

Social Construction of Language Learners: A Bakhtinian Analysis of EFL Learners' Subjectivity in the Multilingual Context of Pakistan

Imdad Ullah Khan^{1*}, Ayesha Perveen², and Akifa Imtiaz³

Abstract

ESL/EFL scholarship has traditionally adopted a cognitivist and psychoanalytical approach towards learning a language based on the premise that languages are abstract unitary systems. In recent decades, however, there has been a greater emphasis on the role of social, cultural, and autobiographical factors in language learning. Bakhtin's socially-oriented philosophy of language offers a useful lens to view EFL learning as a situated activity and EFL learners as multidimensional social actors who configure their English learning trajectories within broader social and institutional factors. Based on a broader ethnographic study, analysis in this article takes a Bakhtinian perspective to understand how multilingual EFL learners in northern Pakistan construct their identity at the intersection of social, domestic, and future-oriented factors. The analysis shows that local languages, school, and family language policies, and imagined English-speaking communities have significant implications for learners' orientation and motivation towards learning EFL. The article suggests that responding to the social turn in applied linguistics, EFL classroom, and pedagogy in Pakistan needs to broaden its purview to support individual learners effectively negotiate their complex learning trajectories and build empowering learner identities.

Keywords: Imagined Communities; Bakhtin; Subjectivity; Identity; EFL Learning.

1. Introduction

How learners' subjectivity—their sense of self—engages with discourses, ideologies, and points of view associated with relational backgrounds such as the school, the teacher, or the family? Based on an ethnographic study in a low-fee private school in northern Pakistan, this article argues that, while studying language and subjectivity, the researchers often focus on the effect of learned concepts, skills, and behaviors to understand how the learners conceptualize and enact who they are. Research conducted with this approach focuses on the learners as individuals. This article argues that this approach is not very helpful in understanding the construction of learners' subjectivity. Without foregrounding the complex interaction between the individual and

¹ Department of English and Foreign Languages, University of Swat, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan.

² Department of English, Virtual University, Islamabad, Pakistan.

³ Department of English, Fatima Jinnah Women University, Rawalpindi, Pakistan.

*)Corresponding Author.
Email: imdad.khan@uswat.edu.pk

their environment, we cannot understand fully how the learners' sense of self is a process of meaning-making, mediated between the individual and their sociocultural environment.

Based on these assumptions, this article adopts a dialogical approach to analyze the construction of learning selves. The approach emphasizes that learners' subjectivity should be seen as a collaborative ongoing process between the individual and the communal factors (Hermans, 2001; Markova, 2003). The way learners construct aspects of their self is mediated through a complex dialogical negotiation between the learners and their sociocultural environment. We argue that through foregrounding this negotiation, researchers can better understand how different aspects of a learner's self are constructed and how they function in social environments such as school or family? Drawing on the ideas of the Russian philosopher and literary critic Mikhail Bakhtin, we argue that analyzing learners' subjectivity from a dialogic perspective is useful as it can help researchers capture the tension between the individual and the cultural, between the historical and the present, as learners sense of self emerges from a dynamic tension between them. It is in the interstices of this dynamic tension that individual voice is shaped and articulated (Hall, Vitanova, & Marchenkova, 2005).

First, the article outlines a dialogic understanding of meaning-making and how it can provide a framework for analyzing the construction of learning selves. Second, it discusses in detail the two analytical resources we propose for approaching the construction of learning selves within a dialogic framework. Third, it demonstrates the analytical possibilities afforded by the two resources through analyzing interview data from two learner participants, in conjunction with classroom observations and fieldnotes. Finally, this article discusses what are the implications of a dialogic understanding of learning selves for research on language learning and pedagogical practice?

2. Literature Review

The dialogic theory of language was developed in the circle of writers usually referred to as the Bakhtin circle (M. M. Bakhtin, 1981; 1970; Shepherd, Brandist, & Tihanov, 2004; Voloshinov, 1986). It must be mentioned early on that the Bakhtin circle and its prominent members were not primarily concerned with language learning. However, during the last few decades, his thoughts have been adopted in disciplines related to second and foreign language learning. For example, the work of Courtney Cazden (1989; 1993) draws interesting similarities between Bakhtin and Dell Hymes by arguing that both represent a deviation from a formalist view of language and are significant representatives of anti-Saussurean linguistics. Claire Kramsch (2000) draws on Bakhtinian ideas to make her argument about semiotic mediation as a linguistic function. Wells (2002) uses Bakhtinian ideas to bring attention to the monological nature of classroom interaction. In more recent years, two edited books appeared that specifically focus on using a dialogic understanding of language learning contexts. Drawing on a rich empirical base,

Hall et al. (2005) take a non-formalist stance and argue that Bakhtin's linguistic insights can help us see language as a dynamic collection of symbolic resources that operate culturally and historically contingent spaces. Adrian Blackledge and Angela Creese (2014) present research studies on a wide range of topics from a dialogic perspective to understand how we can approach multilingualism in the changing times of late modernity and what implications it has for language practice and pedagogy.

From a dialogic perspective, all aspects of language use and cognition are embedded in interaction and context (Linell, 1998; 2009). Meaning-making takes place in a relational world where signs and sign systems mediate the construction of selves. Multiple selves can be realized as relational processes between the individual and the world (Holquist, 2002). Volosinov (1986) emphasizes the importance of the semiotic function of language in the formation of subjectivity.

The subjective psyche is to be localized somewhere between the organism and the outside world, on the borderline separating these two spheres of reality. It is here that an encounter between the organism and the outside world takes place, but the encounter is not a physical one: the organism and the outside world meet here in the sign (p. 26).

Our realization of the self and the outer world is mediated by signs. To enter into dialogue with the other, we make use of signs which, at the same time, enable us to construct different selves. In the dialogic perspective, signs are both constitutive of and constituted by social interaction. It is at the borderline between the self and the other that subjectivity is localized and enacted.

The process of meaning-making and construction of selves takes place in situations where multiple voices are at play in dynamic tension. Bakhtin (1993) considers voice as 'a person's worldview and faith' (p.293). Holquist (1981) defines it as 'the speaking consciousness [that] always has a will or desire behind it' (p. 434). Meaning-making takes place at the meeting points of different voices when different worldviews come into contact in the multivoiced speech of a speaking subject. Lemke (2005) argues:

[We] speak with the voices of our communities, and to the extent that we have individual voices, we fashion these out of the social voices already available to us, appropriating the words of others to speak a word of our own. (pp. 24-25)

From the dialogical perspective of language use and construction of the self, the sense of self is social as 'other people occupy positions in the multivoiced self' (Hermans, Kempen, & van Loon, 1992, p. 29). We construct our sense of who we are in situations where there are multiple voices and it is

‘only by using these voices [that] we can be recognized by others’ (Silseth & Arnseth, 2011, p. 68). Voice is closely related to the concept of utterance. An utterance is a specific instance of speech that takes place in a specific situation. An utterance is a chronotype (time-space dimension) where social voices become visible in a situated context and can be understood and analyzed. The struggle between voices is concretised at the level of utterance where centripetal (unifying, centralising, monological) voices meet centrifugal (diversifying, decentralising, dialogical) voices and where the tension between authoritative and internally persuasive cultural forces are involved in a dynamic tension.

In different contexts of learning, it is through rehashing, coordinating, and negotiating the voices of others that learning selves are constructed. The ‘trajectories of participation’ (Greeno, 1997) that learning selves undertake are mediated in the presence of ‘third parties’ and other interlocutors (Lemke, 2005). Third parties can be school culture, teacher’s voice, family values, or discourses related to socio-historical events. Learning selves are constructed in and across sites of participation not only as they dialogically engage with other stakeholders in the educational setting but also with the broader sociocultural context in which learning takes place. The construction of the learning selves is, therefore, not just related to who they think they are as learners but is spread over a broader spectrum of influences located outside the individual.

3. Conceptual framework

The dialogic view of the construction of learning selves outlined above is approached using two analytical resources. We understand these resources as useful ways for researchers to grasp the construction of learning selves. The first resource focuses on how narratives play a constitutive role in creating a sense of self. Narratives are an important way of making sense of who we are and where we belong. Bruner (2003, p. 64) argues that ‘telling oneself about oneself is like making up a story about who and what we are, what’s happened, and why we are doing what we are doing’. Narratives are useful constructions through which learners can see connections between their past and present to maintain a sense of coherence and to meet the challenges of the present. Through narratives, learners connect voices over temporal and spatial distances by selecting voices from different sites. Narratives can, therefore, be seen as representations of one or more points of view and not as impartial omniscient accounts of what happened (Ochs & Capps, 1996). The learners’ sense of self is not only mediated through self-ascribed narratives but is also constructed in response to other narrative voices that carry other people’s points of view.

The other analytical resource is categorization. According to Wertsch (1998), categories are used as a means of social mediation and are significant for the enactment of culture. Categories help in managing people and events as they provide tools for understanding the social world (Silseth & Arnseth, 2011). They also carry hints of their sociocultural usage in the past as they

were used in other situations, for other people and events, and in other times (Linell, 1998). Similar to narratives, categories play a role in the construction of the learning selves as they contain different voices. By analyzing and tracing the voices carried in specific categories, researchers can understand how learning selves are constituted through categories. In particular situations, learners accept, resist, or negotiate categories that are carried through the discourses in their environment. Learners align their subjectivity in response to categories based on whether a category is considered supportive of their learning objectives or not.

4. Research Questions

- How multilingual EFL learners in Pakistan conceptualize their learner identity to social, online, and academic domains?
- How local languages (Urdu and Pashto) intersect with EFL learners' sense of identity?

5. Research Context

The following analysis is based on data generated as part of a research project in a school context in northern Pakistan. The research project uses a critical ethnographic perspective to focus on how learners of English as a foreign language construct their sense of self within the school context that is situated within a specific sociocultural milieu. In Pakistan, the English language carries enormous symbolic and cultural value. During the British colonial rule in the Indian subcontinent, English was the language of power and prestige accessible only to a small section of the society. This divide continues to the present time, maintained by official policies that perpetuate uneven distribution of the language (e.g., see Ajmal, 2013; Atta, 2015; see Ayres, 2003; 2009; Coleman, 2011; Coleman & Capstick, 2012; Khan, 2016; Rahman, 2001; 2004; 2008). English is the language of desire and a marker of socioeconomic class in the social context of this research study.

The two learner participants, Haroon and Noman, study in Ummah School in grade ten (all pseudonyms). The participants are around 17 years old. The first author conducted three interviews with each of them, lasting around one hour each. Their first language is Pashto, one of the major languages in Pakistan spoken by less than 16 percent of the population of the country (Shamim, 2008). They can speak English and Urdu—the national language of Pakistan. The interviewee mostly responded in Pashto. The first author translated the data into English. To check the validity of the transcripts, they were peer reviewed by a colleague of the first author.

6. Data analysis

Following Braun and Clarke (2013), the data analysis in the current study involved several phases of including familiarization with the data→ initial coding→ categorizing themes→ reviewing themes→ defining and refining

themes→ linking themes into the theoretical framework. The analytical process was cyclical rather than linear, involving repetition of earlier phases when the researchers sensed the need. To improve our understanding of the data and to remain closely connected to the actual data, we went back and forth to revisit earlier stages of data familiarization and analysis. The following analysis shows key themes emerging from the data.

7. English and social condition in Pakistan

Noman's ideas about learning are constructed amidst different voices—points of view—that are critical of the socio-economic condition of Pakistan. When asked about his plans, and whether he saw any importance for the English language in achieving them, he said, 'so many people would tell you here, as my relatives tell me, that even if you get a very good education here, there are no opportunities in Pakistan'. This point of view is attributed to a generalized other as 'so many people' is the grammatical subject that authors this voice. A similar voice is also articulated in the specific utterances of people in the more immediate circles of Noman. His father, for example, thought that he should prepare himself to go abroad for work in the future as 'there is no future in Pakistan'. It is, however, the words of his cousin, Sajjad, that seem to have greater validity for Noman. During the interviews, Noman mentioned his cousin several times. His advice was that Noman should complete English language courses and then a computer diploma because there were many good jobs for information technology (IT) professionals in the Middle East who have good English language skills. Noman was determined to take private courses to improve his English language skills and to learn to use the computer more effectively before going abroad. When asked how he planned to learn the English language, he said, 'I do not know how the English language is done but he [Sajjad] knows. He will guide me'.

Regarding the socio-economic condition within the country, Noman believed the point of view that there are no opportunities for educated people within the country. Treating these voices as legitimate, Noman also constructed a national self as a Pakistani who has no chances of success within the country. He also recruited other narratives which are supportive of this view. When asked how he compared Pakistan to other countries, Noman said, 'there are a lot of things in Pakistan which I do not like. If someone wants to do something good in Pakistan they are usually sent to jail'. Noman treated those voices as legitimate that portray the socioeconomic condition of Pakistan as unsatisfactory.

Haroon believed that Pakistan was once a 'strong country' that has declined economically and in terms of the quality of education available within the country. According to him, 'if [we] compare Pakistan to India or China they are very much ahead of us in terms of education. Haroon's family history is quite different from that of Noman. While Noman has lived a relatively stable life in his village, Haroon has experienced a major military operation in his hometown that compelled him and his family to be displaced

within the country. He spent a year in a military camp where they were living in a tent under severe weather conditions. During this time, he was educated in a military tent school build for the displaced people. Haroon said, 'It was a very difficult time...but I tried to continue my education even in these conditions. He regretted that two years of his schooling were wasted due to the bad law and order situation in the region.

Haroon negotiated these narrative voices about the hopeless economic and educational condition of Pakistan to construct a learner self that is ready to work towards changing the situation for the better. He saw his imagined future self as someone who tries to protect his family and relatives by joining the armed forces of Pakistan.

Extract 1

I want to be in the army because as we can observe nowadays the situation in Pakistan is not very good. There are a lot of atrocities committed against people in Miranshah and Waziristan because people from there are not in the army. They are not educated. There is no one to talk to the government or someone who can struggle for themselves and the people. That is why I think if I go into the army I can do a lot for my people, for my country. (Interview 1: August 9, 2019)

Haroon's personal history, combined with the narrative voice about Pakistan being in a state of economic and social decline, seems to play a significant role in the construction of his learning self. The unpleasant lived experiences of his life combined with the critical voices about Pakistan constitute a category that is not very conducive for him to imagine a future for himself within the country. Elsewhere in the interview, he said that instead of imagining his future abroad, he wanted to learn English well so that he may get admission in a military college and go into the armed forces of Pakistan. He wanted to 'try the army first' and, if he was not successful in getting into the army, then he would go abroad.

8. Availability of Urdu and English in social and academic contexts

Regarding his family background, Noman is critical about how things are at home. He said, 'we want to learn English but at home everyone is illiterate'. He felt unsupported at home as he described his parents as uneducated. As a learner, he is specifically interested in improving his speaking skills in the English language but he felt there are no opportunities for him to practice it either in school, at home, or with friends. He got some support in the school, where he is very fond of his English language teacher. Noman said, 'he has been trying to make us learn English. We have learned a lot from him but we cannot speak to someone else in the English language'. On the other hand, the director of the school had different language priorities:

Extract 2

The director encourages students to speak in Urdu. He thinks that the books are in English so students learn English. But tells students that Urdu is our national language and it's very important to learn it. So we can speak Urdu a little bit but English we cannot understand nor we can speak it. (Interview 2: August 12, 2019)

The narrative voice about Urdu being the preferred language of communication in the school aligns it with some 200 other private schools by the same name throughout the country. These are branches of the same network of schools run by a right-wing Islamist party, all centrally controlled and guided by the same ideological motivation to promote Urdu and Islamic identity among its learners. Urdu has symbolic significance in Pakistan because, at the time of the partition of the Indian subcontinent, Urdu and Hindi were used as symbols to segregate the vast multi-ethnic populations of Muslims and Hindus, respectively (Ayres, 2003; 2009; Rahman, 2011). The party running this school wants to uphold this distinction by promoting Urdu as a cultural artifact. Along with using Urdu as a symbol of Muslim identity, the party also uses it to distance itself from other parties within the country that support other languages. The voice of the director can thus be seen to illuminate the historical and political contingency of the context of this school. Regarding the use of the English language in the Ummah School, Haroon was not satisfied with the learning opportunities offered in Ummah:

Extract 3

Haroon: I have seen a school in Islamabad. Some minor kids were speaking to their teachers in English. I was surprised. I was thinking what the reason was for this? Their principle is that the students must speak in English with the teachers. So they have got used to speaking English. But if we consider this school, there are not many roles in English. There is no restriction on speaking Pashto or Urdu over here. That's why those students are stronger than us in English. (Interview 3: August 18, 2019)

When Haroon saw that students in the other school could speak in English, he dialogically asks what the reason was for this. However, he did not mention in the interview how he came up with the answer that it was because the school observed a strict 'principle' that 'the students must speak in English with the teachers'. It is possible that he derived this answer from observing student-teacher interactions in the school. This characterization of Ummah School puts his learning self in the category of those who are not able to speak English 'well' because of limited exposure to the language within the school environment.

9. Online communities in English Learning

Haroon tried to make up for the shortcomings in his language learning experiences in the Ummah School. Although he categorized himself as belonging to a family that was 'illiterate', he thought Facebook could help him overcome the limitations of his environment. Through this form of 'social media, he tried to stay in contact with 'intelligent people' in other parts of the world whose first language is English:

Extract 4

I came to know that in Pakistan the kind of progress is not happening which is there in other countries in the world [...] I was using Facebook to practice speaking English. I came to know that it can be useful for learning English but I was also using Facebook to know what is happening in the world and what are those countries which are beautiful and also good for getting an education? I was looking for people on Facebook who are intelligent from whom I can learn English or any other language which can be useful for me. (Interview 3: August 18, 2019)

At the end of the excerpt above, he negotiated a realignment of belonging. Instead of identifying with the category of a learner who is trapped in an educational context where he has limited opportunities for achieving his future education goals, he foregrounded a generalized Facebook community as the other with whom he has a sense of affinity. This 'virtual community of people from around the world seems to provide an image of the idealized other to which Haroon aspired to belong. Whether this community can live up to the idealized image that Haroon ascribed to it is not relevant here. What is relevant is the fact that it provided a category different from being categorized as a member of an 'uneducated' family and part of a school that is not very supportive of the educational goals of its learners. The narrative that there were people on Facebook who go on world tours and whatever happens they upload it on Facebook is presented as a positive narrative. Irrespective of whether it is relevant to his education that these 'people' upload videos of their 'world tours', the narrative helps Haroon to realign his subjectivity through affiliating with these people who are intelligent and can speak English well.

10. English as emblematic of intelligence

In terms of English language learning, Haroon equated having good skills in the language with being intelligent. When he was asked how he felt while speaking in English, Haroon said:

Extract 5

When I try to speak English I face a lot of difficulties. At that time, I tell myself that if I were a good speaker of English I would have been proud of myself. I also think that I must learn English. Wherever you speak with people, if you speak in English they

give you more importance. You do not need to speak much. Just speak in English and people are impressed. They think if this boy can speak English he might be intelligent and smart. (Interview 2: August 12, 2019)

Here, Haroon imagines a social scenario where speaking in English to a generalized other would give him greater social significance in that speaking context. The category of an idealized efficient speaker of English engages Haroon in a dialogic negotiation of social prestige in the context that he is familiar with. He asserted that if proficient in English, he would not have to use many words. Just speaking in the English language will suffice to 'impress' others who would take him for an 'intelligent and smart' boy. Haroon constructed this category of a good speaker of English' in dialogue with imagined members of his social environment and then aligned his learning self to aspire to belong to this category of good speakers of the English language.

The above data shows that learning a foreign language such as English is not only related to the acquisition of a new lexico-grammatical system but is an ideologically charged activity. English learning is situated at the intersection of social, domestic, and religious relational backgrounds that intersect with learners' sense of who they are as EFL learners. Another significant relational factor is the national language Urdu that is ideologically promoted by Ummah School. Both participant learners, however, saw the promotion of Urdu as counterproductive to their own future goal of learning how to speak English.

11. Discussion: dialogic perspective in English learning

To summarise the above analysis, language learning takes place in given social, economic, and cultural contexts. The current article shows how this negotiation is articulated in participants' utterances. While negotiating the construction of their learning selves, the two FLLs sometimes aligned themselves with certain narratives and categorizations and at other times adopted alternative narratives and categorizations. From a Bakhtinian perspective, the selves are always located 'on the threshold' between the self and the other (M. M. Bakhtin & Emerson, 1993, p. 147). In this dialogic conception of language and the self, utterances of the two learners discussed here can be seen as 'intertextual grounds for contesting others' voices, re-accentuating their utterances with new meaning, and re-interpreting the self through another' (Hall et al., 2005, p. 156).

This analysis has significant implications for research on learning and identities with language in focus. Through analyzing interview data in conjunction with field observations and research notes, we captured how learners of English as a foreign language construct learning selves through negotiating voices that are associated with relational backgrounds like family values, school culture, nationality, and historical situatedness of the country context of the school. Language learners negotiate the validity and relevance

of these voices in their utterances to forge learning selves that are better in line with their present and future learning goals. While narratives and categorization carry these voices across cultural domains such as the family, the school, and the history of the country context, learners dynamically interact with these voices, resisting them in some instances while adopting them in others.

While some narratives and categories have a greater impact on the construction of their learning selves, but, as the above analysis indicates, learners also exercise agency to negotiate which narratives and categories are more relevant for their construction of particular learning selves. It can, therefore, be argued that learning should not be treated as a distinct concept that can be approached and studied directly but something which is always mediated in concrete situations by agentive learners engaged in negotiating what is relevant for them as learning selves. Although this process of negotiation is constrained by institutional forces and social, economic, and political situatedness of learning, it is not completely determined by these factors. Within a dialogic analytical framework, the interplay between individual agency and environmental constraints results in a dynamic tension within which learners construct their sense of past, present, and future learning selves.

12. Conclusion

Focusing on the individual learners as agentive selves, who engage in dynamic tension with their socio-cultural and institutional environments, sensitizes us to adopt pedagogical practices that can accommodate the diversity of learning selves in the classroom. Another implication relates to broadening the scope of this approach to study learning trajectories inside and outside the school. As Lemke (2000) argues that to approach the 'activity' of learning and its associated contexts, we need to study the processes of 'meaning-making on different 'timescales' (in Kenneth, p. 78). This article focuses on limited data gathered within the school context through semi-structured interviews. Future research can explore the concept of learning selves in outside the school environment to study how learners recruit or resist specific points of view (voices) from different relational backgrounds and what can be learned from this analysis to assist learners in achieving their language learning goals.

In multilingual contexts, EFL learners need special scaffolding from the teacher and the school to support them in negotiating their multilingual repertoire in the service of learning a foreign language. Whereas the local languages spoken by participants of this study (Urdu and Pashto) have strong social embeddedness and are associated with Pashtun ethnic identity or Urdu as the linguistic emblem of national unity, participants in this study desired English for individual satisfaction, social status, and for association with future imagined communities. These empirical findings align with the recent calls in applied linguistics for a more socially-oriented theorizing of EFL learning informed by interdisciplinary and broad-based theoretical orientation.

The current Bakhtinian analysis of EFL learning shows that learners are not autonomous agents but social actors who construct their trajectories of learning a foreign language within complex relational networks. In multilingual, postcolonial contexts like Pakistan, the EFL classroom needs to be reconceptualized as a porous space that is situated in a broader socio-historical context. Similarly, EFL learners need to be supported in their EFL learning as they negotiate their subjectivity within and outside the classroom.

References

- Ajmal, K. (2013). *A study of the language attitudes and practices in the context of two elite English-medium schools in Pakistan*. doctoral dissertation. Retrieved from <https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/A-Study-of-the-Language-Attitudes-and-Practices-in-Khan/bb1264e1ae5b03e62bb09901f5f62653c922f364>
- Atta, B. (2015). *Practice and politics of English language policy implementation: A case study of 2009 medium of instruction policy shift in the north eastern region of Pakistan* [Doctoral dissertation, Michigan State University]. Retrieved from <https://d.lib.msu.edu/etd/3516>
- Ayres, A. (2003). The politics of language policy in Pakistan. *Fighting Words: Language Policy and Ethnic Relations in Asia*, 51-80.
- Ayres, A. (2009). *Speaking like a state: Language and nationalism in Pakistan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bakhtin, M. M. (1981). In Holquist M. (Ed.), *The dialogic imagination: Four essays*. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press.
- Bakhtin, M. M. M., & Emerson, C. (1993). *Problems of Dostoevsky's poetics*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Bakhtin, M. M. (1970). *Speech genres and other late essays*. London, United Kingdom: Tavistock.
- Blackledge, A., & Creese, A. (2014). Heteroglossia as practice and pedagogy. In A. Blackledge, & A. Creese (Eds.), *Heteroglossia as practice and pedagogy* (pp. 1-20). London, United Kingdom: Springer.
- Block, D. (2003). *The social turn in second language acquisition*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
- Block, D. (2010). Researching language and identity. *Continuum Companion to Research Methods in Applied Linguistics*, 337-349.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2013). *Successful qualitative research: A practical guide for beginners*. London, UK: Sage.
- Bruner, J. S. (2003). *Making stories: Law, literature, life*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Cazden, C. B. (1989). Contributions of the Bakhtin circle to 'communicative competence'. *Applied Linguistics*, 10 (2), 116-127.
- Cazden, C. B. (1993). Vygotsky, Hymes, and Bakhtin: From word to utterance and voice. In E. A. Forman, N. Minick & C. A. Stone (Eds.), *Contexts*

- for learning: Sociocultural dynamics in children's development* (pp. 197-212). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Coleman, H. (2011). Developing countries and the English language: Rhetoric, risks, roles and recommendations. *Dreams and Realities: Developing Countries and the English Language*, 9-22.
- Coleman, H., & Capstick, T. (2012). *Language in education in Pakistan: Recommendations for policy and practice*. Islamabad, Pakistan: British Council Pub.
- Greeno, J. G. (1997). On claims that answer the wrong questions. *Educational Researcher*, 26(1), 5-17.
- Hall, J. K., Vitanova, G., & Marchenkova, L. A. (2005). *Dialogue with Bakhtin on second and foreign language learning: New perspectives*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Hermans, H. J., Kempen, H. J., & Van Loon, R. J. (1992). The dialogical self: Beyond individualism and rationalism. *American Psychologist*, 47(1), 23.
- Hermans, H. J. (2001). The dialogical self: Toward a theory of personal and cultural positioning. *Culture & Psychology*, 7(3), 243-281.
- Holquist, M. (2002). *Dialogism: Bakhtin and his world*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Khan, A. U. (2016). *A narrative ethnography of primary school teachers' language perceptions, preferences and practices in rural Pakistan* [Doctoral dissertation, University of Auckland].
- Kramsch, C. (2000). Social discursive constructions of self in L2 learning. In J. P. Lantolf (Ed.), *Sociocultural theory and second language learning* (pp. 133-153). Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.
- Lemke, J. L. (2000). Across the scales of time: Artifacts, activities, and meanings in ecosocial systems. *Mind, Culture, and Activity*, 7(4), 273-290.
- Lemke, J. L. (2005). *Textual politics: Discourse and social dynamics*. London: Taylor & Francis.
- Linell, P. (1998). *Approaching dialogue: Talk, interaction and contexts in dialogical perspectives*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Linell, P. (2009). *Rethinking language, mind, and world dialogically*. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing.
- Markova, I. (2003). Constitution of the self: Intersubjectivity and dialogicality. *Culture & Psychology*, 9(3), 249-259.
- Ochs, E., & Capps, L. (1996). Narrating the self. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 25(1), 19-43.
- Rahman, T. (2001). English-teaching institutions in Pakistan. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 22(3), 242-261.
- Rahman, T. (2004). *Denizens of alien worlds: A study of education, inequality and polarization in Pakistan*. Karachi, Pakistan: Oxford University Press.

- Rahman, T. (2005). Passports to privilege: The English-medium schools in Pakistan. *Peace and Democracy in South Asia*, 1(1), 24-44.
- Rahman, T. (2008). Language policy and education in Pakistan. In N. H. Hornberger (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of language and education* (2nd ed., pp. 383-392). New York, NY: Springer.
- Rahman, T. (2011). *From Hindi to Urdu: A Social and Political History*. Karachi, Pakistan: Oxford University Press.
- Shamim, F. (2008). Trends, issues and challenges in English language education in Pakistan. *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, 28(3), 235-249.
- Shepherd, D., Brandist, C., & Tihanov, G. (2004). *The Bakhtin circle: In the master's absence*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press.
- Silseth, K., & Arnseth, H. C. (2011). Learning and identity construction across sites: A dialogical approach to analyzing the construction of learning selves. *Culture & Psychology*, 17(1), 65-80.
- Voloshinov, V. N. (1986). *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*. New York, NY: Harvard University Press.
- Wells, G. (2002). The role of dialogue in activity theory. *Mind, Culture, and Activity*, 9(1), 43-66.
- Wertsch, J. V. (1998). *Mind as action*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.