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The Indecisive Role of English and Urdu in Multilingual Pakistan



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Abstract: *The paper explores Pakistani graduate EFL learners' attitudes towards the increasing significance of the English language at national and global levels in the contemporary world. The analysis adopts a qualitative style, using twenty interviews to gain painstaking insights into the learners' linguistic attitudes. The research scrutinizes the socio, contextual and cultural factors that impact Pakistani learners' perceptions of English. The study reveals that while Pakistani learners appear uncertain about English in addition to its culture, they have adopted the educational and social functions of the language. The outcomes indicate the linguistic imperialism and symbolic capital of English, as individuals contemplate it as essential for socioeconomic advancement in Pakistan. The study's results can help academicians and officials assess the potential impacts of English on the roles of local languages, particularly in Pakistan's education system.*

Key Words: EFL Learners, Pakistan, Socio-Cultural, Contextual, Education, Socio-Economic

Introduction

This statement highlights that in multilingual societies of the global South, dominant languages hold a hierarchical position. However, the symbolic importance of regional languages continues to evolve in various sectors. Pakistan is a linguistically diverse country where people use different languages for different purposes, such as daily communication, business, official work, religious practices, entertainment, and education. Each language serves a unique purpose and represents a distinct ethnolinguistic identity. Thus, no single language can fulfil all the

unrestrained needs across numerous social circumstances in Pakistan.

Ashraf (2008) discusses the importance of both Urdu and English in education in Pakistan. While parents may spend more on English education for its access to jobs and the global economy, Urdu helps build cultural, societal and local links. It symbolizes familial values for girls. Despite the presence of 77 languages, English and Urdu dominate Pakistan, and the country's language policy has been fraught with moral conflicts, including the Urdu and Bengali struggle,

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which led to the parting of West Pakistan from East Pakistan. According to Canagarajah (2004), South Asian linguistic practices reflect diverse subjectivities derived from societal codes and discourses, resulting in conflicts and tensions within and between different subjectivities. These tensions often lead to top-down institutional policies being appropriated.

The concept of multilingualism in Pakistani society is complex and dynamic, influenced by a range of factors such as one's sense of national identity, access to resources and the importance of language in various social domains. In this context, contemporary research seeks to explore the tensions and contradictions that arise as a result of these factors, as evidenced by letters to the editor in Pakistani newspapers in response to language policy formation. The study aims to decode the ways in which individuals navigate the complexities of multilingualism in a society where multiple languages play important roles in different spheres of life. By examining these letters, the research intends to advance knowledge of the difficulties and compensations posed by multilingualism in Pakistani society.

French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's theory of habitus (1977) posits that individuals are shaped by the societal and cultural structures around them. According to Bourdieu (1986), habitus refers to the internalized structures, systems of perception, ideas, and actions that are subjective but not individual. In other words, individuals acquire certain dispositions and propensities through socialization within a particular cultural context. These learned habits then influence their thoughts, emotions, and behaviours, governing their actions in determining ways. Bourdieu's theory suggests that people are prejudiced by a sense of value that guides their decision-making within the limits along with the contexts of different fields. Habitus can be seen as both macro and micro dynamics, as they operate at both group and individual levels. Bourdieu's concept of habitus has been further developed and refined by modern interpreters such as Loc Wacquant (2005), who defines habitus as dumped in humans as a permanent proficient dimension or temperament.

The concept of habitus, as explained by Bourdieu (1977), extends to linguistic practices as well. According to Bourdieu, Language serves as a social marker that establishes and maintains

boundaries between various social groupings in addition to serving as a means of communication. The use of language reflects the social and cultural environment in which an individual grows up, which shapes their linguistic habitus, or their habitual linguistic practices. The linguistic habitus is influenced by the social and economic dynamics of the linguistic market. In this market, different languages and dialects compete for social acceptability, and the dominant language is typically seen as the standard against which the prices and values of other linguistic means are defined. This leads to the formation of linguistic hierarchies that reflect the social status of different linguistic practices and speakers. Agents' accents and discursive resources also reflect the social constraints of acceptability set by the linguistic market. For instance, a person's accent may be seen as more or less prestigious depending on the dominant language of their social environment. Similarly, certain discursive resources, such as the ability to use formal language, may be seen as more valuable in certain social contexts and professions.

The use and standardization of national languages confer power and authority on certain languages while devaluing others, leading individuals to improve a "linguistic nous of placement" and adjust the language use accordingly. However, this process is more complex in multilingual environments where there is a greater diversity of languages. Bourdieu's theories, which were developed based on his experiences in France and Algeria, have been questioned by scholars working in other parts of the world, such as Pakistan, where the linguistic landscape is much more diverse than Bourdieu could have envisioned. Other academics have explored the relevance of Bourdieu's theory in various contexts, including, Swigart (2001), Stroud (2002) and Moraru (2016).

According to scholars like Benson (2013), The concept of "multilingual habitus" needs to be used to describe the reality that people frequently utilise phrases and words from multiple languages. The term "plurilingual habitus," which emphasises that people employ multiple languages in the repertoire without necessarily categorising them, is preferred by academics like Lamb (2015). This fluidity in language use blurs the lines between different languages, making it difficult to identify clear-cut boundaries between

them. Other scholars like Canagarajah (2009) also support this view.

The concept of a multilingual or plurilingual habitus is crucial in understanding how individuals in multilingual marketplaces adopt multiple dispositions to resist injustice and gain access, particularly in the context of digitalization and globalization (Ashraf 2014). The author examines letters which were written to the editor and circulated in a widely distributed nationwide daily, Dawn, to understand how individual multilingual senses and reactions to market factors influence the meta-discourses of habitus. According to Hiss (2013), this period was significant in Pakistan's political history as it saw the establishment of the country's first multilingual education policy in 2000, which was implemented in 2009. While letters have previously been scrutinized for their insights into linguistic philosophies, the author argues that they also provide valuable information on the habits of individuals who write them. By analyzing these letters, researchers can gain a deeper understanding of how public voices shape policy discourse and how meta-discourses of habitus are reflected in these letters.

In this study, the author aims to demonstrate how letters to the editor, which reflect the meta-discourses of habitus, can help improve our understanding of the processes by which linguistic habitus operates in connection to language policy in Pakistan. These letters provide valuable insights into how individuals are responding to the multilingual education policy that was implemented in 2009. By analyzing the letters, the author can identify the various ways in which individuals are enacting policy discourse in response to the policy. This can provide a deeper understanding of how individuals negotiate and engage with language policy, and how their linguistic habitus shapes their attitudes and behaviors towards language use. Ultimately, The goal of this study is to advance our knowledge of the intricate interplay between linguistic habit, language policy, and personal agency in multilingual markets, particularly in the context of globalization and digitalization.

Literature Review

Despite Pakistan's diverse linguistic landscape, English has been a significant, prestigious, and prominent language since the country's inception,

as noted by various scholars such as Coleman and Capstick (2012), Abbas (1993), Jilani (2009) and Shamim (2008). Rahman (2007) hypothesises that 3 to 4% of Pakistanis, including those who speak it as their first language, can speak English fluently despite the fact that there is no official count of English speakers in the country. While Pakistan is a polyglot and multiethnic nation, the Islamic traditions and teachings that the majority of the population follow provide a common ground for Pakistanis, as discussed by Norton and Kamal (2003) and Rahman (2007). This demonstrates the intricate and changing connections between religion, culture, and language in Pakistan and the significance of taking these elements into account when examining language use and policy in the nation.

Pakistan has a wide variety of languages, with around 72 different languages spoken according to Asher (2008), Coleman (2010) and Rahman (2007). However, Pashto, Punjabi, Saraiki, Urdu, Balochi, and Sindhi are the six primary regional languages that are spoken by almost 96% of the population, as noted by Rahman (2007). Despite having a relatively small native-speaker population, Urdu is the national language of Pakistan and was chosen as such to represent national unity in that country's multilingual society, as Mansoor has explained. This highlights the complex linguistic landscape of Pakistan and the significance of Urdu in the country's national identity. Understanding the role of different languages and their sociolinguistic status in Pakistan is crucial for any analysis of language policy and practice in the country.

English and Urdu are co-official languages in Pakistan, as stated by the National Education Policy of Pakistan (2009). The policy recognizes the significant international importance of English and highlights the importance of proficiency in the language for rivalry in a globalized world. Despite some recent efforts by the government of Punjab, The Pakistani government and politicians have made few efforts to satisfy this worldwide demand. Furthermore, there is a lack of thorough national study and discussion on the prospective benefits and impacts of globalization in Pakistan, except for a few corporate studies, as noted in the National Education Policy of Pakistan (2009). This highlights the need for a more concerted effort to address the starring role of English and

globalization in Pakistan and to harness the potential benefits that they can bring.

According to Boamong (2005), English's global growth owes much to British colonization, which was also the primary source of English's status and role in Pakistan. The United Kingdom and United State's political influence on Pakistan have subsidized the development of English in the country. British East India Company traders, Christian missionaries, and some native elites' need for English are all responsible for the spread of English across the Indian subcontinent. (Hickey 2004).

Throughout British rule, the English language was utilized as a tool of rheostat (Boamong, 2005, p. 14), with the official policy aiming to create a group of locals who were "Indians in blood as well as colour but English in morals, intellect, taste and opinions " (Hickey, 2004, p. 540). This class was intended to help maintain British supremacy in many administrative areas, as well as to serve as a connection between the British and native Indians. The policy required elite schools to focus on teaching English, and higher education institutions made it the language of instruction. This effort was effective in establishing a "culture based on the English Language" and a privileged communal class in United India (Boamong, 2005, p. 14).

English became more well-known and influential in the social, governmental, and academic spheres of the several kingdoms that had merged to form India (Kachru, 2005). The elite class of Pakistan used English to modernize the country as well as to elevate themselves (Rahman, 2016, p. 26). English is widely used in Pakistan's civil administration, military, commerce, media, and education (Coleman, 2010; Mansoor, 2004; Rahman, 2002; Shamim, 2011). A huge majority of young pupils feel pressured to study English because of the socioeconomic relevance of the language and the large number of English-speaking people in Pakistan. (Islam, 2009; Norton & Kamal, 2003).

In Pakistan, the English language is widely used in both informal and formal settings, including isolated conversations, travel, reading, and entertainment. Its prevalence in Pakistani culture, media, and education has resulted in the emergence of a distinct variation of English called 'Pakistani English,' which incorporates borrowings

from the Urdu Language, Urdu-English hybrids, and local syntactic and morphological innovations. According to Baumgardner (1995), Pakistani English reflects regional languages such as Pashto and Punjabi and fluctuates from British and American English in terms of accent and intonation.

According to Mansoor (2000), in Pakistan, English is the official language used in private and public organizations including administrative, economic, intellectual, and political entities, as well as in the print and electronic media. Local writers' English-language literary works are influenced by Pakistani English, which draws from various regional languages (Hafeez 2004; Naqvi 2009). Over twenty English-language newspapers and publications are published throughout Pakistan, accounting for around 10% of all correspondents in the country. (Rahman, 2007)

A scholar Naqvi (2009) notes that the educated youth of Pakistan find English a motivating language because it provides access to a wealth of information available worldwide and opens doors to future employment opportunities as well as opportunities to travel abroad. Hafeez (2004) adds that fluency in English has become essential for attaining high-level positions in Pakistan as proficiency in this language is a requirement for taking interviews and exams for public services, the military, and all other lucrative job opportunities.

The global importance and role of English in Pakistani culture cannot be ignored, as it has become the dominant lingua franca worldwide (Shamim, 2008; Rahman, 2007). The English language is perceived as a means to achieve modernization, scientific and technical growth, and economic success, which is essential for refining one's life prospects (Shamim, 2008, p. 236). Educated Pakistani youth acknowledge the worldwide significance and relevance of English and consider it a vital expertise when considering work (Jilani, 2009; Capstick, 2011).

In Pakistan, a few critics view English as a symbol of liberalism and modernity that can reduce political and religious fanaticism by encouraging socio, political, moderation, enlightenment and tolerance. (Rahman, 2007, 2002Mansoor, 2004). In order to combat Islamic fundamentalism in the nation, it provides pupils with a Western, liberal-humanist, and

cosmopolitan perspective (Mansoor, 2004). According to Rahman (2007, p. 227), the English-language media in Pakistan is thought to be more conservative and liberal than the Urdu or any other local language media.

According to Shamim (2008), Pakistan's education system is fragmented, consisting of public, private, and madrasa schools. The existence of this parallel system is a reflection of the failure of public schools to provide quality education and socioeconomic inequalities in the country (Coleman 2010). The Urdu-English medium divide is a bequest of British colonialism and has been maintained by the ruling elite to retain their status (Capstick 2012). The English medium is perceived as superior, and the figurative value of English has resulted in a proliferation of English schools in Pakistan (Shamim 2008).

The current policy of education in Pakistan recognizes that fluency in the English language is crucial for white-collar job opportunities, and students from elite private schools tend to profit from their English language proficiency in the employment market (Ministry of Education, 2009). From elementary school to graduation, English is a required subject. Universities and related colleges also employ it as a medium of instruction (Ministry of Education, 2009; Hafeez, 2004).

According to Pakistan's educational policy, English language instruction is required from first grade to graduation. Universities and associated colleges also employ English as a teaching language (Hafeez, 2004; Ministry of Education, 2009). In addition, the programme encourages the teaching of Urdu and one regional language at the primary level, which is believed to aid in the preservation of Pakistan's indigenous languages. Mathematics and science courses will also start being taught in English beginning in grade 6 under this policy. The policy aims to provide equal opportunities for English language education to all learners in Pakistan, particularly those from low-income families. It is crucial that these policies be implemented effectively and not ignored, as has happened with previous education regulations (Shamim, 2008).

Pakistan's regional languages have been marginalized and neglected due to government policies that promote English at the expense of indigenous languages, according to Rahman

(2007) and Shamim (2008). The lack of support and recognition from the government and corporations has led speakers of these languages to feel ashamed of their ethnic identity and language use. This has resulted in a shift towards English and Urdu as more prestigious languages, even for speakers of Punjabi, which is Pakistan's most widely spoken regional language (Mansoor 1993).

According to Pinnock (2009), the exclusive use of English and Urdu in Pakistan's education system has deprived most Pakistani children of the opportunity to receive instruction in their mother tongue, which may have detrimental effects on their motivation to learn and cognitive ability. This situation may also contribute to the elimination of large segments of the inhabitants from the instruction system, especially in rural areas and exacerbate the country's socio-linguistic divide.

In social contexts, languages are positioned in a hierarchy, with more dominant languages often challenging the status of less dominant ones through their speakers. This power struggle leads to recurring and structured forms that define linguistic domains, which can be linked to various social, political, or economic activities or institutions. Thus, linguistic domains can help us comprehend the underlying causes and effects of language policies and planning on language speakers, especially when it comes to power distribution. (Ahmad & Khan, 2016)

To balance the influence of languages in a multilingual state, policymakers face a dilemma since multilingualism is often perceived as a threat to efficiency (Brohy, T-Guri, & du Plessis, 2013). The ideal situation for efficiency is assumed to be one where everyone speaks the same language. In multilingual nations that prioritize a single national language, providing linguistic rights is often considered a waste of resources (T. Skutnabb-Kangas, 2008). According to Willis (2014), the constitution formalizes a social agreement between people, in which they voluntarily limit their sovereign rights or will. In this approach, the Constitution "imposes self-imposed constraints on majority decision-making to make it possible for all people to exercise their direct democracy equitably" (Wallis, 2014, p. 20).

Manning (2013) discusses the role of the Supreme Court in the US in assessing the constitutionality of legislation through judicial

review. The Court can either defer to the Senate for guidance or act as an impartial arbitrator, and it often second-guesses Congress's decisions. He also mentions the ideas of new structuralism and new textualism, which prioritize federalism and separation of powers. The purposive approach to statutory law interpretation is also discussed, which involves using contextual circumstances to determine the spirit and objectives of constitutional legislation (Manning 2013). Moreover, the approach has both descriptive and normative features, with the former providing an explanation of the institution and processes, and the latter relating to using the description as a norm to determine sufficiency in attaining the recognized goal.

The upcoming discussion begins by examining the historical background to understand why constitutional provisions related to language were put in place. It then delves into the interpretation of these provisions as a reflection of their intended purpose. Finally, it analyzes the decisions made by the highest court in the land regarding language-related constitutional writ petitions, in order to comprehend their practical implications from a language policy and planning standpoint.

Research Questions

What insidencies do Pakistani learners of English make to English speakers in the present world?

Are these students from Pakistan aware of the growing importance of English in today's globe, including Pakistan?

How do these Pakistani students' insidencies highlight the symbolic cost of English in Pakistani culture in addition to linguistic expansionism?

Theoretical Framework

Bourdieu's Theory of Habitus

In Bourdieu's theory of habitus, which is related to the concepts of field and market, external societal subjective and structured experiences can be reconciled. This theory draws on Aristotelian hexes, and Panofsky's habits of mind to explain how agents develop individual histories shaped by their education and social milieu. With its concepts of field and market, the habitus construct is helpful for analysing both bottom-up and top-down language policy dynamics.

Bourdieu makes the supposition that agents have an innate, physical understanding of certain acts and that they make conscious decisions within the confines of a social field that establishes the norms of the marketplace.

In the context of multilingualism, Bourdieu's theory of habitus allows individuals to navigate and negotiate different valuation hierarchies, contributing to the establishment of social capital that affects their networking and social mobility, as well as their (re)production of identity. Suleiman (2014) argues that it is important to recognize the embedded religious and ethnolinguistic bonds in pluralistic societies, cautioning against a reductive view of national identity. He also emphasizes the instrumental and symbolic contributions of languages to the development of national identity, with the preceding creating group boundaries and the latter serving a communicative function.

It is discussed how the Bourdieusian theory of habitus can be used to analyze language policy in multilingual settings such as South Asia and Pakistan. Understanding the instrumental and symbolic functions of language in constructing and negotiating social identities depends on the study of multilingual environments and individuals who, depending on the market, exhibit either monolingual or multilingual tendencies. An education system is an important object of the struggle for legitimizing certain languages or varieties, and a bounded view of language inhibits mentors from accepting learners' cultural, cognitive, linguistic and resources.

He discusses the importance of acknowledging linguistic diversity in multilingual contexts, such as in Africa and avoiding the imperfect and unrealistic ideology of a particular or foremost language as an elucidation. Benson (2013) argues that Functional multilingualism confirms unquestioned linguistic habits that are particular to a market yet influenced by notions of a common language. The author urges stakeholders to involve in systemic and careful development at the prospectus level to evade abandoning any other curricular content in favour of just one language, and to prevent a shaft vision of the instruction system.

He discusses the challenges in implementing language policies in South Asian countries, particularly in Pakistan, due to the competing

programs of ethnic pressures, market services and the elite. The author argues that investigating habitus, which includes the ways in which speakers incorporate language(s) and the values attached to them in different markets, is useful in understanding the social formation of speakers and the reproduction of inequality in multilingual contexts. The difference between multilingual and monolingual temperaments is particularly relevant in South Asian countries where more than one language has variable points of linguistic capital in different fields.

Methodology

This study utilized a qualitative methodology and involved conducting twenty interviews with undergraduate scholars from Central Punjab's seven public universities in Pakistan. The research study aimed to increase a comprehensive understanding of the contributors' outlooks on the significance of the English language in the modern world, particularly in Pakistan. The decision to use undergraduate students was based on the assumption that they would have a more sophisticated understanding of the role of English in both personal and societal contexts. The interviews were piloted with two students prior to conducting the main study, and the study drew on the work of Ushioda (2009) and Lamb (2004) in advocating for a qualitative approach to investigating the complex processes involved in second or foreign language learning.

The study included female and male undergraduate scholars from seven public universities in central Punjab, Pakistan. Participants were selected based on their participation in a previous quantitative study. Informed consent was obtained from individuals and their institutions. Individual interviews were conducted and the data was transcribed and managed using NVivo 9. A thematic methodology was used to analyze the information, consistent with Berg's (2009) recommendation to reduce and manage qualitative data into intelligible forms and themes that link diverse parts of the data.

Analysis and Findings

The analysis in question involves two levels of examination. Firstly, it scrutinizes the unjust values that are associated with different

languages in the language ecologies (referred to as "LEs" for brevity) under study. Secondly, it elucidates how the authors themselves navigate and understand the dynamic practices that are shaped by various market forces within Pakistan's multilingual environment. An excerpt from one of the interviews is provided as an illustration.

Excerpt 1

I think that English is overrated in Pakistan. More important than it should be given because our national language is Urdu, but it is being thrown in the background because of English. Most of the students in our country are not up to the level when it comes to speaking English and most of our curriculum is in English. I think that if the curriculum were in Urdu, I think we would have really made something. Maybe we could have gone into it, we could have done better research. We could have students who have a better understanding of what they are, and what they are being taught. And besides that students would be able to do much, much better in their studies if the subjects were in Urdu like it is in countries like Iraq like it is in countries like Finland, Palestine, and Jordan. *Thank you.*

The above mention excerpt highlights the ambivalent role of English in Multilingual Pakistan. Most of the teachers as well as students are not satisfied with English in their curriculum. They don't want to learn or teach in English. They think we are not doing justice to our native Language Urdu. They want to use Urdu as a medium of instruction for all subjects. Here it also highlighted that policymakers while deciding about the medium of instruction in educational institutions should be very careful. They should give freedom to the teachers to use the language according to their needs. Besides that, it also shows ethnicity with the L1 (URDU). Besides all these things the interviewer uses the English language which

Shows that she communicates in English which tells us about another factor of using English in society. The economy plays an important role in one life same is the case here although some people don't want to communicate in English in order to get good jobs and handsome salary packages they have to.

Excerpt 2

Being an English teacher, I feel that English is taught in our schools as a second language. But all the subjects are taught in English, which is an injustice to the students who don't belong to those families who can afford to teach them all things in English. One thing, the other thing is that we should focus on our national language.

Our national languages are always ignored in Pakistan and people feel proud of it. Though I am an English teacher, my main subject is English. But being an English teacher I never like all people to speak or to copy or imitate other nations' accents especially Pakistani. Always imitate the American accent and British accent. I think we should develop our own accent. Will never boast of speaking like those people. This thing is very important.

This shows that people are not clear about the language being an English teacher they still want to defend Urdu and other languages of Pakistan. This shows ambivalence in the case of English that being an English teacher she doesn't want to spread the importance of English.

The statement highlights the observation that English is being used prominently in both informal and formal settings, alongside Urdu, which is the native or first language of most Pakistanis. Despite the rapid spread of English as a second language (L2), the first language is still being maintained.

The statement goes on to suggest that one of the main reasons for the widespread adoption of English is the high status that it enjoys in Pakistan. Until 1972, English was the second official language of the country, and it is still used along with Urdu for all official purposes. The language is perceived as necessary for economic and social mobility, and it is also considered a symbol of progress and modernization. This perception has contributed to the growing use of English in various domains of Pakistani society, making it an integral part of the multilingual ecology of the country.

Excerpt 3

ہماری قومی زبان اردو ہے اس پر ہمیں فخر ہونا چاہیے اس کا بھی کوئی کانسٹ ہونا چاہیے جو ہماری گفتگو ہوتی تھی میں کہہ رہا تھا کہ یاد اردو کے لیے بھی ہم کچھ کریں کمٹوں کی بہار آگئی ہے سیلاب آگیا ہے گالیاں پڑ رہی ہیں لوگ کہہ رہے ہیں کہ بھی گورے گورے گورے۔

The statement highlights how research in Pakistan has predominantly viewed English as a menace to national integration as well as the status of Urdu, the national language. However, the results of this study suggest that Pakistani students are additive bilinguals, meaning they see no conflict between their first language, Urdu, and learning English as a second language.

This study also reveals a mismatch between the attitudes of Pakistani students towards their language repertoire and the language policies in place in the country. Despite the high value placed on Urdu for national integration, students still prioritize learning English due to its perceived importance for social and economic mobility. Overall, the study sheds light on the complex language situation in Pakistan and challenges the prevalent negative perception of English as a peril to national identity.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The policymakers should prioritize the languages, and invest in the linguist capital in order to increase the employability of its working class in the local and transnational job market. National Vocational and Technical Training Commission (NAVTC), the national regulator responsible for the Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) policy-making at the Federal level, should include the English language as a skill in the National "Skills for All" program, and introduce programs to enhance the Pakistani workers' relevant language proficiency.

The Federal and Provincial governments should coordinate to do a need analysis for the language requirements of learners aligned with 21st-century communication skills and market demands. The Federal government with the help of its donor agencies should invest in the language capital, offer remedial programs in the rural public schools, and enhance the language(s) level. The governments should build a national competency framework for the ESL teachers, and work for their continuing professional development. In order to economize the cost of teachers' training, the in-service ESL master teacher trainers may be prepared in coordination with the educational agencies to create a snowball effect, and thus subsequently train more educators locally.

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