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**FROM LOCAL TONGUES TO GLOBAL ENGLISH:
SOCIOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF LINGUISTIC AND
CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN PAKISTANI HIGHER EDUCATION**

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Abstract

This study examines the sociological aspects of linguistic and cultural diversity within the higher education context of Pakistan, with a particular focus on the shift from local languages to global English. Pakistan is a multilingual society with several regional languages, as well as Urdu and English. These languages present both opportunities and challenges to students and teachers when engaging in academic discourse and pursuing social belonging and identity. This research study employs qualitative research methods, including semi-structured interviews, focus groups, and classroom observations at several selected universities. Bourdieu's theories inform this study on linguistic capital and cultural reproduction by examining the impact of social-structural language hierarchies on access, dominance, and academic underachievement. The findings aim to capture the tensions between the role of English as a global lingua franca and the sociocultural importance of local indigenous languages, whose value is often overlooked in higher education. This study addresses the need for research that informs policy on equitable language practices to support inclusivity and linguistic equity in Pakistani higher education.

Keywords: *Linguistic, Sociological aspects, Cultural diversity, Bourdieu's theories, English as a global lingua franca.*



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Introduction:

In an increasingly globalised world, English has become more than just a language. It is a global symbol of modernity, opportunity, and academic prestige. In postcolonial societies such as Pakistan, English functions not only as a medium of instruction in higher education but also as a marker of socio-economic mobility and cultural capital (Rahman, 2021). The coexistence of multiple languages like English, Urdu, and numerous regional tongues such as Punjabi, Sindhi, Pashto, and Balochi, creates a complex linguistic landscape that deeply influences educational practices, identity construction, and social hierarchies (Mahboob, 2017). Within Pakistani universities, this multilingual diversity generates both opportunities for intercultural learning and challenges in achieving linguistic inclusivity. The tension between local linguistic identities and the dominance of English reflects broader sociological dynamics of power, inequality, and globalization.

Historically, the role of English in Pakistan has been shaped by colonial legacies and the continuation of linguistic hierarchies after independence. The British colonial administration institutionalized English as the language of governance and education, associating it with intellectual and social superiority (Coleman, 2010). Following independence, Pakistan's elite education system perpetuated this linguistic hierarchy, sustaining social stratification through differential access to English-medium instruction (Rahman, 2019). Consequently, linguistic competence in English often correlates with class privilege, professional advancement, and access to higher education, thereby reinforcing existing inequalities (Mansoor, 2004). As a result, English is not merely a communicative tool, but a form of linguistic capital—a resource that confers social and economic advantages within an unequal educational system (Bourdieu, 1991).

The dominance of English in higher education also raises questions about cultural identity and academic authenticity. While English serves as a vehicle for global academic participation, it can simultaneously marginalize indigenous epistemologies and local modes of expression (Canagarajah, 2013). Many Pakistani students experience linguistic insecurity and a sense of alienation when English proficiency becomes a criterion for academic success (Hyder & Shah, 2020). This phenomenon underscores what Phillipson (1992) terms *linguistic imperialism* the privileging of English at the expense of local languages and cultures. In Pakistani universities, this linguistic hegemony manifests in curricula, assessment methods, and faculty attitudes that prioritise English-medium communication, often overlooking the linguistic diversity that characterises the student



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population (Mahboob, 2020). Consequently, the use of English as the default academic language can inadvertently perpetuate exclusion rather than foster inclusion.

However, the sociolinguistic reality of Pakistan is not simply one of linguistic domination but also of negotiation and hybridity. Students and educators continuously navigate between English, Urdu, and local languages, creating what García (2009) calls *translanguaging spaces*—contexts where speakers fluidly draw upon their entire linguistic repertoires. This linguistic flexibility enables creative expression and critical engagement, challenging rigid monolingual norms in academia (Canagarajah, 2011). In such contexts, local tongues serve as powerful instruments of identity, belonging, and resistance, reflecting the ongoing interplay between global and local linguistic forces. Therefore, understanding the sociological implications of linguistic diversity in Pakistani higher education requires attention to how language practices intersect with issues of class, culture, identity, and power.

The sociological study of language diversity in Pakistani universities is particularly relevant in the context of globalization and educational reform. As Pakistan aspires to internationalize its higher education sector, English proficiency is increasingly positioned as a prerequisite for competitiveness in global academia (Shamim, 2018). Yet, this aspiration often comes at the cost of local linguistic and cultural representation. Balancing global communication with cultural authenticity remains a central challenge for policymakers and educators alike. As Graddol (2006) observes, the global spread of English brings both integration and inequality, producing new hierarchies within education systems worldwide. In Pakistan, these hierarchies are visible in institutional language policies that favor English-medium programs, often disregarding the sociocultural realities of a linguistically diverse student body (Rahman, 2021).

Hence, this study situates itself at the intersection of sociolinguistics, education, and sociology to explore how linguistic and cultural diversity shapes academic life in Pakistani higher education. Drawing on Bourdieu's (1991) theory of linguistic capital and Vygotsky's (1978) sociocultural theory, it investigates how language practices mediate access, participation, and identity formation within universities. The inquiry emphasizes not only the structural dimensions of linguistic inequality but also the agency of students and faculty in negotiating linguistic norms. By examining these dynamics, the study aims to contribute to a broader understanding of how global English influences local languages in shaping the sociological fabric of higher education in Pakistan. Ultimately, it advocates for inclusive



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language policies that acknowledge the coexistence of global competence and local identity, ensuring linguistic equity in the pursuit of educational excellence.

Literature Review

Linguistic Diversity and Higher Education in Pakistan

Pakistan's linguistic landscape is characterized by rich multilingualism, where over seventy languages coexist (Rahman, 2019). Urdu serves as the national language, while English functions as the official and academic language. In higher education, English-medium instruction (EMI) predominates in most disciplines, reflecting both colonial legacies and contemporary aspirations (Coleman, 2010). This dominance has created a linguistic hierarchy that privileges English-speaking elites and marginalizes students from regional or Urdu-medium backgrounds (Mansoor, 2004; Shamim, 2018). Rahman (2021) argues that this linguistic stratification perpetuates educational inequality by restricting access to quality education for those lacking proficiency in English.

Studies by Mahboob (2017) and Hyder and Shah (2020) show that English-medium universities in Pakistan often equate linguistic competence with intelligence and professionalism. This perception, embedded within institutional discourse, fosters an environment in which non-native English speakers internalise feelings of linguistic inferiority. Consequently, the hegemony of English affects not only academic performance but also self-perception and the construction of identity. Mansoor (2004) identifies this phenomenon as a form of linguistic elitism, where English proficiency serves as a gatekeeping tool for upward mobility, employment, and prestige.

The Sociological Implications of English Dominance

The sociological implications of English dominance in postcolonial societies are profound. Phillipson (1992) describes this phenomenon as *linguistic imperialism*, where the spread of English serves the political, economic, and ideological interests of the global North. In the Pakistani context, English symbolizes social distinction and power (Rahman, 2019). Drawing on Bourdieu's (1991) theory of linguistic capital, English proficiency functions as a form of symbolic power that reproduces and privileges class hierarchies. Those who master English gain social legitimacy and access to elite educational and professional.



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Moreover, the dominance of English can be linked to what Canagarajah (2013) terms *linguistic hierarchies*—systems in which some varieties of English (typically Western or “standard”) are deemed superior to localized forms. In Pakistani academia, such hierarchies foster linguistic insecurity even among fluent English users, particularly when their accents or expressions differ from Western norms (Mahboob, 2020). These conditions create an unequal linguistic order that mirrors broader social inequalities in access, identity, and representation.

Cultural Identity, Language, and Academic Experience

Language is not only a means of communication but also a carrier of culture and identity (Kramsch, 1998). In multilingual societies like Pakistan, where language and ethnicity are deeply intertwined, linguistic practices play a crucial role in shaping one’s social identity and belonging. Students in Pakistani universities navigate between multiple linguistic identities—regional, national, and global—each carrying distinct cultural connotations (Rahman, 2021). This phenomenon aligns with Vygotsky’s (1978) sociocultural theory, which posits that learning and identity formation occur through social interaction mediated by language.

Scholars such as Rahman (2019) and Mansoor (2004) emphasise that linguistic diversity in Pakistani universities should be recognised as an asset rather than a deficit. Yet, current pedagogical and policy frameworks fail to capitalise on this richness. Instead, English proficiency remains a benchmark for academic legitimacy. The result is a paradox: while English enables global participation, it simultaneously silences local linguistic expressions and perpetuates sociocultural exclusion.

Globalization and Linguistic Capital in Higher Education

The globalization of education has intensified the demand for English-medium instruction, positioning English as a prerequisite for academic and professional success (Graddol, 2006). In Pakistan, this global trend intersects with national aspirations for modernisation, resulting in the proliferation of English-medium universities and programs (Shamim, 2018). However, as Bourdieu (1991) notes, linguistic capital is unequally distributed, and those from rural or lower-income backgrounds often lack access to quality English education. Thus, while English symbolizes global connectivity, it also reinforces the socio-economic divide within the higher education system (Rahman, 2021).



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Canagarajah (2013) argues that the globalisation of English should not be viewed merely as homogenization but as a process of localisation, where local speakers adapt and reshape English to their sociocultural realities. In Pakistan, emerging varieties of *Pakistani English* represent a creative negotiation between global norms and local identities (Mahboob, 2020). However, institutional attitudes toward these localized forms remain ambivalent, often regarding them as “deficient” rather than legitimate. Such perceptions further contribute to linguistic discrimination and symbolic violence within academia (Bourdieu, 1991).

Furthermore, Hyder and Shah (2020) highlight that the use of English in Pakistani universities affects not only linguistic hierarchies but also epistemological orientations. English-language curricula tend to prioritise Western perspectives, marginalising indigenous knowledge systems. This epistemic dependency perpetuates what Alatas (2006) refers to as the *academic dependency syndrome*, where intellectual authority remains tied to the global North. Recognising and incorporating local languages and epistemologies could therefore contribute to epistemic justice and decolonisation of higher education in Pakistan.

Gaps in the Literature

While extensive research has examined English-medium instruction and language policy in Pakistan, there remains limited qualitative inquiry into the **sociological implications of linguistic and cultural diversity** within higher education. Most studies emphasize linguistic proficiency and pedagogical outcomes (Mansoor, 2004; Shamim, 2018), whereas few explore how language shapes identity, inclusion, and power relations among students and faculty. Moreover, existing research rarely integrates sociological theories, such as Bourdieu’s concept of linguistic capital, with ethnographic insights from Pakistani campuses. The present study addresses this gap by examining how linguistic diversity operates as both a site of empowerment and a source of inequality in higher education. By doing so, it contributes to a deeper understanding of language as a social determinant of access, identity, and cultural belonging.



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Objectives of the Study

The following are the objectives of the study:

1. To discover how linguistic and cultural diversity influences academic and social experiences of students in Pakistani higher education.
2. To observe the role of English as a global language in shaping educational opportunities, identities, and inequalities.
3. To explore the perceptions of faculty and students regarding language hierarchies in academic contexts.
4. To propose policies and practices for promoting inclusivity and balancing global competence with local linguistic heritage.

Research Questions

1. How does linguistic and cultural diversity manifest in Pakistani higher education institutions?
2. What sociological implications arise from the dominance of English as a medium of instruction?
3. In what ways do students and faculty perceive the tensions between local languages and global English?
4. How can Pakistani universities foster inclusive language policies that respect diversity while maintaining international competitiveness?

Significance and Contribution of the Study

The recent study expands the sociolinguistic research on multilingualism in higher education in Pakistani academia. It also provides evidence-based recommendations for language planning in higher education institutions. Socially and globally, it not only highlights issues of equity, identity, and linguistic justice but also offers insights relevant to other multilingual postcolonial contexts beyond Pakistan. The study contributes to sociolinguistics, higher education policy, and cultural studies by examining the relationship between language diversity and social stratification. It uncovers how English, while enabling global mobility, reinforces hierarchies that marginalise local languages. It proposes strategies for inclusive pedagogy that strike a balance between global aspirations and the preservation of indigenous identity. It provides a Pakistani case study to enrich comparative international literature on language, culture, and education.



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Methodology

Research Design

This study employs a qualitative, exploratory design, which is suitable for investigating complex social and linguistic phenomena in natural contexts. The study employs an explicit multiple case study approach, allowing for in-depth exploration of language practices, perceptions, and power relations across diverse institutional settings (Yin, 2018). The research focuses on how the interaction between English, Urdu, and regional languages shapes participants' academic experiences, identities, and sense of inclusion. The approach emphasises interpretive understanding rather than statistical generalisation, aligning with Creswell's (2013) definition of qualitative research as a process of exploring and interpreting the meanings individuals or groups ascribe to a social problem.

Theoretical Framework

This study is guided by two interrelated theoretical perspectives:

Bourdieu's Theory of Linguistic Capital (1991) conceptualises language as a form of symbolic power that reflects and reproduces social hierarchies. This theory helps explain how language proficiency becomes a mechanism of inclusion or exclusion in academic spaces.

Vygotsky's Sociocultural Theory (1978) views language as a mediating tool in cognitive and social development. Within this framework, linguistic interaction in higher education is not merely communicative but also developmental, shaping how students construct their knowledge, identity, and sense of belonging.

Together, these frameworks enable the study to interpret linguistic practices as both structural (institutional and policy-driven) and agentic (negotiated and redefined by speakers) processes.

Research Sites and Participants

Four public and private universities from Punjab, Sindh, KPK, and Federal Territories, were purposively selected to represent linguistic and cultural diversity in Pakistan's higher



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education sector. This selection provides a representative cross-section of Pakistan's multilingual higher education landscape.

Sampling and Participants

The study uses purposive sampling, focusing on participants directly engaged with linguistic diversity in academic contexts (Patton, 2015). The sample comprises 40 undergraduate and postgraduate students (10 from each university) from diverse linguistic backgrounds, as well as 12 faculty members teaching language, social sciences, and humanities courses. Participants were selected to ensure variation in language proficiency, socio-economic background, and regional representation.

Data Collection Methods

To ensure a comprehensive understanding, the study utilised four primary data collection techniques consistent with triangulation principles (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2018).

Semi-Structured Interviews

Individual interviews with students and faculty explored participants' linguistic backgrounds, attitudes toward English and local languages, and experiences in multilingual classrooms. Each interview lasted approximately 40–60 minutes and was conducted in English, Urdu, or a combination of both, depending on the participant's preference.

Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)

Four focus groups were conducted, one at each university to capture shared perceptions and collective experiences related to language, culture, and academic inclusion. FGDs encouraged participants to discuss how language policies and peer interactions shape their educational experiences.

Classroom Observations

Non-participant observations were conducted in selected classes to examine language practices, code-switching behaviour, and patterns of teacher-student interaction. Field notes recorded instances of language negotiation and the social meanings attached to linguistic choices.



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Document Analysis

Institutional documents, such as language policies, course outlines, and admission materials, were analysed to understand how universities formally construct language ideologies and practices.

Data Analysis Procedures

Data analysis followed Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-phase framework for thematic analysis, a widely used method for identifying and interpreting patterns within qualitative data. Audio recordings and field notes were transcribed and reviewed multiple times. Initial codes were generated using NVivo software to capture meaningful segments related to linguistic identity, hierarchy, and inclusivity. These codes were grouped into potential themes, including linguistic privilege, cultural hybridity, linguistic anxiety, and identity negotiation. Themes were refined by comparing them across interviews, focus groups, and observation notes to ensure consistency. Each theme was clearly defined, linked to theoretical constructs from Bourdieu and Vygotsky. Themes were illustrated using participants' verbatim quotations to maintain authenticity and interpretive richness. To enhance trustworthiness, the study applied member checking, data triangulation, and peer debriefing (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Member checking involved sharing preliminary interpretations with participants for validation, while triangulation integrated multiple data sources to ensure the reliability of the findings.

Ethical Considerations

Ethical approval was obtained from the institutional review boards of the participating universities. Participants provided informed consent after being briefed about the study's purpose, confidentiality measures, and their right to withdraw at any stage.

Limitations of the study

While qualitative research offers deep insights into lived experiences, its findings are context-specific and not statistically generalizable. The study's focus on a limited number of universities may not capture the full range of linguistic practices across Pakistan. However, its interpretive richness provides valuable theoretical and practical insights that can inform broader discussions on linguistic diversity and inclusion in higher education.



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Findings and Discussion

The data collected through interviews, focus groups, observations, and document analysis revealed four dominant and interrelated themes reflecting the sociological implications of linguistic and cultural diversity in Pakistani higher education:

Linguistic Capital and Academic Stratification

Across all four universities, English proficiency emerged as a key determinant of academic success and social positioning. Students who were fluent in English were perceived by both peers and faculty as more “intelligent,” “modern,” and “professional,” while those struggling with English faced subtle exclusion and self-doubt.

“When I speak Urdu in class, some teachers switch back to English immediately, as if Urdu is not academic enough.” (Student, Public University–Punjab)

This observation aligns with Bourdieu’s (1991) concept of *linguistic capital*, where linguistic competence serves as a form of symbolic power that legitimizes one’s position within the educational field. English functions as a gatekeeping mechanism, determining access to prestige, confidence, and authority.

Faculty members from elite private universities also acknowledged that English-medium instruction often privileges urban, English-educated students while disadvantaging those from rural or regional-language backgrounds. Such practices reproduce existing class structures within academia, echoing Rahman’s (2021) argument that Pakistan’s language policies sustain linguistic elitism and inequality. Table 1 below summarises the perception of linguistic capital among student groups across universities.

Table:1 *Perceived Role of English Proficiency in Academic Success (N = 40 Students)*

Category	Frequency	Percentage	Description
Essential for academic success	28	70%	Students view English as the key to grades and teacher approval
Indicator of intelligence and status	25	62.5%	English is linked to modernity and class privilege
Medium of exclusion	18	45%	Students with low proficiency feel marginalized
Neutral or inclusive tool	6	15%	Bilingual students feel comfortable navigating multiple codes



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Linguistic Insecurity and Identity Negotiation

Students from Urdu- and regional-language backgrounds frequently expressed linguistic insecurity, particularly during class discussions or assessments. Many reported feeling hesitant to participate due to fear of ridicule for “incorrect English.”

“I have ideas, but I cannot express them in English like others. Sometimes I stay quiet because I do not want to sound wrong.” (Student, Regional University–KPK)

This linguistic anxiety reinforces Bourdieu’s (1991) notion of symbolic domination—where one language variety is institutionalised as superior, leading to the marginalisation of others. Such internalised hierarchies affect self-esteem and limit academic engagement.

Interestingly, faculty members also reported similar insecurities when presenting at international conferences or publishing in English-language journals. This demonstrates that linguistic domination operates not only vertically (teacher-student) but also horizontally (faculty-faculty) within academic networks.

The negotiation of identity through language use resonates with Vygotsky’s (1978) idea that language mediates not only cognition but also self-concept. Students who alternated between English and local languages during discussions exhibited greater confidence and engagement, suggesting that hybrid linguistic practices can foster inclusivity.

Translanguaging as Cultural Resistance

Despite institutional norms favouring English, many students and teachers adopted translanguaging—the fluid integration of multiple languages in academic communication—as a strategy for participation and meaning-making.

“We start our group discussions in Urdu or Punjabi to make ideas clear, then shift to English when writing.” (Student, Private University–Karachi)

Such practices align with García’s (2009) concept of translanguaging spaces, where multilingual speakers draw upon their entire linguistic repertoire to construct understanding. In Pakistani universities, translanguaging served as a form of *cultural resistance* against linguistic homogenization.

Observations revealed that translanguaging facilitated comprehension, especially in technical subjects. Teachers who allowed flexible language use reported higher



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participation rates. However, institutional policies often discouraged this practice, viewing it as unprofessional or “unacademic” (Mahboob, 2020).

This contradiction highlights the sociological tension between linguistic functionality and linguistic prestige—between what facilitates student learning and what maintains institutional status.

The Paradox of Global English and Local Belonging

A recurring theme across all data sources was the paradoxical relationship between global English and local identity. On one hand, English is perceived as a pathway to international recognition, employment, and academic mobility. On the other hand, it symbolises cultural displacement and alienation from indigenous identities.

“I am proud when I speak good English, but sometimes I feel I am losing connection to my own culture.” (Postgraduate Student, Federal University–Islamabad)

This duality mirrors the findings of Canagarajah (2013), who describes English as both empowering and excluding in postcolonial societies. Students’ aspirations to master English reflect a desire for global citizenship, yet the process often entails the devaluation of their native linguistic heritage.

To illustrate these dynamics, Figure 1 presents a conceptual model developed from the study’s findings, showing how linguistic capital, insecurity, and translanguaging interact to shape students’ academic and cultural experiences.



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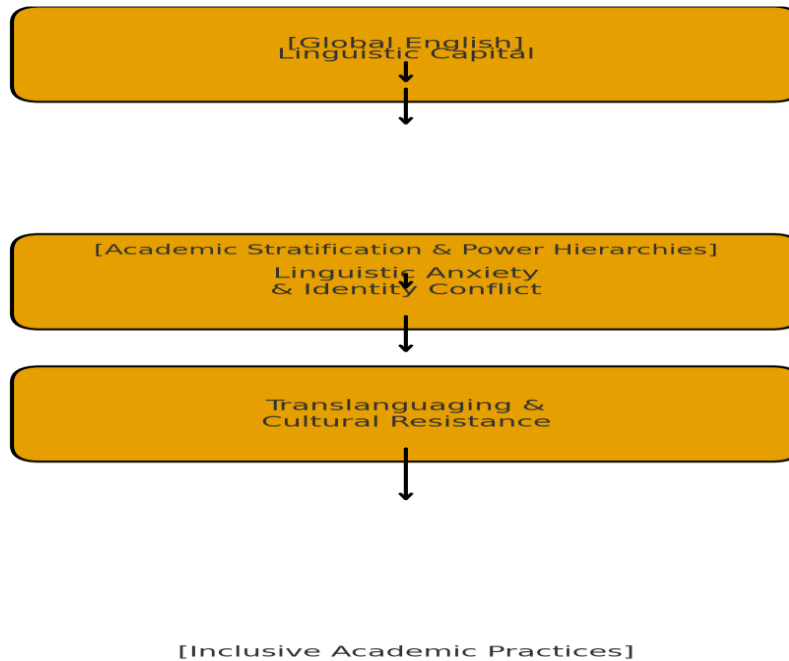
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Conceptual Model: Linguistic Dynamics in Pakistani Higher Education



Discussion

The findings substantiate that language in Pakistani higher education functions as both a tool of empowerment and a marker of exclusion. English proficiency provides access to global academic spaces, but it also simultaneously reinforces social inequalities. These results align with those of Rahman (2019) and Phillipson (1992), who argue that postcolonial education systems perpetuate colonial linguistic hierarchies under the guise of modernisation.

However, this study extends the existing literature by highlighting the agency of multilingual students, who resist linguistic marginalisation through the creative use of translanguaging. Such practices exemplify what Canagarajah (2011) calls *translingual negotiation*—where speakers challenge dominant linguistic ideologies and reshape the norms of communication.

The interplay between Bourdieu's structural theory and Vygotsky's developmental lens reveals that linguistic diversity is not merely a policy issue but a social process that affects



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identity, cognition, and belonging. Recognising and legitimising multilingual practices could therefore transform Pakistani universities into inclusive spaces that value both global engagement and local identity.

Conclusion

This study explored how linguistic and cultural diversity shapes social relationships, academic practices, and identity formation in Pakistani higher education. Through qualitative inquiry, it revealed that English occupies a dominant and highly symbolic position, functioning simultaneously as a vehicle for academic mobility and a mechanism of social exclusion. The findings reaffirm that linguistic hierarchies continue to influence educational structures and student identities across universities in Pakistan. The hegemony of English creates a dual reality: while students and faculty acknowledge its instrumental value in achieving academic and global recognition, they also experience linguistic alienation and identity conflict. Participants from Urdu, Punjabi, Sindhi, Pashto, and Saraiki backgrounds expressed a persistent sense of inferiority and anxiety when navigating English-only academic environments.

However, the study also identified resistance through translanguaging, students and teachers drawing flexibly on their multilingual repertoires to construct meaning, clarify concepts, and foster inclusivity. Translanguaging thus emerges as both a pedagogical and sociological act of empowerment, enabling participants to reconcile their local linguistic identities with the demands of global academia. The interplay between linguistic capital, insecurity, and resistance forms a dynamic sociolinguistic landscape in Pakistani higher education, rather than a simple hierarchy between English and local languages; a continuum of linguistic negotiation emerges, where individuals constantly balance global aspirations with local belonging.

Recommendations

The Higher Education Commission (HEC) and universities should design language policies that recognize multilingual competence as a strength rather than a deficit. Courses could integrate bilingual instructional materials and dual-language assessments to accommodate diverse linguistic backgrounds (Mahboob, 2020). Academic writing and publication criteria should acknowledge multilingual expression and translanguaging, especially in local journals. This would democratize knowledge production and reduce the linguistic gatekeeping prevalent in English-only academic spaces (Phillipson, 1992). Pre-



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service and in-service teacher training programs should include modules on critical sociolinguistics and inclusive pedagogy, equipping educators to navigate multilingual classrooms without reinforcing linguistic hierarchies. Institutions should formally permit and encourage the use of translanguaging strategies in lectures, discussions, and assignments. This will help students engage more deeply with content, particularly in complex subjects (García, 2009). Universities can establish Language Development Units that offer writing and speaking support in both English and Urdu/regional languages, focusing on confidence building rather than penalization for linguistic differences. Departments should incorporate local linguistic and cultural studies into English and education programs to foster a more balanced academic identity and promote intercultural awareness. There is a pressing need to dismantle the association of English with social superiority. Public discourse and university campaigns could celebrate multilingual achievements and highlight the success of bilingual scholars and professionals. Research projects and theses written in local languages should be given institutional recognition and opportunities for translation into English to facilitate wider dissemination, thereby bridging the gap between local scholarship and global communication (Rahman, 2019).

Future research could examine how linguistic attitudes evolve across academic trajectories—from undergraduate to postgraduate levels—within different socio-economic and regional contexts. Comparative studies involving other postcolonial countries (e.g., India, Nigeria, Malaysia) could offer insights into shared patterns and unique trajectories of linguistic stratification and cultural negotiation. Integrating corpus linguistics tools to analyze classroom discourse or student writing could quantitatively map patterns of translanguaging and identity construction, enriching qualitative insights.

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