THE (ENGLISH) LANGUAGE AND COMMUNICATION SKILLS: A REVIEW OF PAKISTANI EDUCATION, CULTURE AND THE MEDIA.

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Abstract

The present position paper explores and examines the centrality of English language and communication skills in Pakistani education, culture and the media. Through conceptual inquiry and firsthand observation, it is foregrounded that an eclectic approach (through the instrumental use of language and communication skills) can best replace the dated system in vogue. Effectual language and communication skills are seminal to all other life coping skills as they enable people (of diverse—or, even divisive cultures) to interact synergistically. Also, they effectively shape and convey all other skills (like: critical-creative thinking skill, parenting and negotiating skills, decisionmaking and problem-solving skills, self-awareness and self-assertion skills, leadership and employability skills, and so forth) for acquiring the desired outcome. That being said, the need and importance of the subject skills are inevitable as well as unavoidable for securing and leading a successful life—not only for oneself—but for others, too. Since education, culture and the media (in a Pakistani milieu) are tightknit; thus, they tend to influence not only one another, but other life skills as well. Therefore, the rationale for and significance of the current study becomes evident in the contemporary ambience to cope with the problems that inhibit the Pakistani education system, cultural mores, and the media discourse. The aforesaid three vital pillars (if efficiently thought-andwrought-out) would play a significant role in bringing about national integration and social cohesion.

Keywords: Language and Communication Skills; National Integration; Education; Culture; Media Discourse.

LANGUAGE AND COMMUNICATIVE SKILLS (Misteil, 1998, 2001; Azam, 2004):

THE CENTRALITY OF LANGUAGE AND COMMUNICATION:

Though creative thinking skills are the most basic life skills. Educational skills, language and communicative skills are the most central of all. That is because neither thinking, nor communication, nor yet education is quite possible without them, i.e., language or linguistic skills. And so, in the opinion of Robert Bolton (1986):

When one person communicates to another, through the medium of language, something takes place between them that is found nowhere else in nature. This

ability to turn meaningless grunts into spoken and written works constitutes humanity's most important distinction. Language has made possible the development of those characteristics that differentiate Homo sapiens from all other creatures. No wonder the German philosopher Karl Jaspers claims, Man's supreme achievement in the world is communication from personality to personality. (p.4)

Although interpersonal communication is humanity's greatest accomplishment, the average person does not communicate well. One of the ironies of modern civilization is that, though mechanical means of communication have been developed beyond the wildest flight of the imagination, people often find it difficult to communicate face-to-face. The researchers have become increasingly aware of the inadequacy of most communication. In our society it is rare from persons to share what really matters. It is equally rare for person to listen intently enough to really understand what another is saying. Ineffective communication causes an interpersonal gap that is experienced in all facets of life and in all sectors of society. Loneliness, family problems, vocational incompetence and dissatisfaction, psychological stress, physical illness, and even death result when communication breaks down. In addition to the personal frustration and the heartache resulting from it, the interpersonal gap is now one of the major social problems of our troubled society. Many people today yearn for warm, positive, meaningful relatedness to others, but seem unable to experience it.

There are two kinds of alone-ness. Solitude can be creative, joyous, full aloneness. But loneliness is a painful, dead, empty aloneness. Loneliness is being acutely aware of one's isolation and aloneness. Loneliness is being acutely aware of one's isolation and alienation from others. Unfortunately, the most intense loneliness is often found in the family where communication is breaking down or is in shambles. Marriage, the most complicated of human relationships, cannot flourish without effective communication; thus, proximity without intimacy is inevitably destructive. As most parents can attest, it is no easy thing to raise children today—most teachers would do so, also! yet: healthy communication is vitally important in raising a family—and running a successful system of Education—or any other human system. Because, communication is the lifeblood of every relationship.

It is also a key to success at work: "Eighty percent of the people who fail at work, do so for one reason: they do not relate well to other peopl...most human interaction is for better or for worse... "People need People" (Bolton, 1986, pp. 7).

The above citations from Robert Bolton highlights the importance of people skills, especially communication skills.

THE COMMUNICATION SYSTEMS:

Communications is systemic, in that a whole system is involved in it. It comprises the following central integrates.

- (i) The communicators: persons or people who try to communicate, or are involved in communication, directly (or even indirectly).
- (ii) Their Subjects, topics or themes of communication.
- (iii) The Object(ive), goal or purpose.
- (iv) The Medium / Language.
- (v) The Means of Communication: human, audio-visual electronic, etc.

- (vi) The Meaning and Message—bothovert and convert, denotation and connotation, ambiguous and clear-cut.
- (vii) The Milieu, environment and atmosphere—both social and physical.
- (viii) Above all, communication skills.

People—the communicators—are at the heart of the communication system, its soul and spirit. That is why the stress is on them and their skills. The preferable term is communicators, rather than the traditional ones, which are now dated, i.e., the "Transmitters" and "Receivers" of communication. Communication is a respectfully reciprocal and mutual, interactive and participatory process. It is a two-way, mutually satisfying meeting of minds and interaction of mature personalities. It is never one-sided, single track or one-way. It is a dialogue—not—a monologue, aside or soliloquy. The use of audio-visual communication aids, means or tools is also dependent on acquiring the related skills to use them properly. But the most important skills are human rather than mechanical or electronic. They are psycho-social and linguistic.

THE FOUR BASIC COMMUNICATION SKILLS:

They are both human—humanistic, and language—linguistic, and are generally classified as under:

- 1. Auracy-Oracy Skills:
 - (i). Listening.
 - (ii). Speaking.
- 2. Literacy Skills:
 - (i). Reading.
 - (ii). Writing.

The first set is also called receptive, and the second active. To our understanding, both sets are receptive as well as active, even though the degree of Activity may vary. All are interactive, interlinked and interdependent. None is passive—except to its own detriment, and the consequent fallout of its ill-effect on others.

Traditionally, the concept of Basic Awareness Skills has been too narrowly defined in terms of the two literacy skills. There is much more to being a wide-awake, wise,intelligent and well-aware person, than the ability to read and write at the rudimentary or even elementary level. Apart from ability in the Auracy-Oracy Skills, even an average human being understands life and knows the world and his own interests, with or without the literacy skills. He should, therefore, not be disqualified superciliously as being "illiterate". That is being judgmental and dismissive. What is needed is inclusiveness and mainstreaming—not marginalization or disenfranchisement. The term literacy needs to be abandoned for a more realistic-pragmatic,altruistic-inclusive one like humanistic, civic or altruistic—or even basic human, awareness or information skills—if education is to be defined as Enlightenment.

(I). LISTENING SKILLS:

People tend to be poor, or at best, indifferent listeners. This is typically true of an average Pakistani, especially an educated one (so-called). He is so garrulous and eager to spill his words, that he does not bother to listen to, or even hear the other person. One can never excel at communication and interpersonal skills without being a good listener. Likewise, one cannot be a good speaker without being a good listener. We interact with people for understanding and through

understanding. It is one by listening to them attentively, respectfully and empathetically, can we really understand them: get to know them—know what and how they think and feel. We are then in a knowing position to respond to them properly and positively.

According to Robert Bolton (1986), "Listening is more than merely hearing," (p, 29). It is being interestedly attentive. He calls it "Reflective listening" (p, 49)—in which four skills are involved.

- (a) Paraphrasing the speaker
- (b) Reflecting feeling—the speaker's—and one's empathetic responses to them.
- (c) Reflecting meanings.
- (d) Summative reflections—"very condensed recaps of the most significant elements of a fairly long segment of conversation" (p, 61).

And so, according to theologian John Powell (2017), "Listening in dialogue is listening more to meanings than to words... "(p.140).

Robert Bolton again on the importance of listening, as under (1986):

If you are at all typical listening takes up more of your waking hours than any other activity"—of 70% of communication,thus:

Writing: 9%.
Reading: 16%.
Talking: 30%.
Listening: 45%.

Unfortunately, few people are good listeners. Even at the purely informational level, researchers claim that 75% of oral communication is ignored, misunderstood or quickly forgotten. Rarer still is the ability to listen for the deepest meanings of what people say (p. 30).

LISTENING SKILL CLUSTERS (Bolton, 1986, pp.32-33):

Skill Clusters	Specific Skills	
(i) Attending Skills:	(i)	A posture of involvement
	(ii)	Appropriate body motion
	(iii)	Eye contact
	(iv)	Non-distracting environment
(ii) Following Skills:	(i)	Door openers—non-verbal clues or cues, like in kinesics or
		body language.
	(ii)	Minimal encourages—brief indicators of your interested
		attentiveness.
	(iii)	Infrequent questions—effective, empathetic, non-intrusive.
(iii) Reflecting Skills:	(i)	Paraphrasing
	(ii)	Reflecting feelings
	(iii)	Reflecting meanings—(tying feelings to content)
	(iv)	Summative Reflections—succinct summing up by the
		listener of the speaker's total communication—thoughts and
		feeling, as expressed both verbally and kinesically or in a
		body language.

The above has introduced the very significant subject of Body Language, which now needs to be taken up in connection with communication skills in the paragraphs that follow.

KINESICS OR BODY LANGUAGE (James, 1996; Lyle, 1993; Whittle, 1991; Pease, 1981; Rush, 1994; Wainwright, 1985; Fast, 1970):

"We all, in one way or another, send our little messages out to the world..... And rarely do we send our messages consciously. We act out our state of being with nonverbal body language..." (Fast, 1971, p. 7-8; Scott K., 2003; MCNEILL, 2005; Goldman, 2004).

"THE IMPORTANCE OF BODY LANGUAGE" (Bolton, 1986, p. 78):

A person cannot not communicate. Though he may decide to stop talking, it is impossible for him to stop behaving. The behaviour of a person—his facial expressions, postures, gestures, and other actions—provide an uninterrupted stream of information and a constant source of clues to the feelings he is experiencing. The reading of body language, therefore, is one of the most significant skills of good listening. Only a small portion of the understanding one gains in face-to-face interaction comes from words. One prominent authority, Randall Harrison(2013) claims that a mere 35 percent of the meaning of communication derives from words; the remainder comes from body language. While body language has been a source of interpersonal understanding from the beginning of the human race, only in the past few decades have behavioral scientists started making systematic observations of nonverbal meanings. The scientific study of body language is still in its infancy, and though conclusions are somewhat speculative, major contributions have already been made to our understanding of human interaction (Bolton, 1986).

"NONVERBALS: THE LANGUAGE OF FEELINGS" (Bolton, 1986, p. 79; Portch, 1985; Goldman, 2004):

Though there is overlap in the type of information transmitted verbally and that which is transmitted nonverbally, there is a natural division of labourso that each source is better in conveying certain types of messages. Thus, words (spoken and written) are better at conveying thought and communicating factual information. The body language conveys feelings and emotions. Words are also used to describe emotions, and are typically used in combination with body language to do this. In the emotional realm, however, the advantage is with body language. Nonverbals not only portray a person's feelings, they often indicate how the person is coping with her feelings.

Our approach to communication stresses the primacy of feelings. Unquestionably the content of the conversation can be very important. When the emotions are strongly engaged, however, they should normally receive primary attention. Since nonverbal are the major means of communicating emotions, they are central to understanding many of the most important things that others communicate to us. (Bolton, 1986, p. 79).

SOME GUIDELINES:FOR READING KINESICS (Bolton, 1986, pp. 80-88; Birdwhistell, 1970; Allan & Peace, 2008):

According to Robert Bolton, the cues of "Paralanguage" are most important. Therefore:

"Focus attention on the most helpful clues"—which are listed below:

- (i) Facial expression.
- (ii) Vocal clues.
- (iii) Postures, gestures and "actions".
- (iv) Clothing, grooming and environment.
- (v) Read the Nonverbals in their Context—personal, social and situational.
- (vi) Note discrepancies—between the verbal and nonverbal, the obvious and the hidden, speech and behavior, words and the speaker's tone, tenor and stresses, etc.
- (vii) Be aware of your own feelings and bodily reactions.
- (viii) Reflect the feelings back to the sender.
- (ix) A clear-cutconfusing language—of popular figures of speech, proverbs, sayings and idioms, etc. Use unambiguous language. The same words can mean different things to different people.

Above all, interpersonal Communication is cultural—within the same culture and between different cultures. People differ as individuals, personally, culturally and class-wise. Therefore, empathy and reciprocal respect for individual egos and personal sensitivities is extremely important. The importance of personal, family and class culture must always be borne in mind.

(ii) SPEAKING SKILLS.

In the opinion of Robert Bolton (1986): "There is one thing certain about your methods and style of communication: they are primarily learned responses. Your most influential instructors were probably your parents" (p. 8).

In fact the four lifelong Socialization Processes (family upbringing, academic grooming, societal socialization and acculturization) provide many "significant others" as powerful influencers in our lives: parents and family, friends and relatives, teachers and mentors, role models and peer pressure. The media of mass communication in the modern times are also most influential. All affect our inborn creativity as applied to the basic life skills, including people and communicative skills. These are also affected by our innate potential of strengths and weaknesses, and the habits we acquire or develop as we grow up.

Robert Bolton (1986) thinks that:

Change is inevitable. Erik Erikson, Robert Havinghurst, and others have pointed out that people go through developmental stages from infancy to old age...the world is changing, too...change has been an integral part of human culture from the beginning...with change continually occurring within us, in other people we relate to, in the physical world, and in our culture, it is impossible to remain the same. Even when we try to cling to old ways, they are different...the law of change says, things do not stay the same. If they don't get better, they get worse. (pp. 10-11)

The above stresses the normalcy of life change, social change and personal change, as life-long continuous change—all of which contribute to creating the future. If continuous change is the norm of life—and it is—then the best attitude is to welcome it proactively and to adapt to it creatively. That means to seek education as enlightenment—and as people skills and communicative skills.

Speaking skills are the other equally essential side of listening skills. Together and interactively, they secure the communicative network, and keep conversation going, making it meaningful and interesting. Most people, though habitually talkative and casually garrulous, are

equally bad speakers, just as they are poor listeners. They need to learn Speaking skills, consciously and committedly. Life requires all of us to be effective communicators, whatever our profession, vocation or source of livelihood.

In the education system, all concerned are communicators, from the leaders and policy makers, administrators and financiers, downwards and outwards. Especially teachers, parents and students. Teachers need to be effective Communicators as lecturers, guides and counselors. Students should learn the art and skill of communication from them, from ordinary conversation with fellow students, friends, family, parents and teachers, to participating verbally in class, with polite comments and relevant questions. Also, to prepare and make verbal-oral classroom presentations, and participating in recitation, play reading and dramatics, debates, declamation and speech contests. All this is not possible without an enabling educational institutional environment, and the encouragement of its socio-cultural and educational system, especially the administrators, teachers and parents. Grooming by teachers is essential. Speaking skills, like all other skills, need persistent practice for fluency: speaking slowly, audibly, intelligibly and interestingly, so as to hold the listener's attention.

(iii) READING AND STUDY SKILLS:

Except for the best of schools, all the Basic Life Skills, especially Communicative Skills, are neglected in the common school system of Pakistan. That includes Reading Skills. The result is that the researchers have to teach these skills to their students at the university level. The result of our deteriorating school system of education is that an average student is a poor thinker, listener, speaker, reader and writer. Perhaps that is true of many teachers, also. After all, they are the products of the same system. Such students can neither read aloud correctly, not silently. That is because they do not read, except under the pressure of examinations. And they are seldom taught to read, or provided an opportunity to do so. Reading aloud seems to be taboo for many, if not most. Reading for comprehension and understanding is seldom introduced, practiced or encouraged. It is generally mugging for passing periodic class-room tests, if any, and cramming for the final exams.

Only a radicalized system of education can reform all of these educational ills. Model institutions run by the state, for the average citizen and the poor person, are urgently needed. They would need to be monitored, inspected and guided by a competent authority. But there is just no substitute for a competent teacher. One time teachers' training at the pre-service stage is not enough. Life-long continuous education is essential as in-service annual or periodic training through short courses, seminars and workshops in the basic life skills and educational skills. Reading skills and study skills for comprehension and understanding go together.

(iv) WRITING SKILLS:

The intention is not necessarily to foster creative writing. But functional writing which has daily real life applications, is simply unavoidable. And so the importance of functional language—be it English, Urdu or any other Pakistani language.

A teacher communicates both verbally and in writing. S/he should therefore, be a good prose writer. Good enough to prepare his lesson plans, lectures, and even a text book, hopefully. Similarly, a student should be taught to become a good prose writer. Good enough to write interesting letters, essays, to paraphrase and summarize, answer questions in writing, and prepare notes of classroom instruction and self-study. Also, to write succinctly in tests and exams.

A teacher, whatever his/her subject, is a communicator by profession. Thus, the criticality of all the four communicative/language skills to his professional competence. Apart from being a subject specialist and authority on his/her curriculum, if not field of knowledge, the teacher is a master communicator. His/her mastery remains incomplete—indeed, unfulfilled—if these skills are not imparted to the student. Only a role model teacher can do so—an inspiring one at that. One who motivates the student by personal example. Such a role model must be an exemplar—a practicing exemplar—as a moral person, a subject specialist and a communicator. Then, alone, is the teacher a proper peer and mentor. He must be a motivator in word and deed, speech and writing.

To be able to do so, the teacher will have to become a role model creative artist, imparting education as a science, skill and art: as a person, professional and communicator. Only then does s/he become a creative peer.

The whole world needs enlightened and enlightening educators. So does Pakistan, and the rest of the third/Muslim world. Only role model teachers can inspire their students to become such moral exemplars in their footsteps. What humanity and society needs is moral role models and not cat-walking commercial media models of consumerism and advertising. While there are institutions which promote commercial corporate modeling, there are, sadly, none to sponsor and patronize moral social and educational role modeling. Such role modeling needs to be made an integral part of teachers' training, by means of training in the basic life skills, people skills and communicative skills, as educational skills.

EDUCATIONAL LINGUISTIC TRENDS AND ISSUES IN PAKISTAN:

CULTURAL COLONIALISM:

Pakistan was created on 14th August, 1947. Thus, Pakistan is already over 73 years old as an independent state and society. But it remains a client state that is only nominally independent. This is largely because of its incompetent continued comprador policy which has, as a local agent and instrument of international imperialism down the decades, subjected Pakistan to indigenous imperialism. Geosociology: geo-economics and geo-strategy apart—as manifest in the nation's domestic and foreign, defence, development and economic policies and practices—the living proof of this indigenous imperialism is amply available also in the country's education, language, culture and media policies and practices. All of them are sold to westernism and westernization, rather, Americanism and Americanization, in the name and under the pretext and pretense of Modernization. It is because of such policies and practices that nationalism and nationalization, and indigenization as Pakistanisation and Islamization, have been cast to the winds, in favor of alien and alienation privatization. Such policy makers have conveniently forgotten the bitter lessons of the colonial history. The British East India company—a single international trader of its times—fleeced India, the golden bird and bread basket of Afro-Asia-for 100 years in trade and commerce. Thereafter, the direct Company Rule lasted another 100 years. And finally, the British Raj bled what was left of India for yet another 90 years. Despite that, such myopic policy makers are hell-bent upon selling Pakistan to international privatization and its privatizers from all over the world. Pakistanized privatization should prefer Pakistani investors. There should be a sustainable balance between the public sector and private sector, which need to supplement and complement each other, in the abiding enlightened national interest. Above all, the privatization of industry needs to be moderated by the Nationalization of policy.

Despite nominal independence, Pakistan is a classical case study of continuing colonialism: cultural, educational, linguistic and of the media. No wonder that the country has not produced any lqbal and Jinnah after independence—or any much needed collective leadership—women and men of original and indigenous foresight and vision, of thought and action in the spirit and tradition of Pakistan's founders—all of whom were Islami pragmatic visionary futurists.

WHAT IS THE RACIST REASON FOR THIS?:

The politics of education and language, culture and the media. The politics of indigenous imperialism serving the insidious and invidious interests of international imperialism—rather, western international imperialism. The revolting result of these racist policies and practices is the creation of two patently, potently and potentially competitive, confrontationist and conflictual classes within the same nation-state and society: Pakistan. This certainly does not augur well for national integration, social cohesion and state stability.

These two foreseeably conflictive classes of the historical haves and have-nots, and current-contemporary Elite and "Awam" (the people) are the products of the dualistic, defeatist and divisive system of education: the English medium for the microscopic sponges and sharks of the predator ruling and power Elite, and the vernacular, local system for the impoverished, marginalized and ghettoized majority, the Awam. One is reminded of the Frantz Fanon's analysis of the psycho-social evils of imperialism and colonization (1965, 1967). The Pakistani power elite are suffering from the inverted inferiority complex of their erstwhile Anglo-Indian masters, who are aptly called as the Black Baboos and Coloured Saabs!

ENGLISH IN PAKISTAN:

No language is value neutral. Every language has its heritage of literary norms, cultural values, and ideological interests subsumed in the geosocial, geopolitical, geoeconomic and geostrategic generalistic term, National Interest. That is also true of English. A nation which does not teach, learn and study in its own language or languages, does not, really, learn how to think creatively—originally. No wonder that it remains so deficient in creative thinking skills, language skills and communicative skills. A foreign language does not strike roots in its psyche, nor a chord in its spirit. It causes indifference, anomie, ennui and alienation. Except for the English medium schools, English is anathema for the mainstream system of education, which caters to the overwhelming majority—over 99 percent. English as a compulsory subject and medium of instruction/education is the root cause of failures and drop-outs. The statistics are starting. They are tragic, reflecting a callous wastage of material and human resources, and time, itself, as a priceless, precious resource.

Certainly, we need English—for all its international instrumental worth—as distinct from its intrinsic value. But even more than that, we need enlightened human beings—as Pakistanis and faithful Muslims during the last 73 years of Pakistan's existence.

English is really a non-issue which has been turned into an endless issue by its comprador policy makers. Yet there is a very simple solution to this non-issue, which has always been handy, being readily available, given the critical moral-political will—which is lamentably lacking. The solution is to seek and retain English as an international language for its instrumental worth. But certainly not as the first or even second language. Standard international English will have to be taught properly. That essentiates good English language teachers—and the need to produce, teach and train them. The fact is that like the continuously deteriorating standard of general education, the standard of English has also gone down tremendously. The proof of it is all around us to see—the

academia, the media and the government. At best, poor and substandard English is generally available. Yet we cling on to it slavishly—despite all the damage it is doing to us, continuously, endlessly.

THE WAY OUT?

- i. We need to adopt immediately, Urdu and other Pakistani languages as the official language(s).
- ii. Introduce immediately a single standard national system of education.
- iii. This needs to be a mixed media system of education, with English being taught as an international instrumental language—as a compulsory subject for a few years of schooling—class 5 to 10—and then as an elective or optional subject thereafter.
- iv. Pakistan being a naturally multicultural and multi-lingual society, all the Pakistani languages should be encouraged equally—educationally, socio-culturally and in the media. Pakistani-Islami multiculturalism and multilingualism should be the policy orientation.
- v. Pakistani-Islami cultural norms, language-code and dress-code ought to be adopted, sponsored and patronized officially.
- vi. A federal board and provincial boards of private education must be instituted to monitor, control and prevent the alienation caused by private education, and to bring it in conformity with the national ideological norms and standards.
- vii. The eclectic pragmatic system of education and language teaching is recommended, because of its realistic-pragmatic approach.
- viii. The education, language, culture and media policies need to be nationalized, Pakistanized and Islamized—and harmonized. At present they are in effect subversive of the national spirit and violative of the national psyche. They run at cross-purposes to each other, being a case of confusion worse confounded.
- ix. The privatization of education should never be allowed to turn into exploitative commercialization, elitization and alienation. It should provide the mainstream national Education.

CONCLUSION:

Communicative and Language skills in Pakistan need to be indigenized. They need to be imparted in the Pakistani languages, also, in addition to English as an international language for its instrumental worth. It may be taught by the eclectic-communicative Bilingual Method, rather than the traditional Grammar-Translation, or Direct Method. Idiomatic translation to convey the meaning and message, denotation and connotation, if employed eclectically, can be useful. It will also promote Bilingualism and Comparative studies in language and literature.

A nation which does not use its own language, ceases to think for itself. It is then brain-stormed and storm-trooped by conquestorial, expansionist-hegemonic colonial imperialism. Its thought and life are then dominated by an alien and alienating culture, with the result that it becomes a second-rate, servile and slavish nation, with no originality of its own. It becomes imitative and phony, with compradors, deviants, alienates and hypocrities as its collective leadership in the various walks of life. The core reason is that either you master a language fully and competently, or it enslaves or dominates you socio-culturally, conceptually and ideationally, both in thought and feeling, and in deed. Pakistan's very first step to genuine freedom and authentic independence is to opt for sovereign self-reliance in national policy making and action for its implementation. For that to happen, it is education policy and its related policies, i.e., culture, language and media policies, their

indigenization—Islamization and Pakistanization. Only then will it be able to produce the critically needed indigenous collective leadership: women and men of thought and action in the spirit and tradition of its founders.

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