginning my job, I observed different classes of the senior faculty members. Even if I have any problem, I discuss it with my colleagues in the department.

Through their regular classroom observation, sharing with colleagues made collaborative learning a common practice in his school. S informed that he was the senior teacher in his school, yet if he felt necessary, he used to share his ideas or problems with his other colleagues. He said,

Yes, if I face any problem in my class, anywhere or anyplace, I shall discuss it with my colleagues here. They may know better than me, may be. I am senior I don't think I am senior here (indicating that he did not use power of a senior teacher). I would like to go to them. We can discuss. They can give me some better sentences or better examples and give correct answers what I don't know.

From this discussion it seems that high pass rate non-government schools had a very good professional environment where they could share their ideas. In contrast to it, teachers from low pass rate non-government schools apparently had a high affective factor and as such could not practice collaborative learning. Beside collaborative learning, all participating teachers agreed that teaching was an art for them through which they developed their teaching efficiency. They considered teaching as their lifelong learning process where they learnt through teaching. All of them faced difficulties about adjusting CLT techniques which they eventually overcame and could handle those techniques now.

6.9. COMMENTS/CRITICISM OF CLT

This is the last topic for discussing with teachers when they were asked to leave their final comments or criticisms on CLT. Quite natural, most of the comments came from those who were methodologically aware of CLT and were practically implementing it in their school. Teachers from non-government worse performing schools were not adding any significant information to the discussion about it. Q did not find any weakness in the method in which vocabulary, grammar and structure should be emphasised. He said,

No it does not have any weakness or bad side. It is used here like other countries. We can learn even more if we continue using it. It helps increasing speaking power. (author's translation).

H emphasised the importance of skilled teacher for successful implementation of the CLT. According to him,

H: I don't have any opinion as such but skilled teachers are badly in need which is the main issue.

A: What is of most significance if CLT is to be applied

successfully in the classroom?

H: *It is the same response: skilled teachers.*

(author's translation)

Both H and F emphasised that there should be family support for successful implementation of CLT. Similar to Q, F also put emphasis on learning vocabulary for CLT implementation. As a suggestion to improve overall proficiency among population and to improve CLT environment, K pointed out that making English an official language is very important. Giving examples from India, he reiterates that it would create an English environment everywhere very conducive for students to learn it. He said,

Our neighbouring country India, their official language is English and Hindi. If our official language would be English, students of Bangladesh would be more assertive learning or speaking in English. They can get English environment. Now they cannot get the environment of English. So they are weak in speaking or listening.

O suggested that picture in the textbook should be very clear, pictures in the present book is very low in quality, obscure. He also added that speaking and listening skills should be integrated in the exam system. A similar opinion also came from S about evaluating speaking and listening. He was against the idea of ignoring grammar in a CLT class. He preferred the blending of grammar in a CLT that would allow his students to be grammatically well developed and error free. Besides, he added that some question items should be removed or modified from the final exam question paper. He said,

...but the question patterns should be changed. Reordering. I don't like reordering. Yes, first paper question 4, 7 and 8. They have the similarity...The main idea. They (students) don't know the main idea but they are writing, they are copying, following same words or sentences from the topic.

He explained that in all these questions, students were asked to write the main idea of the passage, once with clues (question 4 in the SSC exam), once with own words (question 8 in the SSC exam) and still once when students themselves would imagine in that given situation and write seventy-eighty words paragraph (question 7 in the S.S.C exam). However, in reality sufficient challenge was not given in these questions, so students just copied words from the text, got marks for that and passed. Furthermore, he opined that listening and speaking should also have been brought under assessment in the final exam where students might attend viva or oral exam.

Thus in fact some significant criticisms about CLT came out from the semi-structured interview with teachers. If these criticisms are considered properly, it would help teachers in implementing CLT in the classroom more effectively.

In conclusion to the analysis of semi-structured interview data, several points may be mentioned. Firstly, there are strong differences among teachers' qualification and recruitment process which ultimately have impact on teaching inside the classroom. Secondly, teachers' differ in their knowledge of the CLT method which is due to differences in their educational background. Thirdly, participatory based teaching in student centred approach is hardly practiced on regular basis. In most cases, only selected students or motivated students get chance in both school categories of high and low pass rate. Fourthly, in all schools of both high and low pass rate, only writing skill get most emphasis although all four skills are supposed to get more or less equal emphasis. This is because speaking and listening skills are not assessed in the exam where only writing skills are assessed. Fifthly, all teachers agree that their teaching goal is to teach in such a way that students get A+ in their exam, even though students may not have communicative abilities, particularly in spoken English. Sixthly, although all participating teachers talk positively about CLT, teachers from high pass rate schools emphasised also on the need of GT method in addition to CLT. Seventhly, time and training are the two most extremely negative challenges for CLT implementation. Eighthly, speaking and listening have to be assessed in the exam in order to ensure proper communicative skills among students. All these results keep strong impact on the teaching and learning of English through CLT method. This will be further discussed in the discussion chapter.

CHAPTER 7. ANALYSING STUDENTS' SURVEY QUESTIONNAIR DATA

Students from each participating schools were asked to participate in a survey questionnaire. This survey questionnaire data consisted of three sections. The first section consisted of students background information about their parental educational level, parental occupation, total family income and number of siblings attending any school, college or university. This information was collected to have an impression of the socio-economic and educational condition of the students' family. In the second section students were asked to write down about their learning and use of skills along with their motivation for learning it. In the third section students were asked to show their degree of liking or disliking for different activities and aspects of their learning English in a 5 point Likert scale.

Information provided by students in the survey questionnaire was processed through SPSS software. The information in these two sections is analysed through graphs and tables for a comparative view of students from different schools. The third type of data from the Likert scale is later used for statistical significance of difference among students' opinion. Besides, Gamma test is also conducted to find relations among various questions used for data collection in the questionnaire survey form. Each section of this survey questionnaire is statistically analysed below to assess the impact on the implementation of CLT.

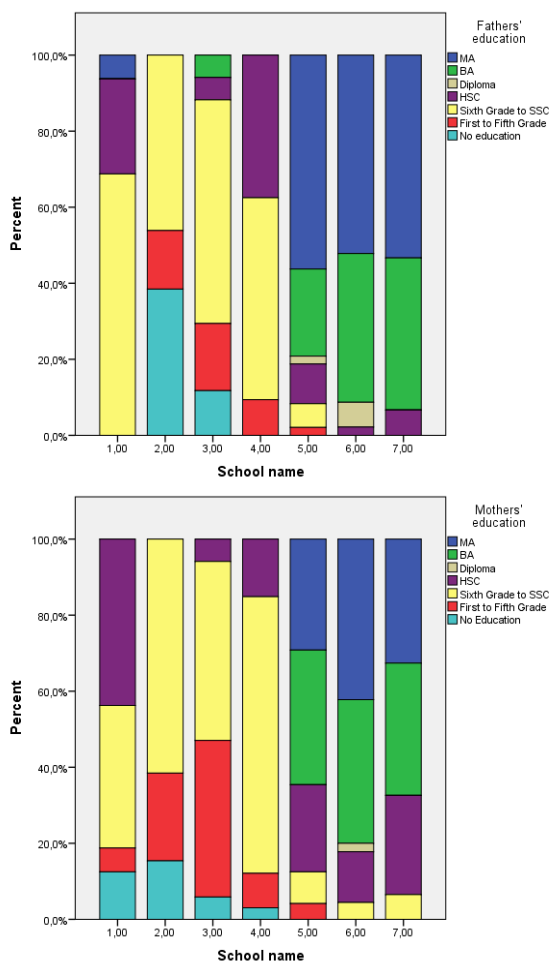
7.1. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

In the background information, it is found that there is extensive difference among students from different participating schools. This difference is present in each of the variables i.e. parental education, parental occupation and total family income. While this difference is natural to take place more or less among people in a country, it is important that effects of these differences are very significant, particularly on education. The following statistical analysis shows how widely students from high and low performance schools differ in their social background ultimately leading to qualitative difference in their English learning.

7.1.1. PARENTAL EDUCATION

A very primary graphic presentation of parental level of education shows that students from high performing schools have parents with higher level of education whereas students from low performing schools have parents with low level of education. A clear difference is visible from Graph 1 below in both fathers' and mothers' level of education between high performing and low performing schools.

It is noteworthy from the graphs below that students from the low performing four schools had parents mostly with either secondary or below secondary level of education whereas students from the last three schools had parents mostly with Master, Bachelor or higher secondary level of education. For an example, around 70% students from school 1 have fathers with secondary education i.e. (sixth grade to SSC), around 20% students had fathers with higher secondary education and around 10% students had fathers with Bachelor Degree. In this same school, around 45% students have mothers with higher secondary education, 35% students have mothers with secondary education, 10% with primary education and 15% with no education at all. In comparison to school 1, school 7 had students with parents having much higher level of education.



Graph 1: Parental education level

For father this percentage was approximately 55% with Master Degree, 35% with Bachelor Degree and the rest with higher secondary education. For mothers, this rate was 30% with Master Degree, another 30% with Bachelor Degree, 20% with higher secondary education and the rest 10% with secondary level of education. The level of parental education varied differently for different schools, however what attracts attention is the low performing school students have parents with lower education where high performing school students had parents with higher education. Whether parental level of education can directly influence students' academic level of achievement would be a different research study, and studies do in fact support that there is such an influence (Hamid 2008), the graphic presentation of higher parental academic level with better academic achievement of students in the present study seems to verify that tendency.

7.1.2. PARENTAL OCCUPATION

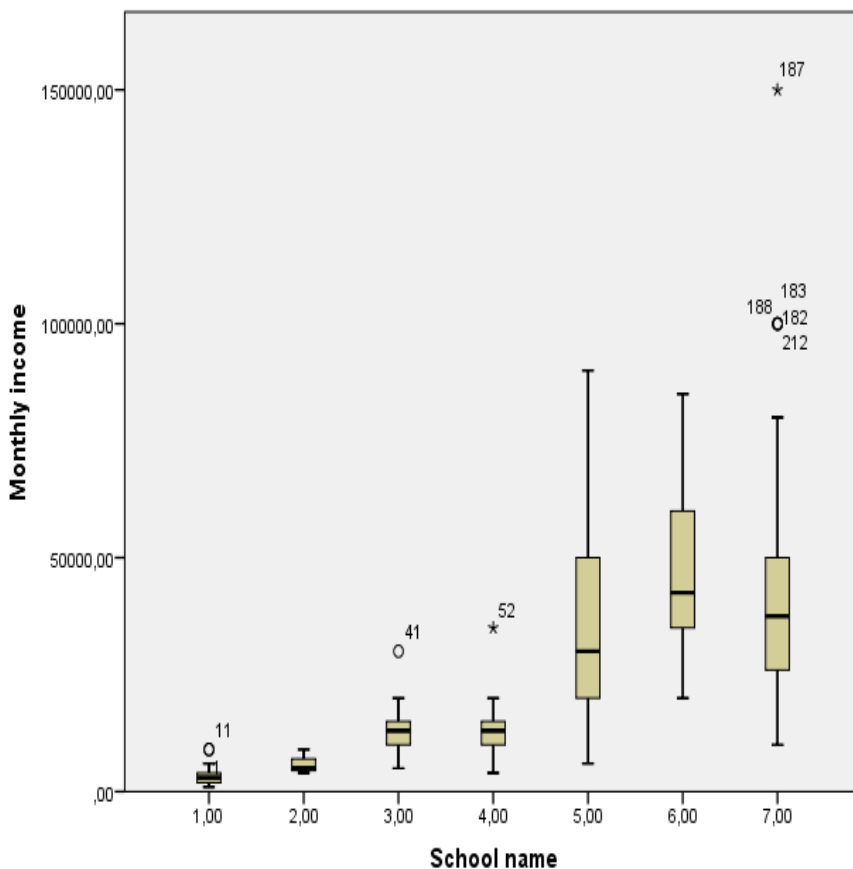
Since one's occupation is directly related to one's academic qualification, in this study parents with higher academic qualification from high performing schools were having higher professional jobs or business having more consistent and high income than parents from low performing rural schools. At a glance, the following Table: 1 presents the most frequent type of occupation of both father and mother:

Being situated in the rural context, farming was the only occupation of most fathers of students in school 1. Similar was the case for school 2. Whenever the school setting was inside the urban area, i.e. school 3,4,5,6 and 7 fathers' occupations of students became various types of business or services. Mothers' occupation, being housewife, remained the same both in the rural and the urban setting. From a general point of view, the terms farmer, business and service might be very misleading because they did not express the type of farming, business or service activity. However, a look at the total family income could provide with this idea and present the socio-economic condition of students' family. It appeared from the data that most farmers were day labourers involved in farming activities, rather than being land owning farmers themselves. Their monthly ranged from BDT1800 (US\$22.5) to BDT9000 (US\$112.5) implied this indication. Again, business and service categories with monthly average incomes of BDT12000 (US\$150) or BDT30000 (US\$375) or BDT40000 (US\$500) clearly indicates a significantly higher socio-economic family background of students.

<u>School Name</u>	<u>School Setting</u>	<u>Fathers' Occupation</u>	<u>Mothers' Occupation</u>	<u>Monthly Income Range</u>	<u>Average Income</u>	
School 1	Non-government rural	Farmer	Housewife	1800-9000 BD Taka	BDT 3,526	US\$44
School 2	Non-government rural	Farmer	Housewife	4000-9000 BD Taka	BDT 6,000	US\$75
School 3	Non-government urban	Business	Housewife	5000-3000 BD Taka	BDT 13,230	US\$165
School 4	Government urban	Business, Service	Housewife	4000-3500 BD Taka	BDT 12,764	US\$159
School 5	Government urban	Service, Business	Housewife	6000-9000 BD Taka	BDT 34,545	US\$432
School 6	Non-government urban	Service, Business	Housewife	20000-85000 BD Taka	BDT 46,488	US\$581
School 7	Non-Government urban	Service, Business	Housewife	16000- 150000 BD Taka	BDT 46,857	US\$585

Table : 15 Parental occupation & income level

A graphic presentation in a box plot graph shows income level of all families from the lower end to the upper end. In each of the box plot bars, the total number of represented student families are divided into two halves or 50%. The lower half of the income level is presented from the lower pointing line till the line inside the box. Similarly, the range from the line inside the box to the upper point indicates at what higher income amount students families are spread to. From this graphic presentation too, it is quite obvious that students socio-economic conditions were sporadic with different socio-economic benefits or constraints.



Graph 2: Parental income level

7.2. INFORMATION ABOUT ENGLISH LANGUAGE LEARNING

Questions numbering from 1 to 7 were open ended where students could answer anything relevant to the question. In each question, students provided a wide variety of answers among which the most frequently-mentioned answers from each category are discussed here. However, mentioning as many alternatives as possible also indicates a wide range of activities students were aware of within a particular school.

1. What do you like in learning English?

In answering this question, students from school 1 mentioned only three topics which were speaking, reading and story. Of these three reading was mentioned by 37% students and story was mentioned by 37% students. In school 2, students mentioned four alternatives which were speaking, writing, model questions and

grammar. Of these four alternatives, 53% students mentioned model questions and 30% students mentioned speaking as their most liked activity in learning English. Students from school 3 mentioned a total of five alternatives in answering this question which were writing, grammar, tag question, narration and tense. Out of these five alternatives, grammar is mentioned by 47% students and tag question by 23% students.

Students from school 4, 5, 6 and 7 provided more than ten alternatives in answering the question 'What do you like in learning English?' A number of ten alternatives were mentioned by students of school four indicating a variety of activities conducted in this school. Of these various topics, grammar was liked by 29% students, reading by 17% and writing by 17% students. The rest of the activities were vocabulary, model question, speaking, listening, paragraph. School five mentioned a range of twenty-three aspects or activities of English learning, among which grammar was liked by 17% students and speaking was liked by 15%. Among other activities story, fill in the blanks, new structure, watching movies etc were also mentioned. Students from school six mentioned twelve different alternatives in answering this question. Among them, 18% students liked vocabulary learning, 18% students liked grammar, 12% liked story, 10% like speaking and the rest like picture description, listening and other activities. Students from school seven liked seventeen activities. Of them 20% students liked vocabulary, 10% student liked grammar, 10% students liked everything in English, 8% liked voice and article, 6% liked speaking and so on.

School name	Item	Total alternative items
School 1	37% Reading, 37% Story	3
School 2	53% Model question	4
School 3	47% Grammar	5
School 4	29% Grammar	10
School 5	17% Grammar, 15% speaking	23
School 6	18% Vocabulary, 18% Grammar	12
School 7	20% Vocabulary, 10% Grammar	17

Table 16: School-wise most preferred activity in learning English

All of these various classroom activities themselves might be conducted both in the GT method and in the communicative method and as such how they were conducted in the classroom could be seen in the classroom observation analysis. What is worth mentioning here is that students from low performance school liked English learning from a limited number of alternatives whereas students from high performance schools did that from a wide range of alternatives. This limited or wide range of

liking various alternatives clearly indicated students' awareness and scope of learning English.

2. What do you dislike in learning English?

Students were asked this question to find what items in learning English they disliked (perhaps due to difficulty level). Among the participants of school one, 37% disliked reading, another 37% disliked writing and the rest 18% disliked speaking. In school two, 92% students mentioned nothing indicating they disliked nothing in learning English. Only 8% students mentioned that they disliked voice change. In school three, 88% students left this question unanswered while 12% mentioned that they disliked changing active voice to passive one. Students from school four mentioned eight alternatives which they disliked. Among them 27% disliked grammar, 24% disliked memorising, 17% reading, 6% disliked paragraph and another 6% disliked essay. Students from school five mentioned eleven items which they disliked. It is noteworthy here that only 35% students mentioned this eleven items whereas 65% students left this question unanswered (perhaps they did not understand the question) indicating that they had nothing to dislike in learning English. Students from school six mentioned fourteen alternatives which they disliked. Among them, 47% disliked grammar, 8% disliked composition, 6% disliked vocabulary, 4% disliked reading. The rest of the disliked items were vocabulary, report writing, poem, paragraph etc. Although students from school seven mentioned eighteen different alternatives, these were mentioned by 56% students. The rest 44% students did not mention anything, again probably indicating nothing to dislike. Among the 56% students, 10% disliked grammar, 4% disliked vocabulary, 4% disliked speaking, 4% disliked transformation. The rest of the students disliked composition, narration, reading, writing, preposition, phrase etc.

3. In what of the following way do you use your English skill the most?

Writing, Speaking, Listening, Reading.

This question was not open ended like the two preceding questions. The purpose of this question was to tap what language skills students used the most in using their English. In answering this questions, 50% students from school 1 said reading, 31% students said writing and the rest 19% students said listening. Among students from school 2, 77% students said that they used their English skills in reading, 8% students said writing, 8% students in listening and another 8% students in speaking. School 3 students mentioned only two skills for using English knowledge and these students were 76% students for reading and 24% students writing. In school 4, 53% students used writing for using their English knowledge, 32% students for reading and 15% students for speaking. In school 5, as many as 38% students mentioned that they used English skill in speaking, 33% students in writing, 12% students in reading. Likewise, school 6 has more students, 40% of them, who said they use their English skill in speaking. Among the rest, 27% students said that they use their English skill mostly in reading, 20% students in writing and 12% students listening. In school 7, the highest number (36%) of students preferred to use their English

skills in writing, 28% students in reading, 22% students in speaking and 10% students in listening. In the following table, it may be seen at a glance which student group is using what type of skill the most:

School name	Skill Type
School 1	Reading
School 2	Reading
School 3	Reading
School 4	Writing
School 5	Speaking
School 6	Speaking
School 7	Writing

Table : 17 Students' use of language skill

In a nutshell, it may be said that except for two schools, students were not maximising their speaking skills. It might be due to the fact that speaking skill was not assessed in the SSC examination and as such teachers and students had less motivation for doing it in the class.

4. What skill is given most time and emphasis in your class?

Emphasis on speaking and listening skills were comparatively recently added activities at the school contexts in Bangladesh which was supposed to be implemented with the initiation of CLT. However the dialogical and communicative nature of speaking skills is yet to be a common phenomenon in each and every classroom atmosphere. The following data provides supports for that.

From school 1, 75% students said that writing skill got most emphasis in their class whereas 12.5 students said it was reading and other 12.5% said it was listening. Among students from school 2, 62% students said that reading was the most emphasised skill in their class, 23% students said that it was writing and 15% students said that it was speaking. This picture is different for school 3 where 59% students said that speaking was given the most time in their class whereas 18% students said that it was listening and 12% students said that it was writing. In school 4, 68% students informed that writing was given the most emphasis in their class while 18% students informed that reading was given the most emphasis and the rest 12% students informed that listening was given the most emphasis. In school 5, 33% and 31% students informed that writing and listening respectively were of most importance in their class. In contrast, 19% of the students informed that speaking was the most emphasised skill whereas 10% students answered that reading was the most emphasised skill. In school 6, 47% students noted that speaking was given the most emphasis while 16% students supported for reading, another 16% students supported for listening and still another 14% students informed that reading was given the most emphasis. Among all participating students in school seven, 32% students informed that speaking got most emphasis

while 18% students informed that listening got the most importance and still another 18% students said that it was writing. For a quick glance, the following table presents what most students in school reported to be the most emphasised skill in their classroom:

School name	Skill Type
School 1	Writing
School 2	Reading
School 3	Speaking
School 4	Writing
School 5	Writing
School 6	Speaking
School 7	Speaking

Table 18: Most given time & emphasis on skills

It is noteworthy here that speaking and listening was not practiced or prioritised in all schools, at least not to the level of reading and writing. In terms of emphasis given, students from four schools informed that speaking had either third or fourth position.

5. From what other places (beside school) do you learn English? Please mention how many hours in a week.

In reply to this question, most of the students replied 'yes', or 'no' in addition to mentioning that they learnt it either in their home, or at a coaching centre. In that case, the present analysis covers only up to what percentage of students learn English outside their school. The percentage was very high for all schools except school 4 where 80% students did not provide any answer to this question which was probably because they did not understand the question (though the researcher explained the questions of the questionnaire during the data collection). The following table indicates the percentage of students who said 'yes' to this question, the rest said either 'no' or left the this question unanswered. Learning hours outside school premise varied extensively from minimum one hour to maximum 12 hours in a week. What is worth mentioning here is that students' credit or failure for learning and using English was not only limited to their respective school only, but also to all other places where they learnt English from.

School name	Students
School 1	68%
School 2	100%
School 3	100%
School 4	20%
School 5	64%
School 6	94%
School 7	52%

Table 19: Learning English outside school

6. In what other places do you use your English? Please mention how many hours in a week.

In this question, most of the students from each school said yes except school two where 62% students said that they did not use English outside their classroom or school. While answering this question, students from other schools mentioned that they used English with their parents, friends at home, at the shopping centre, at play ground, in facebook and email etc. The number of hours also varied a lot from student to student and school to school, with a minimum of one hour to maximum ten hours per week. However, the extent and manner of using English whether it was only using English at the word level, phrase level or sentence level was not asked in the questionnaire. What attracts attention is that they felt the need to use it and they did that according to their skill ability outside their schools.

School name	Students
School 1	87% Yes
School 2	62% No
School 3	100% Yes
School 4	50% Yes
School 5	77% Yes
School 6	84% Yes
School 7	74% Yes

Table 20: Using English outside school

7. Who/what motivates you to learn English?

Both teachers or parents were motivating sources for most of the students in all participating schools. However, school 1 had 44% students motivated by teachers and no student mentioned parents as giving them motivation. School 2 had 77% students motivated by teachers and 8% students motivated by parents. In school 3, 47% students were motivated by their teachers and 30% students by their parents. School 4 had 41% students motivated by teachers to learn English whereas 23% students by parents. School 5 had an opposite picture where 67% students were motivated to learn English by their parents and 12% students by teachers. In school 6, both parents and teachers had equal number of percentage in relation to motivating students. It was 33% students in each case. School 7 students mentioned their parents more than their teachers in terms of motivating factor. Among them 44% students mentioned their parents whereas 30% students mentioned their teachers as motivating factor. It is worthwhile to have these percentages in a table:

School name	Students
School 1	44% (From teachers)
School 2	77% (From Teachers)
School 3	47% (From Teachers)

School 4	41% (From Teachers)
School 5	67% (From Parents)
School 6	33% (Form Parents)
School 7	44% (From Parents)

Table 21: Students' motivation

It may be pointed out here that the last three school students had parents with higher education than other schools. It may appear quite logical enough that these parents motivate their children (and also perhaps help in solving homework, learning at home) more than parents from other schools. However, motivation from teachers and parents are not 'one or the other' option. Instead it may be both together in which case students may learn much better.

7.3. LIKERT SCALE

Section three of this survey questionnaire was devised with Likert scale where students were asked to show their degree of agreement or disagreement in a five point Likert scale (in the gradation of Strongly agree, Agree, Do not know, Disagree, Strongly disagree). There were twenty-four statements about various aspects of CLT and overall English language learning. A statistical significance test was conducted counting upon students' responses from both rural and urban schools, low and high performing schools, government and non-government schools. It is now pertinent to explain how data obtained from Likert scale is analysed in the present thesis. Each choice in the Likert scale is given a consecutive value of 1,2,3,4 and 5 i.e. 1 for strongly agree, 2 for disagree, 3 for do not know, 4 for disagree and 5 for strongly disagree. This value scores are then averaged for variance analysis using significance test or *t*-test. The procedure for significance test is discussed below.

In each of the significance test analysis, averages of score values are used for two groups of students for finding out if these average (or mean) values differ. For example, mean value on the Likert scale for high performing school is μ_1 and for low performing school is μ_2 . Here $\mu_1 - \mu_2 = 0$ or (the null hypothesis $H_0: \mu_1 = \mu_2$) would mean that no difference exists between high performing and low performing schools. On the other hand, if $\mu_1 > \mu_2$ or $\mu_1 < \mu_2$, it would indicate there is a difference between high performing and low performing school (alternative hypothesis or $H_a : \mu_1 - \mu_2 \neq 0$ or $\mu_1 \neq \mu_2$). If the direction of difference is predicted ahead of time, a one tailed version of H_a would be specified, such as $\mu_1 - \mu_2 > 0$. Since no such direction of difference is predicted in this study, it is assumed that $\mu_1 \neq \mu_2$ where $\mu_1 < \mu_2$ and $\mu_1 > \mu_2$ are possible. Thus it is called two tailed version of H_a or two paired sample *t*-test.

In each of the following *t*-test, it is assumed that high performing school students make Group 1 and low performing school students make Group 2. Similarly in the case of urban-rural distinction, urban school students make Group 1 and rural school

students make Group 2. From the difference of mean values, t -value is measured which can be both greater than or less than (positive or negative). Now if t -value is positive, it means that the high performing schools (or the urban schools) has higher average value than the low performing schools (or the rural schools). This further indicates that students from high performing schools agree more to the statement than students from low performing schools. Here students from low performing schools disagrees more to the statement. Conversely, if t -value is negative, it indicates that second group has higher average value than the first group. This further indicates that students from high performing schools agree less to the statement than students from low performing schools. Here students from low performing schools agree more to the statement.

In each of the significance test, p -value indicates how much someone believes in H_0 (i.e. no difference exists between two groups). In fact, p -value is the two tailed (or two paired sample) significance test result. This value must be below 5% to conclude that difference between any two groups is very significant. In other words, the smaller the p -value, the stronger is the belief that the difference is statically significant. In this case, the smallest p -value can be 0.000 and the highest acceptable p -value can be 0.05. (An exemplary test report is shown for the statement number 9). In the following analysis, It was found that students' responses for several statements differed significantly in school categories of high and low performance and urban and rural settings. What follows is the analysis of the statements in which students from urban and rural schools, government and non-government schools differed significantly.

8. I enjoy attending English classes:

In a two tailed t -test, it is found that students differed significantly from each other in relation to the category of urban and rural schools but not in the category of high performing schools and low performing schools. In the first case the difference is very high with $t(228)=2.6$, $p=.010$ (urban-rural). It might be that English teachers in urban schools were more able and educated enough to make lessons interesting in comparison to English teachers in the rural schools. Considering teachers' background information, it would be rational to assume teachers' role in making classes enjoyable for students.

9. I speak in English with my teachers and friends in the class.

In this statement, students from urban schools agreed more than students from rural schools. Their difference was found statistically significant with two-sample $t(70)=9.9$, $p=.000$. The indication is that urban students were more interacting in English with their teacher and friends than their counterpart in rural school categories. The similar p -value .000 with two-sample $t(213)=5.9$, $p=0.000$ is found for this statement in the school category of high and low performing schools. This also indicates that students from high performing schools were more interactive in

English with their fellow friends and teachers than students from low performing schools.

		q40_school_performanc	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
q9_speak_teacher_friends	good		152	2.6974	1.20176	.09748
	bad		79	1.8987	.81011	.09114

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means					95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	Lower	Upper
q9_speak_teacher_friends	Equal variances assumed	58.961	.000	5.310	229	.000	.79863	.15040	.50229	1.09498
	Equal variances not assumed			5.985	213.912	.000	.79863	.13345	.53559	1.06168

Figure 5: Statistical significance test

10. *I have to do lots of class work in the class.*

According to the information provided by students, there is no significant difference between urban and rural schools in terms of class works they have to do. It indicates that both types of students have to do lot of class work. However, a significant difference is found between students of high performing schools and low performing schools. It indicates that students form high performing schools have to do a lot of class work in contrast to students from low performing schools. In two paired sample *t*-test, the result is $t(208)=2.4$, $p=.017$.

11. *I do nothing in the class, just see what others do.*

Even in spite of lot of class works students of high performing schools do, there were also many students that responded that they do nothing in the class, they just saw what others do. Thus these students agreed more to the statement than the students from low performing schools. The significance test result is $t(116)=2.9$, $p=.004$

12. *I always ask my teachers when I have any problem in English.*

While faced with problems in learning English, all students do not raise questions to their teachers. In reply to this question, students differed significantly both in the categories of urban-rural distinction and high-low performance distinction. Students from urban schools were asking more question than rural schools and this difference is statistically significant with a result of $t(38)=2.5$, $p=.016$. Similarly students from high performing schools were asking more questions to their teachers than students from low performing schools with a statistically significant difference of $t(201)=2.9$, $p=.004$.

Question number 13 was *My parents always encourage me to ask my teachers question if I have any problem in English* and Question number 14 was *My teachers*

always encourage me to ask them question if I have any problem in English. Students were not found significantly different in their answers in any of the categories of urban-rural schools and high-low performing schools. It may indicate that teachers and parents from all schools motivated their students to ask questions to their teachers if any difficulties were there.

15. I memorise grammar or grammatical rules.

Memorising grammatical rules is one basic characteristics of GT method. There was no statistically significant difference between urban and rural school students indicating that students from both these types of schools memorised grammatical rules. However, according to the significance test, students from high performing schools differed significantly than students from low performing schools. Here the *t*-value is positive indicating that high performing school students have more mean value than the low performing school students, with two-sample t-test $t(175)=3.9$, $p=.000$ This analysis indicates that there was more tendency of traditional GT method in high performing schools. The detail report is below:

	q40_school_performance	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
q15_memorize_grammar	good	152	2,5263	1,27090	,10308
	bad	79	1,9241	1,12969	,12710

Independent Samples Test

	Levene's Test for Equality of Variances	t-test for Equality of Means								
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
q15_memorize_grammar	Equal variances assumed	10,124	,002	3,546	229	,000	,60227	,16985	,26759	,93694
	Equal variances not assumed			3,680	175,205	,000	,60227	,16365	,27929	,92524

Figure 6: Statistical significance test

16. I am aware of grammatical rules when I am using English.

In this question too there is no statistically significant difference between students from urban and rural schools. However, this difference was statistically significant between students from high performing and low performing schools indicating that

students from high performing schools were aware of grammatical rules. The statistical result is $t(228)=2.9$, $p=.005$. It appears from question number 15 and question number 16 that high performing school students' awareness of grammatical rules came from their memorising of grammatical rules.

17. I use/want to use English for practical communication.

Students' motivation for learning English increases due to their desire for using it in practical communications. Students from urban and rural schools did not differ significantly in their response to this statement. It is quite interesting to note here that students from low performing schools used or wanted to use English for practical communication more than the students from high performing schools. There is a strong statistical significance $t(122)=-4.4$, $p=.000$ of difference between students' from high and low performing schools. Since t -value is negative, it indicates that students from low performing schools agreed more to the statement than students from high performing schools.

18. I want to gain knowledge in English grammar.

In their opinions, students differed both in urban-rural distinction and in high-low performing school distinction. Students from urban schools differed from the rural schools with statistical significance of $t(78)=3.6$, $p=.001$ whereas students from high performing schools differed from low performing schools with statistical significance of $t(212)=2.4$, $p=.019$. This result points out that students from urban and high performing schools agreed more to the statement and as such would like to gain knowledge in English grammar more than students from their counterparts.

19. I do many pair/group works in my English class.

Working in pairs or groups is very important in communicative classroom although all participating schools were not conducting it at the required level. It is found from the students' survey that urban schools were doing this activity more than the rural schools. There difference is found statistically significant in a two-sample t -test $t(227)=3.0$, $p=.003$. This difference is found statistically even more significant between high and low performing schools. $t(194)=5.2$, $p=.000$ indicating that high performing schools were doing it more than low performing schools.

20. I enjoy learning English in pair/group work.

Students' responses to this statement were not found significantly different enough between schools in high-low performance and urban-rural categories.

21. I do/have done 'role-play' in English in the class.

Role-play is one of the communicative activities for learning a language. In their responses to this statement, students from urban schools did not differ from students of rural schools. However, students from high performing schools differed significantly from the students of low performing schools with strong statistical difference of $t(140)=4.8$, $p=.000$. This difference clearly indicates that students from

high performance schools were doing this communicative task significantly higher than low performance schools.

22. I write paragraphs/essays from my memory.

This statement apparently became very decisive about the practice of traditional GT method and CLT. In grammar translation method or traditional method, students memorise essay or paragraphs whereas in the communicative method, students are given some clues and are expected to complete essay or paragraph freehand depending on those clues. Students responses were found significantly different both in the urban-rural and high-low performance category of schools. In the case of urban-rural distinction, the statistical significance test result is $t(218)=8.7$, $p=.000$ whereas in the case of high-low performance school categories this is $t(47)=5.3$, $p=.000$. Students from rural and low performance schools were more used to the traditional GT method whereas students from urban and high performing categories were more used to communicative methods in writing essay and paragraphs.

23. I write them on my own idea?

In this statement both urban-rural distinction and high-low performance distinction were found significant. The difference of students opinion in the urban-rural school distinction has the significance of $t(31)=-2.7$, $p=.011$ whereas in the high-low performance school has the statistical significance of $t(229)=-3.6$, $p=.000$. Quite interestingly enough, in both of these cases, the t -value is negative indicating that students from rural schools and low performance schools agree more to this statement than their urban and high performing counterpart. It means that students from rural and low performing schools wrote from their own idea.

24. I get equal chance to participate in any of English-learning tasks.

In this distinction, the difference between students' responses from high performance to low performance schools was found significant with $t(227)=3.5$, $p=.001$. This result indicates that high performance school teachers were making their classes more inclusive in nature than the low performing schools. This result also indicates that students from high performing schools get more equal chance to participate in English learning-activities than poor performing schools. Students from urban and rural schools did not differ significantly in their response to this question.

25. I have to attend class test in English.

In this statement students from urban and rural categories were found different with more statistical significance than the students from high and low performance schools. In the case of urban and rural distinction, the result is $t(29)=-4.1$, $p=.000$ whereas in the case of high-low performance schools the difference is with statistical significance of $t(99)=-2.4$, $p=.018$. It with mentioning here again that rural and low performing schools had higher t -value indicating that students from these groups agreed more attending to class test than students of urban and high performing schools.

26. I feel like improving in my English in the next test.

In statistical analysis of students' responses to this statement, there was not found any significant difference between urban and rural schools and high and low performance schools. It may indicate an overall general feel for improving English skills of all students (which is hardly surprising).

27. I believe learning English in the classroom is enough for improving my English skills.

Students from urban-rural and high-low performance school categories differed significantly in their responses to this statement. In the first case, statistical significance of difference between urban and rural school is $t(33)=4.1$, $p=.000$. In the second case, statistical significance of difference between high and low performance school is $t(129)=4.1$, $p=.000$. This result indicates that students from high performing schools and urban schools strongly felt that classroom teaching was enough for them to learn English whereas students from low performing schools and rural schools did not agree to this statement in their responses.

28. I feel the need of extra teaching.

Although students from high performing and urban schools agreed significantly that classroom teaching was enough for improving their English skills (found in statement 27), they also agreed that they felt need of extra teaching. There were differences in students' opinions both in the category of urban-rural schools and high-low performing schools distinctions. In the case of urban-rural school distinction, the statistical significance of difference was $t(226)=4$, $p=.000$ whereas in the case of high-low performance school categories, the statistical significance of difference is $t(200)=6.3$, $p=.000$. This difference indicate that students from high performing schools and urban schools felt a stronger need of extra teaching than students from low performing schools and rural schools. This result may appear quite surprising as because similar students felt that classroom teaching was enough for their improvement in English skills.

29. My parents help me solving problems.

Students opinions both in the case of urban-rural distinctions and high-low performance school categories found statistically insignificant. T-value of their opinions being very close to each other indicate that parents of all students help their children in solving problems. It worth mentioning here that statistical analysis in this case cannot show qualitative difference of parents in relation to their level of education. Parent with higher educational background particularly housewife mother in fact may create huge qualitative difference in helping their children's' educational problems. This will be discussed further in the discussion section.

30. I have got at least one house tutor for English within last 2 years.

In their response to this statement, students were found different in their opinions both in urban-rural and high-low performance distinction. In the case of urban and rural school distinction, the statistical significance of difference was $t(85)=5.6$, $p=.000$ whereas in the case of high and low performance school distinction the statistical significance of difference was $t(193)=4.5$, $p=.000$. It may indicate two things. Firstly, students from urban and high performing schools have had house tutor more than rural and low performance school. Secondly, there is contribution of house tutor (along with the high performance of these schools) behind well performance of students of these schools.

Question 31. I have gone to coaching centre for English within last two years.

In this statement, students were not found different in relation to high and low performing schools. However, there is statistical significance of difference in students' opinion between urban and rural schools with $t(35)=-4.04$, $p=.004$. It is worth mentioning here that students from rural areas have higher t-value indicating strong agreement to the statement than the urban school students.

7.4. GAMMA TEST

An assumption was found rational that there might be relations between any two particular questions that were asked in the Likert scaling question section of this students survey questionnaire. For example, whether feeling need for extra teaching (statement no. 28) was in positive relationship with having house tutor (question no. 30). An attempt was made to find such relationship between different pairs of variables i.e. whether the presence of one variable could also indicate the presence of other variable. In such cases, Gamma test may show statistical relations between variables. A primary pairs of such variables were made with statement number 28 & 30, 27 & 28, 28 & 31, 9 & 12, 17 & 20, 18 & 22 and then checked in Gamma test analysis. The result of this analysis is presented below.

In this project, it was found through Gamma test analysis that statement number 28 (need for extra teaching) was significantly in relation with both question number 30 (having house tutor) with approximate significance value .017 and statement number 31 (going to coaching centre) with approximate significance value .000. Statement number 9 (speaking to teacher and friends in English) and statement number 12 (asking questions to teachers) were also very much related with an approximate significant value of .000. Gaining knowledge in English grammar (variable number 18) was in strong relationship with writing paragraph from memory (question number 22) with approximate significance value .020. Similarly memorising grammatical rules (variable number 15) was in strong relationship with writing paragraph/essays from memory (statement number 20). The approximate significance value was .000. It appears from this analysis that memorising grammatical rules encourage memorising essay/paragraphs or all of these variables

may be caused by still other variable(s). Statement number 17 (using English for practical communication) is not in relationship with question number 20 (enjoy learning in pair or group work). Similarly, no relation is found between statement number 27 (classroom teaching is enough) and statement number 28 (need extra teaching).

In a summary of this statistical analysis of students survey questionnaire, it may be said that there were differences among students in relation to their family and social background, in relation to time and emphasis given to classroom activities and in relation their agreement and disagreement with various statements regarding learning English. Some crucial factors of CLT is significantly less practiced in low performing schools. This was been significantly noticed in the case of *speaking in English with teachers and friends in the class, doing lots of class work in the class, asking teachers for solving any problem in English, doing many pair/group works in English class, doing 'role-play' in English in the class and getting equal chance to participate in any of English learning tasks*. Besides, students from high performing schools differed significantly and agreed with *memorising grammar or grammatical rules, being aware of grammatical rules while using English, gaining knowledge in English grammar, writing paragraphs/essays from memory, belief that learning English in the classroom is enough for improving English skills, the need of extra teaching, and house tutor for English within last 2 years*. It is worth mentioning here that students from low performing schools agreed more than students from high performing schools in the statements of *writing paragraph from own ideas, attending more class test, want to use English for practical communication and going to coaching centre for learning English*. It appears that students from low performance schools preferred to go to coaching centre in contrast to students from high performing schools who prefer to have house tutor as an additional English learning support.

Similarly, in the case of urban-rural distinctions, students from urban schools differed significantly and agreed with the statements of *enjoying English classes, speaking in English with teachers and friends in the class, asking teachers for solving any problem in English, gaining knowledge in English grammar, doing pair/group works in my English class, writing paragraphs/essays from my memory, learning English in the classroom is enough for improving English skills, feeling the need of extra teaching, having at least one house tutor for English within last 2 years*.

All these differences among students exist regarding very essential characteristics of CLT. These differences might have accelerated the gap in students' performance from urban to rural schools and high performing to low performing schools. Unless regulated, these differences would continue creating a social gulf and segments of various group of school going students since English has a determining role in the

social and professional benefits. It will be discussed further in the discussion section of this paper.

CHAPTER 8. DISCUSSION

The main research question of this project is to investigate “How CLT is taught as a matter of policy implementation in secondary school context in Bangladesh”. Three types of primary data and several other secondary data (i.e. statistics of result, policy documents and school information) were collected in search of answers to this main research question. All of this data were analysed and significant differences were found in the actual implementation of CLT inside the classroom activities. Principal reasons for these differences are related to school management, teacher qualification and teacher training along with socio-economic conditions of both schools and students' family. With data analysis result from each data type, the following discussion explains the main research question along with pointing out findings of the research project. Additional questions in support of the main research question are also discussed in this section.

The participating schools differ from each other very critically in relation to school management, their economic condition, school infrastructure, teacher recruitment and teacher qualification. It has been observed that all these factors are found in (non-statistical) positive relationship with school performance, i.e. the more schools vary in relation to their performance in the SSC examination, the more all these factors vary. The more well functioning those factors are, the higher the school performances. In the high performing schools, a huge amount of economic investment is made for ensuring qualified teachers, modern technologies and infrastructure for teaching, which is, in contrast, hardly possible for the low performing schools. For example, having well-qualified English teachers with Bachelor's and Master's degrees in English is unimaginable for low performing schools, since teachers with English background do not want to stay in low performing schools due to low salary. Although these phenomena are quite common sense knowledge, initiatives for enhancing those factors particularly for all low performing schools are significantly insufficient.

From the participating schools in this project, a wide variety of school management and administrative systems are found. Schools 1, 2 and 3 were set up by members who were enthusiastic enough in their local area. Not being highly educated, many of these committee members themselves were not quite updated with the changes in the academic systems, nor were they from well off societies. These committee members could not conduct proper teacher recruitment and teacher evaluation. In addition to this, they could not collect or provide funds for qualified teachers in English and other subjects, nor could they maintain the latest teaching logistics, infrastructure, or other extracurricular school activities. In contrast, all these conditions were strictly maintained by members of governing bodies of school number 6 and 7. Most of these members were from the elite class, government bureaucracy or business class. A pressure on strict obedience to both curriculum and

school policy enabled these schools to be on the top listed position of academic performance. In comparison to these non-government schools, the school management for all government schools were mostly similar with stable administration from the Ministry of Education. The pass rate between the high and the low performing schools did not vary so drastically in government schools as it did in the case of non-government schools. Participating schools 4 and 5 were government schools and as such they did not have as serious management problems as commonly found in low performing non-government schools.

Students' socio-economic background and parental level of education are also directly involved in selecting schools for students. Parents, in fact, have to select schools which they can afford in relation to their family income. High performing schools in most cases have higher tuition fee than that of low performing schools. Thus education has become a commodity to be purchased privately upon family investment. As a consequence, students from financially solvent families can easily secure a position in a high performing schools with tuition fees, donations and other fees in addition to paying for house tutors. It has an implication that students with poor socio-economic background cannot have access to these high performing schools. Money is thus used as a gatekeeper for social hierarchy and significant tool for reproducing elite classes. It is found in the present study that high performing schools have students with very high level of socio-economic background with high parental income amounting from BDT30000 (US\$375) to BDT100,000 (US\$1250) per month. This amount is very poor for the low performing schools from BDT1800 (US\$22.5) to BDT9000 (US\$112,5) or in some cases up to BDT12000 (US\$150). Until and unless quality education is made equally accessible to people of all social classes, government's target for a classless and equal society is impossible to achieve.

The effect of high family income keeps its influence in sending students to coaching centres or having house tutors at home for extra teaching. It is seen from the statistical analysis that students differ significantly in relation to having house tutors in both categories of urban-rural schools and high-low performance schools. Urban and high performing school students were having house tutors significantly more than rural and low performing school students. From a rational point of view, this is an indication of higher socio-economic condition of students' family. This picture is different in the case of coaching centre where it is seen that low performing school students were depending more on this opportunity as an extra learning place. It might be that using a coaching centre (where all subject lessons are taught) is relatively less costly than keeping house tutors for individual subjects.

Besides, parents with high levels of education, can have significant impact on their school going children - starting from selecting schools, where to be admitted, preparing pupil for admission test, helping in their children's home work and above all regulating their overall academic progress. It needs to be clarified that parents

from financially solvent families are not always with higher academic background. However, it is observed that parents of 70% students' from all three high performing schools had either Bachelor or Master Degree. Again it is seen that almost all mothers of 70% students were housewives. It implies that these educated mothers could provide the best care for their children's education. The majority of students' parents from low performing schools mostly had the academic level of sixth grade to SSC This is apparently very challenging for these parents with low levels of education (or impossible for parents with no education at all). Parental academic influence is particularly important since there is increasing faith in the assumption that school teaching is not enough for learning English in particular and for overall academic success in general. As a result, it becomes now very imperative to take some assertive steps for enhancing equal and quality education in all schools disregarding urban or rural and government or non-government.

It seems very pertinent to have a discussion on Kaplan and Baldauf's (1997) subcategory of language-in-education policy in the context of Bangladesh with relevance to collected data and its analysis.

Within the subcategory of curriculum policy, there are three concerns for implementing a policy. The first concern is to determine time and duration of total number of classes in an academic year. The required time in one academic year is of an average 38 weeks x 5 days x 6 meetings x 50 minutes = 5700 minutes/60 minutes = 95 hours (Kaplan and Baldauf,1997). However, it is seen that in Bangladesh this time is much less than that since schools activities are closed for at least one additional month during public examinations' schedule. According to the participating teacher from school 5, teachers get only 160 classes of 30 minutes duration making it 160x30= 80 hours in the whole academic year. This number of classes are not enough according to some of the participating teachers. The second concern of the curriculum policy is the starting time to learn the foreign language. Learning English in Bangladesh starts from Class 1 though there are serious debates over the appropriateness of starting so early. Many experts are in favour of late starting with enhanced efforts for learning English; however, it is unlikely till now that this suggestion will be accepted. The third concern of curriculum policy is the teaching method which has recently changed from the traditional GT method to CLT method. Several requirements of CLT were not ensured i.e. teachers should have good proficiency in English, be well aware of CLT techniques and a small class size with limited number of students.

According to the language-in-education policy framed by Kaplan and Baldauf(1997), selecting the pool of teachers is the most significant once curriculum policy is made. The three crucial issues that need to be addressed are source of teachers, their in-service and pre-service training and their reward for being teachers. The source of teachers in Bangladesh have almost always been the native Bangladeshi people. Importing or hiring the native speakers of English is almost

unimaginable within the budgetary allocation of education policy. However, the second crucial issue is the training of teachers both in the form of in-service and pre-service category. Pre-service teacher training does not exist at all whereas only in-service training is offered to English teachers in a very low volume. Those who have got the training still feel the need of more training. English teachers without Bachelor's and Master's degrees are mostly in a state of frustration, lack of confidence and teach mostly following the traditional GT method (in which they themselves were taught). The critical issue within the personnel policy is the reward for teachers, which can take the form of high social esteem with good salary in addition to providing costs for training and good career line. As has been already discussed, only teachers from high performing non-government and government schools get good salaries with secured career lines and in-service training. But the majority of schools are non-government (approximately 98% BANBEIS) which have a low salary scale and therefore attract under-qualified English teachers (who never had any other better paid jobs in their career). Due to this lack of well-structured personnel policy, qualified English graduates never feel motivated to be English teachers except for those limited numbers of highly paid non-government or government schools.

Within material policy, the authenticity and simplicity of text is discussed. In the context of Bangladesh, the quality of paper in the textbook is often criticised for not being attractive at all for the children. "Obscure printing on gray or reddish newsprint" gives a very low impression about the quality of the text book. (Shahed 2002, 10). No other materials are supplied except the textbooks which are made available to learners at the very beginning of an academic year. In comparison to material policy, community policy is much less discussed. What is worth mentioning is that there is not any nationwide community policy nor any organised data obtained through survey for the use of policy formulation. Community policy may have strong influence on the school management committee (for teacher recruitment or students' admission or school regulation etc.) in some cases whereas in other cases there is no such presence. However, people's attitude to English in general is very positive and they possess a strong need for learning it for all sorts of practical reasons.

Evaluation policy within language-in-education policy is very significant as effectiveness of a policy can be best realised by evaluation and measures can be taken accordingly. Therefore it is very important to develop a mechanism for evaluating. The evaluation can be for curriculum, students success, teachers' success, social change, cost effectiveness and even for making further changes in the policy itself. Very recently questions are now being raised about instructions for evaluating students' answer script. Teaching practitioners mention that due to too-generous evaluation instructions from the education boards, pass rate is very high giving the wrong impression of quality of education (Iqbal 2014, Wadud 2014). An in-depth

investigation on testing material and evaluation criteria might thus be essential as part of evaluation policy.

As a supplement to the main research question, other related questions were also considered. These additional questions will now be discussed in order to find answer and explanations for the main research questions.

1. How is CLT implemented in high and low pass rate secondary schools in Bangladesh?

Implementation of CLT differs from school to school. It is observed that high performing schools are following CLT instructions and lesson activities whereas the low performing schools are just teaching on the basis of CLT textbooks in a traditional GT method. The way teachers at the high performing schools can accommodate and implement CLT is beyond the capacity of the teachers at the low performing schools, particularly for school 1, 2 and 3. This situation may be well explained in Littlewood's (2011) terms 'analytic and experiential dimension' of CLT. Before the implementation of CLT, all teachers were following traditional GT methods. With the implementation of CLT, teachers were given training on it. Teachers at the high performing schools (4,5,6 and 7) could adapt to the changes in their teaching practices and could make a transitional shift from the GT to CLT.

This transitional shift in CLT continuum (mentioned at page 63, Table 4), according to Littlewood (2011), takes place in phases which are non-communicative practice → Pre-communicative practice → Communicative language practice → Structured communication → Authentic communication. Apparently the non-communicative stage focuses language forms and structures (traditional teaching) from where teachers moves towards the next phase pre-communicative practice with occasional attention to meaning and situation based practice. In the communicative language practice stage, attention is given to pre-taught language practice but in a new context. In the next stage of structured communication, the focus is on eliciting pre-taught language skills in unpredictable situations through structured role-play. At the authentic communication stage, focus is on using language in situations where meanings are unpredictable through creative role-play.

It appears that teachers at the low performing schools could not make their shifts of transitional phases in the continuum from GT to CLT method. They are still at the same stage where they used to be before. Teachers from schools 2 and 3 were teaching English following the traditional GT method just to increase the pass rates. It was similar in the case of school 1. There was no implementation of CLT although the teacher from school 1 had got his training on CLT. In fact his position of CLT practice was in between non-communicative to pre-communicative practice stage within the CLT continuum. The teacher from school 4 tried to be at the stage of communicative language practice, however, many of his students were still at the

pre-communicative stage. Teachers from schools 5, 6 and 7 were implementing CLT as much as possible which was at the stage of structured communication to authentic communication. All these participating schools were at various stages of CLT continuum where high performing schools were at the communicative end and low performing schools were at the non-communicative end.

2. How do actual classroom activities differ from school to school in conducting CLT lessons?

Much similar to teachers' qualifications, classroom activities based on a communicative textbook also differed significantly from school to school. From the classroom observation data analysis, it may be emphasised that high performing schools had more communicative activities and interactive sessions in contrast to the one-way showering or lecturing from teachers in the low performing schools. Classroom activities in schools 5, 6 and 7 were conducted completely in English, both teachers and students were interacting in English, many more CLT characteristics were found in these schools than in schools 1, 2 or 3 (and also school number 4 to some extent). A comparative view of various classroom activities can explicate this from a comparable table (appendix 1) at a glance. Students' use of English in speaking, teachers' effort to include as many students as possible beside encouraging them to participate in pair work, holding pre-discussion, teaching grammatical points whenever related to the text lesson, and finally teachers' use of English as a medium of instruction are the characteristics which are significantly practised at the high performing schools. Some of these characteristics were not at all found in the low performing schools while others were partially present.

It is apparently the qualification, training and teachers' proficiency in English which enabled teachers of 5, 6 and 7 to conduct their teaching in a much more communicative way. Inside the classroom, it is the teachers who were orchestrating each and every task and certainly these were according to their individual level of competence. In addition to their qualification and experience about English teaching and learning, these teachers from Schools 4, 5, 6, and 7 had a much clearer concept about CLT method including misconception about it, its benefits and limitations. They were found to be engaging their students into interactive activities, making them speaking as much as possible and struggling to adjust time challenge while completing their lesson objectives in a communicative fashion. Moreover, teachers from low performing schools also differed from high performing teachers in terms of their teaching goals. All three low performing school teachers wanted to increase the pass rate of their schools whereas teachers from high performing schools also wanted their students to learn the required proficiency level to communicate in their practical life. These differences in abilities among high and low performing school teachers truly emphasises the need for teachers educated in English (language teaching) both at the levels of Bachelor's and Master's degree.

3. How do students experience CLT lessons?

Students' experience in learning English through CLT methods vary significantly from school to school. As far as it is seen in the data analysis section of students' survey questionnaire, many of these differences are about essential characteristics of CLT. Students from high performing schools used the English language while communicating in the class, did a lot of class work, asked questions to teachers for problem solving, did many more pair or group work activities and role plays than the students from low performing schools. Students from high performing schools also agreed that they learnt grammatical rules by heart, wanted to gain grammatical awareness and grammatical knowledge, wrote compositions from memory, believed that classroom teaching was enough for learning English. Although they felt classroom teaching was enough, they felt the need of extra teaching. They had house tutors for English, which perhaps gave them extra practicing time for skill development.

On the other hand, it is found that students from low performing schools agreed more with statements about writing paragraph from own ideas, attending more class test, having a desire to use English for practical communication and going to coaching centres for learning English. They differed significantly in these statements from high performing school students. Low performing school students did not have good grammatical skills and as such free hand writing by them would rarely produce error-free writing. They had a desire to use English for practical communication but their level of proficiency as observed in the classroom activities did not indicate that they would be able to do it. Again, it is seen that students from low performing schools agree more to go to coaching centres. One probable reason for this might be that with almost the similar fee for one house tutor for one subject, it would be possible to have extra coaching for all subjects in a coaching centre. Thus coaching centre became a cheaper alternative to having several house tutors for several subjects.

In fact, students' (and hence also the stakeholders') feel for the need for extra teaching has arisen out of the situations that 'school teaching is not enough' and they need to 'prepare for the good results' in the exam. The first reason is corroborated when it concerns the lack of teachers qualification, training, limited classroom time (only 30 minutes class duration). The second reason is substantiated when teachers cannot give attention to individual students' need and cannot help in problem solving because students number in the class is very high. However, that 'school teaching is not enough' is confirmed by the fact that teachers also encourage students to come to them for private tuition for extra money, as one participating teacher revealed. In fact, all these situations have led to the massive growth of 'coaching centre' and 'private tuition' business in the whole of Bangladesh.

The complaint that ‘teachers are not concentrating on classroom teaching and they encourage private tuition’ has become a common phenomenon. Teachers also validate this complaint by arguing that their salary is not sufficient to maintain their living costs and hence they need to earn more. Teachers' explanation for validating private tuition has some logic to it. Though the author does not support this private tuition or coaching centre tradition, the “truly vulnerable infrastructure of education section and the disappointing low quality of teaching profession” (Chakrabartee 2002:248) has demotivated and driven out brilliant students to come into this profession. A fresh graduate with good academic record would not like to join teaching (Shahed, 2002, p.12) at a non-government secondary school simply because of tremendously low paying salary. New graduates thus always prefer to start careers with good salary and better future prospects. Only after failing to achieve their target job (as also said by three teachers participating in this project) or finding no other jobs, graduates with comparatively much low academic scores finally become teachers of various categories of non-government schools (Shahed, 2002, p.13). Expecting a good salary scale and a promising promotion possibilities, many meritorious students become teachers either at the highly paying non-government schools or much secured government schools. Thus low performing schools with average or low paying salary get only demotivated, disappointed, comparatively less qualified and less devoted graduates as English teachers.

The detrimental effect of coaching centres and private tuition has seriously affected teachers' performance inside the classroom. This has also been observed by the present Minister of Education, who has also taken some promising steps to discourage commercial aspects of education. Unfortunately, instead of going to the roots of problem, he has just ordered to stop coaching centres and private tuition by school teachers. Apparently, this order would not work since no teacher would love to live in poverty. They would do other non-academic business beside their teaching profession, if the option for extra tuition income is taken away from them. This would be of similar negative effects since teachers would still be demotivated to teach. Only a required budgetary allocation for better salaries for teachers can solve this problem. Like other government jobs, if teachers are honoured with facilities, benefits, standard salaries and promotion in teaching, many meritorious students would be eager to join as teachers. If all schools are provided with equal or similar level teacher qualification with at least graduation and Master’s degree in English, discriminations among schools status and differences in results statistics would be much reduced. If all schools are provided with equal logistic support and school infrastructure, no differences would exist between rural and urban schools. Teachers from rural area would not desire to move to the city for tuition or coaching business which could be completely banned. All teachers could be re-shuffled or transferred to anywhere in the country with similar facilities no matter urban or rural, similar to other personnel of Bangladesh government.

4. What possible factors can explain differences in students’ success rates?

All participating teachers have their teaching goal to increase the pass rate or keeping the top listed position in the school performance. However, students' pass rates vary drastically from the high performing schools to the low performing schools. Students' classroom performances do also vary significantly in a similar manner. As observed in the participating schools, differences in learners' success rate can be explained due to effects of three influencing factors teachers' academic background, socio-economic conditions of students, and parental level of education. These effects were discussed elaborately in the analysis of classroom data analysis section. There was found a common trend that the level of these three factors was very high in the case of high performing schools students. In contrast, this level was very low in the case of low performing school students.

Since government investment is very meagre, private investment has a major role to ensure learners' success in Bangladesh. This private investment depends completely on total family income and how much out of it a family can invest for a learner. Most of the students families from lower socio-economic background cannot make extra investment for covering the need for extra teaching (which is apparently felt due to lack of comprehensive teaching in the classroom). In this situation, social class differences are created since financially solvent families can invest more for their students. In most cases, parents from lower socio-economic background have lower education and as such are bound to select low fee-paying low performing schools where English teachers are without Bachelor's/Master's degree in English and even at times without any training.

This has now become a vicious academic circle where the poor remain the poor and rich remain the rich through education. This strong influence of social class systems on the academic institutions reproduce social class systems according to their norm and financial capacity of academic institutions. There is hardly any chances for the poor to make a social upward mobility through education. There is a very critical need to bring equality among academic institutions, otherwise the country will perpetuate educational apartheid for seriously stratified class system. This vicious circle is thus a massive challenge for the government for making any substantial change in existing social class systems in Bangladesh.

5. What possible factors can explain differences in implementation?

As far as classroom teaching is concerned, these factors were primarily the teachers' qualification and their lack of knowledge and training in CLT. Teachers' qualification is highly significant for teaching English, particularly through CLT method. Teachers' performance depends largely on their academic background and training which were then reflected in their conducting of various classroom activities. Among the seven participating teachers in this project, it was seen that (English teaching) teachers from Schools 2 and 3 did not have the minimum requirement of English courses (of 300 marks) and neither of them had received any

training on CLT. The teacher from School 3 did not have his Bachelor Degree at the time of data collection. The English teacher in school 1 had both a Bachelor Degree (not specified in English) with 300 marks course in English and training on CLT. One thing was in common among these three teachers which was none of them had had their Bachelor Degree in English. Besides, their proficiency was at much lower level for which they could not express themselves in English during the semi-structured interview. These teacher opted for Bangla as a language for conversation. On the contrary, English teachers from Schools 4, 5, 6 and 7 had their Master's degree in English and each has received training on CLT. All of these teachers, except the teacher from School 4 (who in the middle opted for the Bangla language in the middle of the conversation) were very fluent and opted for English as the language of conversation. In this particular case, selecting Bangla as a language of interview conversation was an indication of lack of proficiency in English.

Till now these differences in CLT implementation from school to school are due to teachers diverse level of qualification including academic and training backgrounds. According to teachers' opinion, particularly from the low performing schools, limited time and poor capacity of students, are the main reasons for the failure to perform well in English. Some of these teachers informed that most of the brilliant students go to high performing schools and only the weak performing students are admitted at the low performing schools. Teachers from high performing schools have described their students as 'very brilliant' and 'meritorious' which have helped them to create such good results for their schools (teachers from Schools 5,6 and 7). According to the teacher from School 5, a high pass rate is not the teachers' credit, rather it is students' credit.

It was observed in the class that high performing school teachers were engaging students in various activities, both speaking and writing, to which students were responsive and trying to interact. All of them tried to follow up with activities although mostly volunteers and teachers selected students could show up when asked. All of their activities centred around the textbook, its lesson objectives and various tasks around these objectives. In contrast, teachers from low performing schools were found solving model test paper guide or teaching reading comprehension in the fashion of one-way lecture method followed by students answering the questions. There was not a fluent teacher-student communicative discussion on the lesson activities which were done in traditional GT method.

6. How do teachers experience CLT in their regular teaching practice?

Teachers' experience has been discussed in details in the semi-structured interview section. In comments about evaluating CLT, teachers from low performing schools mainly pointed out lack of training or a need of further training on CLT. With serious lack of confidence in CLT concepts, these teachers had a strong desire to do

better in their jobs. They did not have any opportunity to get any in-service training. These teachers also mentioned that they got only 150 to 160 classes (each of 30 minutes duration) in an academic calendar due to various vacations. This time was not enough for completing the huge syllabus of so many activities. Teachers from high performing schools did not mention these problem during their interviews with the author. Apparently, having their education and training on CLT, these teachers focused on the problems concerning CLT implementation and how it could be best used. Teacher S from school 7 talked about the use of picture in the exam question which would motivate students to talk about pictures in the classroom.

Besides, teachers Q, O and S from Schools 5, 6, and 7 pointed out that speaking skill was not being assessed in the examination. According to them, this defective examination system demotivated students to focus on speaking activities the class. Students were primarily more focused on to those questions and lessons (similar to question papers of the previous years) which had more possibilities to come in the next examination. Thus students were getting more exam oriented only to pass and not to learn the essential communicative skills in reading, writing, speaking and listening. Besides, the question pattern, particularly reordering, was not demanding one. Many students just copied the sentences in the question and got scores for that. Thus several of these participating teachers were giving the implication that CLT method did not have the CLT evaluation system in the exam. The assessment was still based on the traditional GT method type where reading a passage followed by question-answer was the norm. The name of the teaching method was changed but the essential teaching and learning practices still remained within the same traditional GT method.

Thus it may be emphasised after this discussion on the additional research questions that CLT was not taking place uniformly in all schools in Bangladesh. It varied significantly from school to school mostly due to teacher qualification ensured by overall school management and administration. Within the CLT continuum, low performing poor schools were far from teaching English following CLT method whereas high performing schools were implementing it much more effectively. Learning English in particular and education in general in Bangladesh is a commercial commodity truly consumed by all classes of people according to their affordability (Anu Muhammad, 2014) and as such is a genuine reflector of class system inherently present everywhere in Bangladesh. This has now become complete hegemony commonly accepted by common people that education runs along with money, and who can afford it will get it and who cannot will not get it. This has become such a common sense knowledge that nobody raises a question about the role of government in providing equal education to all of its citizen. As a consequence, a wide variety of social classes are reproduced, mainly in form of 'haves and have not', rich remaining rich and the poor remaining poor (Tollefson, 2011). Thus constitutional declaration of Section 2, Article 17(a) and Section 2, Article 19(2) in the national constitution turns into a constitutional irony for the

nation and a verbal rhetoric for the government, both of which is very far away from reality.

CHAPTER 9. CONCLUSION

It is found from this thesis that appropriate communicative teaching is not taking place in the ELT context in any of the participating schools. This is primarily due to a lack in teachers' capacities within teaching methodology, teachers' institutional commitments to increasing pass rates, and a defective examination system. A lack in regulating the differences in teachers' capacities or qualifications in various categories of school works as a clear mechanism for producing and maintaining social classification throughout the nation.

The lack of teachers' capacity in English language teaching has substantially influenced the implementation of CLT in Bangladesh. Teaching according to CLT has formed a continuum from full use of the GT method to mostly communicative methods. The main reason is for the lowest performing schools is teachers' lack of ability in CLT knowledge and lack of proficiency in English. These teachers are teaching CLT textbooks according to GT methods. On the other hand, teachers from high performing schools want a combination of both the GT and the CLT methods, though they tend to conduct their classroom teaching according to CLT. According to them, CLT only cannot ensure their students' error-free language use. Moreover, large class sizes with too many students in these schools were an obstacle for ensuring communicative tasks for each student.

Besides, there is a more common reason for both high and low performing schools for not practicing CLT in English classes: a strong institutional determination to do well in public examinations through the defective examination system. The present examination system (i.e. no assessment of speaking skills in the public exam, the similarity of questions to one another in the exam) has encouraged both students and teachers to ignore in-depth speaking practices, unlike reading and writing skills. Since they are result-oriented, they focus only on the skills and lessons that are most likely to appear in the question paper in the next public examination. This result-orientation and the defective examination system has created the odd reality that having good result and learning communicative skills are two separate issues.

Again, students' English-learning activities vary significantly from school to school, largely due to qualitative differences in teachers' language-teaching capacity. These acute differences in teachers' qualifications have accentuated a call for quality control and training for the professional development of teachers in its true sense, particularly for those teachers from low performing schools. This is predominantly indispensable for the government for ensuring equal opportunities; otherwise, the target of a classless society is sure to fail. Differences between various school categories, along with differences in teachers' qualifications have caused discrimination in the nationwide educational system. If proper steps are not taken,

this discrimination will continue to reproduce stratified society through educational apartheid.

The reproduction of stratified social classes is being firmly established through academic institutions. The lack of a sufficient public budget in education makes private investment essential. As such, students' socio-economic backgrounds come into play in purchasing academic products- the more money a student has, the better quality insurance in education is gained through high fee-paying schools, and through arranging extra tuition from house tutors or coaching institutes etc. Since quality education is a matter of money now, the poor fall outside this quality education and remain poor. Education cannot play any role in social upward mobility; rather it actively works as a tool for reproducing social classes - the rich reproducing the rich and the poor reproducing the poor. English, along with other social factors, can work as a causative factor for upward social mobility, but learning English is inevitably subject to the financial condition of students' families.

This serious problem in education in general and in learning English in particular may be resolved by a strong determination on the part of the government. In the present educational context of Bangladesh, it is essential to:

1. Reduce parental capital investment for children's education.
2. Implement a similar standard salary scale for all teachers in both government and non-government schools. This will attract new generations of teachers with Bachelor' and Master's degree in English.
3. Conduct regular (instead of too random) in-service teacher training with post-training evaluation activities. The project of teacher training on CLT may continue using local logistics and human resources (Hamid 2010) i.e. public universities, colleges, and their English professors to train teachers for secondary, and if necessary for primary, schools.
4. Stop teachers doing any extra job in coaching centres or as private tutor. Additional extra learning sessions may be arranged by individual schools where necessary.
5. Bring all schools under the equal management and administration of the MoE; hence, removing the discrimination between government and non-government schools.
6. Re-shuffle and transfer well-qualified teachers from high performing schools to low performing schools where they would be able to implement CLT, as well as improve the quality of education.
7. Control quality from the MoE while approving new schools and maintaining the quality of education through ensuring teachers' qualifications, logistic support, remunerations, benefits, and awards.

A lack of English teachers with a proper knowledge of CLT is an obnoxious obstacle that hinders the implementation of this method at the school level. If all

requirements for teaching English according to CLT are ensured, it will generally improve students' communicative proficiencies in English. However, ignorance of practical issues of teachers' capacity building triggers questions about policy makers' decisions on the one hand, and the government's political desire on the other. The nation's education system is the only way to change the fortune of a nation, where teachers remain primary agents for educating the nation. Without ensuring qualified teachers along with overall education development, the government's aim to provide English linguistic capital to its population would remain only a verbal dream, not an achievable reality.

Furthermore, the personnel policy within language-in-education policy as developed by Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) needs to be emphasised here in this context. If status and respect with a good salary is not ensured, qualified people will not desire to come to this profession. An attractive career path for all teachers (not for government teachers), along with sufficient incentives for achieving and maintaining English proficiency, would be a good step to start the reformation of human resources like teachers. Reducing and removing the demarcations between government and non-government schools would be a clear step forward in the target of attaining a classless society.

The research findings strongly support language learning as a social phenomenon (Hamid 2009), rather than treating it as an isolated learning behaviour by individual learners. Considering language learning only with learners' internal characteristics (i.e. motivation, aptitude or age) as it is viewed in the neo-classical approach, cannot truly and completely explain why a learner is more or less motivated than another in learning a second/foreign language. However, a deliberate consideration of external factors from a historical-structural approach (Tollefson 1991, 2002, 2011) can logically explain this. Learners' higher socio-economic backgrounds may facilitate them learning a second/foreign language more easily than those who are from a background with more socio-economic constraints. It is thus essential to concentrate both on internal and external factors of language learning, and ensure additional logistic and infrastructural support with well-trained and qualified teachers.

From the epistemological point of view, this thesis has tried to make an effort to bridge the connecting gap between language policy and language learning, as identified by Shohamy (2006). Various language policy decisions i.e. the number of years and hours of study, who is qualified to teach, who is entitled or obligated to learn, and which methods, materials, tests etc. should be used in order to learn the target language could determine the level of success of the student population. It is through the implementation of these particular policy decisions that language policy and language learning become integrated with one another for the successful teaching and learning of a second or foreign language. If appropriate policy decisions are implemented, language-in-education policy could come in close contact with language learning.

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APPENDICES

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Appendix A. Teachers' semi-structured interview protocol

Thank you for your participation in the interview. Throughout the interview we will talk all about your teaching experience including problems and challenges that you may encounter in your day to day teaching of 10th grade students. Your sincere and authentic answers will enable the researcher to have a complete picture of language teaching practice in the classroom. With your consent, the interview will be tape recorded. The information you provide is ensured of strict confidentiality and will only be used by the researcher and his supervisors for research purposes. The whole interview process might take an hour approximately.

Name:

Age:

Sex:

Education:

Teacher Training:

Years of experience:

Introductory comments.....

Interview questions	Follow-up questions (prompts)
1. How and why have you become an English teacher?	1. How are English teachers recruited in your institution? 2. What are the job requirements to qualify for the post?
2. Please tell me your experience about communicative language teaching.	3. How is it different from previous language teaching method in its aim and objectives?

<p>3. Can we now talk about participatory based teaching or child/student-centred approach in your English class?</p>	<p>4. Do you make sure inclusive education through your teaching? How?</p> <p>5. Do you use pair or group work/role play in the classroom? How?</p> <p>6. How do you manage interactive classroom activity, especially when you have a big class size?</p>
<p>4. How do you teach different skills (speaking/listening/writing/reading/grammar/vocabulary) in your class?</p>	<p>7. Are all skills equally emphasised in your class? Or Is/are any of them prioritised? Why?</p> <p>8. How do you teach spoken English (with accent, stress and intonation)?</p> <p>9. How is writing/reading taught now compared to earlier/traditional way (pre-discussion/process or product based etc)?</p> <p>10. How do you teach grammar in your class? (explicitly/implicitly)</p> <p>11. What is your role when they are engaged in classroom activities?</p> <p>12. Do you use teaching aids/materials other than textbooks? Why & how?</p>
<p>5. As your teaching goal in general, what do you want your students to do?</p>	<p>13. Do you want your students to i. To use English in communication ii. To achieve knowledge about English to analyse its grammar.</p> <p>14. Do you believe using English as language of instruction or using it for most of the time in the classroom helps in achieving your goal? Please explain.</p>
<p>6. How do you know if students are improving in their skills in English?</p>	<p>15. Do you think students can accommodate skill based, participatory based language teaching? How?</p> <p>16. How effective is this method,</p>

	<p>you think, in improving students' overall proficiency in English?</p> <p>17. Do you think students are more able to speak and write in English since CLT method has been implemented? Please explain.</p>
<p>7. Tell me about any challenges if you have encountered in your teaching.</p>	<p>18. Challenges in the following areas or more</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Covering syllabus b. Ensuring learner centred approach c. Ensuring pair or group work/role play d. Taking class test
<p>8. Do you follow any collaborative learning?</p>	<p>19. What do you think of classroom observation of others or sharing ideas/experience/journal with others? (Its benefit/how often you do you use it?)</p> <p>20. Do you think teaching is an art which can develop throughout the life and never ends at any certain points? Please explain.</p>
<p>9. Comments/Criticism</p>	<p>21. What are most important factors for a teacher to be aware of for successful communicative language teaching?</p> <p>22. Which aspect of present language teaching method should be modified for more successful teaching?</p>

Appendix B. Students' survey questionnaire

Information about you

Name..... Class role.....

Education:

Father..... Mother.....

Occupation:

Father..... Mother.....

Total family income.....

Number of siblings attending school/college/university.....

Information about your English language learning

Section 1:

1. What do you like in learning English?
2. What do you dislike in learning English?
3. In what following way do you use your English skill most?
Writing, Speaking, Listening, Reading.
4. What skill is given most time and emphasis in your class?
5. From what other places (beside school) do you learn English? Please mention how many hours in a week.
6. In what other places do you use your English? Please mention how many hours in a week.
7. Who/what motivates you to learn English?

Section 2:

The following questions allow you to make choice among five alternatives. You will tick 'strongly agree' if you think a question is completely correct for you. If it is partially correct for you, tick 'agree'. In the same way, if a question is completely incorrect for you, you will tick 'strongly disagree' and if it is partially incorrect for

you, you will tick 'disagree'. If you do not know about a question, you may tick 'do not know'. You will also mention the reason for selecting a particular alternative.

8. I enjoy attending English classes.
 strongly agree agree do not know disagree strongly disagree
9. I speak in English with my teachers and friends in the class.
 strongly agree agree do not know disagree strongly disagree
10. I have to do a lot of class works in the class.
 strongly agree agree do not know disagree strongly disagree
11. I do nothing in the class, just see what others do.
 strongly agree agree do not know disagree strongly disagree
12. I always ask my teachers when I have any problem in English
 strongly agree agree do not know disagree strongly disagree
13. My teachers always encourage me to ask them question if I have any problem in English.
 strongly agree agree do not know disagree strongly disagree
14. My parents always encourage me to ask my teachers question if I have any problem in English.
 strongly agree agree do not know disagree strongly disagree
15. I memorise grammar or grammatical rules.
 strongly agree agree do not know disagree strongly disagree
16. I am aware of grammatical rules when I am using English.
 strongly agree agree do not know disagree strongly disagree
17. I use/want to use English for practical communication.
 strongly agree agree do not know disagree strongly disagree
18. I want to gain knowledge in English grammar.
 strongly agree agree do not know disagree strongly disagree
19. I do many pair/group works in my English class.
 strongly agree agree do not know disagree strongly disagree
20. I enjoy learning English in pair/group work.

strongly agree agree do not know disagree strongly disagree

21. I do/have done 'role play' in English in the class.

strongly agree agree do not know disagree strongly disagree

22. I write paragraphs/essays from my memory.

strongly agree agree do not know disagree strongly disagree

23. I write them on my own idea?

strongly agree agree do not know disagree strongly disagree

24. I get equal chance to participate in any of English learning tasks.

strongly agree agree do not know disagree strongly disagree

25. I have to attend class test in English.

strongly agree agree do not know disagree strongly disagree

26. I feel like improving your English in the next test.

strongly agree agree do not know disagree strongly disagree

27. I believe learning English in the classroom is enough for improving my English skills.

strongly agree agree do not know disagree strongly disagree

28. I feel the need of extra teaching.

strongly agree agree do not know disagree strongly disagree

29. My parents help me in solving problems English.

strongly agree agree do not know disagree strongly disagree

30. I have got at least one house tutor for English within last 2 years.

strongly agree agree do not know disagree strongly disagree

31. I have gone to coaching centre for English within last 2 years.

strongly agree agree do not know disagree strongly disagree

Appendix C. Transcript for classroom observation data

School 1

(The class was conducted in Bangla)

T: Hello, how are you?

Ss: I am fine. Thanks. And you?

T: I am fine. Now I am your English teacher. I am English teaching, part 1, lesson. Open at page 115. (Wipes the blackboard, then writes in its corner class and lesson name, date.) Topic: Day In Day Out. Lesson 1. Lutfur's day.

Find your book. Open your book. Now I am talking this story. This story is about Lutfur. Lutfur is 8 years old. He come from Tongi. His father, brother and grandfather live together. His father is a rickshaw puller and his brother is a tempo helper. Lutfur collects polythene bags. He earns money 5 to. He finds money 20 or 50 each day. Lutfur family live in a near Kamlapur station. He sleeps in a dirty floor. He usually meals at home or sometimes he food at restaurant. Few days ago he got diarrhea and he did not /does not afford to go to a doctor for his treatment. He went to school one year ago. Now he admitted in a primary school and study again. End of the story about Lutfur. And I describe the whole story. You listen carefully. And later on you answer, I ask answer, you will say this question about Lutfur.

Listen to attenfully.

Lutfur is 8 years old and lives in Dhaka --*Aat bocchor boyosko Lutfur Dhakai bash korche.*

He comes from Tongi-- *She Tongi theke esheche.*

He has a brother who works as a tempo helper-- *Tar ekta bhai acche. She tempo te kaj kore shahajjo kari hishebe.*

He came with his father, mother, brother-- *she eshecche tar baba, ma, bhai and grandmother—ebong dadar shathe*

to Dhaka in search of a living—*bachar tagide. Bachar tagide she Dhakai eshecche tader shathe.*

His father works as a rickshaw puller – *tar abba rickshaw pullar hishebe kaj kore.*

and mother as a domestic worker, domestic worker. *Tar ma domestic, mane grihopalito kaj korche.*

Lutfur collects polythene bags,-- Lutfur polythene bag collect korche.

scrap paper—*cchera kagoj*

and other materials from Motijheel area and sells them at a shop for Tk. 5 to 10 a bag.— *bag hishebe tara proti pach theke dosh bag jogar korche.*

He earns Tk. 20 to 50 a day,-- *she protteho kuri theke 50 taka ai korche* (students says together)

which he gives to his mother.—*tar ammar shethe she taka gulo joma rakhe.*

Lutfur and his family live in a slum near to Kamlapur railway station—*Lutfur ebong tar poribar ...* (expects translation from students) *Komlapurer ekti bosti te bash korche.* (a student joins him)

Their home is a tiny shelter—*tader bashata ekta khudro asroi (several students join him)*

with sheet of polythene for a roof—*polythene er cchad die tara thakcche.*

They sleep on the dirt floor—(only students now) *tara nongra mejhe te ghumai.*

Lutfur has a bath in a creek near their home. – *Lutfur gocchol korcche ekta nodi ba khader ekta nalar moto jagai.*

He usually has his meals at home but sometimes begs for food at restaurants—*she ha.. tar bashai nasta korcche, tar khabar khacche othoba majhe she kono restaurant ba kono hotele khabar khacche.*

Once he got diarrhea and had to stay at home for a few days.—*ekdin taar she diarrhea akranto holo ebong she besh kicchu din she oshukh tar dirgosthai holo.*

He could not afford to go to a doctor or buy medicine for himself—*she nijer jonno dakter er chikitsha grohon kortecche ba daktarer kacche jaini.*

He once went to a free (repeats free) school near his home at Tongi but did not continue.—*she tongi te tar basher kacche ekti primary schoole jeto kinto shob shomoi na.*

He was in the school for about a year – *she ek bocchor age schoole giecchilo and now he wants to go back to school and start his studies again—she school theke barite chole eshecchilo, kinto she ekhon abar schoole jacche.*

(The teacher finished his loud reading with translation).

Now read the story, silent reading for five minutes. Now read this story.

If you find any difficult words, you ask me soon.

Find out this hard word.

Ask me. Ask me.

Now I ask an answer to this question.

Who is Lutfur? Marjia, who is Lutfur?

S1: Who is Lutfur? Lutfur is a eight years old and he lives in Dhaka. He comes from Tongi.

T: Sit down please. Very good.

Amena, which person with he come? – *kar shathe she Tongi eshecche?*

S2: He comes with his father, mother, brother and grandfather.

T: Sit down please. It is a correct answer. Chumki, question number 3. What does his father do?

S3: His father work as a rickshaw puller.

T: work as a rickshaw puller. So much thanks. I did like your answer. Now I want move from question and answer. Lutfur earns taka, Lutfur earns taka 20 or 50 a day.

True or false?

Ss: true.

T: He does not collect polythene in Motijheel commercial area. True or false Anika?

S4: False.

T: False. Correct answer?

S4: Collect materials from Motijheel area.

T: Motijheel area. Sit down please. He usually, (repeats he usually) has his meal at home (pauses) in a restaurant. True or false?

One student: true

Another student: false

Several students: usually at home but sometimes he ..

T: sometimes, sometimes.

Now read this story. Shanzida, stand up. Read the story first line.

S5: Lutfur is 8 years old and lives in Dhaka. He comes from tongi. He has a brother who works as a tempo helper.

T: Who works as a tempo helper. Next.

S6: (Hardly understandable.) He came with his father, mother, brother and grandfather to Dhaka in search of a living. His father works as rickshaw puller and mother as domestic worker. Lutfur collects polythene bags, scrap paper and other materials from the Motijheel area and sell at a shop for Tk. 5 to 10 a bag. (there were lot of stammering, unclear pronunciation with incomplete articulations of sounds).

T: Sit down. Sit down. Next.

S7: (Could not be understood at all. But it can be guessed that the student was reading from here. The teacher in fact repeats the same reading of the text by the students).He earns Tk 20 to 50

T: loudly. (still incomprehensible.)

S7 continues reading. After sometime, the teacher tells him to sit down.

T: Tanika stand up, first line.

S8: Lutfur is 8 years old and lives I Dhaka. He comes from Tongi. He has a brother, hmm, he has a brother who works as a tempo helper. He came with his father, mother, brother and grandfather to Dhaka in search of a living. His father works as rickshaw puller and mother as domestic worker. Lutfur collects polythene bags, scrap paper and other materials from the Motijheel area and..

T: Stop, stop. Next.

S9: And sells at a shop for Tk. 5 to 10 a bag. He earns Tk. 20 to 50 a day

T: EARNS.

S9: which he gives to his mother. Lutfur and his family lives in a small..

T: slum

S9: near to Kualalampur

T: Kamlapur

S9: railway station. Their home is a tiny shelter with a sheet of polythene for a roof. They sleep on the dirt floor.

T: DIRT floor. Sit down. Next.

S10: Lutfur has a bath in a creek near their home. He usually has meals at home but sometimes he begs for food at restaurants. Once he got diarrhea and had to stay at home for a few days. He could not afford to go to a doctor or buy medicine for himself. He once went to a free school near his home at Tongi but did not continue. He was in the school for about a year and now he wants to go back to school and start his studies again.

T: Fine. Sit down. Zakaria, now read about Lutfur from the first line.

S11: Lutfur is 8 years old and lives in Dhaka. (this student reads with much difficulty with low voice which hardly could be heard. The teacher tells him to sit down and tells another student to continue).

T: Sit down. Shahriar.

S12: He comes from Tongi. He has a brother who works as a tempo helper. He came with his father, mother, brother and grandfather to Dhaka in...

T: In search of living.

S12: search of living. His father works as a rickshaw puller and mother as a domestic worker. (A the student sitting beside him was helping him in pronouncing some words.)

T: Worker. Sit down, sit down. Next. Lutfur collects...

S13: Lutfur collects polythene bags, scrap paper and other

T: Materials...

S13: Materials from the Motijheel area and

T: Sells them...

S13: sells them at a shop for Tk. 5 to

T: 10 a bag.

S13: 10 a bag. He earns Tk. 20 to 50 a day,

T: Which he

S13: which he gives to his mother. Lutfur and his family lives in a slum near to Kamlapur railway station. Their home is a

T: Tiny shelter...

S13: tiny shelter with a sheet of polythene for a roof.

T: Roof. Roof (Pronounced as 'rof;'). Sit down, sit down. Now I am asking the vocabulary.

T: Tempo helper, tempo helper. What meaning the tempo helper? Chumki, stand up Chumki. Speak in Bengali or English. Sit down.

T: Grandmother. Grandmother. Anika, grandmother.

S14: *dadi*

T: *dadi, nani*- grandmother. Sit down.

In search, in search, in search.

S15: *Shongroho kora,*

T: *Shongroho kora, khoj kora.*

Domestic, domestic,

S16: *griho palito,*

T: *griho palito, griher kaj.* Scrape paper.

Ss: *cchera kagoj.*

T: *Cchera kagoj, tukro kagoj.* Materials. Materials.

Upadan. (teacher and several students together)

T: Shop. S-H-O-P. Shop

Ss: shop – *dukan*

T: *dukan.* Shelter. S-h-l-t-e-r. Shelter.

Ss; sir *mejhe.*

T: *asroyashtan. Asroyashtan.* Tiny (pronounced teny). T-i-n-y

S: *khudro.*

T: sleep.

Ss: *ghumano* (Ss refers to two or three students with one consistently answering all whereas others are not).

T: dirty

Ss; *Nongra.*

T: Creek. C-r-e-e-k. Creek.

Ss: *khal*

T: *ha, poritakto nodi ba khal, nala*. Sometimes.

Ss: *majhe majhe*.

T: Meals

Ss: *khabar*.

T: Restaurant

Ss: *dukan*

T: *Khabar dukan*. Afford, afford.

Shamortho. Medicine

Ss: *Oushodh*.

T: Near, near

Ss: *nikote*.

T: Continue

Ss: *cholti. Chalieye jaoa*.

T: Studies

Ss: *shikkha*.

T: *shikkha, pora*. Back

Ss: *firey asha*.

T: Next. Writing these similar words. Similar word.

Search, search, search.

Ss: *shongroho kora*.

T: similar word *bolo*. Similar word. (Tell the similar word).

Ss: collect.

T: Yes, collect. C-o-l-l-e-c-t.

Material

Ss: product.

T: Yes. P-r-o-d-u-c-t.

Creek. C-r-e-e-k.

Ss: ponds, small river.

T: Small river. Continue.

Continue. Current. Now look at this sentence, the meaning and word for the similar word. Sanzida.

Search – collect.

Material- product

Creek- small river

Continue- current

T: Sit down. Zakaria

Search – collect.

Material- product

Creek- small river

Continue- current

T: Sit down. Mofazzal

Search – collect.

Material- product

Creek- small river

Continue- current

T: Sit down. Rojina

Search – collect.

Material- product

Creek- small river

Continue- current

T: Sit down. Amena.

Search – collect.

Material- product

Creek- small river

Continue- current

T: Thank you. Sit down. Anika

Search – collect.

Material- product

Creek- small river

Continue- current

T: Sit down please. Find your khata. Khata kolom nao. Make ten sentences about Lutfur's story.

Write yourselves. Don't copy each other. Write down ten sentences.

When some students are done, the teacher starts checking and reads their writing aloud. These writings are actually direct copy from the book.

T: Lutfur is 8 years old and lives in Dhaka. He comes from Tongi. He came with his father, mother, brother and grandfather to Dhaka in search of a living. His father works as a rickshaw puller and mother is a domestic worker. Lutfur collects polythene bags, scrap paper and other materials from the Motijheel area and sells them at a shop for Tk. 5 to 10 a bag.

The teacher continues to check the script of the second student.

When some students are done, the teacher starts checking and reads their writing aloud.

T: Lutfur is 8 years old and lives in Dhaka. He comes from Tongi. He came with his father, mother, brother and grandfather to Dhaka in search of a living. His father works as a rickshaw puller and mother is a domestic worker. Lutfur collects polythene bags, scrap paper and other materials from the Motijheel area and sells them at a shop for Tk. 5 to 10 a bag. He earns 20 to 50 Tk. A day, which he gives to his mother.

T: Thank you. Next Chumki.

T: Lutfur is 8 years old and lives in Dhaka. He comes from Tongi. He came with his father, mother, brother and grandfather to Dhaka in search of a living. His father works as a rickshaw puller and mother is a domestic worker. Lutfur collects polythene bags, scrap paper and other materials from the Motijheel area and sells them at a shop for Tk. 5 to 10 a bag. He earns 20 to 50 Tk. A day, which he gives to his mother.

T: Thank you very much. Anika.

T: Lutfur is 8 years old and lives in Dhaka. He comes from Tongi. He has a brother who work as a tempo helper. He came with his father, mother, brother and grandmother to Dhaka in search of a living. His father works as a rickshaw puller

and mother is a domestic worker. Lutfur collects polythene bags, scrap paper and other materials from the Motijheel area. Lutfur's family lives in a slum near Komlapur railway station. They sleep on the dirt floor.

T: Next. Sanzida.

Lutfur is 8 years old and lives in Dhaka. He comes from Tongi. He has a brother who work as a tempo helper. He came with his father, mother, brother and grandmother to Dhaka in search of a living. His father works as a rickshaw puller and mother is a domestic worker. Lutfur collects polythene bags, scrap paper and other materials from the Motijheel area and sells them at a shop for Tk. 5 to 10 a bag. He earns 20 to 50 Tk. A day, which he gives to his mother. Lutfur's family lives in a slum near Komlapur railway station.

T: Next Rozina.

Lutfur is 8 years old and lives in Dhaka. He comes from Tongi. He has a brother who work as a tempo helper. He came with his father, mother, brother and grandmother to Dhaka in search of a living. His father works as a rickshaw puller and mother is a domestic worker. Lutfur collects polythene bags, scrap paper and other materials from the Motijheel area and sells them at a shop for Tk. 5 to 10 a bag. He earns k. 20 to 50 a day.

Next.

Lutfur is 8 years old and lives in Dhaka. He comes from Tongi. He has a brother who work as a tempo helper. He came with his father, mother, brother and grandmother to Dhaka in search of a living. His father works as a rickshaw puller and mother is a domestic worker. Lutfur collects polythene bags, scrap paper and other materials from the Motijheel area and sells them at a shop for Tk. 50 to 10??

No. No. 20 to 50 each day. He earns Tk. 20 to 50 a day. He collects 5 to 10 a bag. He earns Tk 20 to 50 each day.

Zakaria, give me your khata.

Lutfur is 8 years old and lives in Dhaka. Once he got diarrhea and had to stay at home for a few days. He has a brother who work as a tempo helper.

You write this paragraph a new system. His father works as a rickshaw puller and mother is a domestic worker. He earns 5 to 10 a bag. They sleep on the dirty floor. He has a bath in a creek near Komlapur railway station. He taka, he earns taka 50, 20 to 50 each day which he gives to his mother. He went to a free primary school near his home at Tongi but he did not continue, but not continue.

He has just new sentences.

The teacher continues to another student.

Lutfur is 8 years old and lives in Dhaka. He comes from Tongi. He has a brother who work as a tempo helper. He came with his father, mother, brother and grandmother to Dhaka in search of a living. His father works as a rickshaw puller and mother is a domestic worker. Brother, Lutfur collects polythene bags, scrap paper and other materials from the Motijheel area. Lutfur's family lives in a slum near Komlapur railway station.

Still continues to another student.

Lutfur is 8 years old and lives in Dhaka. He comes from Tongi. He has a brother who work as a tempo helper. He came with his father, mother, brother and grandmother to Dhaka in search of a living. His father works as a rickshaw puller

and mother is a domestic worker. He went to a free primary school near his home at Tongi but he did not continue, but not continue.

T: Lutfur is 8 years old and lives in Dhaka. He comes from Tongi. He came with his father, mother, brother and grandfather to Dhaka in search of a living. His father works as a rickshaw puller and mother is a domestic worker. Lutfur collects polythene bags, scrap paper and other materials from the Motijheel area and sells them at a shop for Tk. 5 to 10 a bag. He earns 20 to 50 Tk. A day, which he gives to his mother.

Now you listen to me this topic. Page one hundred and fifteen. Now you listen to this story and next day you will home work, homework, you will write this paragraph about ten sentence or more sentence, this paragraph should be 70 or 80 words.

Don't you understand?

Ss: Yes sir.

T: This is your homework for next day. Paragraph writing about Lutfur.

Now, the end of my lesson. Another day, the next day, we will see again.

School 2

(The class was conducted in Bangla)

T: Sit down everybody.

What was the homework for you?

Read for two minutes. Take 2 minutes to read again what you had as homework.

Students starts reading.

T: What are you doing for so long?

Head teacher comes inside the class.

Ht: Nothing new. This person has come to see how we teach in the class. How is English taught will be seen by him. He is in a research work. You will do your regular work. There is nothing to be scared. Hmm. We will also have something from him. But that comes later. Now read as the class is conducted.

Students continue their reading.

T: Now stop reading. Manik Mia read the text with meaning.

S1: Once upon a time, there was fisherman who was old and poor –*ekoda ek grame briddho ebong doridro jele bash korto.*

He could barely

T: Barely

S1: barely support his wife and three children.—*she tar stri ebong tin seler voronposhion korto.*

Every day he used to go fishing early in the morning- *she protidin khub shokale mach dhorte shagore jeto.*

But he never threw his net into the water more than four times—*kintu kokhono char barer beshi shagore jal nikkhep korto na.*

One morning he threw—*ekdin she nikkhep korlo*

His net- *tar jal*

As usual—*boraborer moto*

As he was putting back to wash, he felt a great wet—*she jal nikkhep korar pore jalti tar dikey tante laglo.*

He thought he caught a large fish—*she bhablo she ekta boro mach peyeche*.
 And so he felt very happy—*ebong she very kushi*.
 But a moment later, he saw that he had no fish—*tarpor she dekhlo je kono mach na*.
 But rather only a dead donkey—*borong ekta mora gadha*.
 He was very disappointed—*she khub hotash bodh korlo*.
 T: *mora shobdo ta*, dead –‘*mora*’ *shobdo ta kemon mone hoina*. (The word ‘*mora*’ sounds quite awkward)
 S1: *mrito*.
 T: *mrito*, yes, it is ok.
 S1: He was very disappointed—*she khub hotash bodh korlo*.
 T: *Accha*. Thank you. Sit down please. *Tumi poro* from where he stopped. (Ok, thankyou. Sit down please. You read.)
 S2: Then the fisherman became very angry.
 T: *eta ki?* (What is it?)
 S2: Angry.
 T: Angry.
 S2: *jeleti khub I ragannito holo*. Then he just had replied his net...
 T: Tell again what it is.
 S2: He had just repaired his net
 T: His. His net.
 S2: and he noticed that weight of the dead donkey had broken it in seve.
 T: Several.
 S2: Several places. Still he threw the net ...
 T: *Ki bapar ortho bolo!* (What’s the matter. Tell the meaning.) several places *porjonto*.
 S2: into the sea a second time. *She jokhon jalti meramot korlo ebong mrito gadhar bhare jalti bivinno jagai cchire gelo...*
 T: *ashole ki ortho ta tthik holo?* (Is it really a correct meaning?)
 Ss: *na sir*. (No sir).
 T: He had just repaired his net- *ortho ki etukur* (what is the meaning to this extent?)
 Two Stuent together: *Jalti she shobematro meramot kore nie ashlo*.
 T: *Jal ti she meramot kore nie ashlo*. And he noticed that the weight of the donkey had broken it in several places—*etukur ortho bolo ekhon* (tell its meaning now).
 S2: *ebong she ditiobar...* (stumbled).
Ebong she mrito gorur bhare ...
 T: *donkey ortho ki* (what is the meaning of donkey?)
 S2: *gadha*. *Jalti mrito gadhar bhare..*
 T: *She lokkho korlo je jaltir kichu onsho cchire gelo*.
 S2: Still he threw the net into sea a second time. *She ditio barer moto shomudre jal fello*.
 When he it in, he felt a great weight, so again he through...
 T: He thought.
 S2: He thought it was full of fish. *Jokhon she jal ti nikkhep korlo...*
 T: *jokhon she tule anlo*,
 S2: *she onuvob korte laglo nishchoi kicchu...*
 T: *Nishchoi jal ti mache vorpur*.

S2: But he only found a larer basket full of trash. *Kintu ...*

T: ki *poira ashccho?* (What have you read?)

Sit down. Ferdousi, you read from here... then the fisherman became angry.

S3: Then the fisherman became angry—*jeleti ragannito holo.*

He had just repaired his net and e noticed that the weight of the dead donkey had thrown it in several place. 8:19

T: The word will be broken.

S3: *she matro taar jalti tthik korlo ebong she lokkho korle je mrito gadhar ojon e otar kichi kichu ongsho cchire geche.*

Still he threw the net into the sea a second time—*she ditio barer moto jaal nikkhep korlo.*

When he drew it in, he felt a great weight, so again he thought it was full of fish—*she jokhon jaalti tan shuru korlo, she prochur ojon onubhob korle ebong bhablo jaalti macche poripurno.*

But found only a large basket full of trash—*kintu moila borjona purno ekti jhuri dekhte pelo.*

He felt even more miserable—*she khub I kodachit holo.*

T: *Hotash holo. Hotash.*

S3: *Hotash holo.*

O Fortune!

T: Fortune (fortjun)

S3: “O Fortune!”—*hai bhaggo.* He cried (cried)

T: Cried,cried.

S3: He cried—*she chitkar kore bollo.*

Do not play games

T: Games

S3 : Games with me—*amar shathe tamasha korona.*

After he had washed his net, he threw it into the sea for the third time—*erpor she tritio barer motoshomudre jaal nikkhep korlo.*

But this time he only drew stones, shells and mud (moud).

T: Mud (mAd)

S3: *kintu e shomoi she nuri pathor dekhte pelo.*

T: *Pathor, jhinuk ebong kada*

S3: *Pathor, jhinuk ebong kada dekhte pelo.*

He almost give

T: Gave

Gave up the idea of

S3: He almost gave up the idea of getting any fish—*she kono mach pabar asha cchere dilo.*

T: Ok, Sit down. Halima, you read.Read from just after then.

S4: Before he threw his net into sea for a fourth time, he had prayed to God for a big fish—*choturtho barer moto she jaal nikkhep korlo ebong khodar kache prarthona korlo ekti boro mach pabar ashai.*

And this time he thought he had a fish—*ebar she vebecchilo ekti mach pabar*

But—*kintu . again there was no fish—abaro konomach pelona.*

Rather only a copper vase—*borong pelo ekta tamar patro.*

From its weight, the vase seemed to be full of some valuable things—

T: Valuable things (correcting pronunciation).

S4: *patro tir ojon theke mone holo, patroti mulloban jinishe vora.*

He noticed that it was closed and...

T: closed (correcting pronunciation)

S4: closed and sealed with a lid—*she lokkho korlo je, iha cchilo atkano o gala kora shisha die bondho.*

He was very excited

T: excited

S4: excited and decided to sell the vase

T: Sell the vase.

S4: *she khub uttejito holo ebong patro ti bikrir jonno shiddhanto nilo.*

With the money, he...

T: planned

S4: planned to buy wheat.

T: to buy wheat.

S4: to buy wheat.—*taka diey she gom ata kenar chinta korlo.*

T: Ok, sit down. Shobuj you read.

S5: sir, shall I read from the beginning?

T: Yes, read from the beginning.

S5: Once upon a time there lived a fisherman who was old and poor—*ekoda ek briddho o gorib jele bash korto.*

He could barely support his wife and three children—*she stri ebong tin selemeyer bhoronposhon korto.*

Every day he used to go fishing early in the morning—*protidin she khub bhore shomudre mach dhorte jeto.*

but he never threw his net into the sea more than four times—*kintu she kokhono char barer beshi shomudre jaal nikkhep korto na.*

One morning he threw his net into the sea as usual—*ek shokale she boraborer moto shomudre jaal nikkhep korlo.*

As he was pulling it back towards the shore, he felt a great weight—*shomudre jaal ... hmm...shomudre jaal... (expecting help).*

T: *Jokhon she teerer dike...*

S5: *Jokhon she uha teerer dike tana shuru korlo, khub ojon onubhob holo.*

He thought he had caught a large fish—*she vablo she ekti boro mach*

T: *boro mach...*

S5: *Dhora porlo.*

and so he felt very happy.—*ebong she khub khushi holo.*

But a moment later he saw that he had no fish—*borong ekti mrito gadha she khub*

fish,—*kintu ek muhurtei dekhthe pelo she kono mach noi.*

rather only a dead donkey—*borong ekti mrito gadha.*

He was very disappointed—*she khub hotash cchilo.*

T: Sit down. *Tarpor tumi poro Ripon*—Next you read Ripon.

S6: Then the fisherman became angry—*jele khub ragannito holo.*

He had just repaid his net

T: repaired

S6: repaired his net and he noticed that the weight of the dead donkey had broken it in se.v.e.

T: it in several.

S6: several places. – she ... she... (expecting help)

T: He had just repaired his net—*she eimatro jaalti meramot kore anlo.*

S6: *she eimatro jaalti meramot kore anlo . ebong she lokkho korlo je mrito gadhar bhare jaalti, jailer bivinno ongsho cchirey gecche.*

‘Still he threw the net into the sea a second time—*ditio barer mot she shomudre jaal nikkhep korlo.*

When he drew it in, he felt a great weight, so again he thought it was full of fish—*jokhon she jaalti teere tante shuru korlo, she bhar onubhob korlo. She bhablo je macche jaalti bhore acche.*

But he found a long large basket full a trash—*kintu she lokkho korlo je*

T: *Lokkho korlo/dekhlo je*

S6: *dekhlo je*

T: *ekti boro jhuri*

S6: *Boro jhuri*

T: *moilate bhorti.*

S6: *moila bhorti ekti jhuri.*

He felt even more miserable – *she khub onubhob korlo.*

T: *ekebare shochohiohoe porlo.* Ok sit down.Next read, Shohag read.

S7: “O Fortune!” he cried. “Do not play games with me.” --*Amake nie ar cholonarkhela khelona.*

After he had washed his net

T: Washed, he threw it into the sea for the third time—*she tritio barer moto jaalti shomudre nikkhep korlo.*

But this time he drew only stones, shells and mud—*kintu ebare jaale shamukh kada, pathor paoa gelo.* He almost gave up the idea of getting any fish—*she ekebare mach pabar prottasha chhere dilo.*

Before he threw the net into the sea a fourth time, he had prayed to God for a big fish—*she chothurtho barer moto shomudre jaal felar purbe khodar kacche boro mach paoar prottasha korlo.*

T: Ok sit down. *Kicchu kotthin shobdartho deoa cchilo jegulor ortho bolcchilam pore ashar jonno, tai na?* --Some difficult vocabularies were given whose meanings you were supposed to do, weren't they?

Ss: *Ji sir*—yes sir.

T: Manik Mia, support –

Manik: *bhar bohon kora*—to carry weight.

T: Angry—

Manik: *ragannito*

T: weight

Manik: wait *mane opekkha kora na sir?*—The meaning of weight is to wait, isn't it sir?

T: w-e-i-g-h-t

Manik: The meaning of weight is alms, right sir?

(Interruption by one)

T: stone

Manik: *pathor*

T: Any

Manik: any—*kicchu*

T: *kicchu?.. holona to?*

Manik: *olpo* sir?

T: Basket

Manik: *Jhuri*

T: Trash (pronounced as tress)

Manik: *ji* sir (sorry sir?)

T: trash

Manik: *pathor*

T: Miserable—

T: valuable

Manik: *mulloban*

T: disappointed

Manik: *Hotash*

T: Monster

Manik: *Ji* si?

T: Monster

Terrible

Manik: *parbo na* sir--I cannot.

T: What have you read then? Sit down. You tell.

Frightened

S9: *ji* sir?

T: frightened

Fisherman

S9: *jele*.

T: large

S9:

T: decided

S9: *Hotash*

T: *Hoini*

Disappointed?

S9: *Hotash*

T: *shob I hotash naki? Kon ta ashole shoththik?* – Do all of them have same meaning? Which one is really correct?

S9: sir disappointed.

T: *Hu*. Excited

S9: not understandable....

T: Waste

S9: *ji* sir.

T: waste.

S9: Not understandable.

T: Basket

Thought

S9: basket, thought....

T: Sit down. Halima you tell.

Moment

S10: *Muhurto.*

T: Lead

S10: Ji sir.

T: lead, lead.

S10: *Dhakna.*

T: Once upon a time

S10: *ekoda.*

T: *ekoda, ek shomoye*

Thought

S10: *bhabna.*

T : Monster

S10: *birat*

T: *hoini*

S10: *danob*

T: *Ha. Terrible*

S10? *Te-rr-ible*

T: Politely

S10: No response.

T: excited

S10: *Uttejito.*

T: Ok sit down. Shajib, you tell.

T: Impossible

S11: it down

T: Sea

S11: *dekha, na sir shomudro*

T: *Ki hobe banan eita: s-e-a*

Tahole dehka kon see.

S10: See.

T: frightened

S10: Frightened?

T: Inside

S10: *vitore*

T: weight, w-h-e-a-t

S10: *ojon.*

T: wheat.

Ss: wheat.

T: God, g-o-d.

S10: *Allah*

T: *Allah ba sristikorta na?*

Ok sit down. Ripon , you tell.

Large

S11: *boro.*

T: Move

Move, move.

S11: ...

T: Moment

Excited

S11: *vito*

T: Frightened?

Foul. Sharcche—

Copper base

S11: copper base.

Steal?

T: Basket

S: *Jhuri*

T: Angry

S11: *ragannito*

T: saw. Saw

S11: *kazi*

T: *ki*—what?

S11: Kazi

T: *hoini*

Rather

S11: *borong*

T: dead

S11: *mrto*

T: donkey

S11: *gadha*

T: Ok, take your seat.

Questions were also homework along with vocabulary, right?

Ss: *Ji s.ir.*

T: Get ready with pen and paper.

Students get ready with pen and paper. The teacher distributes the number of questions among the students. He gives one or two questions to each of them. Then students start writing.

T: Write without talking.

Write only the gap part of Filling in the blanks questions.

The teacher checks answers of all students.

T: Have all of you shown me your works?

Open the next lesson.

S13: The next model question.

T: Lesson 2, Unit 20, Snow White, Look at the book. Notice everyone. (The teacher reads aloud the text)

Once upon a time a queen sat sewing at a window. Snow was falling and some flakes landed on the windows' ebony frame. Suddenly the queen pricked her finger with her needle and three drops of blood fell on the snow. She said to herself, "If only I had a child as white as snow, as red as blood and as black as ebony." Soon afterwards the queen had a daughter called Snow White, with skin as white as

snow, lips as red as blood and hair as black as ebony. When she was born, the queen died.

After a year, the king married again. Every day the queen used to ask the magic mirror, “Mirror, mirror on the wall, who is the fairest of them all?” And the mirror would reply, “You are, O, queen.” But one day the mirror replied, “Snow White is.” The queen ordered the huntsman, “Take the child into the forest and kill her. Bring me her liver and lungs as proof.” The huntsman took the child into the forest, but he had not the heart to kill her. He shot a young boar instead and took its lungs and liver to the queen.

Alone and afraid Snow White ran through the forest. At last she came to a cottage. It was a cottage of seven dwarfs. At nightfall the seven dwarfs came back and saw Snow White. Next day, Snow White told the dwarfs all about her stepmother. They said, “if you look after us, we will look after you.” Snow White kept house for the seven dwarfs.

The text is not completely read, no Bangla translation was give by the teacher himself. There were occasional wrong pronunciations of some words.

T: Look at some difficult words and their meanings.

Flake *ortho ki jano keu?*—do any of you know the meaning of flake?

S: *tushar kona*—particles of snow.

T:Ebony—

Ss: *ablush kath.*

T: Prick—

Ss: *khocha deoa.*

T:Huntsman—

S: *jollad, shikaree, sir shikaree.*

T:Lace

S:*Fita*

T:Boar

S:*Shukor*

T:Faint

S:*Durbol hoa*

T: *Durbol hoa.* Wake

S: *Jagano*

T:*jagano ba jege uttha*

T:Stepmother

S: *Shot ma*

T: Dwarf

S: *Bamon*

T:Queen

S:*Rani*

T: Again

S: *Abar, punorai*

T: Blood

S: *rokto*

T: Mirror

S: *Aina*

T: Instead

S: I am sorry sir.

T: Instead *hoilo poriborte* –instead means in the place of another.

Kill

Ss: *Hotta kora.*

T: daughter

Ss; *Konna.*

T: Died

S: *Mritto*

T: Finger

S: *Angul*

T: Suddenly

Ss: *Hottath*

T: Reading of this passage, vocabulary meaning will be your homework.

HT: Now we want something from him.

School 3

(The class was conducted in Bangla)

T: Let's have a look. Do you remember more or less the passage which was taught in the last class. Our Aim. The Principal of a Department High School Teacher is advising what students will after leaving school. Some of their qualities are mentioned here. I will tell the passage again, please notice it.

Our Aim is to educate the girls in fullest sense. Principal says. *amader uddeshota holo shoyongshompurno bhabe meyeder ke shikkha dan kora.*

After they leave school, they should be confident. *school tag korar pore tader ke atmo bishshashi hote hobe.* Here they should be, what should come after be verb/noun/adjective? After be, being, been, which parts of speech comes? Adjective. Then 'confident' - what are the last three letters of confident. –ent. If last three are –ent, then it is adjective. It was given in written in the class. So they should be confident. After they leave school, *tader ke ki hoite hobe? Atmo bishshashi hoite hobe* (three students join together).

And have the ability to express themselves clearly. *-nijeke prokash korar khomota orjon korte hobe, thakte hobe.* Have the ability to express themselves clearly- *nijeke shoyong shompurno bhabe orthat porishkar bhabe prokash korar moto khomota thakte hobe.* Then *aro koita advice she add korche.*

Trpore dekhen je, they should also have a well developed sense of right or wrong, *-shotto o mitthar moddhe je dharonata, she shukkho dharonata tader moddhe thakte hobe.* They should also have a well developed sense of right or wrong- *shotto o mitthar moddhe je dharonata, she dharonata tader moddhe thakte hobe.*

A sense of duty- *kortobber dharonata tader moddhe thakte hobe.*

A belief in their own worth- *tader nijer proti atmobishwash thakte hobe.*

Tarpore dekhen The staff has a long tradition.

Egulo kalke dhora hoicche.

The staff has a long tradition- orthat staff der deergho ekta oitijjo acche

Of encouraging pupils to develop their gifts and abilities in a secure and happy environment. *Orthat shundor ebong nishchit ekta poribeshe, students der je abilities gula acche, gifts gula acche, shegular unnoti kora tader ekta oitijjo.*

Tarpore, We regard our students- tara boltecche, we bolte tarai boltecche eikhane.

We regard our students- *amra bibechna kori, mone kori*

Our students as young adults- *orthat amra mader studentder ke ki mone kori, prapto boyosko mone kori.*

And involve them in decisions concerning their work and ki? School life.- *orthat duita bishoye tader ke amra ki kori? Decision er moddhe ontorbhukto kore di.*

We provide an environment- *ekhane environment bolte je kono ekta poribesh bojhano hocche, article an die je kono ekta poribesh nirdesh kora hoicche. Onirdishito.*

That helps- *Jekono ekta poribesh amra tader ked an kori, ja tader ke shahajjo korbe*

Our students grow individually- *ja tader ke shahajjo korbe to grow individually- bakti shatontro bhabe. Orthat eka eka jate tara bere utth te pare, emon ekta poribesh ki kori, provide kori.*

Many find this environment essential – *onekei poribesh take proyojonio mone kore to develop their potential –tader medha take unnoti korte pare. Onekei etake guruttopurno mone kore, tader je potential acche, medha acche, ta bikoshito korte pare, unnoti korte pare.*

Khata ber koro- get ready with paper.

At first summary lekhen, passage er opore summar – write summary on the passage.

No copy. Only five sentence.

Pura passage take pach line er moddhe bakto korte hobe- The whole passage have to be expressed in five sentence.

Nijer method ekhane apply korte hobe- your own method has to be applied here.

(surrounding noise of baby cry, mother calling her baby, kids playing noise come in from two feet distance from the classroom. There are also accommodation for two three families in small room within school premise with only 2 feet distance from the classroom.)

Pura passage take just pach line er moddhe bakto korte hobe- The whole passage have to be expressed in five sentence.

*bas-*That's enough. Own language.

Dui ekta word kopy kora jabe- two three words may be copied

Fully kono sentence copy kora jabena- no full sentence can be copied.

Dui ekta word kopy kora jabe kintu sentence copy kora jabena- two three words may be copied, but not a full sentence. *Orthat pura golpo take pachta line er moddhe bakto korte hobe, express korte hobe.*

First heading thakbe, last finishing thakbe- there should heading at first and finishing at the end.

Everyone of you should try to write.

Hurry up.

Olpo kintu time acche- little time is left

Hurry up.

Ok. Stop writing.

I will ask some questions to you and answer you.

S1, stand up. How many advice did you detect out from this passage. *Koto prokar advice ekhane deoa hoiche? Koita advice ekhane deoa hoicche, passage?* Take out your books. How many advice? Koita advice?

Stand up. What are they? *Ki ki?* Take it book.

S1: *Sir engregite bolbo?* --Shall I speak in English Sir?

T: nodding.

S1: After they leave school, they should be confident and have the ability to...
(cross talking)

T: Tell me serially, number 1, number 2.

S1: After they leave school...

T: After they leave school- *eta to kono advice na.*

S1: They should be confident

T: They should be confident- *eta ekta advice. tarpor-next.*

Number 2.

S1: They should also have a well developed sense.

T: Right. Three.

S1: Sense of duty.

T: A sense of duty. Four.

S1: Believe their own worth.

T: Five.

S1: Five

T: They should.

S1: They should

T: have the ability

S1: They should have the ability long tradition

T: No: have the ability to express themselves clearly. They should be confident then.

S1: They should be confident.

T: have the ability. *Oi line ta add kore niba-* add that line

They should have the ability to express themselves clearly.

You.

S2: they have a long tradition of

T: ohuh. No. It is not any advice. It describes the character of the school. It describes the teachers of that school. It describes the staff/tradition of the school. It is not any advice.

Ok sit down.

Advices. Pointing to another student.

S3: Confident.

T: Number 1

S3: Number 1 confident.

Ability to express themselves

Right or wrong.

Number 4 sense of duty and a belief in their own worth.

5 they decision concerning their work and school life.

- 6 they find that environment essential to develop their.
- T: Ok.
- (pointing to the next student) Environment means?
- S4: *mane ki* (its meaning?)? *environment mane poribesh*.
- T: Noun, adjective, verb.
- S4: Noun.
- T: Make a sentence with the word 'environment'.
- S4: a sentence with environment-*poribesh*.
- Many people live in the environment.
- T: Ok. Sit down. The word 'staff' is written in the passage. What do you mean by 'staff'? S-T-A-F-F staff
- S5: staff mane shikkhok.
- T: Tradition? Tradition? What do you mean by tradition?
- Sit down.
- T: 'essential' *kon form e acche?* (in what form is the word 'essential'?)
- S6: *bujhlam na sir--* Have not got it sir.
- T: 'essential' *kon form e acche?* (in what form is the word 'essential'?)
- Noun/adjective/adverb *kon form e acche?*
- S6: Sir adjective.
- T: Adjective. 'develop' *kon form e acche?*
- S7: sir develop? Verb.
- T: Develop *die ekta sentence toiri koro*.
- S6: Our school, they are not in the develop.
- T: our school is a house between inside and outside school. Tell me the bangla meaning of this sentence.
- S6: Amader school ekta bari vitorer school ar birer schooler moddhe.
- T: Young adults?
- S6: *Prapto boyosko*.
- T: Sit down. (pointing to another student) *eikhane koita advice er kotha bola hoicche?*
- S7: *char ta* – four.
- T: *ki ki?*
- S7: *ek hoilo- number one is..*
- T: *boi dekhe bolo-* look at your book and tell me.
- S7: *tader confident...*
- T: Tell me in English.
- S7: they should also have a well developed sense of right and wrong, sense of duty.
- T: five advices are mentioned here. Tell them serially number 1, number 2....
- How many advices are mentioned here?
- S8: Sir pachta- five.
- T: Ki ki? Maintain seriality.
- S8: development of right or wrong, sense of duty, belief on their own worth, confident,
- T: So far four only? Make a full sentence.
- S8: Should be confident and have the ability.
- T: Sit down.

(pointing to another student) advice.

S9:

They should be confident, the ability to express themselves clearly, they should also have a well developed sense of right and wrong, a sense of duty,

T: Then. A belief

S9: A belief in their own worth.

T: *tomader oita lekha shesh? Summary ta likhte bolecchilam* --Have you finished writing that? I told you to write summary.

(He starts checking students' writing, corrects spelling, grammar or others.)

T: Now look at the blackboard. (he writes the homework on the blackboard)

Bring this homework from your home.

School 4

(Inside the classroom setting. Noise created by students who now settle down)

T : Take your seat.

After long vacation, we have come.

No talk.

S1: May I come in sir?

T: Yes.

Now we are going to learn about the Mags. Unite 17, Different Lives. Lesson 1, page 172. Open your book, page number 172. Listen to me. What can we see in the picture?

S2: Sir I see that two women are weaving their box, one man is heating crops.

T: And other women?

S2: The other woman ...

T: The other woman is also busy with her work.

S2: Yes sir.

T: Thanks. Next. What can you see in the picture? The second boy. What can you see in the picture?

S3:

T: Louder. Speak louder.

S3: Some Mags are working...

T: Some Mags are working in their loom. What is your name?

S4: My name is Aminul Islam.

T: Aminul Islam, What can you see in the picture?

S4: I can see that three Mag women are working in their looms.

T: Yes. Sit down. Who want to say? What can you see in the picture?

S5:....

T: Ok. Thank you. The Mags. You know in our country there are several tribal cultural people. Primary cultural people are Monipuri, Rajbangshi, Mag, Murong, ...etc. Chakma, Rakhain. One of them is Mag. Whom we are going to learn about their way of life. Now I am reading some lines from the text. Listen to me.

The Mags builds their houses on high platforms, about six to eight feet above the ground so that their houses do not become damp-wet. keep up from wet. They build their houses to keep themselves from wet or damp.

The reason to build houses on high platform is also to protect them from the different types of insects and animals.

They build their houses for different reasons. The main reason is damp. Then another reason is that want to protect themselves from attacks of insects and animals. Insect is different kinds of insects, mosquitoes or ants etc. They are insects. Animals mean wild animals they supposed to attack or harm them. Moreover they want to protect themselves from different types insects and animals.

Moreover they can also use the empty space below their houses to keep things such as agricultural tools and looms.

They build their houses about six to eight feet high. Another reason also that they can keep their looms, you can see in the picture. Looms. They have small space to use. They live on the slopes of the mountains or hills. They live slope of hill or mountain. So they can use small space so they keep their things such as agricultural tools and handlooms under the empty space.

Timber or bamboo posts support the platforms.

So what supports the platform?

2 students together: Timber or bamboo posts

T: Timber or bamboo posts support the platform

The walls are made of bamboo slates and the roof is thatched.

Bamboo slates. You can see fences rural areas made from bamboo slates, bamboo slates.

and the roof is thatched.

Thatched. In rural areas you can see thatched hut, thatched hut, straw, made of straw or thatch.

The main food of the 'Marmas' and 'Rakhaines' is boiled rice with vegetables.

Main food. Our main food is rice, three in a day, three meals in a day.

A kind of soup made from boiled green leaves seasoned with chilies and salt is one of their most favourite items.

A kind of soup made from boiled leaves. A kind of soup seasoned with chilies.

S6: What is chilies?

T : Red pepper. Spicy flavor. Chilies and salt is one of their most favourite items.

Another popular item is tender bamboo shoots.

Tender bamboo shoots. You can see in the rural areas tender bamboo shoots. Tender bamboo shoots. (a student utters at the same time).

The shoots are at first cut into small pieces and then dried in the sun. Different types of shoots are then prepared from these.

Cut into pieces. At first they cut into pieces. What? Bamboo shoots. Then dry in the sun. Different types of foods are prepared from them.

The bamboo shoots are also eaten in a different way.

Eaten. Way of eating different. How do you eat in different way?

The shoots are crushed and then put inside a bamboo tube

Crushed. Crushed

and kept for eight to ten days till fermentation takes place.

Fermentation. Fermentation means in Bangla 'gajon', 'gajon prokria'. Fermentation.

The Maghs have two major meals a day,
 Two major meals. Two major meals a day.
one in the early morning and the other before sunset.
 Early morning and before sunset. Before sunset. We have three meals in a day.
 Morning.
 S7: Evening.
 T: Not evening. Noon and then night.
On festivals
 Festivals. Festival means cultural functions.
they prepare different types of cakes using rice, flour, coconut, sugar, milk and other ingredients. The most popular of all these is sticky rice.
 Have you tried sticky rice?
 Ss: No.
 T: No? Japanese, Chinese, Mayanmarese, they eat sticky rice. In Bangla, it is called 'atthalo bhat, atthalo bhat oi stick die khai. (Sticky rice is eaten with the help of sticks). Understand?
 Ss: Yes sir.
 T: Sticky rice.
 Ss: With two sticks.
 T: The most popular of all is sticky rice.
 Now we are going to learn about new words, new vocabularies. First **Timber**.
 Timber means?
 S7: Timber Bangla means...
 T: Wood. Wood. Bangla is 'Kath'. Next **Thatched**. Thatched means? In Bangla thatched kureghar. Thatched hut. *Khorer ghar*. Straw. Thatched, *golepata*. You have heard the name of 'golepata' from shundarban.
 Marmas and Rahains?
 S8: These are kind of...
 T: tribal
 S8: They...
 T: They live in
 S8: the high
 T: They live in the hill tracts, Chittagong Hill Tracts. Sit down.
 New words, new vocabulary. Fermentation. Fermentation.
 S9: *Gojano*.
 T: *Gajon Prokria, Gajon Prokria. Folmul, bhat eishob* are mixed in a tube and kept. After some days, they become a new type of food.
 Now I ask some questions from the chapter, passage.
 What are benefits of building a house on a high platform? What are the benefits?
 You already learn about benefits of building a house on a high platform.
 S9: The Mags build their house on a high platform because of they protect many animals and
 T: protect them from many animals, insects, and wild animals. Another reason, they can use empty space for keeping their agricultural tools and looms. Sit down.
 What materials do they use to build houses? What materials, what materials they use to build houses? Who can say? Who can say?

S8: Sir, bamboo, thatch

T: What?

S8: thatch

T: Then? Timber

S8: Bamboo post.

T: Sit down. Bamboo slates also used. Bamboo slates.

Describe the Mags, give a short description about Mag's house.

S9: They live in high platforms, they used too many things for building their house. They use bamboo, thatch,(tarpore ah) thatch, timber, bamboo post. They use their empty under their house to keep agricultural tools and looms, aah...

T: That's all. Sit down. Next question. How do they eat the bamboo shoots? How do they eat the bamboo shoots? They eat bamboo shoots but what way? What way?

S10: Sir, at first they crush into pieces...

T: At first the bamboo shoots are cut into pieces

S10: cut into pieces...

T: Then dried in the sun.

S10: dried in the sun.

T: Then?

S10: Kept into a bamboo tube for six to ten days. After fermentation takes place.

T: Fermentation takes place. And then? They

S10: Then prepare different kinds of foods.

T: prepare different kinds of food. Foods. Ok thank you. Sit down.

How many meals the Mags. How many meals the Mags have in a day?

S11: Two major meals.

T: Two major meals. When? When they eat the major meals a day? (time elapse) early morning and before sunset. Easy! It's easy question and answer is very easy. Early in the morning and the other option is the sunset.

Lesson D, .Open your book. Here, here you see a diagram. Diagram shows the process of making sticky rice. Process of making sticky rice. Describe the process in your own way and write down.

First sticky rice washed, then water as required bamboo tube,

First sticky rice washed, then it entered into a bamboo tube. Next, mouth of the tube, mouth of the tube banana leaves, mouth of the tube they use banana leaves.

Then after that fire heated, after they use fire of heat. Then they heat in the sun to take place fermentation. After sometime, rice boiled, sufficiently cooled. Then they eat the item. Next... (pages are turned)

Look at the blackboard. You can learn some linking words from the text. Linking words. In your Second paper, in your Second paper, you have to, you have to learn linking words or phrase and idioms. Linking words or phrase and idioms. Here you can see some linking words. Linking word means?

Ss: Phrase.

T: What is linking word?

Ss: Linking word means is ...

T: A kind of word that links two sentences or more than two sentences. Linking word links between two sentence s or more. Linking words: there, then, next, after, after sometime. After sometime. After sometime you can go home. After sometime

come to my office. After sometime you can use different way. After that means (*erpore*), First (*prothom*), then next, then next. Next, *tarapore*, then next. There also linking words. Then, you can learn about vocabulary settle...settle...settle.

S11: Sir settle er bangla hocche obosthan.

T: Settle down. Sit. Gulliver settled down in London. After 4 years, Gulliver settled down in London. Weave...weave...

S12: Sir weave in Bangla *bona*.

T: Bona. Weaving factory. You can use, No talk. YOU CAN SEE WEAVING FACTORY OUTSIDE DHAKA or Dhaka weaving factory. *Bonar factory, shuta. Bonar factory*, knitting, loom.

S: Sir loom means BANGLA TAAT?

T: *Taat*. Handloom *hosto chhalito taat*. *Taat. Shuta kata taate toiri loom*. Loom. Sit down. Crush vital word. Crush. Crush. Break into many pieces. Crush –break into many pieces. BANGLAI BHENGE PORA. Crush down. Plain crush, popular word. *Plain ki korlo, bhenge porlo*. Plane crush. *Kono kono deshe economy crush kore. Orthonoitik obostha bhenge pora*. Next, next, you can make pair. You can sit in pair. You have to make pair.

S: eikhane boshbo?

Pair bujho na? jora toiri kora. jora. jorai jorai to accho, accho na?

Ss: Ji sir.

T: *tahole ki korte hobe?* You come here. Make pair. (The bell rings). Our class is over. Then your homework will be Mags, The Mags.

School 5

(The noise due to students' settling down continues)

T: Sit down.

Please silent.

Thank you very much. Open your book, Unit 19, Lesson 4. Take off. Unit 19, Lesson (pause) 4.

Our today's lesson, that is, the passage deals with the experience of journey by plane. Ok, tell me have you any experience of journey by plane?

(Most students say no, while one was found with this experience. The teacher approached to him)

You have?

S1: Yes sir.

T: Ok, can you tell me something about your past experience of journey by plane?

S1: My first journey by plane was (cross-talking as there was noise)

T: Listen to him (stern voice)

S1: My first journey by plane was very exciting. I went to the airport, bought a ticket, I show the checker my passport and visa and the ticket. Then I got into plane and I went to my ...

T: Got into the plane, next?

S1: Then the plane slowly started and the...

T: Where did you sit in the plane? Where-- did you sit-- in the plane? (with pause--)

S1: I sitted beside the window.

T: Beside the window fine. Did you see anything from your plane?

S1: Yes sir. I saw many things from the window. It just like a, look like some ants.

T: I mean, you would like to say sightseeing of your (expecting words from S1)

S1: Journey.

T: Journey. I mean under/below the Plane (both T and S1 together).

Did you see anything in the sky or around the plane?

S1: I saw clouds flying in the sky.

T: You saw cloud floating in the sky.

Thank you. Sit down please.

Except him, do you have experience of first journey by plane in or abroad?

No one. Ok

As the passage deals the experience of journey by lane, so we have to do something for preparation. Ok. If you read the passage, you will find some procedures about your journey. Now read the passage silently just for five minutes. Read the passage. Hurry up.

Ok, have you finished? Now tell me who took part in the journey. Who took part -- keke ongsho niecchilo? (Bangla translation)

S2: Nila, Becky and Masum

T: Nila, Becky and Masum took part in this journey. Ok fine.

You sit. From Masum, Becky and Nila, actually Nila and Becky has previous experience but Masum have no. So Masum felt a little nervous because it was his first journey by plane. Ok. Thank you. Sit down. Now listen to me. And I am going to read out the passage. Then I will ask you some questions. Listen to me very carefully.

Masum felt a little bit nervous. It was his first journey by plane. Nila, Becky and Masum were sitting in a Row 9. Masum looked quickly and tried to have a glimpse of Nila and Becky. Both of them looked calm and relaxed but Masum felt his sense rising. The captain announced that he would be soon starting. Masum cleansed his face after pose the plane started taxing. Then slowly it began to race down the runway and after a while with a jerk, it took off. Masum looked down from his window and saw building, people and trees looking like miniatures. The roads looked like snakes, so did the rivers. As they rose higher, the plane bumped a little as the weather was a little rough. Masum held on to his seat and closed his eyes. However soon he began to overcome his fear and looked out of his window again. He saw the soft white clouds floating by. They looked like huge cotton balls. There were clouds all around him. MASum was amazed. He felt like touching the clouds. They were flying! Masum couldn't believe his long cherished dream had at last come true. The day Nila had flown to Singapore, Masum dreamt of travelling by plane one day too.

Now here some questions, that is question number 1,2,3,4,5. Now I am asking you some question from this, from your text.

Why was Masum nervous?

S3: Sir it was his first journey.

T: Because it was his first journey. Actually when we converse in the classroom, you have to give informal answer. Do you know what is informal answer? Informal answer means. Actually informal answer may be of different kinds. First of all in which we speak generally in our practical life. This is our informal answer. Suppose

I ask you ‘What is your father’s name?’ You need not to say ‘My father’s name is X, Y, or Z.’ You should say just the name of your father. Suppose I ask you ‘what is your father’s name?’ You will say ‘Mr. X, Y or Z.’ *jar jemon-* (as it applies to you). But if you say ‘My father’s name is Mr X Khan’ (students chuckles) this is formal. Understand?

When we speak in the classroom or discuss in the class, this will depend on spoken English. So you have to always use informal term. But when you write in your exam script, you should not give your answer informally. Then you should have to write formal answer. Ok?

So first of all you will give me informal answer. Again question number 2.

Why did Masum look at Nila and Becky?

S3: Because he felt nervous, so he saw them.

T: Yes, actually, he was feeling nervous. Here is the term, I would like to mention, that is in present continuous tense you cannot say ‘I am feeling, he is feeling’. This is grammatically incorrect. But you can use past continuous. He was/she was/I was feeling.

Because, actually Masum was feeling nervous. So he looked at Nila and Becky.

Next question number 3.

Why do you think Nila and Becky were not nervous as Masum was?

Yes, hurry up.

S4: I think Nila and Becky were not as nervous as Masum because they had previous experience of journey by plane.

T: Yes, because actually they had previous experience of journey by plane. Thanks. Next question number 4.

What was Masum’s long cherished dream? You.

S5: The dream was to journey by plane.

T: to journey by plane. This is informal answer.

What was Masum’s impression of the clouds? Yes.

S5: Masum was very amazed seeing the clouds. He was thinking that ...(could not be heard clearly)

T: Actually he thought that he was touching the cloud. What was it like?

S6: Sir, it was like balls of cotton.

Ok in this case I can say that you have already understood the passage. Ok thank you, thank you very much. Sit down please.

Here page number 195. D.

Imagine you are Masum. Write a letter narrating your experience to your friend who has not travelled by plane. Use the given cues. You may also use some of the information in C.

Actually the passage mainly deals with reading and writing skill. Here you can learn the process of making description of a journey. First here is a box, that is first plane journey started from getting into the plane fastening seat belt, non-smoking flight getting a window seat. By using these cues you can make a letter or you can make a paragraph or you can make a composition or an essay.

If you remember the hints or points from this passage, you can easily write down your letter, paragraph or composition. Now we are going to find out some important points from the passage for our writing, ok? Thank you.

Main points or information from the passage. First of all, according to the passage, number one: getting into the plane. Number 2: getting seat in the plane. Number 3: Announcement of the captain. Number 4: starting the plane and taking off. Number 5: sight seeing. Number 6: landing on the airport.

This is the, actually this is the main information of the passage. When you write down your paragraph, you have to use this information or clues by keeping this sequence. Ok?

Ss: Yes sir.

T: Have you understood the information?

Ss: Yes sir.

T: Now write down a short paragraph about your first journey by plane or question number 7. This type of question will be given that will be question number seven. Write down a short paragraph about your first journey by plane. You can use the.. by using these cues. Ok. Hurry up. Start please. You will be given only five minutes. Actually we should write down the limitation of words. Short paragraph. It will be given, this type of question will be given in your exam, that is for question number seven. Actually the question may about your first journey by plane. You have to complete it within five minutes.

After five minute)

Ok. Have you finished?

S7: Yes sir. I have finished. Thank you. Fine .another one.

Ok. Hurry up. Our time is going to be finished.

Those who have finished your writing, now.. (the bell rings for the next class).

Ok sit down. As our time is over, so I would like to say the fill in the gaps orally. That is.. Look at the board please. Fill in the gaps with suitable words. This will be according to your text.

Everyone ___ a desire.

Ss: Has.

T: Has or possess. *Naki* (isn't it?). Possess *naki* has?

Ss: has.

T: Has. Everyone has a desire to ___ a journey.

Ss: to make a journey.

T: very good. By plane like or as Masum.

Ss; Like Masum.

T: Like Masum not as Masum. Fine. For making a journey by plane, we have to ___ some ___.

Ss: do, formalities.

T: We have to do or maintain some ___.

Ss: Formalities.

T: Formality or formalities.

Ss: Formalities.

T: Formalities because it will be plural as there is a plural determiner. Plural determiner always takes plural noun. Thank you.

After ___ airport.

Ss: reaching.

T: after reaching or arriving airport, we are ___ to ___ into the plane.

Ss: (together)

T: we are ____

Ss: ready.

T: Not ready, sorry. After arriving or reaching the airport, we have to do some formalities. I mean only when you have done your formalities...

The class ends.

School 6

(There is noise due to students settling down. They have just finished the previous class and now English class begins)

T: Take your seats.

Good morning to everybody.

How are you?

Ss: Fine sir.

T: Today we will discuss Unit 18, lesson 3.

Do you have this book?

Ss: Yes sir.

T: Look at the picture and read the question. Look at the picture. (After about a minute.)

Now read the questions and answer me.

Are you familiar with this picture?

Ss: Yes sir.

T: Tell me where is it?

S1: Sir it is in front of Dhaka Medical college.

T: It is in front of Dhaka Medical College Hospital. Which date is it related to? Yes you?

S2: 21st February.

T: Good, 21st February. Take your seat. What is the significance? What is the significance? Know it. What is its significance? What does it signify? It signifies our right to speak in our mother tongue.

Now read the questions here. The second page, page number 184. B. The main list is given. Read the questions and prepare to answer.

Read silently without making noise. Silent reading. Two minutes over. How many languages do you speak?

S3: I speak two languages. One language in addition to my own language.

T: What is the name of the language?

S3: The name of the language is English.

T: Don't you speak in English?

S3: sometimes.

T: Good. Take your seat.

Do you speak the same language at home and outside?

S4: Yes sir.

T: At home and outside? Always?

S4: Yes sir.

T: All the time you speak the same language? Bangla? Not English?

S4: But in the English class, we always speak in English.

T: In your English class, you speak English, good. Take your seat.

What is meant by International Mother Language Day?

What is meant by International Mother Language Day?

Anybody?

What is meant by mother tongue? I will tell you the answer after a few minutes.

Just tell me the answer which you can. What is meant by mother language?

S5: Mother language is the language which we pick up by birth and we use it everywhere.

T: pick up?

S5: By birth.

T: By birth. You learn after your birth.

Ok, good, very good.

How did learn a different language? How did you learn? How can we learn a different language?

S6: Sir we can learn a different language by our mother language.

T: By the use of mother language, with the help of teachers, by reading books.

S6: Sir, mother language is the main factor to learn a different language.

T: How do you learn a different language? How can we learn? What are the processes?

We learn with the help of teachers, by reading books, and what do we need, the people of the native language. The best way to learn a language is to live with its native speakers.

What language do you speak? What language?

S7: Bangla.

T: C. In this passage you will find some gaps that you need to fill, just read the passage in 5 minutes. This is an individual work. Silently read the passage and then fill in the blanks with the words given below. You are given five minutes. 16:10 Five minutes gone.

Have you read it? Everybody? Now share your ideas with your partner who is sitting beside you? And whether you are correct or incorrect. With your partner who is sitting beside you. Whether you are correct or incorrect.

Students starts discussing in pair to find out whether they are correct or incorrect.

T: Now check your with your answers partner whether you have written the same answer. Group in the bench and share *your ideas, answers with your partner.*

Have you finished them all? Need time. Ok. One minute given.

Is there any unknown word to you? You don't now the meaning? /Yes, I have written on the board. Have you noticed?

What is the meaning of spread?

Ss: *Chorie pora?*

T: In English spend.

T: Championing?

Ss: winning,

T: Say loudly.

Ss: winner.

T: No. Not winner. Here the meaning is, in sixth passage you will find “the sacrifices of all the martyrs for championing” – for supporting, to support “ the cause of their”. So it is support.

Unanimously. Unanimously?

S:....

T: Yes, in the same opinion. In the same opinion. The way of an agreement in the same opinion. In Bangla ' Oikkomotto'. Not oikomot,okkomotto.

Proclaim?

S8: To declare.

T: Declare. Glowing?

S8: Shiny.

T: Shiny? Yes, you are correct.

Now, what should be in the first gap? One? Read it. Anyone, read out loudly, read out.

Yes.

S9: The UNESCO has PROCLAIMED ...

T: I want to ask you one thing. What do you mean by UNESCO? What is the elaboration of UNESCO? Raise your hand, raise your hand.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation. O.

S9: The UNESCO has PROCLAIMED February 21 as the International Mother Language Day to be observed globally in recognition.

T: In?

S9: Recognition.

T: Not recognition, recognition. (Correcting pronunciation)

S9: in recognition of the sacrifices of the MARTYRS for establishing die rightful place of Bangla.

T: Rightful. How many of you have written rightful? What has your partner written? Rightful place of Bangla. Yes.

S9: The proclamation came in the FORM of the...

T: One thing Proclaim. Look at the verb and noun form of proclaim. When you will writie the noun form, spelling is different, Proclamation, proclamation.

S9: The proclamation came in the form of the resolution unanimously

T: Unanimously

S9: adopted at the plenary

T: Plenary? Plenary (Pronunciation correction)

S9: of the UNESCO at its head quarters in Paris in November 1999.

T: Second part number 2?

S9: The UNESCO in its resolution said UNANIMOUSLY the recognition was given bearing in mind that to SPREAD mother tongue widely will not only add FORM

T: Add?

S10: Variety.

T: Variety. You and your partner are incorrect. It should be variety.

S9: Variety in language and encourage multilingual

T: Add variety to, Add to. In the text it is 'in' but 'to'

S9: Multilingaul? Multilingual? Multilngual

Ss: Community.

T: Yes, community, then. Education. Multilingual education can be right. Then start.

S9: Multilingual education. But also to develop fuller recognition.

T: Fuller?

S9: Recognition.

T: What is the answer? What have you written? Fuller? Anybody? How can we fill the gap?

S11: Tradition?

T: No. Awareness. Fuller awareness. Take your seat. Then you start from that point he stopped.

S12: Fuller awareness about language and cultural

Ss: traditions

T: Traditions

S12: Cultural traditions throughout the world and to inspire BANGLADESH based...

T: Inspire? Inspire?

S12: Bangladeshi?

T: Your partner is incorrect also. Inspire? Inspire? Unity. Have you written it, inspire unity.

S12: based on understanding, tolerance and dialogue.

T: Take your seat. Trope, number 3.

S13: The resolution was tabled in unanimously.

T: No. Any different answer? The resolution was tabled by Bangladesh. By Bangladesh.

S13: Sir 'in' is written, so in Bangladesh.

School 7

(As English is the first class of the day, the teacher is roll calling. After finishing roll calling he starts the class.)

T: In our previous classes we were on topic May Day, I gave you a short description on May Day. Actually it is based on the topics about the working classes people. Yes? Do you support me?

Ss: yes sir.

T: Working classes people, particularly labourer. Yes, sometimes labourers are engaged in various work for earning money. But the owners of the companies and factories, sometimes they are being exploited. Because they didn't get their proper salary. Yes, handsome salary. They have to live from hand to mouth. They become balls in the hand of the owners. To get their rights, to enjoy their basic rights, I mean this topic tells us to get eight hours per day. Eight hours. In previous days, they had to be engaged to work from twelve to fourteen hours or more than hours, I mean according to the wills of the owners of the factories. You learn, you have brought some ideas from this topic.

Yes, my one question here, you can share two or three students; you may stand up by role 3, 4 and 6.

Why did the working classes people fight? Why did the working classes people fight?

Yes, we were in details on this topic in our previous classes, so we are on some questions today. Yes, you should listen what type of answers he is giving in the classroom. What type of answer he is ready for this question? And you will correct

him. If you need to add something to his speech, you will tell us something. Yes, if you are satisfied, you will support him no doubt. First one, second warning. Yes.

S1: The working class people fought for their basic privileges.

T: Basic privileges. What do you mean by basic privileges?

S1: I mean by basic privileges – a minimum wage, safety laws and eight hour workday.

T: Yes, do you support it?

Ss: Yes,

T: Yes, only the basic rights.

Yes, three types of rights here. Basic rights? Five or seven. Five basic rights. Education, shelter, treatment, then... Basic rights, one can fulfill his basic rights if he has money. If he gets proper salary from the owners, from the factory of the working places. If he gets proper salary by doing hard labour, by labouring hard, if he is not allowed to have this type of salary it is very impossible to maintain his...

Ss: basic rights.

T: yes, sit down. Ah. 8, 12 and 16 (students roll number is used to ask question. This ensures him include all students in Q/A session) 8, 12 and 16- one question for you. How did they, How are they able to have their basic rights? What did they do to enjoy this basic rights? These rights, I mean better working conditions, better pay, yes.

S2: They have fought to get their working, to get their basic rights. They ...

T: How are able to get or require their rights?

S2: After they ...

T: Roll 16? 16? 12.

S3: ...they got united.... (He gave the answer but cannot be clearly heard)

T: They had to be gathered, they had to be united, they had to raise their hands and speak out all kinds of operations. As some strikers called a meeting, and on that meeting 1886, May 3, what happened. Sit down. What happened on that day? Roll 12.

S4: They fired...

T: Sit down, sit down. Roll 6. Sit down. Roll 4, 2. Here two. Can you explain? What did they do for enjoying their basic rights? It's a very easy question.

S5: The workers... (cross-talking)

T: It was possible for them overnight?

S6: No sir.

S5: The working class people became united as a protest against the owners of the factories who exploited and deprived them...

T: Please see the book, you can read the book. Follow your book please.

S5: They fought against the owners of the market. At last they got their basic rights.

T: Basic?

S5: Basic privileges.

T: Sit down. Now-a-days what types of facilities are being required, what types of facilities are the working classes people getting? Yes. Sit down. Stand up (another students). Please stand up. Please answer this question. Ah? To understand the question. What type of facilities are working classes people enjoying? For whom

are they enjoying? I am adding something to the question. Your roll number please. Your roll number. Yes.

Now-a-days the working class people are not being deprived by the oppressors, by the owners of the factories. For whom? What type of facilities are they enjoying as their rights?

S7: Now-a-days, the working class people are enjoying a minimum wage, eight hour workday. These types of they are enjoying. Now most of the employers are, has to give...

T: Have.

S7: their employees these basic privileges- safety laws, eight hour per day, ah and minimum wage. For who? The working classes of people who laid down their lives, who sacrificed their lives to

S7: yes sir, to get those basic rights.

T: Yes, thank you very much. Question number 7 you know. What student will stand up? Any student can raise your hands and answer the question.

Suppose as worker of any factory, you visited another factory. Yes? Do you understand? You went their and saw something there. Please explain and tell us what type of facilities are they getting, I mean the workers of that factory? Roll One, roll number one, please stand up.

S8: (answers the question nicely. He has stammering problem and talks far away from the recorder. I cannot hear anything clearly, so leave it to be done later if necessary.

T: Sit down. Thank you very much for your answer.

Grammatical question, grammatical points. I shall ask you some grammatical points. You can see the word 'seriously' "Chicago, killing at least one striker, seriously wounding." Seriously here is one word part of speech. Can you tell me what is it? Roll 14, 14. Here you are getting strikers "seriously wounding five or six others and injuring an undetermined number. 'Seriously', we are on grammar now.

S9: Adverb.

T: Adverb, adverb. Yes, adverb thank you. What type of adverb can you recognise? Can you find out? Can you find out what type of is it?

S9: Adverb of manner.

T: Adverb of manner. Adverb of manner. Many many adverb of manners you can find at the end of these words, the suffix -ly. Another example please. Happily, successfully, directly, slowly, proudly. These types of words are adverbs of manner. Sometimes adverb of manner can act as sentence adverb. Can you cite an example? Anybody else? -ly at the end of this word, any word at the end -ly, this type of word will not be adverb of manner, but you read just like a sentence adverb.

S10: Can I say sir?

T: yes.

S10: Quickly finishing the lesson, he went to rest.

T: No, no. Unfortunately my friend has failed in the examination. 'unfortunately' you are getting -ly, but it is modifying the whole sentence. So it is sentence adverb. Yes, thank you very much.

Next question. 24 here. Workers will. “The event May Day 1886 is a remainder that workers will continue to be exploited.” To be e-x-p-l-o-i-t-e-d. Do you think it is passive mood? It is passive? To be exploited.

S11: ... (not heard from the record)

T: That is past participle. What is past participle here? “... will continue to be exploited until they stand up and speak out to gain better working conditions, better pay and better lives.”

S11:...(could not be heard)

T: Speak loudly please. You are telling us, yes passive. What is past participle here?

S11: exploited.

T: Exploited. Thank you. First line “ recognized in most countries” is there any passive, sit down, sit down. Roll 10. Roll three. Yes. These lines, “working people throughout the world, and is recognized in most countries.” Passive. What tense is it? What tense is recognised

S12: Present tense. Thank you. Again see. “ From the beginning of Industrial Revolution, people in factories have worked very long shifts.” Here beginning is participle, gerund or verbal noun? You should choose from these three just like multiple choice question. “ From the beginning of Industrial Revolution, people in factories have worked very long shifts lasting up to fourteen or even more hours a day.” From this line beginning

S12: participle

S13: Gerund

T: participle, gerund

S14: present participle.

T: Present participle. Again anybody else? Actually verbal noun. Similar to gerund, the beginning, the reading of history is very favourite to me. Just like the students of early school, students, the, of. These words, two words the and of, you are getting beginning, noun, the verbal noun. Th students of Ideal School are brilliant and meritorious. It’s like the beginning of the revolution. Do you understand?

Ss: yes, sit down.

T: Yes. Next we will have some questions about summarising. Anybody else can raise your hands and tell us something summarising. First you should go through the book. Eight types of questions you will get. One : true/false, multiple choice question, question from the passage and summarising seven and eight. Eight Summarising that means you should give the main idea of the topic. Yes.

S15: People around the world observe the May Day as the International Workers Day.

T: Yes, one question you are getting here. Why do the people observe the day? Wait, wait please. Anybody else? Why do the people? Known face, same face, faces sometimes raise their hands and expressing their desire to tell us something in the class. Rest of the students I think you should, you should participate in discussion, you should take part in this discussion today.

S16: People around the world observe this day as International Workers Day ... (cross-talking)

T: Five questions you have to face for five marks. Yes you know. Five questions for five marks. Short question you will get and you will answer the question in three or two or one line. Yes, this type of question I am asking.

S16: Could not be heard clearly....

T: Sit down. sit down. From these lines one student will stand up and answer the question. What will happen if the working class people don't stand against all kinds of oppression in future? From this line if the working classes people don't stand against all kinds of oppression, what will happen to them?

S17: If the working class people do not stand against all kinds of oppression, they will be exploited in future.

T: They will be exploited, so they should be careful of their rights. They should be conscious, they should be alert. Yes. Sit down. Thank you very much. Please continue (indicating another student).

S18: They observe this day to pay tribute to the workers who sacrificed their lives and remind the owner that they cannot exploit the workers... (not clearly heard). Today the workers working in different/various factories are enjoying various basic privileges- safety laws, eight hour work day....

T: Sit down. Five lines mean five lines. Sit down.

Ah.. I think you have the book.

Ss: Yes sir.

T: Yes. You will share yourselves and at last I will give you the corrections. Each group form six students and these five students. You can ask questions in the group, they will answer. And then these two, group 1,2,3 will be the feedbackers. After listening their answers, if they need to give, if they need to correct any word and add to this answer, they will do that. If I am satisfied with this answer, is correct, I shall give you thanks. If I need to tell you something, I shall tell you. That means I shall give you the explicit corrections. This group. Each student from this group, he will ask questions to that group. Any questions or any topics. On various types of ... (cross talking) yes.

S19: Only on this topic?

T: Yes, Only on this topic. Please wait for nothing. Hurry up. This group, no, you are not selected today. This group, you are not doing anything. So be alert to ask the question, please.

S20: What happened on May 3, 1886 at Chicago?

T: What happened?

S21: In 1886, May 3

T: You may help him. These five group. You can help him to answer the question. If he answers incorrectly, you may give him word, sentences to answer correctly. Yes, you can start.

S22: May 3 1886, Police fired....

T: Sorry to interrupt you, this group will get ready, will be ready to ask them another question.

S22: May 3 1886, police fired into a crowd of strikersHarvest Machine company at Chicago killing at least one striker, seriously wounding five or six others.

T: Ok, thank you very much. Sit down. Roll 1, 2, 3 do you think his answer is correct?

The group: yes, sir.

T: Yes? The answer is correct? He has, he wants to say, he has committed to, sorry, sorry he has quoted some words and sentences from the book. He should change it. But he didn't do that. Yes. Anything more.

The group: No sir.

T: So when you will reply the answers, you will not copy the book. You should change the ways in sentence pattern. You should write in your own way. You should use your creativity, your sense. If you quote, if you copy the words, your marks may be reduced.

S23: Why did the working people strike in Chicago in 1886? Why the working people strike in Chicago in 1886?

T: On strike. Why were they on strike? Yes.

You can help him. You can take one or two minutes, because you should be ready for giving fine answers.

S24: On the beginning of Industrial Revolution, the people in factories had to work long shifts. They have not any safety laws. So in 1886, the workers striked,

T: striked? Were on strike.

S24: Were on strikes against the owners of factories for their basic rights.

T: Yes. Thank you very much, thank you very much. Do you want to tell us something?

He is right? Yes. Thank you. This group has done well.

S25: Si I want to add something.

T: Yes, please tell.

S25: (could not be understood).

T: Yes, sit down. I am selecting another group. Last five, the last five. And from this group 1, 2. Roll number please 26, 7. (Announcements starts centrally from the Head Master's office in each classroom with separate loud speaker) After announcement.

Have you got any questions please?

S26: what type of ... (could not be understood well)

T: Yes, please (to the other group for answering)

S27: (Starts answering questions, which was not heard clearly either. The bell rings as the period is over).

T: Thank you very much for your participation. Thank you all. See you again.

Appendix D. Transcript for teachers' semi-structured interview

School 1

(Original in Bangla. Translation was done by the author)

Name: Q

Age: 38

Sex: Male

Education: BA B. Ed

Teacher Training: CPD 1(24 days)

Years of experience: 12 years

I: Why have you become an English teacher?

Q: One of the reasons to be English teacher is that I have seen from my student life that there is a serious lack of English teachers. I thought that if I would be an English teacher and teach them. Children from the village would be benefitted, they would know it.

I: How have you become an English teacher?

Q: I used to study in science. After passing HSC in science, I found myself good in several subjects such as Math, biology. I had a wish to study in Medical institute. Then I thought, if I had not got any chance in medical, what would have been my alternative. Therefore, I planned for learning English, in which I was similarly good like other subjects. I thought that I myself would learn and encourage my students too. That's why I learnt English.

I: How have you become an English teacher in this school? What is the system of becoming a teacher here? Please give me an honest and true answer.

Q: Yes, I never take shelter of lies. I was studying in a nearby school. Those who has set up this school are my school friends. One day they told me they had required English teacher. By that time I completed 300 marks in English and B,Ed (Bachelor of Education) at Titumir College in Dhaka. Since this school is close to my home, I joined as an English teacher.

A: Did you have to appear any test?

Q: Yes, I had.

A: Who took this exam?

Q: Exam was taken in the pattern of the nearest school Ranibil Girls High School.

I: Did you have to be the first there?

Q: Yes.

I: What do you know about communicative language teaching?

Q: CLT is one kind of method. I like it because during communication I get answers from students readily. It can be understood that a boy or girl has learnt to speak.

I: Do you mean speaking in the class?

Q: Yes.

I: What more method do you know?

Q: I know grammar translation method, direct method. Other methods are not applied in village schools, for example audio-lingual method. We only use two three methods.

A: Which method do you apply in the class?

Q: It is grammar translation method which is applied most in the class.

A: What is the reason for it?

Q: Village children will not understand the meaning of English if class is taken communicatively. After taking a class in GT way, I ask them in CLT ways to know if they have understood. As we have to use Bangla in GT method, if we use Bangla, they catch it quickly.

A: How does GT differ from CLT?

Q: CLT is English to English but GT is telling meaning in Bangla, explain vocabulary. These are the differences between these two.

A: As CLT is emphasised, how much are you trying to implement it in your practical teaching?

Q: I am trying hard so that they can go ahead and develop in their communicative English and can converse with others in English. I am teaching them dialogue. That's it.

A: Do you follow participatory based teaching in the class?

Q: Yes, I do it, but not so much.

A: Could you please explain that?

Q: I give them a task which they do in a group of two three students together. This helps them to discuss within the group with conversation and dialogue.

A: Do not take it otherwise. I have not seen it in today's class.

Q: In today's class actually I did not do as I had to give you time.

A: Who is mainly dominant in your class, you or your students? How do you maintain child-centered approach in your class?

Q: Yes, I follow it sometimes. While teaching them in GT method, I often take them to the blackboard and tell them to write a sentence and ask them 'How is this sentence made?' Sometimes I write a sentence and tell them to write similar sentences. Then that student himself becomes a trainer.

A: That's right. But child-centered approach is something where their needs are emphasised. Anyway, please tell me about English interaction in your classroom.

Q: As village children, they know less English, but there are some of them who know English quite good. As you have also noticed today, they feel hesitation while answering in English.

A: What can you do to remove this hesitation?

Q: I will have to bring that out from their mouth ("*tader mukh theke adai kore nite hobe*"). I will have to give them more time.

A: One-to-one interaction can remove fear in this case.

Q: It is not possible to give time to everyone, some of them (*dui, char pach jonke shomoi di*).

A: This is called inclusive learning where you give time to each of the students rather than giving most of the time to some of them. Those who are good, are good already, but it is better to conduct the lesson with those who are weak. This practice will increase the overall classroom performance.

Q: Yes, I do it, I do it.

A: You have a very good class size of only 20 or 22 students. Many teachers complain that their class size is very big so they cannot make one to one interaction, cannot ensure inclusive learning or cannot cover everything in every lesson.

Q: Yes, I will do it.

A: If you do it, your students will do much better result I think. Then let us talk about listening and speaking in your class. How do you conduct them?

Q: I speak in English in the class, read the story or poem, and then I let them read. I check their pronunciation and give as homework. Next day I check their work and find more of their mistakes which I correct them again.

A: But reading is not speaking. Speaking is to speak with someone in English or Bangla. So do you teach any speaking to them? Do you teach any speaking to them?

Q: I do not always do speaking, but I do as far as I can.

A: If you are speaking only, that is not speaking either. It is to teach them how to speak. How to speak means speaking in practical communication at the groceries for example, you know, if you do that inside the class. Role play, if you do it in the class, I don't know, where you create various situations for example a medicine corner. You become medicine seller and a student wants to buy medicine from you.

Q: Like dialogue.

A: Yes, in the form of playing the role of a person who wants to buy medicine. Then you can change roles and become a postman and tell a student to ask for their letter from you. This practical use of English through various roles can be done in speaking. Again you can tell them to ask you in English how they can go to Dhaka from their village. To teach how to use English in these various practical situations is actually teaching speaking. You have perhaps found that in the training manual.

Q: Yes, I have seen it.

A: If you apply those guidelines of each lesson in your class, your students will definitely do better. I cannot suggest you all of these, but as we are discussing/gossiping while collecting information, I am telling you all of these.

Q: Yes, sure.

A: Now please tell me how do you do lesson plan, do you make any lesson plan?

Q: Yes, I do it. There is direction from the government, Ministry of Education and we have to take classes according to lesson plan.

A: Do you do speaking according to the lesson plan. Loud reading is not speaking but speaking done in that way, as we have discussed.

Q: Speaking is done less than other skills.

A: How do you do it?

Q: As I have said it is done as dialogues or conversation language.

A: You can also do practical conversation. Please tell me also about reading and writing. How do you do them in the class? Do you do writing paragraph?

Q: Sure.

A: How do you do that?

Q: We tell them to write on any topic according to the suggestion.

A: What type of suggestion? Any pre-discussion?

Q: We have suggestions for first terminal exam, 2nd terminal exam and final exam. These suggestions are called syllabus.

A: If you conduct any writing task according to communicative way, how do you do it?

Q: These are some selected topics which need to be done.

A: Yes, how is it done after selecting a topic?

Q: I tell them to read at home and tell me.

A: Just like memorising, right?

Q: Yes,

A: In writing, some cues are given which are used while writing. One can write without memorizing...

Q: How to make a garden, how to be a good student.

A: Yes, exactly. Students then are using present ideas with the help of cues and write. Their tendency to memorise becomes reduced. They create their own language ability this way, although our students have more memorizing tendency, right?

Q: Yes, they do have memorising tendency.

A: But with the help of pre-discussion writing can be done. In pre-discussion there are various questions, for example, garden, what do we do before making a garden, what do we need, what are there in a garden. We have to ask these questions in English. Then they will reply, we need a spade, a piece of land, flower plants, bamboo, fence to protect the garden. This is pre-discussion. After finishing this pre-discussion, you will tell them to write.

Do you think it will work? Can student do writing in this way?

Q: Yes, if topic is given in this way, they can do it.

A: Ok, then you can avoid their memorising tendency. It is mentioned in the TQI.

Q: Yes, yes, it is there.

A: I want to tell only this, I have not come here to find your faults.

Q: No, No, No.

A: As you have requested some suggestions from me about how to better teach English. I am telling you all of these.

Q: I am telling you the real picture, not a single fabricated word.

A: I am not telling that you are telling me lies. I am not telling you either why you have not done this or that.

Q: There are some opposing factors also in it.

A: If you do a pre-discussion before reading or writing, for example, how to be a good student, you can do a brain storming on the topic.

Q: On the story.

A: On any topic you are giving them to write. Say for example, you are telling them to write a paragraph on garden or meeting Feroza. So you ask them some questions about garden, obviously in English. They will answer your question and then you will tell them to write a paragraph by nicely organising these answers to your questions about a garden. Then they will realise that they can do it.

Q: Yes, they will do it in this way.

A: But pre-discussion needs to be held before that first. Then students will get help. This is the way to write a paragraph according to the CLT.

Then, how do you teach grammar in the class?

Q: According to structure.

A: According to exactly like GT method?

Q: Yes.

A: Not according to CLT method?

Q: No, grammar is not taught according to CLT.

A: You mean that you teach them specifically according to structure.

Do you give them any class work sometimes?

Q: Yes, I do.

A: Please give examples.

Q: I write one sentence and tell them to write several similar other sentences.

A: What do you do when they are writing?

Q: I observe them, who is writing or not.

A: Do you help them if anybody feels difficulty.

Q: Yes, I do.

A: Ok. Do you use any other types of materials other than text books such as newspaper, article etc.?

Q: Time to time. If I find any good suggestion, I follow them.

A: Ok, but any other material like newspaper, I don't know if you have it.

Q: Yes, We have it.

A: If any English newspaper?

Q: No we don't have it.

A: Then perhaps you don't use materials other than text books.

Q: No, these are not used.

A: Any materials like this (showing a...).

Q: We have some particular sticks.

A: For example you take a thing like this and tell them to describe it in English. Then you will see that they describe it in every detail. *There is a rope in it, this is round in shape, it has white leather, it has iron metal round on it.* To describe such thing in this way can be teaching aid. You can take a broom and tell them to describe it. Then they will describe its different parts. Whatever that helps in teaching is called teaching aid.

Q: Ok.

A: Describing anything in this way is also speaking as because they are communicating about a practical thing. This is describing, not memorising. When they tell something from memory, you will find that not a single word is their own. But this type of communication from their own vocabulary is the main theme of CLT. Listening and speaking comes first and then reading and writing. Students will have to speak in the class. Reading and writing are important to do in the class, but to allocate time for speaking is also speaking. Out of 45 minutes, minimum 5 minutes at the least should be given for speaking where students may talk in pairs. You may monitor what they are speaking. You may also select topics for them. All right this is a duster. You (a student) will describe it to your partner and the vice versa. You may give this in pair or group work. All students will have to participate. One day it can be a pen, another day it can be a book, gradually it may a larger topic like you village, your home, your reading room, river, field, classroom,

school anything. What is important is that you make them speak. You encourage them to speak. Your effort to make them speak is very important and you may speak less than them.

Q: They will know English as second language.

A: One of your main tasks is to encourage them to learn English. You understand sir, this is the difference between GT and CLT methods. Teacher exercises power in GT method but that power in CLT is in the hand of students in the sense that students themselves will work, your task is to facilitate or monitor.

A: What is your goal in general from your teaching of English to your students? What should be their language capacity?

Q: According to goal of CLT, I should say that my students should do what I do or even do more than what I do in the class. I expect that all of them will be able to communicate.

A: Hmm. Tell me what you want them to be able to do. Tell me your own view.

Q: I want them to make good results, be expert in English.

A: Expert in what way, in exam or in spoken English orally.

Q: Orally in spoken English. They do read for their exams but let them be expert in spoken English. If he can speak, he can write too for sure. If they practice writing after speaking, then they can improve in both way. This is what I expect.

A: Do you always use English in the classroom?

Q: Certainly, I use English. But it was not sufficient to be communicative enough. They are from village, they cannot speak English so well.

A: Your students are learning what you are giving them. Though they are village students, they can learn it well if you encourage them. This is not a question of rural or urban students. If you try with all of your knowledge, this type of devotion so that they can do it can make the successful implementation.

Q: I have always done that throughout my teaching career. As I am the only English teacher, I have to do it all the more.

A: Do you think students are learning more with the CLT method or with the GT method?

Q: Yes, they are learning more in the CLT method. Particularly after doing my training programme (TQI), I have noticed their progress in English learning. Both for me and for them.

A: How, please explain.

Q: I used to teach less communicatively before and it was mostly in GT method. There was less sharing from the students' part. Now they have to speak following dialogues, ask question to one another. If there is no dialogue, students are suggested to hold a conversation on various topics from the book. How much s/he comes to know, what vocabulary s/he can do is my way of teaching now.

A: You said that CLT method helped you developing your skill, how much effective is this to improve students' English skill?

Q: It is completely successful. It was not before. Students could not say anything, now many students can speak in English. Many non-students can speak in English only by listening to it.

A: Then you believe that students are learning English better after the implementation of CLT.

Q: Yes, they are.

A: But I did not see that much students' response in the class? Did they feel shy?

Q: There were students from Class 9 also who passed Class 8 very recently. Most students of class 10 were absent. They have left school as classes are not held due to annual sports. Those who are good students are studying at home in fact. That's why I did not see them in the class and as such I had difficulties in teaching. I feel very sorry that I could not give you a gift of good class.

A: No, it is completely fine. You do not have to prepare a good class for me. Rather conduct your class in a usual way and that is what I have come to collect.

Have you heard about collaborative learning? Can you tell me something about it?

Q: Yes. It is based on discussion, isn't it? It is a type of participatory based learning in groups which I do after doing my training. In a group if one cannot do a task, one can take the help of other who can do that. By holding discussion they can learn.

A: That is for students but teacher also learn while teaching. If teachers face any problem or challenges, they discuss that their colleagues after the class. You may also share diary or journal, if you have any with your colleagues. This type of sharing can create collaborative learning. You may observe your colleague's class and suggest him on his problems after the observation. This type teacher discussion about problems, suggesting each other and learning from one another is collaborative learning. You may speak in English with your colleagues for your improvement.

Q: Yes this is a nice method.

A: You are all together three teachers who are teaching English.

Q: Yes, I am taking classes for Class 9 and 10. They are not English teachers but they are teaching in junior classes (6,7,8).

A: Then they will be more benefitted. If you go to their classes and observe them, suggest them after classes, students will be able learn communicatively even from earlier grades. Then it will be easier for them when they will be in class 9 or 10. As I did today, if one of your colleagues observes your class, will you mind?

Q: No.

A: If you observe your colleague's class will they mind?

Q: That cannot be said. They may.

A: You may tell them that if they do not mind, you can practice our own English. I don't know your ego boundary level, they may take it in a negative way.

Q: Yes, it can be.

A: But it is the characteristic of collaborative learning. One teacher will learn from the other. How can we teach our students even better? CLT starts from class 6, not from 9 or 10, so if they practice from class they will be expert in communication at class 9 or 10. If teachers of class 6 or 7 do not prepare students well, it will be more difficult for you. You may discuss this first with your Headmaster with two other English teachers. Then you may decide. If you want I can also talk to the Headmaster.

Q: It would be much better.

A: I talked with your Headmaster yesterday but not about collaborative learning. I think you can talk to him.

Q: Yes, I can do that.

A: So you have done any collaborative learning here.

Q: No, it has not been done.

A: Do you think teaching is an art which can develop throughout the teaching career?

Q: Yes, it continues to develop, it does not stop anywhere. Teaching capacity also flourishes.

A: Please explain how.

Q: At the beginning of my teaching career, I did not know so much about what teaching style would enable students to learn more. After attending trainings and practically applying those methods in my teaching, I could come to know that I am improving. Students can speak more English than before, particularly I myself improved. I FEEL THE NEED MORE OF SUCH TRAINING.

A: Now could you please tell me whether you faced any challenges or problems while implementing CLT method.

Q: No, I didn't but if we are offered more training programme with practical teaching, it would be very good.

A: Say for example, while doing pair or group work, have you faced any problem?

Q: No, if I am prepared for the lesson with pair/group work what I would be doing next day, then it is not any problem for me, without preparation, it might create problem.

A: Many teachers say that if they conduct so many speaking in the classes, they will not be able to cover syllabus, still others say they will face time constraints if they conduct so many pair work or role-play. Do you take class test?

Q: Yes.

A: Weekly or monthly?

Q: Monthly or fortnightly.

A: Many teachers complain that too many class tests also create time constraints. Do you think these may also apply for you?

Q: No, there is not such problem for me. The way you said, they will talk about garden. This will not waste time.

A: Why are you still using GT method in your class which should be taken communicatively?

Q: If I do not translate in Bangla, they don't understand, telling the meaning of vocabulary is necessary for them.

A: That you can do. Giving emphasis on communication is very important in CLT classes.

Q: That I do.

A: You may do translation, explicit grammar teaching is also ok, you will make them work in communicative way. You will make them reading, instead of you yourself reading the text. One of them can read, other make meaning and all can participate by rotation. In this way, they get more chance to speak while your chance to speak more is reduced. Through this type of practicing, they will learn English. You will have to increase this tendency in you.

Q: Yes, of course.

A: Which aspect of CLT is most significant if you want to be successful CLT teacher?

Q: Emphasising vocabulary.

A: Who, students or you?

Q: I will initiate, they will learn.

A: Hm. Please criticise CLT if it has any weakness?

Q: No it does not have any weakness or bad side. It is used here like other countries. We can learn even more if continue using it. It helps increasing speaking power. Otherwise only reading doesn't help speaking.

A: Which aspects of CLT classroom teaching should be modified, you think?

Q: In order to encourage students, I think CLT should be emphasized more with focus on vocabulary, grammar and structure.

A: CLT also talks about grammar. As you said, you write a sentence and tell them to write similar other sentences. Then while reading in the class, you may also make reference to various grammatical aspects.

Q: Yes, yes. In which particular tense is a sentence, why is a particular tense used here?

A: It is all for today. If you have any question, you may ask.

Q: No, I don't have any question. I have also come to know a lot. So much thanks for you.

School 2

(Original in Bangla. Author's own Translation)

Name: H

Age: 35

Sex: Male

Education: BA

Teacher Training: CPD 1 for Bangla(24 days)

Years of experience: 10 years

A: Mr. H, have you heard about CLT?

H: Yes, I have. But the problem is I have got my appointment in Bangla (as teaching subject) and I did training on creativity, SBA and other training courses like CPD 1 and CPD 2 for Bangla subjects. But now I have to take English classes for the situation demand as teachers cannot be appointed and the regular teacher retired from teaching. Therefore school has selected me to take English classes. Otherwise I would not have to take English classes.

A: Can it be said that you are being forced to take this class?

H: Not forcefully but to fill up the need of time and situation.

A: Ok. Tell me first of all why have you become a teacher?

H: To serve the people and society.

A: How have you become a teacher?

H: How? Actually for the need of time, myself and the country.

A: How are teachers recruited here?

H: Recruitment is done after circular by the government.

A: Then?

H: School committee selects candidates and approves the papers and submit that to the regulatory board of the Ministry. Then it (job position) gets MPO.

A: Do you have to pay any donation?

H: In such a condition of school, donation is to be paid to some extent.

A: Is it a very big amount.

H: No. Actually I paid it 10 years ago when this donation system was not so much in vogue as it is now. That time I had to pay an amount which could be used for the school development. Now things are different.

A: Tell me your experience about your teaching English. Say it in general.

H: Experience. In fact it seems likeable to take English class. But it would be better if I got training on it. But training is not possible due to the subject related constraint. Administration sends instructions to the school to send teachers recruited for specific subjects. AS I am appointed for Bangla, I get training on Bangla. Particularly in the current Creative System, CPD 1 and CPD 2 are done. CPD 1 is for 15 days. It is conducted both in ³²Mymensingh and in ³³Gazipur. But I got the CPD1 training in Bangla from Gazipur. The next one I did from Mymensingh Teachers' Training.

A: Tell me about participatory based teaching in the class.

H: It is actually dialogue based. It is done in English Second part. Our Headmaster does that. In the First part it is not done so much.

A: Do you include all of your student and ask questions to all of them?

H: Yes, I do ask question to all of my students.

A: How do you make it sure?

H: As there are few number of students, it is possible here. But in some of the classes if presence of students are high, then it is not possible to ask everyone. Then I decide that I ask this question to this group of students and the next question to another group of students so that no one is left apart.

A: Do you do pair work or group in the class?

H: Group work is not done (*oi bhabe*).

A: Pair work?

H: Not in this class. It is done in other classes.

A: In fact pair work is more feasible in English class. Particularly out of 40 minutes, if you give 10 minutes for speaking in pair, and the rest of the time for other lesson wise activities from the textbook. As I have seen in the class that you are teaching model test paper solution, it is good for students are getting ready for exam. But if you give 1 or 2 days in week for speaking from the text, then students... (cross-talking).

H: It may be best but in such a school, we follow the way by which pass rate can be increased. Our school managing committee chairman, former MP, who works in a non-government university often visits our school. Sit with us with the book and says "teach this way, if you teach this way, more students will pass. It is foremost here; later topics will be seen later".

A: But if it is completely ignored (the textbook), there will be problem, because this textbook is only prepared for CLT. You may notice that there are picture description. There are questions in the form of dialogue. That may begin a speaking session.

³² A district in Bangladesh

³³ A district in Bangladesh

H: The one that you have done is from the textbook. But this book, the format/system of questions in this model test paper book will exactly come in the final exam. This model test paper book has some questions which will come in common in the final exam. If there are 70 or 80 model question paper in this book, one of them will come. The question items in each question paper have the same format/system of the final exam, though the exact items may not come directly. That is why this model question paper is taught here.

A: But can't it be thought that at least once or twice in a week, pair or group work will be done in the class or after the class? Is it possible?

H: Yes, yes. Actually it is also necessary for learning English. The practice for passing students in the exams is our goal. We think only how more students will pass in the exam. But education is not limited in textbook only. For the real life, need of time, to lead a life in practical world, one must know English.

A: Tell me about students teacher interaction in the class.

H: Student-teacher relationship...

A: interaction for example student-teacher conversation, asking questions and getting answers from them almost like give and take, this type of interaction.

H: This is always done in the class with all students. Suppose if I read one model question paper, I ask them if they have not understood anything. Then they tell me which things they have not got clarified. I explain those things to them. When they say they have no problems anymore, then I start asking them questions. What is this or that? I often find that they cannot answer, then I give them solution.

A: On which skill do you give most emphasis, such as speaking, reading, writing, listening?

H: Actually I give most emphasis on writing as the presentation is done in written, not orally.

A: Then all other skills are not equally taken care of by you?

H: No. I don't see other schools.

A: Skills. You do not treat other skills equally?

H: No. The institute where I myself learnt, follow the same teaching style. Besides, each year students are coming from other schools or students are transferred from here to other schools, I ask those incoming students how English were taught in their previous school. Besides I also ask my teachers, other teachers and friends (who are teachers as well), they all tell the same style.

A: Now there are SBA system and if you want to give them number, speaking could be a task to do that. SBA I mean School Based Assessment where you can assess 30% of their number, you can do speaking for that purpose. If there is no speaking in the exam, so what. Final exam is with 70% number and you have 30% number for SBA. In that case speaking is to be done in the classroom for SBA

H: It is actually done. Suppose I give them a paragraph, they will memorise. Without memorising... you might have found only two three of them good who understand well, others do not understand so well. You have given them 26 or 28 questions, most of them have answered without understanding. So what were we talking about?

A: We were talking about speaking in the classroom for the sake of SBA.

H: If I give a paragraph in a week or a month, (We have Upazilla Supervisor who came last year several times, gave us information. We have written them how to do things. We have started them from the beginning this year). We have to take exam in the form of SBA in each month. We tell students that ‘there will be test tomorrow, all of you should be present’. They come. It is 10 marks test. The average of this test mark are added to the terminal exam results.

A: I have seen that your school has system for oral presentation. That may also be included in speaking. Now if students memorise a paragraph and tell that in the class, it is not speaking. They are telling from their memory. Speaking can be of practical communication for example as we have done in the class today in the class. I am discussing this with you. I am not forcing you. I have noticed it this far. So there is a scope to practice speaking if there is SBA system. It is said oral presentation of 30 marks. If 25 marks is used for speaking, then your students can learn to speak. And if they can speak well, they will get chance in good college. Then these students will become examples for the next group of students that ‘your senior brothers are now studying in good colleges’. In CLT, speaking gets the first priority, writing is there already. Now as you have said, there is no speaking in the exam, I also know it, how can assessment be made if there is no speaking in the exam. But in this SBA system, speaking can be done. I am sharing this with you so that you may think of it.

H: Yes, it can be done.

A: So no speaking is done at all in your class?

H: Speaking... dialogue is done.

A: Ok. Then how do you teach grammar in the class?

H: I don't take grammar class. I take only English First part.

A: Do you conduct any role-play with your students?

H: Roll?

A: It is like dialogue practicing. Let me ask you another question. What do you do when students are writing something in the class?

H: When they are writing, I move around and monitor them.

A: Ok. Do you bring/use other material in the class so that this can help your students to understand?

H: Those are materials.

A: Yes, teaching aids.

H: Yes, if there are related things in our office, we show them.

A: What is your teaching goal in general through your teaching of English from your students? What do you expect that they will learn?

H: They will need English in their exam, in the work place. That is the purpose mainly. And I want they learn it in this way. I want my students to learn and meet up the need of time.

A: So they become able to learn English, don't they?

H: Yes.

A: What is the medium of instruction in your class? English or Bengali?

H: Both.

A: Do you think using English more in the class will help teaching English?

H: Yes, definitely. But you have mentioned about students' parental education. All of them are non-qualified. Whether their siblings will them in doing homework... sometimes I feel sorry for them. If I ask them if they have anybody at home who can help them in their homework. They say no. What should I do then? There are two or four students who cannot do reading properly, but they have passed class eight. Many good students failed and weak students passed. How did it happen I don't know. This is also the case.

A: Is JSC exam also computerized?

H: Yes.

A: Then it could be due to mistakes in computer operation.

How do you understand that your students are improving?

H: In fact it is understood mainly by the exams or test that a student is improving or not. By checking whether they can do their homework. In the previous year, we have not taken any vigorous steps. From this year, we have started, particularly class eight is my responsibility. I have collected their phone number. They may not come to school for a day due to any reason, but if they don't come on the second day either, I call their home and ask them why they have not come. We are doing this in order to encourage them.

A: Then you are not using CLT at all in the class?

H: It is not true that I don't do it all. I do to some point otherwise it will not do.

A: How much helpful is this method in improving students' English skill?

H: In order to improve English skill, it is very essential to speak. I tell them to speak, there might be mistake, still you will have to speak. Otherwise it is not possible to learn.

A: Did you teach in GT method before?

H: No, I have not taught grammar.

A: Have you been teaching in this way from the beginning?

H: Yes, in this way.

A: Solving model test question Paper?

H: When the model test papers are available in the same pattern of final exam, then there is no alternative to teaching in this style.

A: Ok, Ok. It is said about collaborative learning where a teacher learns from another teacher by sharing, discussing or observing the classroom. Do you do that?

H: Yes, there are other two teachers, including Head Master there are three teachers who teach English. If I don't understand a topic, I ask other teachers. Firstly with the help of dictionary, I try to understand, if failed I go to other two teacher, if failed again, I go to the Head Master. Headmaster often sits with us about how we can teach better. He often visits our class and suggest us.

A: The way I observed your class today, have you observed other teachers' class in the similar way?

H: Head Master does that.

A: Ok, he observes your class. Have you observed his class?

H: In fact there is no gap in our schedule. We have classes one after another. Two teachers participate in a training where there is instruction that after coming back from training, I will have to take classes where two other teachers from school will observe me. We have to give report on it.

A: Is it done here?

H: Yes, it is done.

A: Do you think teaching is an art which continues to improve till the end of life?

H: Certainly. There is no endpoint in learning. Man is learning new thing everyday. What I used to know yesterday is increased by today's learning and this will increase tomorrow.

A: Now tell me speaking, listening (where I read and others are listening to me), writing (where we give clues before writing), reading (where we give clues or main word). What do you think are the challenges if you want to teach in such CLT way?

H: Challenges are already well known to the government. There is a serious lack of English teachers in our country. There are many schools where there is no English teacher. If government gives enough exemptions and appoint sufficient English teachers. Government has made a compulsory requirement of 300 marks in graduate course of an applicant who wants to be teacher. It is good. Then teachers can be well prepared and well aware of teaching English. Besides if government makes the requirements for teacher employment easier, then English teaching might be effective.

A: In what way can it be easier?

H: For example, B.ED. Previously there was no system of teacher registration, only during the circular a competitive test was enough to qualify. Now teachers have to qualify in a test to register him/herself. Many teachers cannot do B.Ed as they cannot get time, chance or money. If it is possible to be a teacher with this teacher registration or without B.Ed. it would be good. Many people cannot pass for the teacher registration even after five times effort. Then they cannot become teacher in one hand, there are vacant English posts on the other hand.

A: But this exemption from B.ED is also degrading a teacher's qualification, isn't it? It is good to have it. You have also done it. If one becomes a teacher without having B.Ed, then there would be much lacking in his/her teaching career, wouldn't it?

H: But this can be also possible that a teacher is given 2 or 3 or 4 years period to complete B.ED after being appointed as a teacher. There are many who are retiring without B.ED. Those who do not have B.Ed are offered courses of 4 months or six months duration. This type of step by step training can also solve this problem.

A: Let's come back to our discourse. What would be problems in implementing CLT in the classroom?

H: There will not be any problem but skilled teachers are necessary for that.

A: Please tell me if you have any comments or opinions about CLT.

H: I don't have any opinion as such but skilled teachers are badly in need is the main issue.

A: What is of most significance if CLT is to be applied successfully in the classroom?

H: It is the same response: skilled teacher.

A: Hmm. Which aspect of CLT need to be modified or corrected according to you?

H: What is there to be corrected? There is now new Education Commission for the need of time, government is looking into it, they are bringing changes if necessary.

It is not only for English, in order to keep pace with a modern state, a very modern, contemporary and effective education reform is necessary.

A: Governemnt is talking about reform, but it is not applied to nationwide all schools. Governemnt is trying but it is seen in many cases that it is not implemented correctly in all places in all classrooms in the expected way.

H: Classroom teaching?

A: Yes, classroom teaching according to CLT is not done in the expected way.

H: When we participated in the training, whether Creative or Subject-based, it is said there that 'what you have learnt or got to know here, apply them in the classroom'. But there is one thing to discuss. A teacher can take four five classes a day, whereas I have to take 8 eight classes, we have no energy left in our body to class in that way, particularly the last classes. There are many teachers who are neglecting their responsibilities. I try myself to perform these duties with a noble mind. Guardians have sent their children to us with a trust upon us. In order to do that job with respect, I try to do whatever is necessary to do.

A: Do you have any other opinion?

H: I don't have any other opinion about it.

A: Thanks very much.

School 3

(Original in Bangla. Translation was done by the author)

Name: F

Age: 23

Sex: Male

Education: Mirpur Bangla College (2nd year)

Teacher Training: No

Years of experience: 2 years

A: Mr. Fahim, why have you become an English teacher?

F: Actually it is my long cherished dream to be an English teacher of any kind of institution or school. And Allah has helped me to become an English teacher.

A: How have you become an English teacher?

F: Only for experience. Basically I am a Math teacher. But I am extremely fond of English. For this I am an English teacher.

A: How have you been recruited as an English teacher in this school?

F: My father is related to Akbar Sir, the Principal of this school and he cooperated me to be an English teacher.

A: Did you have to sit for any written test to be an English teacher?

F: No.

A: Ok. Please tell me how you teach CLT in your class?

F: At first, I notice/search the lack of my students from grammatical basis and try to solve their grammatical problems. Then I try to give them hand writing task on it. I try to make them understand that English is never limited to syllabus, it is beyond any syllabus specifications. That is why I try to teach them going beyond the syllabus and try give to them something unexpected.

A: How do you complete syllabus then?

F: At first I find out all grammatical points from the syllabus, then I teach them. When grammar is complete, I take practice classes on those grammatical points.

A: Now discussion is going on about CLT, the textbook is prepared on that ground and each has some objectives with communicative focus. Do you follow those objectives in your teaching?

F: I have my own method, I follow that method first. Then I follow the book.

A: English First part is ... (Cross-talking)

F: At first passage. The whole passage is taught from A to Z, with reading. Then questions from the passage are done such multiple choice, true/false, gap these are taught out of syllabus.

A: Lets now talk about participatory based teaching or child/student-centred approach in your class.

F: Participatory based? (wanted clarification of this term)

A: Can each and every student take part in each of your classroom activity here? You have only girls here, right?

F: No both girls and boys.

A: So how you conduct inclusive education with all students in your class?

F: Inclusive education?

A: Can all equally participate in your class?

F: Yes, all can equally participate.

A: Does it happen that good students are given more attention while others are not?

F: No it does not happen.

A: Do you conduct any group or pair work?

F: Yes, I do that.

A: Can you explain that?

F: Because I get very limited time, only 30 minutes. I cannot cover that completely in 30 minutes. If First part is taken in one day, second part is taken on another day. So I cannot cover that in time. So I have to be very quick.

A: So you don't do pair or group work?

F: No.

A: Ok. You ask questions to all students?

F: Yes.

A: And they also ask you questions?

F: No. They are not such type of students.

A: Don't they ask a single question?

F: Only by one or two brilliant students. The rest have had some lacking from their childhood. They are in 9 or ten, and still I have to teach them voice. Voice is also taught in class seven or eight, they could have learnt in those classes. But I still have to teach that, negative sentences, interrogative sentences. But why? For this reason I have to teach very minute, basic grammar points. Thus I have to fill up the lack at first.

A: What skills do you do in your class? Listening, speaking, reading, writing.

F: No speaking. Only writing.

A: Only writing?

F: Yes, only writing. Speaking hmm.

A: Which skill is given most emphasis.

F: Writing.

A: All those are not equally...

F: Many of them do not understand. We have limitations. While following those limitation, we cannot focus on other skills except hand writing on which we give most emphasis. Our main objective is to make good result. That they should also get some out knowledge, is not possible for us to provide. We don't have that type of students and we don't get that much time either.

A: You have several times mentioned 'out of syllabus' 'not within syllabus', on what aspect or topic you are in fact giving most emphasis?

F: priority is on gap, gap.

A: What gap?

F: Such as in class nine/ten gap with or without gap.

A: Oh, you are talking about gap filling?

F: Yes,

A: Ok.

F: On it I give the most emphasis. Then hand writing. But fill in the gaps is given most emphasis.

A: Why is this so important?

F: Other writing tasks are possible to be done by all students but many of them cannot do gap filing. The most difficult part in English considered by our students is gap. That is why this task is give most pressure.

A: Then speaking is not done at all here.

F: Speaking is very rare type of activities here. It is done once or twice in a month. Anyway speaking comes automatically when we are doing other tasks. But then they have to be understood in Bangla.

A: How do you conduct reading, writing as you have said you do it? Suppose paragraph, how do you make it done by them?

F: In writing, first I start with subject and object, then I deal with other parts of speech like noun, verb, adjective etc. Then I make it Bangla, then with those subject and object, I tell them to make sentence in English. First I tell them the Bangla meaning line by line. Then they are translated into English. They are given homework to write down on any kind of topic, whether it is correct or incorrect. Thus they are made understood. Thus writing is done. Or I may also give them a topic and tell them to write on it about one or two pages.

A: Do you make any discussion on that topic before?

F: Yes, the topic is discussed and then they are told to do it, no matter they can or cannot do it. They are also convinced by telling them that 'failure is the pillar of success'. Thus when they learn the understanding of writing, their handwriting becomes better.

A: You want to mean that there is pre-discussion before any writing task.

F: Yes there is pre-discussion.

A: How do you teach grammar in the class?

F: I start with the easy part first like tag question. Besides problems in very basic and minute grammatical issues like third person singular number where 's' is after verb. I move on to difficult grammatical points from these types of basic and easier points.

A: Do you suggest them to memorise?

F: No. My syllabus is completely out of syllabus. Whether one can do it or not, one may even sit down only but one can never memorise in my class.

A: They practice them rather than memorising.

F: When the easier parts are done, then they are suggested if there is harder part, they can memorise. By practicing and practicing, things happen automatically.

A: When students are engaged in various activities, what is your role?

F: I try to follow them and find out mistakes in their work.

A: Do you use any material other than textbook in the class?

F: Material such as?

A: Any type of teaching aids which can help you in your teaching?

F: I cannot guess anything.

A: You bring anything from outside the class in order to help your students to understand. Is it done?

F: Yes, it is done.

A: Such as.

F: Some topics are used for discussion like 'exam hall'. Besides, many other issues come into our discussion.

A: If you discuss about exam hall, do bring you any picture of exam hall?

F: No.

A: Then teaching aids are not used.

F: No, no.

A: What is your general goal of teaching from your students?

F: My target is A+

(Repetition for confirmation by both A and F)

A: Whether they use English for their communication or not?

F: Basically it does not keep any influence. If they can do gap with grammatical problem solving followed by hand writing, then using English for communication does not keep any influence. By continuing in this way automatically when we come at the end of our programme, it is found that some students are talking to me in English. There comes an automatic talking. It becomes solved.

A: If I give you two alternatives as your general goal, which would you select? i. Using English for communication or ii. Gaining knowledge about English grammar.

F: I would say English communication.

A: Not grammar.

F: No. Because, when a child is born, it first learns communication, then grammar. So I try to follow that example.

A: But in communication, speaking comes first which is not done here.

F: Yes, speaking comes first. It is not done because, I have told, I try to fill the lack that students have. Many students feel boring, which is the main problem, because they are not habituated from their early child life. If I want to change this habit now, time is necessary. When they come to class nine, six months or a year is gone already to do gap filling. In class ten, it is done.

A: It means that you communicate with your class ten students in English?

F: I try to communicate.

A: So you do speaking in the class?

F: Yes, it like 80% out of 100%.

A: 80% speaking.

F: yes.

A: But you told that speaking is not done at all, only grammar is emphasised.

F: I do this speaking, not my students. In class nine, it is in Bangla, but in class ten it (lecture) is done in English. It is me who is speaking this 80%. In my speaking Bangla also comes, That is why, I have deducted 20%.

A: I was actually talking about teaching speaking through, or example, dialogue practice. Writing is different. You told that you give priority in communication, on the other hand you told that grammar is emphasised and speaking is not done. These become contradictory.

F: I have told you all of this keeping class nine in my focus, I have not thought of class ten.

A: I would like to have information about class ten. Please tell me about class ten.

F: Speaking is tried at first in class ten. But it does not become so possible.

A: It does not become so possible?

F: I tell but for them it does not become so possible. They cannot carry on it fully in English.

A: Is any effort made so that it becomes possible for them?

F: Pressure is created for that on them. They are given a lot of hand writing.

A: But speaking is different from hand writing.

F: Speaking comes automatically from handwriting. If they learn handwriting, they will also be able to speak.

A: Speaking skill is different if you notice. If you continue writing throughout your life, speaking will not take place if you don't speak yourself. There will be no tongue movement, no word will come out of mouth. What do you do to conduct speaking?

F: First I tell them to keep an English word whenever they are making a sentence. Then try to make full sentence.

A: Hmm. Do you think that using English as medium of instruction in the class will enhance students' speaking skill?

F: Yes, they will in a way. But our situation is different.

A: How is it different?

F: I told you at the beginning that we do not get that type of students here. If I even speak in English, I have to translate that in Bangla. It is seen that it does not become possible.

A: How do you understand that your students are improving in English?

F: I understand this by marking that they cannot read at all when they come to this school. When they come to the end of the year of class nine or in the beginning of class ten, they can solve grammatical problem, can do hand writing by themselves. Thus I know that they are improving.

A: Don't you take any test?

F: Yes, exams/tests are taken. In the meanwhile, I took an objective examination from them. I gave some objectives questions (multiple choice question) of 40 or 50 marks once in a weeks or in a month.

A: Is there any monthly test?

F: Yes, monthly test is taken under the school's supervision. Tutorial is also included in it.

A: And you also take class test?

F: yes.

A: Let's be back to CLT. What do you understand by CLT?

F: By communicative language I understand communication of a person with another in English.

A: There are two ways of communication. Which do you know is more important for communication language teaching?

F: Speaking.

A: So far I have come to know that speaking is not done in your class, you try to do but it does not become possible. So do you think CLT is being implemented in your class?

F: Implementation? No.

A: But this CLT is being most emphasised both from the Board of Education and Ministry of Education. They are telling repeatedly that speaking should be done in the class. What is your opinion about that?

F: The new batch in class nine is having speaking classes more or less. New method and system have come. Everything has changed. Old batches were taught differently, now in the cases of new batches, English speaking is emphasised.

A: You told that previous batches are different from new batches. Do you think that your teaching is also different from the previous time.

F: Yes, it has become completely different.

A: Please explain how.

F: I did not have that type of experience before. Now when I have experience, speaking skill is increasing in me. I am aware of any type of English lesson. As I have become perfect, my students will also become perfect Insha Allah.

A: Hmm. You have told that previous method is different from the new method. How?

F: I did not have any sheet on the previous method, but I have my own sheet in the new method. I try to follow that in my lesson.

A: How do you think this method is more effective? Or do you think this method effective at all?

F: This method will be more effective.

A: In which matter is it more effective?

F: Basically writing is most emphasised in this method. Now this emphasis on writing is reduced and speaking is given more emphasis. Beforehand writing was given 100% emphasis. Now speaking and writing have 50% - 50% emphasis. Speaking 50%, writing 50%.

A: Do you think this CLT method is more effective in teaching English to your students than before?

F: Now, it is helpful, I am very curious about it. My students are also very eager to know about.

A: Tell me please if this is effective?

F: Yes, effective.

A: Ok. Now tell me how this is more effective?

F: What? Speaking or ..

A: CLT.

F: English has a very high value in the whole world. If a person can speak in English, s/he can adapt her/himself easily in any society. These are made realized to them first, they are made curious or eager about English. When there is curiosity in them, then they are doing English speaking. Then they can develop English speaking skill.

A: How many colleagues do you have here who are teaching English?

F: For class nine and ten, only I am teaching English. But there are other teachers for class six, seven and eight.

A: Do you do any collaborative activities or share among yourselves?

F: No, there is no such types of sharing.

A: How do you solve any problem or exceptional situations, or challenges while teaching?

F: There have been problems, but I have not yet faced any problem in teaching English. I have faced some problems in Math, but not in English.

A: You are now telling about Math. Do you also teach them Math?

F: Math. No, yes. I also teach Math.

A: So you teach both Math and English.

F: yes. Both of them.

A: Ok. Do you think teaching is a type of learning which continues throughout the life.

F: Yes, there is no ending in learning. The more I am moving forward, the more I am learning new methods, new things. I don't know where it ends. Because the more (repeats).

A: What challenges will be there if you want to apply CLT in the classroom with speaking, pair/group work etc.

F: The first problem will be to make them regular. They are not regular. I don't think there can be any challenge because our Principal Sir is very open and free. He tries to help us a lot but doesn't increase the class time. It is the only problem, if I want to do speaking, class time should be increased. This will be the only challenge. My time will have to be increased. But other classes will be hampered.

A: If you take class test, does it create time challenge?

F: We take it during coaching hour.

A: Do you have coaching system?

F: This time is in fact coaching time. From 10 to 11 is coaching. Class time starts after 12.

A: How long will classes continue?

F: From 12 till 3 pm. Each class is for half an hour.

A: So you take class test in coaching separately.

F: Yes. If anybody is absent in coaching, then they give test in the class.

A: Which factors needs to be given most emphasis if you take your classes in CLT?

F: Vocabulary.

A: Then?

F: Translation. What is Bangla meaning of an English sentence and what is the English of a Bangla sentence.

A: Then?

F: Then grammatical.

A: Do you have any suggestion?

F: Suggestion? For whom?

A: What more is necessary to be successful in CLT?

F: They should get family support as the main origin is from family.

A: Have you ever felt/thought that you should bring a change in the way you are teaching.

F: No.

A: What is mostly possible by them in the way you are teaching?

F: Both speaking and hand writing will be clear.

A: But speaking is not done in that way.

F: But new step has been taken about it and not yet implemented. Because this is January month, classes have not started fully. Our implementation will start after the picnic, after 20th January.

A: Please give me your idea about CLT clearly, not about communication.

F: CLT is firstly speaking, then handwriting.

A: And this is not yet implemented in your class?

F: No. As I told you, steps have been taken. Implementation will start after 20th January.

A: So you want to mean that CLT will be fully implemented in your class after 20th January.

F: Yes, 80% speaking, 20% handwriting.

A: It was not like this before?

F: No.

A: Do you have any comments on what we have talked so far?

F: No.

A: That is the end of our interview. Thank you very much.

School 4

Name: K

Age: 35

Sex: Male

Education: MA English

Teacher Training: CPD

Years of experience: 10 years

A: Mr Abul Kashem, we will start our discussion formally by commenting on communicative language teaching. Before we go on to talk about it, I would like to ask you a question about 'how have you become an English teacher?'

K: An English teacher needs to have a certificate of MA. In Bangladesh there is no restricted law for teaching English. Here teachers qualification and government rules BA 4 years (Honours Programme), fourth subject in English or (Degree Programme), MA or Honours. But maximum institutions do not know, do not have qualified English teachers. It is a problem. When I completed my BA, I entered my profession, I mean English teacher. Then I completed my Master Degree. It is ten

years I am teaching English in 10th grade classes. From then I became an English teacher.

A: How are English teachers recruited in government school (since it is a government school)?

K: Government recruitment of English teacher I told before, qualification is needed, Bachelor of Arts, in three years, three subjects or fourth subject in English, or Honours or Master Degree. But government rules are not I want to speak in Bangla now. (The rest of the interview is taken in Bangla. Hereafter author's translation of this interview follows). Actually there is no government rule about it so far in Bangladesh. Government of Bangladesh has not yet introduced any law about what will be qualification to English in 10 grade classes.

A: But did you have to sit for any exam to be recruited as English teacher?

K: Yes.

A: That's what I was asking.

K: Normal qualification BA but skill, if one teacher wants to teach English, he should be perfect in English. There is no qualification factor here.

A: But the English post is advertised in the newspaper and then you have sit down for a test?

K: Yes.

A: Ok.

K: Assistant teacher, not English teacher. Government advertises for the post of assistant teacher, not English teacher. Then teachers' qualification are considered (he means after recruitment) to select who can teach English, Math or other subjects.

A: Who does that decision?

K: Decision maker is the Head Master. According to his certificate,

A: According to teachers' certificate,

K: Yes, according to teachers' certificate, if one teacher's Master's degree is in Mathematics, Chemistry or Physics, he will take science subject. If one has Master's degree in English, he or she will take English subjects. If one has Bangla Degree in honours or Master, He or she will take Bengali classes.

A: If there is not any teacher from English background, then what does the Head teacher do?

K: English background, if one has an English background, then he or she is asked to take English classes.

A: No, what I ask is if there is not any teacher from English background, then who takes English class?

K: It is difficult for institution. Maximum institutions are facing this problem. Our 10 railway government high school, but there is no any teacher who has MA Degree in English. Headmaster has to decide who can teach English in class 10.

A: That's good to know. Please tell me your experience about communicative language teaching. Your whole experience. You can start from anywhere and share your ideas.

K: Actually my communication power is low because there is no environment for communicative language teaching. Classroom situation is very bad. Students are very difficult to teach English in direct method. We have to teach English in

bilingual system. Bengali and English. At first I read the passages or sentences, then I have to translate it into Bengali. Then they can understand what I said in English. Communicative language teaching is better for the students. When I was a student there was no communicative system. I studied GT method, then near about ten years ago, CLT was introduced. It is very essential for students because ours is a poor country. English is a global language . So CLT is very essential. In higher studies, they have to study in English in Honours or post graduate subjects. But GT method provides us the English language customs or vocabulary or poems literary terms. CLT means to make students perfect to communicate with others. We need only communication . If one makes a very brilliant result, but if one cannot communicate very well, he/she does not get good job. So communicative language is very essential.

A: You told that you yourself learnt English in GT method, and you are now teaching in CLT method. Do you find any challenge in teaching CLT?

K: Communicative language teaching and GT method, I got some challenges that if I want to provide communicative language method to the students, I myself have to have fluency in English. But our problem is that we have no so much opportunity to communicate with other, students or teachers or family levels. So it is very much challenging to teach CLT.

A: We will talk about challenge in CLT again, but can we now talk about participatory based teaching where each student inside the classroom get chance to participate in each task?

K: Participatory method is very important for CLT in English. Before we taught students with GT method or lecture method. But when I took the training in CPD, I have tried myself to introduce participatory method in classroom situation. It's very helpful for the students. And here lecturer is very short and students can participate to short Question-answer very well. They share various subjects in English in classroom situation and they also become perfect for skilled communication.

A: Do you use any pair work or group work inside the classroom?

K: It is very difficult for Bangladesh. We want to make arrangement for pair work, from then CPD training I took in maximum classes or give them task in pairs. It is very helpful for the students. But it is very difficult for Bangladesh pupil I told you before because in a class (45 minute) with more than 100 or 80 students, so pair work or group work is very difficult for the classroom situation. Students, when I want to group, make the classroom noisy. Headmaster rushes to the classroom to see what happened. He is harsh, it is very confusing and embarrassing to us.

A: How do you teach different skills like listening, speaking, reading, writing, grammar, vocabulary in your class? How do you teach?

K: Vocabulary I teach the students, I use sometimes flashcard. At first I write the vocabulary card, I show the students what is this. This is, students will say, 'mango'. Then I take a flashcard and ask them what is this, they will say 'pneumonia'. If they can say the meaning, it is good, but if they cannot do, I will say the perfect meaning in Bangla. This is the system of vocabulary class. Then, then...

A: What about speaking, listening , writing?

K: Speaking, listening. Our 'English for Today' for Class 9 and 10 is designed for four skills. But it is very difficult to make (main day) the four skills. Maximum schools and colleges do not follow the systems. Because their view and students view is to pass the exam. There is not any mark for listening, speaking and reading.

A: You mean listening and speaking, right?

K: Listening, speaking and reading.

A: There is also mark in reading.

K: There is no mark.

A: Ok.

K: Only for writing. So in Bangladesh, they are deprived from three skills. They can write well, because through the year they learn only how to write, how to secure good marks. Speaking, listening and reading is passive there. It's the drawback of learning language in Bangladesh. Maximum colleges and schools.

A: How about you and your school?

K: I try. From the training of CPD, I try to introduce the system, but maximum time it is not possible for me. Speaking skills and listening skills, I try to teach themselves, the students. At first I tell my students to open their books. Then I tell the students to read loudly, then ask short q/a. And I advise them to listen BBC or English news, English movies to increase their vocabulary, listening or speaking power. I encourage them themselves but they are very poor. My school is very poor level school. They are low level railway employees' son and daughter. They are fully weak in English. They wish to receive lecture fully in Bangla. In this situation my speaking skill is decreasing day by day.

A: But this is still a government school, right?

K: Yes.

A: Government schools are better than private or most of the non-government schools. So why do you think this school, still being a government school, should be weak.

K: It's weak for low level students but our teachers are qualified. Students are low level. Our neighbours, some famous school Motijheel Government, Ideal School & College, Motijheel Model School, they attract the students, they collect bright students. When a student cannot get admitted himself or herself in a better school, he or she gets admitted in my school. Thus we get them.

A: Ok. Let's come back to our topic teaching skills. How do you teach grammar?

K: Grammar teaching. When I was a student, our teacher taught us grammar lecture-based method. At first they taught us definition, then they gave us some example. But from the communicative system when I got CPD training, from then I changed my view to teach grammar. At first I write some examples on the blackboard, then I ask students, they look at the sentences at the blackboard, they read it. And from these examples I come to the conclusion that what is the conclusion. My classroom situation also direct method. I try myself to teach in English, not Bengali. Grammar at first I give some examples, then definition and classification. Thus grammar is taught to my students.

A: As your teaching goal in general, what do you expect your students to do, of course in relation to English? What do you expect your students to be able to do?

K: From my institution?

A: Ya, ya. Only from you, your institution and your profession .

K: My school students are weak in English, I told you before. So they fall back from the race of the competition. I expect that if my students follow the class, they will do better in future but by merit. All students' merit is equal I believe but environment and classroom situation make various students. I expect they will do better in future.

A: Ok. what do you think? Will they use English in communication or will they be expert in English grammar?

K: They will be expert in communicative skill. In communicative English grammar is necessary. But problem is in writing skill, grammar is needed. But communicative English does not mean grammar.

A: Do you believe using English as language of instruction in the classroom helps in achieving your goal?

K: I believe 50 or 60 not 100% because the students are weak and maximum time out of 365 days we get only 150 or 160 classes. So in short time we cannot be able to give them better or perfect teaching. They are deprived in this situation. But if a student or guardian has enough money and he or she will teach the student, his son or daughter to a private tutor, private institution and they cover their tasks.

A: Do you think it is very good idea or it is very essential to learn to send children to private institution?

K: If a student comes to school regularly, he or she does not need any private tutor or private institution or coaching centre. But our students' guardians' bad mania or bad thinking, it's not good thinking, they think that if 'I send my son or daughter to many teachers, he or she will get GPA 5 or Golden A.' But it is a bad thinking. If a student regularly comes to school, he or she will do better in terminal exam.

A: Sure, you told me that you use both Bangla and English inside the classroom, but do you think if you use only English in the class, it will help students to use communicative English?

K: Yes. Direct method. If I teach English in English, it will make students perfect, because when I teach students in bilingual system, it will go curve way or not right way. Direct method, suppose school, its Bengali meaning is 'bidyalaya'. When students learn the meaning of school 'bidyalaya' the same time when a student listens school it will translate it in Bengali and will not come in English. So it will not be in direct way. It will come in passive way. So English classes should be arranged in direct method, English to English. It will be the perfect for students but they cannot understand the thing. It's their problem.

A: Then what do you do if they don't understand?

K: I encourage the students or divert their views on myself that if you want to learn or communicate with others in English, you have to learn the meaning English to English, not Bengali. If you learn Bengali meaning, it will come in passive way. It takes sometime to learn something. But if you learn the meaning English to English, it will come instantly. I encourage thus.

A: How do you know if your students are improving in English skills?

K: Yes, the system they are improving their English speaking or writing and reading? If a teacher...

A: How do you know it?

K: I prove it. I prove it. When I join the school, I found the students very poor. But communicative system is introduced in the classroom situation, they are accustomed to the situation. Now I am teaching communicative English through direct method in class eight. They are accustomed to the situation now class eight, nine and ten. But class seven and six, they cannot understand the direct method.

A: So communicative language teaching, you think, is helping them to speak and write more.

K: Yes, communicative language teaching is helping them a lot because we are Bangladeshi or Bangalees. We cannot or want to be a scholar in English. Our view is to communicate to others. What I know CLT is helping them.

A: So do you follow any collaborative learning?

K: Collaborative learning...

A: Collaborative learning, you know, you share your ideas, experience or observation with your colleagues or you observe the classroom situation of your colleagues, or you write diaries. Do you that? How do you follow collaborative learning?

K: Collaborative learning is not prevailing in this school. My ideas, views. Sometimes I share my opinions with other English teachers. But it is very low.

A: But don't you think it is very helpful if teachers share their ideas and views to improve their..

K: Yes, it's very essential for us. In our training sessions, they told us many times to share our views with our colleagues. But many schools have no subject teachers. They run their schools with English teachers with background till intermediate or normal degree. They (these teachers) are very poor in English. So sharing ideas or views is very helpful. I try to share with my colleagues what I know and they share with me what they know.

A: Do you think teaching is an art which can improve till the end of your life?

K: Teaching is an art. It's really true. A teacher has to be an actor to teach English or other subjects in a classroom. Item should be taught through acting. If he does not do, students will not concentrate their minds in the classroom, they will look to and fro, make noise, gossip to side students etc. And so.

A: You told about challenges. Now thinking in general the way you teach English do you face any challenges in covering the syllabus in communicative language teaching, participatory based teaching or pair work or group work or if you take too many class test? So how do you overcome any challenge if you face?

K: I face many challenges to teach English, because our time dimension is three. First Terminal, Second Terminal and Final. I told you before the working day is very short. Our class nine and ten 'English for Today' book is designed for listening, reading, writing and speaking. But maximum teachers teach the chapters that are important for examination. But listening and speaking based chapters are ignored to teach. So it is very challenging for me to teach 'English for Today' because I want to teach all chapters but my working days are very short. Or when I want to teach unimportant listening or reading based chapters, the students tell me 'Sir it is not important'. It is also the drawback of learning communicative English.

A: You have actually commented on CLT. So what are the important factors for a teacher to be a successful CLT teacher?

K: At first a teacher should have communicative competence, fluency in English. It is very important in teaching CLT. Most of the teachers are weak in communicative skills. They do not get opportunities to communicate so when they finish MA or Honours degree, they enter institutions, they don't get opportunity or environment to communicate in English situation. So they are weak in communicative English. In this way students are getting low service from them.

A: Which aspects of CLT should be modified you think?

K: Communicative system is very useful. But I want to say some important things. But it will go against government.

A: No problem.

K: It is very embarrassing for me.

A: You can tell. It does not matter. I have assured your confidentiality in this regard.

K: Thank you. Bangladesh is an independent country. Before achieving independence, Bangladesh's official language was English. But when Bangladesh got independent, from then the official language became Bengali. In 1987, by the verdict of the High Court. From then in office or house, in all other environment, people could not use or speak English. Their son and daughter did not get any English speaking environment. From then they became weaker and weaker in English. Our neighbouring country India, their official language is English and Hindi. If our official language were English, students of Bangladesh would be more assertive learning or speaking in English. They can get English environment. Now they cannot get the environment of English. So they are weak in speaking or listening.

A: So how do you think making the official language will create better environment in English? How?

K: I believe it because those who work in office will communicate in English. When they come back home, they will communicate 50%, 20% or 30% in English. But now they cannot do. Now they use Bengali in office, when they come back home, they still use Bangla.

A: Thank you very much. That is all of our interview.

School 5

Name: G

Age: 42

Sex: Male

Education: BA, MA(English), M.Ed, PhD

Teacher Training: ELTIP, TQI Years of experience: 12 years

A: Mr. G, why have you become an English teacher?

G: Actually, I had a desire to be a teacher but my desire was to be a university teacher or a college teacher but unfortunately the socio-economical condition of the country or for having my some problems, I mean family problems, I had to become interested to get a good job specially a government job. So from then... then I became a teacher. As I was a student of English Honours Course, so I thought that if I could be an English teacher, I would contribute, at least something, to our

education sector. And I think my country, or my society or my education sector will be or may be benefitted by me.

A: How are English teachers recruited in government schools?

G: Actually in government schools, not only English teachers, but all teachers are recruited by recruiting committee formed by govt. And for recruiting teachers in government schools, all government facilities, not facilities actually procedures are strictly maintained and actually according to merit as far I know meritorious students are always preferred to recruit as a teacher.

A: Please tell me your experience about communicative language teaching.

G: Experience, communicative English, actually for teaching or learning communicative skills actually it is seen only in thesis paper. Practically I mean 5% of the experience or gather knowledge from training is not applied in the classroom. According to my opinion communicative language teaching has a different characteristic, that is the process or the method should be in such a way that a student always feel comfort in the class to learn a language subconsciously and he or she always feels interest to learn a language but from my 12 years experience in my teaching life I have seen we cannot apply communicative method in the classroom perfectly or effectively. Because I think there is a problem, that is most of the students of our country even the guardians jointly interested to make a only good result. Most of the guardians or students think that they have to or they must learn English to pass the exam, not for the practical life, I think. So students are not actually very much interested to learn something in the communicative way. They want to learn the way in which they would get good marks in the exam or they will make good results in the exam. So actually by applying the communicative approach in the classroom, 100% success is not achieved. Actually It is my own opinion.

A: What do you think, how communicative language teaching is different from you know GT method in your own practical teaching? How do you make difference between these two?

G: Actually, communicative skills (teacher's mobile rings)sorry. There is a far difference between communicative approach and GT method. In GT method, most of the students learn the rules of grammar by memorising, on the other hand in communicative approach or communicative method students can learn grammar unconsciously or by using practical knowledge and I think it is easier than the GT method to learn grammar in fact if his/her teacher is experienced in teaching the method.

A: Can we now talk about participatory based teaching or child/student-centered approach in the classroom?

G: Yes, participatory method, actually this is the best way. In ELT training or in TQI training, actually teachers are requested to encourage the students in the classroom to participate in his teaching. Actually participatory based teaching is very much effective if the teacher make the students interested in his or her activities.

A: How about pair and group work in the classroom?

G: Actually in most of the selected schools,

A: I want to talk about your school.

G: But in our school, there is a provision that is pair work or group work because we are giving marks on SBA (School Based Assessment.) As we are introducing or we have introduced sba system, So we have to maintain or make the students do this activity but in this case, actually it is done only for showing the authority not for s interest of the teachers oh sorry not for the interest of the students. It is done only for the satisfaction of the authority, not for the interest of the students.

A: How do you teach different skills in the classroom, different skills like speaking, listening, reading, writing, grammar, vocabulary everything? How do you teach them?

G: Actually we are to teach different activities in the classroom that is listening skill, speaking skill, reading or writing. Actually everything is done basing our text. We try to do the activity according to our text, text and lesson, in short demand to our unit or lesson. Some lessons are emphasised for writing skill, some lessons are emphasised for speaking skill, or some are given for reading skill. Again some lessons are given for listening, speaking and reading or a combination of 2 or 3 skills together. In that case we try to follow the text. As far as I know, the most of the secondary schools in Bangladesh do not follow the method.

A: As your teaching goal in general, what do you expect from students to do in English?

G: Very good question. That is, As I am an English teacher specially of a government institution, I think, this institution is not the first or last institution of my life, sometime or any time I may have to go to another institution.

A: DO you want your student to use English in their practical life or do you want them to be expert in grammar? What do you expect?

G: Actually in general I expect that my students should learn English language both for his exam and his next practical life. This is my expectation.

A: Do you believe that using English as medium of instruction in the classroom helps them to improve their own English skill?

G: Ha sure. Must. Of course. If the teachers are well trained, well expert and well wishers, otherwise not. I think, the text or in short the teaching materials that present materials can do better if we apply them effectively in the classroom. I think all methods are good. Method may be better or best but no method is useless. Actually in the classroom, specially in English class, most of the teachers do not follow any scientific method. He or she can teach his own method. Whenever he likes in this way. This is the 8fact.

A: Why do you think this is happening?

G: This is happening because, I mean there are to reasons in my opinion, one lack of supervision by the head of the institution. I mean most of the heads of the institutions are not actually able to understand the importance of learning a second language. So sometimes, they cannot be impartial as I have experienced of teaching in school or college level. There is far difference of mentality of the head of a college and of a school. So supervision is a main factor to improve or materialize any system. But there is, in school level, there is no supervision. Actually the Head of the institution have no ability or in expert or disqualified to supervise. Number 2 private tuition is the main barrier of teaching English in the classroom effectively because most of the teachers think that if they teach in the class properly or

effectively, then students will not come to him. So I don't like to mention the particular name, actually in general, most of the teachers think that. So this is the main barrier.

A: So what is your opinion about implementation CLT inside the classroom. Do you think students can improve if this method is applied?

G: first of all, yes, if the present method is applied properly in the classroom, they must improve. But who will implement it?

A: What is your own idea about your own implementation inside the classroom? Do you think you are applying it?

G: Yes, I think at first the government must be strict anyway for the greater interest of the country or for the greater interest of our next generation, first of all anyway private tuition strictly prohibited outside the classroom. Not only private tuition from the teachers of various institution, but also all types of tuition, I mean coaching must be stopped. If the government want to use thousand crores of taka or money for the expenditure of our education. Secondly, the Head of the institution, I mean my own suggestion, at first all the heads of the institutions have to be under training programme, specific on teaching English language. They will not take classes but they will understand the importance of learning or teaching English. If she or he has any idea about the method, he will be able to supervise.

A: Well, as you said, students will definitely improve if CLT is applied, how do you know if your students are also improving?

G: Yes?

A: How do you know that your students are improving after implementing communicative language teaching in the classroom?

G: I mean in present situation?

A: In your classroom, yes.

G: Actually you cannot catch or maintain standard by observing one or two schools in Dhaka city, you have to consider overall Bangladesh. Here I would like to say that actually most of the students of this school by born they are very good, by born they are meritorious. So they are always interested to learn something new. As in our school all of our English teachers are expert. They try to make students to be interested to learn something.

A: Are your students able to speak and write free hand in English?

G: Yes, most of the students.

A: Most of the students, ok. And this is due to the inborn merit as you said that they by born meritorious.

G: Most of the students are meritorious. I think this is the main factor, this is the main factor. Actually, there is no credit of our teachers. This is my own opinion.

A: Obviously, you are giving your own opinion. No problem. Just continue.

G: This is my opinion that this credit is not ours.

A: Do you follow any collaborative learning with your other teachers, colleagues?

G: No actually this system is not followed here.

A: So you don't share your ideas, experience with your colleagues, no

G: Sometimes.

A: So do you follow any challenges while practicing CLT inside the classroom³⁴?

School 6

Name: O

Age: 30+

Sex: Male

Education: BA English MA(English)

Teacher Training: ELTIP, Orientation(In-Service),

Research Methodology Malaysia

Years of experience:5 years

A: Mr O, can you please tell me reason for being an English teacher, first of all?

O: Actually it was not my first choice. It was my second choice. As I could not avail myself of the first choice, then I became an English teacher.

A: What are the job requirements to be an English teacher at RAZUK?

O: Any candidate having Honour's and Master's degree with good result can apply for the post of lecturer.

A: From any discipline or from English?

O: From English. Then there is a process of recruitment here. If a candidate can qualify at different phases or stages of the process, then he can be finally selected.

A: Can you explain me the phases or stages?

O: Process includes first written test, then viva voce, lastly he will have to demonstrate in the class, if he is suitable, then he will be teacher at RAZUK college.

A: As I see that you have five years of teaching experience, which means you started career as communicative English teacher/communicative language teacher. But I hope you have the experience of learning English in your own case with GT method. So how do you differentiate and what is your experience of teaching communicative language teaching while you yourself have been educated from GT method? So how do you explain that?

O: Actually, at first I found that it is difficult, but in fact if you try you can implement it to some extent. Yes, I learnt English through GT method and even still now teachers and students get to learn through that method. In fact it should start after birth that is if a child goes to school, then this method should be implemented, not from class six, seven or eight, it should start from class one.

A: Don't you think it would be more challenging because, you know, as...?

O: Yes, it must be more challenging, tougher. But if we can start from that level and one day those children will be teachers and they will feel no difficulty, I think. But though I teach in this method (CLT), sometimes, unconsciously I do take resort to that method (GT).

A: But what do you think, if children from so early stages of their education starts English learning with so emphasis, their mother tongue will be at stake?

O: Yes,

A: It will be disturbed.

O: I never think so because we should put emphasis equally on our mother tongue and English. Think it is our attitude how we take it.

³⁴ Recording from here for this interview was later found unrecorded due to memory card being finished.

A: We have a clear conflict in Bangladesh, you know, since we have a conflicting history of language movement in our country. So though it is very contradictory in our country at the present context, but it will be in fact, you know, an outraging step to put equal emphasis on both Bangla and English because the so called patriotic people will not agree. So how will you combine?

O: That is another thing but we cannot keep ourselves out of the flow. Even the people of Malaysia did not want to learn English but it is now their official language. And it's fact, it's fact.

A: And how are they accommodating their mother tongue with English?

O: Yes, no problem.

A: Mother tongue is being used.

O: People are using English at the same time they are their mother tongue.

A: Can we now talk about participatory based teaching or student-centred approach in your class?

O: Yes, I think. Students will talk more than teacher, I will just observe, monitor, supervise and if they need any help, then I will play the role of a facilitator.

A: But it happens that only a few of the students are more motivated in the class and more courageous, you know they are self courageous to initiate in the class and most other students are not. So in that sense, those students who are not self motivated, how do you ensure that they are also participating in the classroom activities?

O: It is difficult to ensure, but if we try, we can.

A: How? Can you explain that?

O: We can make them participate if we have proper time for that.

A: By asking question or how?

O: Yes, by asking question or by giving them writing task, we can.

A: How about pair work or group work inside the class?

O: Yes, it is difficult to arrange pair work or group work but we do it. It is possible

A: I have also read that from the training manual, if you tell your students from the front benches to turn around and face students of back benches, then they can form pairs. Is it possible in your case also?

O: But I didn't adopt that method, but it is possible. It's possible. We can make pairs in different ways, as I think comfortable.

A: How do you teach different skills in your class, you know different skills?

O: Four skills?

A: Four skills together with vocabulary, grammar. How do you teach them? Which skill is getting more priority?

O: Actually as our exam system is defective, basically we emphasise writing skills. And it is necessary for their practical life, because students must get very good, it is our target that they will have to get very good grades in the exam. For this reason in the exam only written test is taken, it is given priority.

A: As I have heard from other institutes or as there is a system of school-based assessment, if there is any assignment or homework. So if there is a system of school based assessment don't you think this mark should be given upon their more practical communication or more listening or speaking based activities?

O: Actually speaking skill is not, is sometimes practiced; only just asking something, not more than this. I think other skills can be practiced if we have much time. It is very difficult if we don't have time. We have very short stipulated time to finish the syllabus in time. It is possible, I think it is possible.

A: How do you teach grammar in English class?

O: Sometimes we practice English grammar in communicative English but we practice it in English Second Paper, not in English first paper.

A: Ok.

O: But it is full of English grammar, the book is full of English grammar. If we look at the syllabus or the text, we will find useful elements, practical useful grammar. But we do not practice it in first paper as grammar is not included in the exam in English first paper.

A: But in English Second Paper you do it.

O: Yes. different class, English 2nd paper.

A: If we talk about English 2 which is basically used for teaching English grammar.

O: Yes.

A: So how is grammar taught there? I don't know if teach that, you obviously do that. So how do you teach grammar in that class?

O: Earlier, I told you that our exam system is defective. We must have to get very good mark in the exam. This is our main target to be frankly. So we practice not from our reality, just we practice from the books and sometimes we use examples from reality in our real life.

A: I was actually asking you about teaching grammar in English 2. Is that explicit?

O: Yes, it is grammar translation method.

A: So you want to say that English Second Paper, which is used for grammar teaching, is completely done by GT method.

O: Yes, completely. Sometimes we can, we do it. But in 90% cases we are teaching in GT method and the syllabus is done in this way. Syllabus is also done.

A: So CLT is restricted English first part only?

O: Yes.

A: Is it instructed by the Ministry of Education or what? Or the training that you have got has said that the CLT is only restricted in English first part?

O: Yes. Basically it is for 'English for Today' but if sometimes the teacher is learnt enough then he can implement it in English Second paper.

A: As a teaching goal in general, what do you expect from your students in general English?

O: At first I hope that they will be expert, skilled in English in four skills. Unfortunately I never find it. Few students have equal skills. But most of the students have very good skills in writing but not in other skills.

A: So what is your view of using English as medium of instruction in teaching English? Does it help?

O: It is good. If the order is passed or the instruction is that we will use English in all levels, then we have duty, moral duty, the compulsion for us to do all things in English. Otherwise it will not do.

A: So how do you know if your students are improving in their skills in English?

O: Actually exam is the only way, not more than this. But those who are good, we can identify.

A: How do you identify?

O: They participate in the class, they talk more. In this way we can identify.

A: What about class test?

O: Class test, yes. We take.

A: Do you find any progress report that students are improving?

O: No specific report but different exams show that students are improving, class test, monthly test, weekly test then terminal exams. These are the evidences of their improvement.

A: Now I can understand that you have teaching experience both in CLT and GT method. So what is your view? How can students adapt to techniques of CLT inside the classroom? Are they enough to cope up with all types of communicative tasks?

O: Yes, they are very sharp, meritorious. Just if we want to apply we can. But because of some reasons, practical reasons, may be, it is difficult.

A: Can you explain those practical reasons?

O: Yes. We have to finish syllabus on time, we have few classes. Basically in our schools, we have two shifts, so we cannot do all activities properly.

A: So time restriction is a great problem here?

O: It's a big problem.

A: How effective is this method in improving students proficiency in English?

O: Effective, no doubt. The purpose is good. But we can partially implement it.

A: So do you follow any collaborative learning in teaching English?

O: What do you mean?

A: You share your ideas, experience, problems or difficulties with your colleagues so that you learn something or you may even observe the class of your colleagues so that you may see how it works.

O: Yes, yes. We can do it.

A: Do you do it or?

O: At the beginning my job, I observed different classes of the senior faculty members. Even if I have any problem, I discuss it with my colleagues in the department.

A: So tell me about challenges, you have already given some ideas about it, that you might have encountered in teaching CLT.

A: You were talking about large number of students. So what should be standard number of students in a class in your view?

O: If number of classes is increased and then we have time, then we can, 40 students in a class. But if we have 50, 70 or 80 students in the class, then each and every student cannot participate. It is difficult.

A: So what do you think are the most important factors to be a successful communicative language teacher?

O: There are many things that are related to this. First we are to arrange the environment. For communicative English we must have environment i.e. language lab, classroom accommodation, time, good trained teacher. These are very necessary.

A: So what aspects of CLT, if you think, should be modified?

O: Nothing should be modified I think. The things which are existed, which exist, can be implemented. AS we can implement only part of the policy, then how can we say that this should be modified.

A: Or what about the exam system, as you have already given me an idea that listening and speaking are not assessed, so what do think about it.

O: I think it should be included. If we want to implement it properly 100%, it is very much necessary to assess the listening skill and speaking skill.

A: In a way of viva voce perhaps,

O: Yes

A: Students should attend. How about pictures in the text? What are the use of these pictures in the text? Are they helpful.

O: Yes, we use and this increases the power of imagination. It's necessary. But the pictures should be big and clear. The pictures which are book are vague, unclear, obscure.

A: It is in black and white.

O: Yes, black and white. Sometimes we cannot understand what it means actually.

A: What is your idea about including pictures in the question paper? Do you think it would be a good idea? Is it necessary?

O: I have not thought of it. But at this level, I don't think it is very necessary because other things will not be implemented? Why do we need to be so much busy with pictures when the basic things we can't apply?

A: Ok, thank you very much Mr. Ibrahim Oliullah. This will help me a lot.

O: Ok, thank you very much.

School 7

Name: S

Age: 40

Sex: Male

Education: MA English

Teacher Training: TQI

Years of experience: 20 years

A: First of all, I'd like to know how you have become an English teacher.

S: Yes, yes. I have become an English teacher because I want to educate my students, to make them strong in English, English is an international language. If students of all schools of our country are able to communicate with foreign country, they will be able to be better in everywhere in any places.

A: So how were you recruited as English teacher?

S: I had to complete my Master Degree in English from a university. Then I had to face an interview and I got the service from them.

A: Did you have to appear any competitive test?

S: Yes, yes. 3 tests I have to face. Written, viva and demonstrative.

A: Please tell me your experience about communicative language teaching.

S: Communicative language teaching I think it's very fine process to develop any students in communication. If they have some problem in..... In traditional system, students did not get chance to express themselves. They were fixed in grammar portion only. But in this portion, they are getting chance to communicate, its freely, they don't care the rules and processes of English grammar. So they are communicating. So it's a good process to communicate very easily though they are not able to know better English grammar but they are communicating.

A: How is this making a difference from grammar translation method?

S: I think grammar is very necessary to make students fit in this regard, but sometimes they can avoid English grammar if they know how to communicate, how to speak. They can learn from television, radio or some English speaker, they can develop themselves. But English grammar is very necessary to learn as a Bangladeshi student, they should know English grammar.

A: You have already mentioned two points of differences from communicative language teaching from grammar translation method, do you think you have something to add more as methodological differences between CLT and GT?

S: Yes, yes, in communicative system, I need to add something here, to give some rules how to communicate, speak or dialogues. Dialogue systems, these books are mostly written in dialogue systems, no doubt but some rules, we need some rules and students were habituated in traditional system, so in this condition they are not communicating with teachers to speak fluently, they (teachers) have to push, they have to create pressure on them to speak.

A: Did you have to face any challenge when you were beginning to implement CLT? You can see CLT is a clear methodological shift from GT method. So what challenges did you face?

S: Yes, yes, sometimes, sometimes I faced a great problem. When I started speaking in English to clear the concept of the topic, sometimes, eh, sometimes they hesitate, *what my teacher is telling us?* Sometimes they request me to speak in Bengali, but I didn't support them. Sometimes I use Bengali words there, but first I request them not to use any Bengali words in the class. *This is an English class, so every student will participate in English and speak English.* But sometimes, they face some problems, because they are not habituated at residence may be, outside the school or the classroom, with friends they don't communicate by using this language (English). Sometimes

A: You told about some problems that students have faced. What are these problems? Can you give some examples that students have faced?

S: Yes, eh, yes, I am telling about the story. But sometimes I want to give the meaning of some words and extra meanings, they want to give its Bengali meaning, not English to English. They don't want to turn this words into English to English, they want to turn it into Bengali.

A: Ok. How did you overcome this problem?

S: Yes, yes, overcome this problem. After hearing this Bengali meaning, I have to add its English meaning to it.

A: Can we now talk about participatory based teaching or child-centred approach, you know in the classroom, how do you ensure it?

S: Yes, yes, participation. If every student participates in discussion, the teacher will feel very pleasure and he will feel extra pleasure, because his all students are participating hear in the topic. I think every student should participate.

A: How do you ensure that?

S: I do ensure that. Sometimes I, from every corner, I am asking the question, *please stand up, stand up, what is he saying? Is it correct? What do you want to tell/answer this question? Do you support his answer? If not, why?*

A: Do you use any pair/group work in the class?

S: Yes, yes, you have seen already.

A: How do you manage if the class size is very big?

S: eh, there are large number of students in my class, 70 up students. It is not manageable for us to take the class by making groups or pairs. I must try my level best. I have got training from NAEM TQI. If the students are fixed 40 or above 40, it is possible for us to make it good. (6:23)

A: So, so, do you mean that training from NAEM or training on CLT helped you?

S: Yes, yes helped you (me). There is... (incomplete). We are not getting the opportunities. The class system, our class is not big enough, benches and chairs are arranged like classroom. Students have to move to make a group. So they have to change seats, at this moment they are making disturbs in the class, they are making noise in the class. (cross talking). The system will be changed.

A: Exactly. How do you teach different skills inside the classroom?

S: Inside the classroom.

A: How do you teach different skills like, you know, speaking, listening, reading & writing?

S: Sometimes I change my discussions. I change my topics and linking with the topics side by side, I turn to another story, and if he knows the story, previous matters, I ask him to tell me something. A travelling suppose, Have you ever gone to Singapore? Or Cox's Bazar? 'Yes Sir', replying 'yes sir', 'please tell something about your journey, five lines about your journey'. Then he is telling us.

A: Hm. That's very good. Are all skills equally emphasised or do you prioritise any skill?

S: Prioritise any skill. In my English classes as an English teacher I am giving priority or giving emphasis to speaking in these particular classes. But as Bangladeshi people, I give priority to Bengali, no doubt, but at the same time they will learn English

A: Ok. How do you teach writing? Say do you follow prewriting before giving any writing topic?

S: No,no, no. First I discuss the topic,

A: pre-discussion right?

S: Then I give them some questions to write the answers. When I make a group or pairs of students, first I clear the topics, then I make a group and give them five or three questions, or grammatical points. Then they try to answer, write. (Cross-talking). Some students are helping them. They are getting chance to share themselves, exchange their views and ideas among themselves. Then they are able to write. Before no, before discussing, telling them anything, I shall not ask them to write.

A: Ok. And this writing can be essay or paragraph?

S: essay or paragraph, short questions.

A: Ok. How do you teach grammar in your class? Is it explicit or ...

S: No, no. Specific we have grammar classes. But in my first period, first period, I mean, English first paper or text book, when I am reading the text paper or some students are reading, so sometimes I am asking the question 'what type of pattern it is? It is gerund, it is passive form or it is tense? What type of tense is it? Yes, that is all. No that I am specifically I am asking them the grammar points. But in the

specific classes on grammar, I am on that part (indicating teaching of grammar specifically).

A: You said that you have also grammar period, right?

S: Yes, two parts.

A: English Second Paper. Are English grammar explicitly taught in that class or what? How is that class taken?

S: How? What the question please?

A: I mean is English grammar explicitly taught, I mean very clearly taught in that period. How is grammar taught in that period?

S: Yes, yes, yes, yes, yes. I want to say, I would like to say you 'narration'

A: Give me some idea about, ok.

S: Ya, narration. I am giving it in some para. They are changing, after changing, I want to listen to them. Then one student will stand up and read out the answer. If it is correct or not, another student will stand up and give the correct answer.

A: This gives chance to all students

S: Yes, after hearing all the corrections, I give the rigid corrections. This is very necessary for them.

A: Ok. So so I mean, CLT is done mostly in first paper, right?

S: Yes, yes.

A: ok. Ok.

S: In first paper, in first paper, in any topic Pohela Boishakh, May Day

A: Independence Day

S: There are grammatical rules (cross-talking)

A: But These are done in communicative way.

S: I am trying to find out the process of procedure. What types of patterns are being used here? They are communicative.

A: Exactly. Can we say then that English Second Paper is done traditional GT way?

S: Ya. Grammar, traditionally. Yes, you can say.

A: Ok. Ok. Oh, then...

S: They are based on traditional grammar. They can do better in first part or free hand writing. If they don't know the words or changing of the words, change of the tense, narration or passive rules, if they don't know they will not be able to write freely. So I think they should get some ideas about grammar.

A: Ok. That can be done...

S: When they will read the passage, when they are going to the topics, at a time the teacher should ask him questions, as am doing here, 'what is hear, what is that'. What type of sentence is this? Tense is this? Is it passive? Can you change it in your own language (words)? Please tell me something.

A: Ok. And this is mostly in traditional way, right?

S: Yes.

A: Ok. So as your teaching goal in general, what do you want or expect your students to do in English? your expectations from your students.

S: My expectation is very high from them because all the students are very meritorious and intelligent here. If you give them some ideas or clues, on that ideas or clues, they are able to develop them. So it is very easy for this institution,

students are very conscious, are aware, are alert to do better. So teachers, English teachers are not facing any problem to teach them.

A: Ok. So if I give you two clear options or alternatives about your goals from students' performance i. Do you want them to use English in communication or ii. Do you want them to achieve knowledge in English grammar.

S: Both.

A: Both. Ha. Ha....Ok, so how do you then make a compromise between these two?

S: As a Bangladeshi student, if they don't know grammar, how will they use words in a particular way?

A: ok.

S: Yes, they are reading newspaper, they are reading magazines, they are watching television, hearing songs, but they don't know the use of the words. If they know the grammar and at the same time if they know the sentence pattern, then they should read how these words are arranged here.

A: Do you believe using English as a language of instruction helps them to develop their own language skills?

S: Yes.

A: Say your language of instruction, as I have seen is English, occasionally you are using some meanings of words but mostly all the time (cross-talking)

S: yes sir, I am always giving them instructions to know some various types of words, their changes and interchange of parts of speech and their various usages. Yes I can cite an example, 'I can't manage it' which can be changed into 'It is not manageable'.

A: So you think using English as a language of instruction helps them to develop their own language skills, right?

S: Yes, Yes.

A: ok. So how do you know if your students are improving in their English skills?

S: First, I am... their vocabulary must be strong. They have to know various types words and their usages.

A: How do you know that they are improving?

S: Yes, They are improving, they are reading topics, various types of words and their usages in first paper/text book. They should follow. If they follow the English first paper, they can improve dialogues and any problems. There are various topics which are very much linked to our day to day life. So they can improve.

A: How effective is this CLT method to improve students' overall proficiency in English?

S: First man naturally wants to communicate. 'How are you? I am fine'. Here we don't need to know grammar. Easily he can tell 'I am well. Yes I am well. Ok. Thank you very much'. This type of word they are using. Here they have no need to know grammar. Here communicative is enough. Sorry communication is enough.

A: Do you think this method is ok for building the... (cross-talking)

S: Ok for building the, for improving their English, for know better English. Grammar and this system will go hand in hand. As a Bangladeshi student I am telling you.

A:Ok. So you think that since the implementation of CLT, students are doing better in English? Do you think so?

S: Yes. In my class when I give them lessons, and to communicate with me and to tell me something in English, they are showing their eagerness to speak something with me.

A: And since you have experienced the immersion, the shift, the transition from the GT method to CLT method, so I think you have clear experience of how these two methods are different and how students could cope up, how students would adjust themselves with these two types of methods. Do you think students could easily cope up with these CLT method?

S: No, no. Translation method or traditional method, sometimes we need to know some difficult and very very difficult definitions which are not necessary. First we should show them some examples of what types of sentences are used here. They do not need to be given definition which is very difficult task. And find out the word and show this word. No. I shall first write the sentence, then I shall discuss depending on the sentence. So it is very easy to know grammar.

A: Ok. So you think that students have accommodated this CLT method very nice, right?

S: Yes, but sometimes English grammar was dropped. No need to ... English grammar. So called intellectuals were telling us. They are giving their ideas and views on the newspaper. We are not in favour of them. Because as a Bangladeshi student, for him, it is not possible. 'I am going to school' they don't know present continuous tense "I am going to school-*ami skule jacchi*" its translation. How is this? First time they will know, then we will explain going- ing at the end of the word and it is continuous.

A: It is a very good opinion that you are giving it here. But what will you say then as the present policy makers advocating that CLT should be the method.

S: Yes, I am supporting it.

A: And you are also supporting that GT method should be there.

S: Those who have written this, the communicative system in our country, I support them. But I can't ignore grammar.

A: Exactly. So ..

S: Grammar should be admitted, it should be introduced among students. If they don't know grammar, how is it possible to write better?

A: So what do you think the place of grammar should be in this CLT? How do you think? What...

S: Yes, grammar should come directly or indirectly. When I shall write a sentence on the blackboard, I should give some clue on it. What type of sentence is this? How have I written it on the blackboard. So at that time they will know that there is a system.

A: But that is also done in the CLT method. But my question is as a method, the mixture of these two methods will be the best one.

S: Yes,

A: What is your idea? How do you explain that?

S: English grammar and then CLT.

A: How do you mix them up? They are two different methods.

S: Grammar will not come indirectly, directly or indirectly. But we don't know the definitions, its very difficult examples, no need. Yes, I can cite one example. 'He

walks slowly - *she aste hate*,' He crossed the road carefully - *she sotorkobhabe rasta par holo*.' I am in Bengali now.

A: No problem.

S: Yes, adverb. '*kemon kore*.' How? Manner. Just adverb of manner. That's ok. No need to manner, how with manner, suffix -ly, there is no need to discuss. Yes, he is ready to know the girl is dancing nicely. Nicely -ly, suffix here -ly. So it is an adverb. '*sundor kore nachse*'.

A: Ok. Lets now talk about collaborative learning. How do you follow it, if you follow it, I don't know.

S: Yes, if I face any problem in my class, anywhere or anyplace, I shall discuss it with my colleagues here. They may know better than me, may be. I am senior here. I don't think I am senior. I would like to go to them. We can discuss. They can give me some better sentences or better examples and give correct answers what I don't know.

A: Ok, do you think teaching is an art which can improve till the (cross-talking)

S: Yes, its an art. It's a dramatic monologue. How can you express yourself in front of students. Students will not follow your language only, your body language, it draws the attention, your monitoring and make them involve in learning the topics. Teacher should make them interested in learning the topics.

A: Ok.

S: If a teacher fails to do that, students will not get interest in it.

A: Tell me any challenges, perhaps we have talked about it, but still I would like to hear something, that is negative thing, I do not know, about any challenges that you might have faced in implementing or actually practicing the communicative ways of teaching inside the classroom.

S: The system. I want to blame the system. It is in the examinations, they are not facing any problem on the pictures. Yes, in the first paper, there are various types of pictures, they are talking, they are giving their ideas. But these type of questions are not set in the examinations. But they are getting a large paragraph, from that paragraph they are writing true or false, multiple, choice questions and answering questions. What is necessary for them to tell us something in the class about the pictures. Yes, 'Pohela Boishakh' has a picture. The picture is not set in the question. But the topic is selected there. So students don't feel interested in telling us something on picture.

A: So do you think it would good idea (Cross-talking)

S: It's a challenge.

A: No, What I ask is

S: There are some fixed topics Pohela Boishakh, Part of Media, May Day. They are ready to read only these topics but they don't feel any interest, they don't show any interest to go all through the books.

A: What I want to tell you is setting pictures also inside the question test paper/question paper would be good one.

S: Good one, but it will be very difficult for the question setters to make these questions in this way.

S: So it is a challenge. There are various types of pictures, on those pictures there are some clues to tell us something, but teachers are not getting chance to make any questions depending on the pictures.

A: So it would be good idea right, to use pictures in the questions.

S: Yes, it may be.

A: I mean, we have seen several question papers outside.

S: It's a challenge for the students or the teachers. They don't need to read the pictures, no. They are not getting the ideas of the pictures but various types of are there. Sometimes students are talking about school and its picture, in front of shops, what are the common people doing. But they don't need to read.

A: Sir thank you very much. The last question is what are the important factors for a teacher to be aware of in successful CLT. What are the factors?

S: Yes, yes. I think a teacher is always learning. They should practice themselves. They should concentrate how to develop themselves. (They should grow themselves) What type of method are they accepting? A teacher himself is the key to make the class or a lesson interesting. A teacher is enough.

A: Ok. Which aspect of present language method should be modified or you know improved for modification?

S: Very very easy topic should be given. International Womens Day, May Day, Shat Gombuz Mosque, Liberty. These are bit difficult topics for the students. Various types of difficult words have been used here. To find out the meaning of words, students are facing problem. If teachers themselves don't know the meaning of the words, they can consult the dictionary. But easy topics are given, students feel easy to learn the topic.

A: But don't you think as students of Class 10, they should know some difficult words. How would you comment on that?

S: Yes, they should be given some difficult words. In Class 10, you should go through the book. There are some difficult topics.

A: So in general what is your comment CLT then? How do you finalise your comment here?

S: Yes, yes, I would like to suggest, you should consult or you will give opinions to others this system is no doubt very fine, but the question patterns should be changed. Reordering. I don't like reordering. Yes, first paper question 4, 7 and 8. They have the similarity. No alternative. If any student writes, quote the lines or words from the topic, they are getting – and a half marks. The main idea. The don't know the main idea but they are writing, they are copying, following some words or sentences from the topic. They are writing and getting marks. If students are going to the examination hall, they are passing in the examination. Question 4, 7, and 8 should be changed.

A: question number 4, 7 and 8?

S: Yes.

A: How would you comment on not answering any questions based on speaking and listening in the public exam? You see speaking and listening are not coming at all. What is your opinion about that? Students are not answering or participating any sort of speaking test in the public examination. Do you understand what I mean? So what is your opinion about that?

S: They should come to the viva board. They should come in front of the teachers, they will ask them some questions and students will answer.

A: So they will also be assessed in speaking and listening.

S: Yes, yes.

A: So thank you very much for your time and effort. Thank you very much.

S: You are welcome.



SUMMARY

This PhD project investigates how CLT is actually implemented at the micro level in various institutions as per policies made at the macro level. In Bangladeshi secondary school contexts, government and non-government schools both in city and rural areas follow the same curriculum and language teaching methodologies; however, a sharp contrast of learners' success, particularly in English in national school leaving examinations from these two types of schools causes much concern (Hamid, 2011). Using mixed methods, data has been collected through classroom observation, semi-structured interviews with teachers and students survey questionnaires. Preliminary results show “why and how does disparity among schools exist in implementing CLT?” Complete data analysis, consisting of SPSS software for quantitative data and other qualitative data analytical approaches, reveals in detail success and failure of government's policy change initiatives for ELT. This study expects to find new insights for successful ELT in Bangladesh.