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To cite this article: Liaquat Ali Channa, Daniel Gilhooly, Abdul Razaque Channa & Syed Abdul Manan | (2017) Teaching English or producing docility? Foucauldian analysis of Pakistani state-mandated English textbooks, Cogent Education, 4:1, 1283101, DOI: [10.1080/2331186X.2017.1283101](https://doi.org/10.1080/2331186X.2017.1283101)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/2331186X.2017.1283101>



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Published online: 03 Feb 2017.



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Received: 04 November 2016  
Accepted: 10 January 2017  
Published: 03 February 2017

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Reviewing editor:  
John Schwieter, Wilfrid Laurier University, Canada

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## CURRICULUM & TEACHING STUDIES | RESEARCH ARTICLE

# Teaching English or producing docility? Foucauldian analysis of Pakistani state-mandated English textbooks

Liaquat Ali Channa<sup>1\*</sup>, Daniel Gilhooly<sup>2</sup>, Abdul Razaque Channa<sup>3</sup> and Syed Abdul Manan<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract:** The scholarship of language education, particularly with reference to learning and use of English, is marked by varieties of English. One may note two broad models: (1) ENL, ESL, and EFL; (2) EIL, ELF, and WEs. Although the scholarship is replete with debates, the debates seem to only construct and maintain that learning English and its use are neutral activities that *earn* and *equip* a learner with certain capital rather than *make* him/her as such. This paper draws upon Foucault's theories of *discourse* and *disciplinary power*. This paper takes Pakistani state-mandated English textbooks of Grades 1–5 as official documents that contain qualitative data. The qualitative data are analyzed thematically. Two major themes of male body and female body are found which are analyzed and discussed through the Foucauldian lens. The paper holds that learning English and its use perpetuate and

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### PUBLIC INTEREST STATEMENT

The scholarship of language education seems to only construct and maintain that learning English and its use are neutral activities that earn and equip a learner with certain capital (Bourdieu, 1991). Learning English and its use do not make him/her and change his/her identity (Foucault, 1970/1966; Pennycook, 2001; Philipson, 1992). This study employs Foucault's theories of discourse and disciplinary power to problematize the ahistorical perception about learning English and its use. The study holds that learning English and its use perpetuate and produce docility and normalcy. It contends that neither is English a neutral tool nor is its use value-free activity. The study is of the wider interest to all those scholars who study critically applied linguistics in general and English textbooks in particular.

produce docility. The paper contends that neither is language a neutral tool nor are its use and learning value-free activities in any of its varieties.

**Subjects:** Education Studies; Multicultural Education; Bilingualism/ESL; Curriculum Studies; Education Policy & Politics; Language & Literature

**Keywords:** Pakistan; English textbooks; primary grades; discourse; disciplinary power; docility

## 1. Introduction

When one delves into the scholarship of language education, particularly with reference to learning and use of English, one is surrounded by varieties of English and their theories. On the one hand, one finds literature revolving around the varieties of English as a Second Language (ESL), English as a Foreign Language (EFL), and English as a Native Language (ENL) (Kachru, 1986, 1990). On the other, one comes across research focusing upon English as an International Language (EIL), English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), and World Englishes (WEs) (Bolton, 2004). Taking the theoretical underpinnings of these varieties into account, one may end up categorizing these varieties into two broad models: (1) ENL, ESL, and EFL; (2) EIL, ELF, and WEs (Schneider, 2003).

In fact, the scholarship of both these models is replete with acute theoretical, methodological, and contextual tensions not only within themselves but also between each other (Firth & Wagner, 1997; Widdowson, 1994). The scholarship, however, seems to produce and perpetuate only one aspect of the language. The aspect is that English is a neutral source of communication. English Learning behavior that is theorized either as mental, sociocultural, or social constructionist seems to be a disinterested activity. It appears disinterested in the sense that it *earns* and *equips* one with certain capital (Bourdieu, 1991), rather than *makes* one as such and develops certain identities (Foucault, 1970/1966; Pennycook, 2001; Philipson, 1992). Drawing upon Foucault's theories of discourse and disciplinary power, this paper situates itself into such debates. It contends that no any language is a neutral tool, nor are its use and learning value-free activities in any of its varieties. Specifically, taking the Pakistani English textbooks for Grades 1–5 as official discourse, this paper analyzes how learning English and its use perpetuate and produce docility. The paper attempts to answer the following research question: How is docility embedded with and produced through the official English textbooks discourse for the primary school students of the province of Sindh, Pakistan?

### 1.1. Broad two models

The scholarship concerning English learning and use is largely divided into two broad models consisting of diverse varieties: (1) ENL, ESL, and EFL; (2) EIL, ELF, and WEs (Schneider, 2003). Not only are both the models divided from within in terms of their theories and methodologies but they also compete with each other. However, what bring them together on the same page seems to be their implicit and unexamined notions of learning and using English as disinterested and independent activities. None may reject decidedly the aspects of learning and use theorized from cognitivist, sociocultural, and/or social constructionist perspectives. But, what they seem to gloss over intrinsically is that English may also be embedded with certain social nuances (i.e. docility). Thus, learning and using it may induce one to discursively form and become acculturated to the ideology laden within the language (Foucault, 1970/1966; Pennycook, 2001; Philipson, 1992).

As far as the model consisting of ENL, ESL, and EFL is concerned, it is divided into cognitivist, sociocultural, and social constructionist theories of language learning. Taking an *etic* perspective, for instance, cognitivist theory views learning a language as learning mental skills, and sociocultural theory approaches it as a social activity. From the former paradigm, language is a mental, thus, a universal and decontextualized phenomenon which can better be researched through quantitative methodologies (Long, 1997; Poulisse, 1997). Sociocultural theory takes the competence of language learning as embedded with society. Human cognition is first social and cultural. It is then mental. Thus, this tradition holds that language learning should be studied through natural research methodologies (Block, 2007; Hall, 1997).

In contrast, taking an *emic* perspective from Garfinkel's ethnomethodology (1967), social constructionist theory conceptualizes language learning as accomplishing certain social action. In other words, it suggests that use of a language may inform what the nature of language is and how it is and may be learned (Firth & Wagner, 1997, 2007; Wagner, 1996). Because the use of a language by any human derives from one's social reasons that are products of immediate contexts and intersubjectivity established in conversations, language can be researched by detecting minute details of talk. Thus, conversation analysis (CA) is employed not only to grasp the fine-grained niceties of interaction but also to understand the learning of language *emically* (Liddicoat, 1997).

The other model consisting of EIL, ELF, and WEs is mainly built upon the use and expansion of English rather than learning it (Bolton, 2004; Davies, 2009). However, it, too, is not only divided from within but also takes English largely as neutral. It overlooks the dimensions of one's discursive formation and reproduction of certain social ideologies. Taking the spread and use of English into account, for instance, ELF looks into the nature of English: how it appears when practiced by the non-native and native speakers, or by non-native speakers among themselves. Based upon such research, ELF vies for theorizing and assessing English accordingly (Seidlhofer, 2005a, 2005b). In contrast, EIL research advocates for the inclusion of certain core features of Standard English, which, the researchers hold, would facilitate intelligibility among the increasing users of English (Ahulu, 1997; Smith, 1976). In contrast, WEs look into the localized varieties such as Singlish (Singaporean English) etc. and advocate for their inclusion as legitimate Englishes (Kachru, 1986, 1990). This model, like the former model of ESL, EFL, and ENL, is also non-linear and heterogeneous in its orientation as well as essence.

Above all, what makes this model, i.e. EIL, ELF, and WEs, competitive with the previous one, i.e. ESL, EFL, and ENL, is a different stand on the theorizations of *learning*, *learner*, *language*, and its *use*. In this context, the cognitivist view of the former model not only runs against the sociocultural and socio-constructionist views of the same model, but it also goes against the ELF and WEs varieties of the latter model (i.e. ELF, EIL, and WEs). Thus, learning behavior that seems psychological from the cognitivist view is social and context-bound from the ELF, WEs, sociocultural, and social constructionist perspectives. The learner who seems always an outsider in the former is invariably an insider and owner in the latter. Moreover, language that seems to be a mental entity in the former is social and contextual in the latter.

Taking these tensions aside, all these varieties of both the models take an objective view of learning behavior and use at theoretical level (Firth & Wagner, 1997). They do not seem to account for how social discourses work through/for one's behavior by learning a language and using it. In addition, they do not seem to enlighten how learning a language and using it may *manufacture* and *mould* someone (Foucault, 1972/1969, 1979/1975). Although the varieties contingent upon the sociocultural underpinnings may explicate how language learning may contribute to the perpetuation of certain social phenomenon (i.e. docility), they seem to gloss over certain discursive nuances *within the social*. Thus, both these models seem to assume that learning a language and using it are disentangled from the discourses of the context. They do not explicate whether language learning and use *are* value-free.

## 2. Theoretical framework

Because the purpose in question is to see how disciplinary power is at work in the discourse of English learning and use at the Pakistani primary educational level, this paper uses Foucault's two concepts such as discourse and disciplinary power.

### 2.1. Discourse

Although the term *discourse* may have other connotations too in applied linguistics, we shall delimit this paper to Foucault's concept of discourse (Block, 2007; Bove, 1990). Foucault (1978/1976) stated that discourses "are tactical elements or blocks operating in the field of force relations." He held that "there can exist different and even contradictory discourses within the same strategy; they can, on the contrary, circulate without changing their form from one strategy to another, opposing strategy"

(p. 102). In this context, St. Pierre (2000) wrote, “discourse is productive and works in a very material way through social institutions to construct realities that control both the actions and bodies of people” (p. 486). In both their tangible and intangible forms, discourses seem to imply two senses here. First, they seem to suggest that they are technologies of transforming an individual into a subject. These tangible and intangible technologies can be the ones that are very powerful and have their firm roots in the established institutions of society. Second, on the contrary, discourses propose that they are also the sites of resistance to the subjectivity that is produced through tangible and intangible technologies. Although discourses in the later sense tend to be less powerful and established, they exist with the discourses in the first sense that tend to be powerful and established (Weedon, 1997).

In order to understand the “tactical elements or blocks” further, it may be useful to understand what Foucault meant by “the field of force relations” above. Weedon (1997) stated that by “the field of force relations,” Foucault might entail his concept of “discursive fields”—the fields “such as the law, the political system, the church, the family, the education system and the media.” These are the discursive fields where various competing “tactical elements or blocks” operate for “giving meaning to the world” and “organizing social institutions and processes” (pp. 34–35). Weedon (1997) further commented that discourses are not only found in certain discursive fields but are also the ones that structure the discursive fields, and vice versa. Thus, discussing what discourses do in discursive fields, McNay (1994) noted the occurrence of “discursive formation”: It “is a structuring principle which governs beliefs and practices, ‘words and things’, in such a way as to produce certain network of material relations” (p. 68).

Although discourses may suggest being sites of one’s resistance, technologies of engineering an individual into subject, and/or, structuring mechanisms of a certain field, they also seem to be tied with power and knowledge. Foucault (1978/1976) wrote that “Indeed, it is in discourse that power and knowledge are joined together” (p. 100). Foucault held that discourse is not only “both an instrument and an effect of power,” but it also “transmits and produces power” (p. 101). Thus, Weedon (1997, p. 105) noted “Discourses, in Foucault’s works, are ways of constituting knowledge, together with the social practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations which inhere in such knowledges and the relations between them.”

Taking this discussion into account, we take the official documents, i.e. Pakistani state-mandated English textbooks for Grade 1–5, as discourse. It is the discourse that is not only institutional and material in nature and located in the discursive field of education but it also produces and exposes both power and knowledge. How this discourse, in the guise of learning and using English, produces docility is examined in the following section after understanding disciplinary power.

## **2.2. Disciplinary power**

Foucault (1978/1976) stated that power should not only be “understood in the first instance as the multiplicity of” relations but also as “the process” through which the relations work, “the support” they provide, and “the strategy in which they take effect” (pp. 92–93). Thus, unlike the negative connotations of power that it is invariably nauseating and settles only in the hands of the few, power implies here being positive, circulating, and omnipresent. Explicating his notion of power in an interview, Foucault (1997) said that “[by power as power relation] I mean that in human relationships, whether they involve verbal communication... amorous, institutional, or economic relationships, power is always present: I mean a relationship in which one person tries to control the conduct of the other (pp. 291–292).” Foucault elaborated these workings of power further in his genealogy *Discipline & Punishment: The birth of the prison* (1979/1975). He showed that the human body has been controlled and made docile through disciplinary power. Discussing what “disciplines” are in the genealogy, he noted that they are those techniques “which made possible the meticulous control of the operations of body,” that later guaranteed the “constant subjection of its forces and imposed upon them a relation of docility-utility” (p. 137). Thus, disciplinary power—the power inherent in the disciplines—produced docile bodies: The bodies “that may be subjected, used, transformed and improved” constantly (p. 136).

Foucault (1979/1975) discussed in the genealogy that docility was produced mainly through three mechanisms: First, “there was the scale of the control,” that took body in “wholesale,” but treated it “in retail” in order to have “holds upon it at the level of mechanism itself—movements, gestures, attitudes, rapidity.” Second, “there was the object of control,” that aimed at “the economy, the efficiency of movements, their internal organization.” Finally, there was “the modality,” which suggested “an uninterrupted, constant coercion, supervising the processes of activity rather than its result.” The modality worked “according to a codification that partitions as closely as possible time, space, movement” (pp. 136–137). These mechanisms—“calculated, but permanent” (p. 170)—worked for making body docile. In other words, as McNay (1994) commented that, the disciplines subjected body to be “submissive, productive and trained” (p. 92). In short, discourse, discursive field, disciplinary power, and knowledge are tied, and work together to manufacture docility and normalcy in a certain society.

### 3. The study

English occupies a top position in all social domains such as education, judiciary, press, etc. in Pakistan (Mahboob, 2002; Manan, David, & Dumanig, 2016; Manan, Dumanig, & David, 2015; Rahman, 1996, 2002; Shamim, 2008). Specifically in public education, English is not only taught as a compulsory subject but it is also employed as a medium of instruction. As a compulsory subject, English is taught in Grade 1 onward (Channa, 2007, 2014; Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 2004; Panezai & Channa, 2017). As a medium of instruction, it starts in Grade 1 onward in provinces such as Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and in Grade 11 onward in provinces such as Sindh and Balochistan currently.

This qualitative study solely focused upon the state-mandated English textbooks of Grades 1–5 of the province of Sindh, Pakistan for the government primary schools. Government primary schools are the schools in the province of Sindh that provide education from Grades 1 to 5 to both male and female students. The textbooks are mandated for the government primary schools of Sindh for teaching a compulsory course of English in primary education. Sindh Textbook Board—a government agency working under both the Education and Literacy Department of the province of Sindh and Federal Education Ministry—produces and distributes the books. In collaboration with the Sindh Textbook Board, Sindh government-approved authors write and update the books continually.

One textbook has been mandated for the each primary grade for the compulsory subject of English. For this study, the sample of the books that has been included in study are *My English Book 1*, *My English Book 2*, *My English Book 3*, *My English Book 4*, and *My English Book 5*. Thus, a total of five textbooks were selected. Following Prior (2003), the textbooks were taken as official documents that contained qualitative data. A thematic analysis of the official documents was conducted by following a process consisting of six steps suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006). The steps included in the process were: familiarizing with data, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, and producing report. The conceptual framework outlined above guided the analysis. Above all, the analysis of the data—the English textbooks—were conducted with an overall purpose to understand how docility was embedded with and produced through the official English textbooks discourse for the primary school students of the province of Sindh, Pakistan.

### 4. Findings

Before discussing how a body of student is inscribed and prescribed in the English textbooks, it is important to underline that when a body enters into the disciplinary space such as school, it is already made docile by the institution of its family. How docility is further perpetuated in the discourse of the English textbooks is examined. The analysis found major two themes in the official discourse: male student and female student. Although the data below are divided into the major two themes, the analysis of the data does not exclusively focus upon gender issues as such. Rather, the analysis attempts to specially concentrate on aspects of docility. Above all, all the excerpts of both male and female students reveal that the disciplinary power is intricately welded with English learning and its use for constructing docility.

#### 4.1. Male student

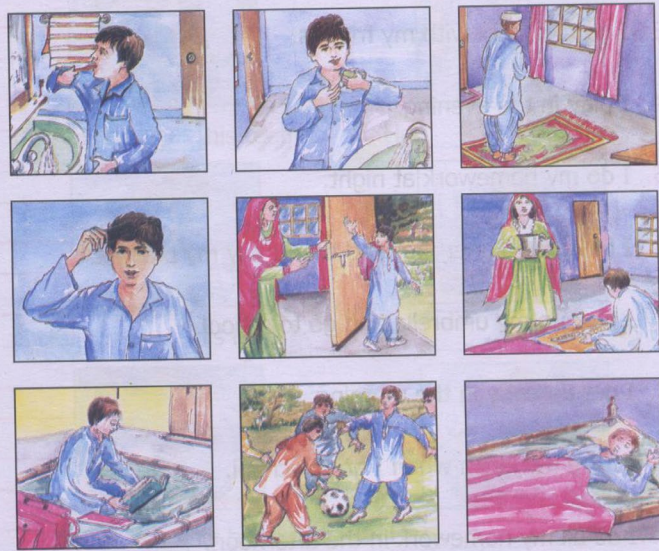
The following excerpt is taken from *My English Book 3* (Sindh Textbook Board (STB), Jamshoro, 2009a). There are a total six units in the book. Each unit, focusing upon a particular grammatical structure or tense, is divided into further five or six sub-sections. The sub-sections cover different skills such as reading, writing, practicing, etc. of the structure or tense. The excerpt (Excerpt 1) below is related to reading skills. It teaches how a student passes his/her typical day. From the language-learning point of view, the excerpt teaches the use of Present Simple Tense. Students in the classroom are supposed to read and comprehend the lesson. Once they are done with the activity of reading, they are asked to practice/use the tense.

#### Excerpt 1

**5.2 Reading Comprehension**

### My Daily Activities

I get up early in the morning. I brush my teeth and wash my face. Then I say my prayers and have my breakfast. After that I change my clothes and comb my hair. Then I pick up my bag and go to school. When I come back home, I have my lunch. I do all my homework in the afternoon. In the evening, I go to the playground and play with my friends. After dinner, I say my prayers and go to bed.



**Teacher's Guideline:** Ask students about their daily activities. Ask them "When do you get up?", "What do you do every morning?". Write the responses on the blackboard. Underline the action words and explain the rules. Read the text aloud while students follow. Ask students to read the text silently and identify the action words.

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The following excerpt (Excerpt 2), for instance, has been given for their practice of the tense from the same book.

This sub-section shows what Asad does typically every morning. The sub-section works as providing exercise for using Present Simple Tense. Students are supposed to fill the boxes by putting the right verb below the right picture.

Excerpt 2

**5.3 Language Practice** **Simple Present Tense (Habits)**

**Example:** Asad does these things in the morning:

polishes, combs, washes, brushes, takes, drinks

**Exercise 1:** Put each of these words in the right box below. The first one has been done for you.

1. Asad  his teeth.

2. He  his face.

3. He  his hair.

4. He  his shoes.

5. He  his breakfast.

6. He  a glass of milk.

**Teacher's Guideline:** Tell students that this is Asad's story. It tells about some of the things Asad does in the morning. Write the action words given in the box on the blackboard. Read them out to the students. Ask them to look at the pictures and select the words that match the actions. Ask them to write the correct word in the small boxes. Go round and check students' work.



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This theme of dividing time and specifying it with certain activity with reference to the use of body is present in the books of other grades too. In *My English Book 4* (Sindh Textbook Board (STB), Jamshoro, 2009b), for instance, the following sub-section (Excerpt 3) of the unit seven teaches Past Simple Tense. The section is divided into first reading and comprehending, and then practicing it. What a boy did or how he passed his usual day is shown here.



Excerpt 3

**7.3 Language Practice**

1. Read the text given under each picture.



In the morning he watched the sun rise. In the afternoon he wrote a letter.



In the evening he played football. At night he listened to stories.

Now write about yourself. Complete the sentences given below by saying what you did yesterday.

In the morning I went to school.

In the afternoon I \_\_\_\_\_

In the evening I \_\_\_\_\_

At night I \_\_\_\_\_

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Taking the point into account that tenses are important and primary school students should master different tenses, the following sub-section (Excerpt 4) has been provided to learn Past Continuous Tense by using it in *My English Book 5* (Sindh Textbook Board (STB), Jamshoro, 2010b). Students are specifically asked to mark the blanks with right or wrong signs. Division of “Sunday” into “morning” and “evening” timings, and the further division of the timings in the context of different activities of/ for the body of a boy, is evident in the exercise. These mechanisms are clothed in the processes of learning and using Past Continuous Tense.

Excerpt 4

**2.3 Past Continuous Structure Practice**

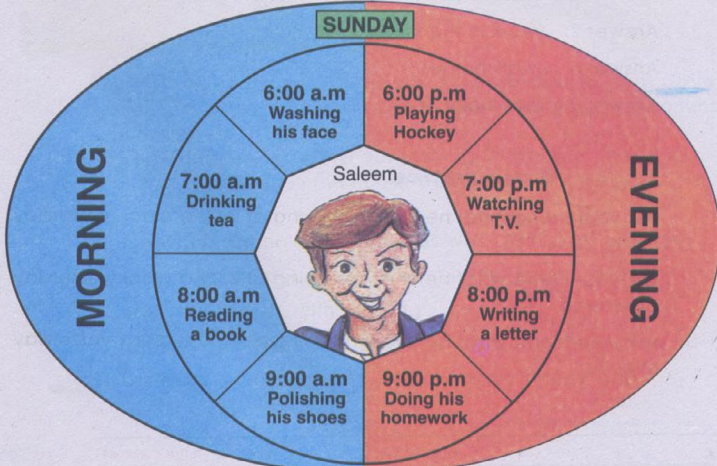
**Exercise 1:** Read the text and put a ✓ for the correct statement or a ✗ for the incorrect statement in the boxes provided.

**Example:** Someone was running in the kitchen.  ✗  
Someone was walking in the kitchen.  ✓

- Four people were sitting in different parts of the house.
- One man was closing the cupboard in his brother's bedroom.
- Another was shouting 'Hush! Be quiet!'
- One man was sleeping near the door.
- Another man was throwing some things in a car.

**Exercise 2:** What was Saleem doing last Sunday? Look at the diagram and write out one sentence for each time given.

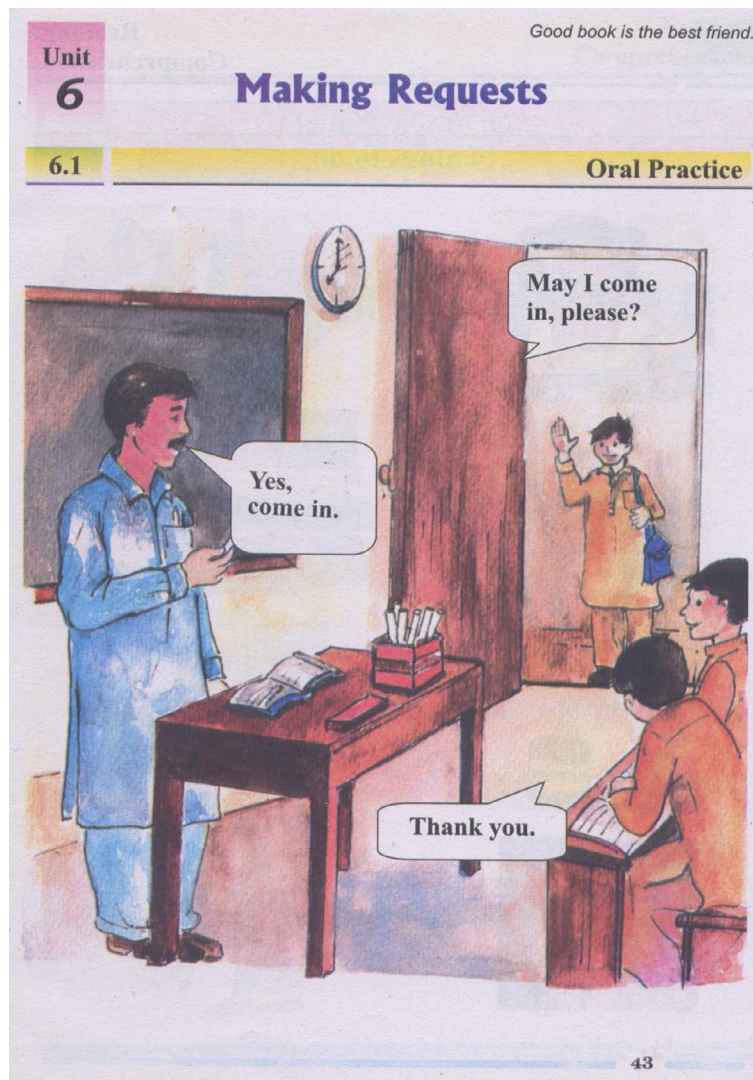
**Example:** At 6.00 a.m. he was washing his face.



(29)

In addition to above theme, the theme of how body behaves and communicates in the space of school is also embedded with English learning and use in the books. The following excerpt (Excerpt 5) from *My English Book 2* (Sindh Textbook Board (STB), Jamshoro, 2010a), for instance, teaches how a request is made in English. Specifically, it focuses upon the use of *May I ...?* structure. How one may make such request seems to be intricately related with disciplinary space of the class and the modality of communication.

Excerpt 5



**4.2. Female student**

The English textbooks do not only teach English by portraying only male body. One may also find these themes with reference to the female body. The following excerpt (Excerpt 6), for instance, taken from *My English Book 4* (Sindh Textbook Board (STB), Jamshoro, 2009b) teaches students how they can make offers using Future Simple Tense. Thus, on the one hand, this excerpt makes students practice their reading skills, and, on the other, it teaches them the specific structure of English for making an offer.

Excerpt 6

1.2 a. Reading


### Mariam visits grandmother

Every Sunday Mariam goes to help her old grandmother. She helps her with her house-work. Grandmother relaxes that day.

Mariam: Shall I make tea for you, Grandma?  
Grandma: Yes, please.  
*(Grandmother feels very pleased and enjoys tea.)*

Grandma: Can you make rice and curry for lunch?  
Mariam: Yes, but where is the rice?  
Grandma: It's in the cabinet. Let me clean the rice for you.

Mariam: Shall I dust the room?  
Grandma: Yes, please.  
Mariam: Where is the duster?  
Grandma: It's on the shelf in the kitchen.  
Mariam: Shall I clean the kitchen as well?  
Grandma: No, thank you. You are a good girl, Mariam. God bless you.



4

In fact, what makes this excerpt different from the above ones is the nature of activities attached with the body of a girl in the culture of Sindh, Pakistan. The theme of how she behaves or how she exposes her attitudes while making request in English is evident in her utterances. That is, she tries to establish herself as a *docile and good* girl. In this context, the deployment of body in ways to expose positive attitudes and gestures seems deeply interlinked with the English structure of making an offer in the future tense.

This theme of operating body positively may be pervasive in other respects too. The following excerpt (Excerpt 7) from *My English Book 2* (Sindh Textbook Board (STB), Jamshoro, 2010a), for instance, may tell further regarding how the body of female students is disciplined in the disciplinary space of school.

Excerpt 7

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

Kind words beget respect

**Unit 1**

## Greetings

**1.1a** Oral Practice

**Listen and reply:**



**Teacher's Guideline** Begin your class with greetings everyday. You may change the wordings of greetings from day to day. Sometimes you may greet by saying Good morning/Asslam-o-alikum class/everyone/all of you.

1

Taking the English learning and use into account, this unit of the book teaches students how to greet in English. This is shown by the body of girls greeting the body of a female teacher by standing up on their desks at the entrance of their teacher in the space of English class.

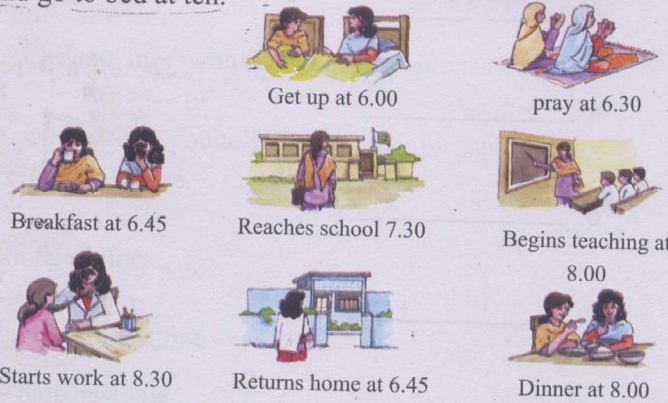
In addition, as the male body's routine discussed above, the female's body daily routine is also shown in terms of her typical daily activities. The following excerpt (Excerpt 8), for instance, from *My English Book 4* (Sindh Textbook Board (STB), Jamshoro, 2009b) exhibits how Mariam and Ayesha—doctor and teacher respectively—pass their day typically. This lesson, too, teaches the students to learn and practice Present Simple Tense.

Excerpt 8

**6.2 Reading**

### Mariam and Ayesha's daily routine

Mariam and Ayesha are sisters. Mariam is a doctor and Ayesha is a teacher. They get up at six o'clock and have a bath at quarter past six. They pray at half past six and have breakfast at quarter to seven. Ayesha's school van comes at seven o'clock. She reaches the school at half-past seven. The school starts at quarter to eight and she begins teaching at eight o'clock. Mariam works in a hospital and she starts work at half past eight. Ayesha's school closes at one o'clock. She reaches home at half-past one and takes lunch at two. Mariam does not have lunch. She returns home at quarter to seven. They have dinner at eight. Then they watch television at nine and go to bed at ten.



Get up at 6.00

pray at 6.30

Breakfast at 6.45

Reaches school 7.30

Begins teaching at 8.00

Starts work at 8.30

Returns home at 6.45

Dinner at 8.00

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Both Mariam and Ayesha interlink the division of a day into detailed activities here with the habitual doing/using of body. Thus, the Present Simple Tense exposes how body is used daily by them. Thus, their habitual doing works in ways to establish docility and normalcy.

### 5. Discussion & analysis

As aforementioned in the theoretical framework, the established discourses transform an individual into a subject through disciplinary mechanisms. Being tangible and institutional in nature, the *discourse of English* performs two operations concurrently. It not only forms the body—subjectivity—of male and female students but it also prescribes itself to them. This execution of the discourse is inextricably linked, on the one hand, with the disciplinary power, and, on the other, with the knowledge of English. The discourse functions to make body docile, obedient, and normal in the discursive field of education. Thus, it may arguably be contended that the English textbooks, in effect, do more than providing opportunities for learning and practicing English. The textbooks suggest students how they may be docile and obedient.

Discussing the role of detail in establishing docility, Foucault (1979/1975), for instance, noted, “Discipline is a political anatomy of detail” (p. 139). By it, he suggested that the most detailed a task tends to be, the most convenient it is for one to “observe, supervise, [and] regularize” one’s body for certain purposes (p. 148). In this context of the role of detail for establishing docility, he mentioned the advent of timetable as “the new microphysics of power” (p. 139), which “transforms the confused, useless or dangerous multitudes into ordered multiplicities” (p. 148).

This *microphysics of power*—how the male and female students improve their body and be productive by dividing a day, or specifically Sunday, into portions (i.e. morning, evening etc.), and then dividing the portions into tasks—is present in the English textbooks. Thus, learning and practicing, for instance, Present Simple Tense in the cases of how a boy (Excerpt 1), and Mariam and Ayesha (Excerpt 8) pass their typical days *normally* and Past Continuous Tense in the case of Saleem (Excerpt 4) expose how their bodies are *controlled and regularized* by them by doing different activities.

The discourse does not only function here to earn Pakistani learners the linguistic capital of English by learning and practicing these tenses (Bourdieu, 1991), it also implies how they may “observe, supervise, [and] regularize” their bodies (Foucault (1979/1975), p. 148). In other words, the discourse provides them the model samples of how they may be docile—good students like the ones prescribed in the books—using their bodies by following the detailed routine. Therefore, the “the mystique of the everyday is joined here with the discipline of the minute” bathed in the knowledge of learning and using English in the English textbooks (Foucault, 1979/1975, p. 140).

In addition, the production of docility is not confined to the “meticulous observation of detail” only (Foucault, 1979/1975, p. 141); it is also tied with space. For example, discussing the role of discipline with respect to space for instituting obedience, Foucault stated, “Discipline organizes an analytical space” (p. 143). By it, he suggested that space becomes disciplinary as well as discursive for “making individuals” submissive (p. 170). In other words, one may argue that the disciplinary space not only controls body but also teaches how it should behave in the space. In this context, Foucault added that disciplines “mark places and indicates values; they guarantee the obedience of individuals” (p. 148).

Arguably, this mechanism of making body obedient through any disciplinary space may not be taken disassociated from the communication and its modality that is typically supposed to occur in the disciplinary space. That is to say, for having normal communication or while interacting with someone normally in a certain disciplinary space one is required to be aware of an expectation regarding how one’s body is to be used. Thus, it comes out that body “in wholesale” and language “in retail” should be exploited in ways to look normal and obedient to an interlocutor.

The English textbooks manifest such normal communication behavior, particularly, in the cases of learning the structures of greeting a teacher and making requests. In the first case, the books document how the female body greets its teacher in class (see Excerpt 7): The girls stand up on their desks while responding “Good morning, teacher.” to their instructor. Thus, greeting a tutor—uttering the English words—seems to be tied with standing up in honor of the teacher in this Sindhi/Pakistani context. In the second case, the boy is shown to undergo the process of standing up at the door of the class (see Excerpt 5) for uttering “May I come in, please?” in order to enter the classroom. The cultural practice of standing at the door before entering a classroom is interlinked with learning the request of getting in a classroom.

The discourse shows how normal communication processes of greeting and making request are performed in the disciplinary space of a classroom. Arguably, these bodily modalities, wedded with the English communication of greeting and making request, not only expose the cultural and social nuances that are specific to Pakistani Sindhi society but also prescribe the learners to undergo such cultural and communicative patterns at these places in such ways.

Moreover, in addition to the production of docility through detail and space, docility may also be established through “instrumental coding of body.” That is to say, it may be produced through the

correct use of bodily “gestures and movements” by exhibiting positive attitudes (Foucault, 1979/1975, p. 151). Discussing this characteristic of disciplinary power, Foucault wrote, “A disciplined body is the pre-requisite of an effective gesture” (p. 152). For being normal and docile, he implied that one need to show the signs of positive attitudes. Arguably, one of the main ways to display one’s positive and normal attitudes is an exploitation of one’s language in wholesale and bodily gestures in retail according to a certain normalized manner.

In this context, the demonstration of normal gestures and affirmative attitudes may be found in the books interlinked with the structure of making offers in English. The lesson *Mariam Visits Grandmother* teaches students to learn *Shall I ...?* structure of making an offer (Excerpt 6). Because the structure focuses upon *making an offer*, its purpose and chemistry, debatably, may never be constructed, achieved, and conveyed if it is not communicated with normal bodily gesture and attitudes. By displaying an example of how offers are made in English by Mariam—who is consequently established as a *good girl* in the last utterance of grandma in the excerpt—the discourse prescribes the students the normal way of making offers in English.

The analysis of the English books for the elementary children—the “passive subjects” (Foucault, 1997, p. 291)—reveals that the learning and use of English may not be disassociated from the perpetuation of the social nuance of docility. By fusing the knowledge of learning and using English with the mechanisms of disciplinary power, the institutional discourse (i.e. the English books) appears, in the words of Weedon (1997), “more than ways of thinking and producing meaning” here. It, rather, “constitutes the ‘nature’ of the body” (p. 105). Thus, as St. Pierre (2000) put, the discourse of English “organizes a way of thinking into a way of acting in the world” (p. 485).

## 6. Conclusion & implications

The discussion attempts to argue what both the models of language learning and use, discussed above, seem to miss: the perpetuation and production of docility. From the perspective of the first model of ESL, EFL, and ENL, no matter whether English may either be a native, second, or a foreign language in certain contexts, its learning seems to be *doing, acting, speaking, behaving, and thinking* in synchronous to the normal and established cultural ways of doing, acting, speaking, behaving, and thinking of a certain society. Thus, in our case, the learning of English, which may be a second or a foreign language in Pakistan, seems immersed with perpetuating the social nuances of Pakistani society. Consequently, the learning behavior, as theorized in the cognitivist, sociocultural, and social constructionist perspectives, do not seem to account for this critical implication.

Likewise, from the context of the other model of EIL, ELF, and WEs, no matter the use and expansion of English may either be viewed from the EIL, ELF, and/or WEs frameworks, English is not disentangled from such social nuances and ideologies. Thus, in our case, if the use of English is approached through the ELF theory, it, indeed, may suggest how English as a lingua franca appears when a Pakistani non-native speakers use it among themselves. Or, approaching the practice of English from the EIL framework, it implies how the non-native speakers of Pakistan should be cautious, for instance, in their pronunciation in order to be intelligible to the burgeoning world community of English. Or, taking the English of the books as *Pinglish* (i.e. Pakistani English) it may afford the ownership of the variety and the rights of its use and assessment accordingly to the Pakistani learners and policy-makers. However, these three perspectives, arguably, are not free from the message of the Pakistani culture and context inherent in the use and practice of English.

To conclude, the Foucauldian perspective, thus, suggests that learning English and its use in any social milieu is not detached from the social process and mechanisms of being docile and normal in that specific social milieu. It must be clarified here that by looking at learning English and its use through this Foucauldian perspective, the authors do not claim to be the *right* and/or the *final* in their analysis. The Foucauldian perspective, however, helps them to see what the other perspectives do not in terms of the issues of learning English and its use in certain cultural contexts.

### Funding

The authors received no direct funding for this research.

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### Citation information

Cite this article as: Teaching English or producing docility? Foucauldian analysis of Pakistani state-mandated English textbooks, Liaquat Ali Channa, Daniel Gilhooly, Abdul Razaque Channa & Syed Abdul Manan, *Cogent Education* (2017), 4: 1283101.

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<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/3587438>



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