Literacy Practices in Action: A Four Resource Model Analysis of Customer-centricity

Sarwet Rasul [1]
Saima Umer [2]

Abstract

The aim of this study was to examine the concept of literacy practices as 'socially-situated' in the post-modern era, by exploring and identifying the various kinds of literacy practices employed by the Pakistani tailors in their professional work domains. 'The Four Resources Model', as designed by Serafini (2012), was employed as the principal framework with an intention to apply the concept of literacy practices to the four resources of designing, navigation, interpretation and interrogation; while remaining cognizant of the fluctuating nature of the communication. The study's findings suggest that the Pakistani tailors, despite being formally illiterate, use a wide variety of literacy practices in support of their professional domain, including textual, verbal, visual, and digital literacies. It has also been found that these tailors frequently shift across and modify these practices in line with the needs of their customers. These findings sufficiently demonstrate that the post-modern construct of literacy practices as a set of skills rather than a mere ability to read and write is correct and in line with the dictates of the modern times.

Keywords: work domain, literacy practices, four resources model, Pakistani tailors, multi-modal texts

1. Introduction

According to Street & Street (1984), literacy is 'socially situated' as people apply their reading and writing skills due to different reasons and objectives in their daily lives. Street's model draws a clear distinction between the previous literacy models that are the autonomous and the ideological models. The autonomous model emphasizes upon the idea of formal literacy and theorizes literacy in technical terms; whereby literacy is suggested as a set of de-contextualized skills, which can be applied in

[1] Dean Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences, Fatima Jinnah Women University, Rawalpindi
[2] Lecturer, Department of English (UGS), NUML, Islamabad

any situation. Because of its formal and rigid nature, the autonomous model assigns authoritative consequences to both the individual and social cognition. In contrast, the ideological model theorizes literacy as a set of practices instead of skills, which are employed in various contexts and are 'inseparably connected to power and cultural structures in a society' (1984:433).

In addition to above, studies of the contemporary understanding of literacy have also been conducted by Gregory & Williams (2002); Hagood (2002); Lewis, Enciso, & Moje (2007); and Luke (2004). Street (2003) explained the terminology of 'new literacy studies' as a new tradition or genre, which identifies the nature of literacy by focusing upon both the acquisition of skills to practice and also literacy as a practice at the social level. In this broadened context, the new studies of literacy necessitate the identification of various new types of literacies that keep originating and which vary according to the time and space; along with the need for differentiating the practitioners' power relations towards discovering the variation across prevailing, resistant or marginalized literacies. However, it is important to be understood that the concept of New Literacy Studies, primarily views literacy as a social practice (Street, 2003).

2. Literacy Practices

Walldén (2020), Street (1993) and also Lam (2000) view literacy as a social practice; and also the process of becoming or being identified as being literate, either with regards to the first language (L1) or the second language (L2). Moreover, these researchers also view literacy as a social process in which, language learners or users actively participate and enact particular social roles and eventually negotiate their situated identities. Literacy practice is also often referred to as the process of language learning and language use as performed by individuals, to make sense of their social context and communicate with others during their routine daily lives (Street, 1993).

Barton & Hamilton (2000) assert that literacy practices are not a set of individual traits but rather the exercise of knowledge concerning their social contexts. According to Hawkins (2004), just like language, which is more than only the correct vocabulary and grammatical or syntactic structure, literacy is more than the ability to encode or decode texts and patterns. It is in fact the use of text in a vast social or global context in a way that adds more power to the meaning of that text (Vasquez, Janks &

Comber, 2019). In this context, literacy practices can be viewed as individuals' use of social and cultural knowledge to give meaning to the text or discourse in a broader social context (Bigelow et al., 2017).

2.1 Literacy Practices and the Development of Social Identity

Wenger (1998) identified social identity as a concept involving the processing of current information towards undertaking certain actions, which ultimately build the uniqueness of a specific social group. Lave & Wenger (1991) proposed that the people having the same social identity tend to share common social practices, a common social history as well as social principles; and they also assign shared meanings to the objects or events. According to a study conducted by Anning, Cullen & Fleer (2004), the framework of socio-cultural identity provides detailed knowledge and understanding of a specific society and also the literacy practices, which are being executed as part of that society. The knowledge regarding objects and ideas are then transmitted from the older to the newer members of the community for undertaking social and literacy practices, while the implied nature of knowledge becomes the context for social scientists and researchers. Similarly, while Bartlett (2005) proposed that the usage of literacy creates our world; Annings et al. (2004) suggest that an understanding of the literacy practices as well as their association with society along with the use of discourse in relation with the practitioner's social role, either builds a new social identity or reveals the nature of the already prevailing social identity.

In addition to above, Stroud & Wee (2008) argue that the literacy practices of individuals displaced from their places of origin may differ slightly from the people of the host communities. For instance, mechanics and tailors who have shifted from their home or native towns in the rural areas to the urban areas in search of better living opportunities, are mostly compelled to transform their literacy skills; thereby bringing these in line with the literacy practices being demonstrated by their colleagues in the urban areas.

In a separate context, Barton, et. al (2012) suggested viewing literacy on the basis of the demonstration of literacy skills by people including both the textual reading and writing forms,; and in accordance with the real-world context of the performance of these skills. Considering this suggestion, Barton & Hamilton (2012) argue that the literacy practices in the professional domains vary in line with the nature of profession.

2.2 Society, Literacy Practices and Literacy Events

Hamilton (2000) describes that in the simplest form, literacy practices can be understood on the basis of what people intend to do with literacy (2000:7). According to this assumption, the literacy practices not only consist of the actions of expression, but are also connected to and are premeditated by the attitudes, feelings, values and social affiliations of individuals. Brandt, (2009) is also of the view that literacy practices should always be studied in context of the practitioners' relationships with their communities, societies or groups; thereby assigning an enhanced significance to the identification of social relationships of the practitioners of literacy skills.

Further elaborating upon the relationship between the literacy skills and social context, Barton & Hamilton (2012) clarified the difference between literacy events and literacy practices. Literacy events are ostensible and noticeable that is, one can observe what people do with the texts or in other words, the contexts which necessitate the use of literacy skills. On the other hand, literacy practices are more related to the beliefs, attitudes, values, and power structures of the individuals. Moreover, when literacy is examined with the help of socio-cultural and social practice lens, as done by Barton & Hamilton (1998), Purcell-Gates (1995 & 2007), Brandt & Clinton (2002) and also Street (1984), literacy can be observed as not only as a set of context based skills, but also to some extent as an expression of social practices.

2.3 Socio-cultural Perspectives on Literacy

The socio-cultural perspectives on literacy correspond to the sociolinguistic conceptualizations of how language integrates with a particular society's culture (Gee, 2000). Bourdieu (1991) asserts that the relationship between language use and social power entails the socio-cultural perspectives on literacy. In contrast, according to Bakhtin (2010), the variations in the use of language as per the social or cultural context, pertain to the socio-cultural aspect of literacy or literacy practices. Halliday (1973) drew a very robust connection between language and culture as both imply each other – the speech or language use makes and even implements the respective culture. This facet of language makes it dependent upon the social world as it is always shaped by its user's social or cultural context (Khan, Rahman & Hamid, 2021).

In the above context, Gee (1996) suggests that language never appears independent of the cultural models or the social relations like politics an power, values and attitude and the perspectives and experiences of the individuals; and is also reliant upon the social settings or environment. Therefore, Gee (2000) characterizes social discourse as an identity kit as discourse illustrates the individuals' connection with their cultural and political environment and the social role they play within this environment. From this perspective, language performs a social function that can be described under the genre of sociolinguistics and termed as speech genre (Bakhtin, 1986; and Khan et al., 2021).

Capstick (2021) and Rexetal (2010) explored the development of the current socio-cultural perspective by conducting ethnographic research to examine language and literacy practices, and Hymes (1994) reviewed the ethnography of communication. Both of these researchers argue that to investigate the communication-oriented events and patterns, the facets of cultural beliefs and values, forms and roles of social institutions and history, and also the ecology of the communities must be explored. Similarly, Street (2001) believes that people's way of reading and writing in different contexts should focus on anthropology or sociolinguistic research. In a culturally diverse scenario, the varying literacy practices urge the language users and the listeners to assume the respective cultural practice. Therefore, most socio-cultural research in literacy has been conducted with the perspective that 'an understanding of literacy requires detailed, in-depth accounts of actual practice in different cultural settings (Street,2001).

2.4 The Notion of Domain
Though the idea of domain has been highlighted by most of studies of literacy practices; however, the definitions and meanings of this idea vary a lot. For instance, Hamilton (2004) defines domains as "the institutional based spaces that form specific social life and the literacy related with them, e.g. religion, work, or health" (2004:1). In this context, domains can be derived from the evident settings in which people can be observed interacting with the written texts, e.g. the churches, workplaces or hospitals. This definition of 'domain' thus conveys a perception of the influence of the external social institutions or structures upon people and the activities that they perform. On the other hand, Dyson (2003) explains the concept of domains on the basis of the types, location and nature of the

social activities; while viewing domains as social spaces, which can expand or contract and cross over from one institution to another.

This study views domains as social spaces as suggested by Dyson (2003), while drawing focus upon the structure and form of the activity and also the idea that a human activity within an area can cross physical places. For instance, schooling based activity can occur in a school, at home, or on a field of football.

2.5 Multilingualism, Literacy Practices and Social Identity

Buckingham (2008) argued that identity should not be considered as a singular and monolithic phenomenon, but as a plural and developmental construct, which is shaped or reshaped with the learners' continuous interactions and negotiations with others in their respective communities (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). A language learner's social identity is thus an indicator of the learner's understanding of his or her relationship with the targeted language and the social world. Pavlenko & Lantolf (2001) argue that language learning is a process of becoming a part of any community or society. Language learners intentionally learn the facts and rules of the language in order to deal with the complexities of that language. Therefore, the language learning process makes individuals capable of communicating according to the particular norms of their respective communities and professional domains (Manan et al., 2021).

Pavlenko (2002) and Norton (2000), in a post-structural context, characterize social identity as a socially contingent relationship between the learner and the addressee, which involves a complex struggle. The dependent social relationship between literacy practices and multilingualism makes identity a dynamic perspective, challenging the mono-cultural and monolingual aspects of language learning. It views multilingual individuals as members of multiple social, ethnic and cultural communities with multidimensional identities (Begum, 2021; and Chen, 2013).

It is important to note that the increasing technological advancement and growing lingual and cultural diversity and their relationship with literacy practices; have promoted a multi-literacy perspective (D'Agostino & Mocciaro, 2021). This perspective accentuates the multiplicity or multimodality of literacy as a social practice in human communications (Thorne, Black & Sykes, 2009); while regarding the diverse cultural communities, adds further complexity to the literacy learning, socialization, and identity formation (Canagarajah,2010).

2.6 The Shift to Multi-Modal Discourses

Kress & Jewitt (2003), in their research on multimodality, point out that verbal discourse is merely one of the several modalities that are used to make meaning. Consequently, in the post-modern context, literacy not only includes the reading or writing of a specific language, but also incorporates the use of various signs, symbols and images in the form of graphical literacy or visual literacy or numeral literacy or computer literacy et cetera (Colliver et al., 2021). In this context, Busch (2021) is of the opinion that a variety of linguistic and semiotic resources can be used to deliver meaning and interpretation in various social and professional contexts. For example, with reference to the media or visual literacies, almost everyone around us irrespective of his or her education level, knows how to use a cell phone and social media websites. Therefore, D'Agostinoetal (2021) is of the view that the extra abilities of using the cell phones or internet, should be counted as the literacy practices of the illiterate people who work in different domains of life. In the light of all these arguments, this study aimed to examine literacy practices with reference to the multi-modal discourses.

Moreover, while Taylor (2010) argues that individuals classically select the social identity or image they desire to be represented and promoted in their society or community; Gold & Petronio (1980) claim that reputations or statuses are shared phenomena being products of social level processes. Also, Street (2001) is of the opinion that socio-cultural researches in the field of literacy are mostly focused upon the viewpoint that "a perception of literacy needs detailed and deep explanations of real practice in different settings of culture" (2001:430). So in a dynamic world, it becomes important to investigate how people in a specific profession in a particular country, tend to practice a variety of literacy practices during their management of the social discourse while embracing both the informal and professional dimensions (Muhammad &Mosley, 2021). Therefore, this research strives to examine the professional literacy practices as demonstrated by the lower-middle and middle-class Pakistani tailors, while viewing literacy as a plural construct.

2.7 Multilingualism & its Manifestation in Pakistan

The term 'multilingualism' has been derived from two Latin words - multi and lingua; where the former means 'many' while the latter means

'language' (Bubmann,1996; and Okal, 2014). Raza (2021) & Lyons (1981) refer to multilingualism as the ability of speakers to express themselves in more than one language with an expertise equivalent to that of the natives. Therefore, multilingualism can also be understood as the co-existence of several official or unofficial, national or international and also native or foreign languages, which are spoken within a specific country.

Pakistan is a culturally diverse and multilingual country where seven significant languages namely English, Urdu, Punjabi, Pashto, Siraiki, Sindhi and Balochi, are spoken in the form of sixty different dialects (Rehman, 2003). However, two main languages - English and Urdu, rule all the political, social, professional, public and private domains. English has been the official language of Pakistan and is viewed as part of a colonial heritage from the pre-1947 British-ruled united India; thereby becoming a significant status symbol for the country's elite (Census, 2001). On the other hand, Urdu is the national language of Pakistan; and indeed is the most widely understood and spoken language across the country. It is the primary medium of social interaction for people hailing from different geographical areas, specifically in the country's urban areas, thereby making it the lingua franca (Rehman, 2002). However, it is essential to note that Urdu though understood widely, is the mother tongue of only a few Pakistani people (Ali et al., 2021). Therefore, to make everyday communication relatively convenient and easy, most of the populace usually prefers to speak while using the local languages (Rahman, 1996).

According to Atta (2021), in the Pakistani context, the use of language leading to the constitution of the social identity of the practitioner, assumes an added significance. This process of the constitution can be interpreted as the development of a culturally specific vocabulary, context-sensitive topics and shared attitudes of the language users (Rosi Solé, 2004). Therefore, the indigenous language usage by the native speakers of Pakistan can also be understood as a representation of their social identity or cultural affiliation. In addition to these and concerning the concept of social identity, language can also be observed as intimately linked with social power (Sapetal, 2019). As mentioned above and specific to Pakistan, English and Urdu can be viewed as socially powerful languages, with the former taking precedence over the latter as a symbol of a higher social status (Haidar, 2019).

2.8 Multilingualism and the Construction of Social Identity in Pakistan

Multilingualism and the construction of social identity in Pakistan can be examined under the political, educational, and socioeconomic contexts. As far as the politically constructed identities in Pakistan are concerned, Urdu is a widespread and the most commonly spoken language in Pakistan; therefore, it enjoys the status of being the 'national language.' On the other hand and in a national context, indigenous, local or regional languages have been accorded comparatively lesser importance than Urdu; and that is why Urdu speakers assume themselves as more sophisticated than indigenous speakers (Rahman 2002:36). Bourdieu (1991:230) calls language the 'cultural capital,' where people tend to construct their identities under the influence of the influential languages. Thus, languages serve multiple purposes in the Pakistani context; these have become a status symbol for Pakistani users; these have become the lingua franca for Pakistani speakers; this help resists ethnicity and above all, these are contributing towards the constitution of a unified 'Pakistani' social identity.

With reference to the educationally constructed identities, in the Pakistani educational institutes, English and Urdu are appreciated the most, while other languages are not accorded much educational value or significance. Moreover, as compared to Urdu, English is accorded more significance because of its post-colonial impact on education policymakers and its status as the country's official language. Abbas (1993) argues that English has a significant superiority over all the other spoken languages in Pakistan; because it has a strong presence in all domains like education, media, bureaucracy, judiciary and military. This feature does not lessen the Urdu language's value because it is still being vastly used in most of the country's educational institutes by both teachers and learners (Abbas, 1993). In this context, Masroor (1993), who surveyed the Punjabi students' attitudes towards languages, found out that these students ranked English as the most important language, Urdu as the second and Punjabi as the third most important language.

In the context of socio-economically constructed identities, it is important to note that language may also perpetuate social stratification as in Pakistan, the social class or caste system prevails where the rulers belong to the upper class; and the working class belongs to the lower classes (Bartonetal, 2012). In the Pakistani context, people from the lower

economic classes endeavor to leave their original identity and struggle to construct their new identity as equivalent to the status of influential and educated people. In this process, multiple identities are created (Ahmad, 1981:115). While on one hand, this status complex may lead to language shame which would eventually result in language death; on the other, in the multilingual and multicultural context of Pakistan, people belonging to different ethnic groups feel privileged to talk in their indigenous language to feel a sense of affiliation (Ali, 2021). Therefore, despite the socioeconomic influences, language remains an emblem of the user's individual or social identity (Ahmed, 1992).

2.9 Research Questions

The study is aimed at addressing the following broader research question:
"What kind of diverse literacy practices do the Pakistani tailors use in their work domains?"
Within the scope of the main research question, the study strived to answer the following two main questions (MQs):
MQ1. How do tailors in Pakistan use literacy practices in their work domain?
MQ2. What diverse literacy practices do the Pakistani tailors utilize in their professional domains?
In addition to the two main research questions, following were identified as the subsidiary questions (SQs):
SQ1. How the daily reading and writing activities related to Pakistani tailors' work domains, are embedded in the broader social discourse and cultural practices? (Designer & Navigator)
SQ2. How are English, Urdu and other local languages in Pakistan code-switched and mixed; and how are these incorporated with other semiotic signs in the social context of the tailors' work domain? (Designer & Interpreter)
SQ3. How are the multilingual literacy practices/skills, as displayed by the Pakistani tailors, patterned by power relations and how is the identity constructed by using various modes of socialization? (Interrogator)

2.10 Theoretical Framework

The current study has been theoretically founded upon Serafini's (2012) suggested framework of 'The Four Resource Model (FRM)' in order to understand and examine the idea literacy in a social context, while employing the four resources of designing, navigation, interpretation and interrogation. The FRM and its related four roles of the reader, extended

the definition of reading from a simple and general model of decoding the printed texts (Gough, 1972) to a model of making meaning and analyzing texts in the socio-cultural contexts (Gee, 1996). The FRM – which initially comprised the four roles of: reader as code breaker; reader as text participant; reader as text user; and reader as text analyst; amply clarified as to what it means to be an efficacious reader in recent times (Freebody & Luke, 1990).

3. Research Design

This research employs the use of a qualitative research design, which offers a flexible framework in order to allow the researchers to understand the complex events and processes involved in using literacy practices while studying them in depth (Crabtree & Miller, 1999). Towards this end, the individual workers (Pakistani tailors) were viewed as research subjects.

The research was carried out in two phases. The first phase of the project involved interviews during which basic demographic information of the research subjects was gathered including their: social status; academic qualifications; hometowns; mother-tongues; and experience in their profession. In the second phase, semi-structured interviews were conducted; and the designed checklist was filled up through observation and photographs of their professional notes (measuring details) and premises.

During the observation, special attention was paid to the literacy events performed by the research subjects. The audio/video recordings were also made wherever permission was given. Hamilton's (2012) idea was considered for the documentation of literacy events visually through photography. The interviews were conducted to know workers' educational and professional prowess, work-related experiences and also their attitudes towards their job to know how they managed their literacy skills while working.

In addition to the semi-structured interviews, the amalgamation of observation and photography not only provided visual records of the situations; but also enabled the researcher to obtain a sequential understanding of the practices performed in various situational and social contexts. The observations were duly accompanied by the field notes.

3.1 Sampling

A stratified sampling technique was used to collect data to be analyzed, where the data was collected only from the middle and lower-middle class to explore their literacy practices at the workplace; while remaining cognizant of the variable of social stratification and its effects upon their literacy practices. A sample of 20 research subjects (Pakistani tailors) was selected from Rawalpindi/ Islamabad and the surrounding hundred kilometers radius area, which provided a chance to collect data from cosmopolitan cities as well as smaller towns and suburbs. A total of 20 tailors shops were visited for data collection.

4. Data Analysis

As mentioned earlier, a systematic data analysis was conducted by drawing upon the FRM as designed by Serafini (2012), which perceives the literacy skills practitioner as 'navigator, interpreter, designer, and interrogator'.

With regards to the analysis of the relationship between the social perspective and the literacy practices under the FRM, it is essential to note that navigating involves moving from one literacy practice to another towards identifying the practice which best suits the needs of the intended audience and also the requisites imposed by the communication between the practitioner and the intended audience (D'Agostino & Mocciaro, 2021). Similarly, interpreting should be viewed in two critical dimensions: firstly, the practitioner interprets the available literacy options into the modified versions towards enhancing simplicity; and secondly, the practitioner interprets the intended audience's needs using open literacy practices. In the same context, designing includes the identification of the exact requirement and the subsequent modification of the existing literacy practice options. Finally, interrogation involves the practitioner correctly identifying their power relationship with the intended audience to conclude the right choice of literacy practice.

4.1 Findings & Interpretation

4.1.1 The Practitioner as Navigator

It was observed that the tailors in Pakistan have to perform certain literacy practices at the workplace, which, in addition to reading and viewing the text and the visuals, also involve writing and drawing. The primary purpose of this writing and drawing was identified as noting down the

suggested dress designs and the measurements of the dresses in line with the customers' requirements. Usually, the customers verbally instruct the tailors about the measurements and the suggested designs; but to keep a record, the tailors document these instructions. This documentation primarily occurs in the numerical form in a memorized sequence developed out of the respective tailor's experience (Figures – 1 & 2). This design and measurement handling are mainly in tracing and numerals; for example, the dress sizes, regarding length and width, involve less use of elaborately written language than the numerals. Additionally, the tailors interpret the complicated or novel designs as instructed by the customers, into rough drawings along with the typographic presentation, which is intended to provide a brief description of the suggested designs that correlate to the customers' needs.
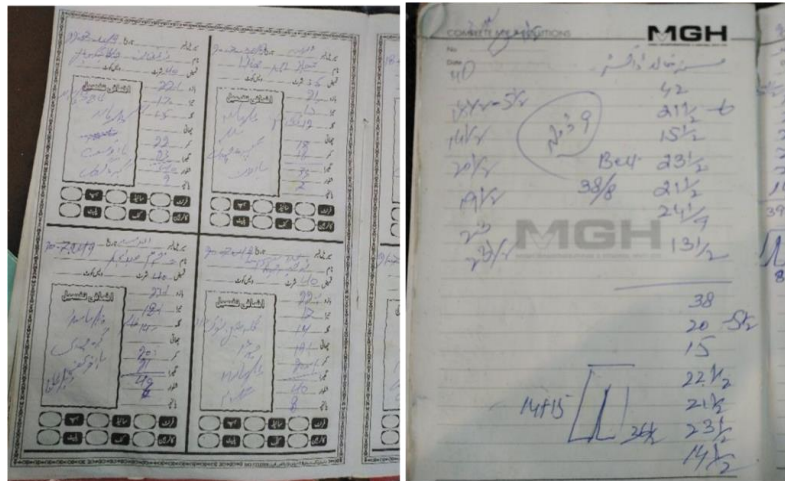

Fig. 1 Images from Liaqat Tailoring and Raees KhanDarzi

It was also found that navigating through multimodal texts leads to the development of a grammar of visual designs for the Pakistani tailors, which helps them not just to keep a record of the methods but also to comprehend these records with the help of the structures and typography associated with written language.

Another aspect of navigation that helps these formally illiterate tailors perform their literacy practices impeccably is the concept of decoding. The decoding process refers to a series of cognitive skills and strategies that include vocabulary knowledge, word recognition, symbol, sound and the recognition of phoneme patterns in spelling and language (Busch, 2021).

Additionally, it was found that all the tailors from the lower and middle classes navigate across a range of diverse literacy practices, that is, from producing numerically rich texts to tracing designs to virtually receiving and understanding structures by using Urdu as the language of clients and Punjabi as the language of the workplace.
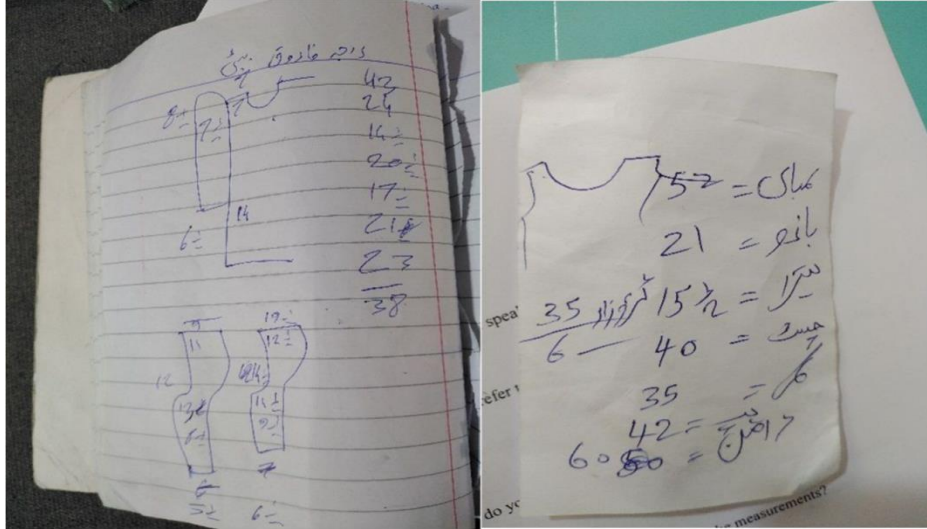

Fig. 2 Images of Nnumerically rich texts with tracing of design from Saleem Tailors and Shahid & Sons.

Moreover, digital literacy has been identified as another form of workplace literacy practice as demonstrated by the subjects of research. In this context, it was observed that though some of the participants were not literate enough; yet they displayed digital literacy practices through using smart phones, data entering in shape of measuring details, saving clients' contact numbers and virtual communication through telephonic/video calls to better understand design requirements and specifications.

Furthermore, multilingualism has been found common among all the 20 tailors as they all could speak and understand more than two languages competently other than their mother-tongues. For instance, Urdu is used to communicate with clients, whereas Punjabi is used as the language of communication among peers and staff at the tailoring shops. Almost all the tailors had diverse linguistic and regional backgrounds and had learnt Urdu and Punjabi from their professional environment as a survival kit.

4.1.2 The Practitioner as Interpreter

Walldén (2020) elaborates on the concept of families of literacy practices enabling the study of a wide range of literacy practices where literacy is seen as a social and situated activity rather than a generic skill. Similarly, the tailors in Pakistan have been found to be the interpreters of the texts, which they produce according to their work domain-specific practices; and are capable of comprehending these accordingly.

In the above context, it is essential to note that the tailors follow a particular measurement pattern with the help of numerals/digits and tracing designs. All the tailors from lower or middle-middle classes follow the same way of measure and note-taking. However, the means of taking these notes varied from loose pages to normal diaries to proper measurement note books with printed details; in line with the social class of the research subjects. For instance, while Al-Fazal Boutique & Tailors used sticky notes to note down extra details of design; London Dress, Nimra Bridal, Imran Tailor, et cetera, made use of adequately printed letterheads to record the measurement details along with the names and contact details of their clients.

Contrary to above, it has also been found out that the tailors belonging to the lower class make more use of loose pages to note down the measurement details and to trace the design with clients' names at the top, all of which are kept loosely in different kinds of page holders (Figures – 3 & 4).
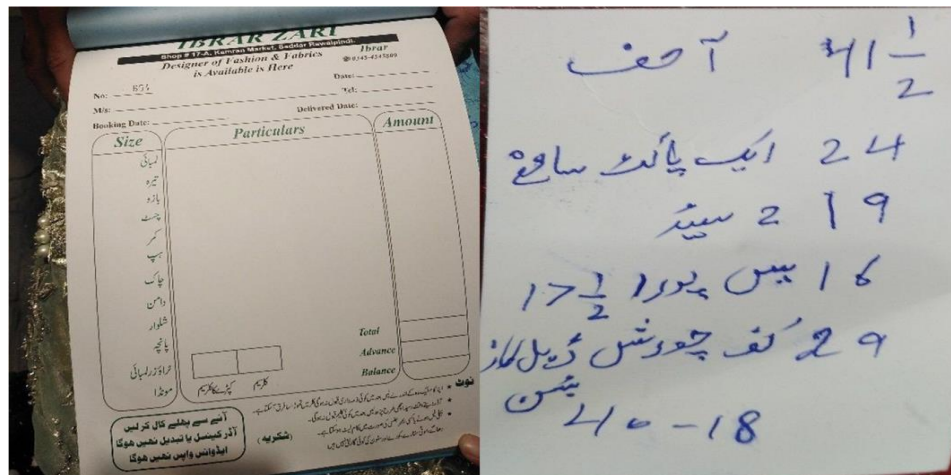

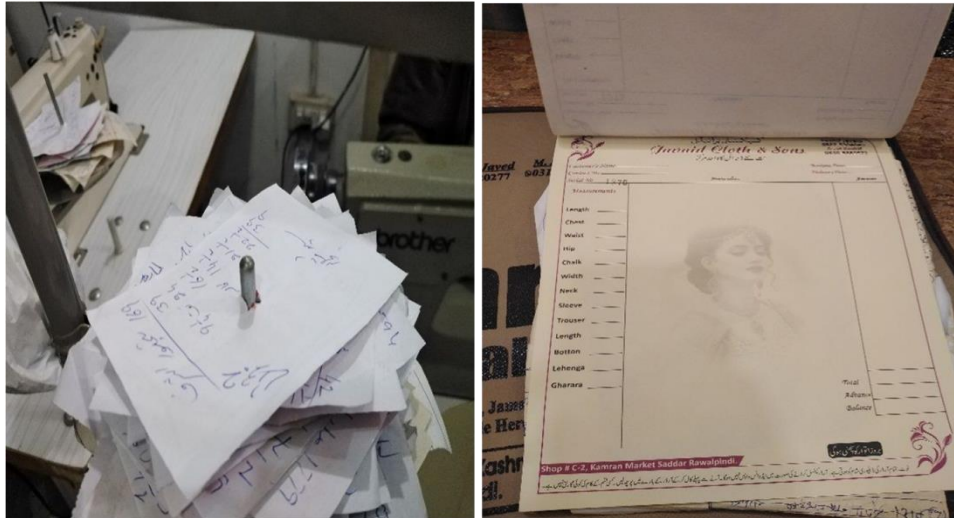***Fig. 3 Ibrar Zari and Imran Tailors***

Fig. 4 Javed Tailoring Shop and Nimra Bridal

4.1.3 The Practitioner as Designer

During this research, it has been observed that tailors in Pakistan follow a particular way of designing their texts richer in numerical note taking with or without mentioning specific measurement areas. On asking about the measurement strategy without labeling, 15 of 20 tailors replied that it constituted part of their daily work practice and they knew which digits referred to the measurement of which specific body part. Moreover, it has also been found that the tailors belonging to different social classes (lower and middle-middle class) all follow a similar pattern/sequence of noting down measurement details of their clients.

In addition to above, the visiting card images collected from 12 tailors depicted that most of them had got their cards designed in Urdu or Roman Urdu except for 2, whose cards were developed in the English language, while also containing email details (London Dress and Sana Fashion). Moreover, except for one visiting card, i.e., London Tailors all had images of male and female stitched or unstitched clothes.

Fig. 5 Visiting Cards

While observing the billboards and visiting cards of the selected tailors' shops, the researchers also found that none of the tailors had used the Urdu word 'darzi' in any of their billboards and visiting cards as their identity; rather they all had used the word 'tailor' to reference their work designation. This specific observation also refers to tailors as designers of their texts and identities in a post-modern hybrid multilingual world (Atta, 2021).

Fig. 6 Billboards

It has also been observed that most of the tailors were not competent or familiar with the use of the English language as they were not academically qualified except for one (Nimra Bridal & Javed Tailoring

Shop), who claimed that he could speak and understand English. This claim was somewhat confirmed from his verbal discourse, which had more mixing of English with Urdu. However, most tailors were unaware that they used many English lexical expressions in their spoken discourse while talking or taking measurements. For instance, linguistic terms like chest, hip, size, design, ladies & gents, specialist, pocket, length, front, back and sides, et cetera, have been commonly found in the work discourse of Pakistani tailors.

Certain printing errors in English expressions on the tailors' billboards were also found; for example 'all kinds of Stacie' (instead of stitching) work on the billboard of M Usman Tailors; 'botton' (bottom) on the Javed Cloth letterhead pad; 'is available is her' on the billboard of Nasir Fancy Cloth & Silk Center; and Saleem Tailor's billboard displaying the caption of 'Ladies & Gents Ishpecialista' (Specialist). These errors reflect upon the literacy levels of the composer and advertisement makers for the tailors as well as the tailors themselves. Moreover, almost all billboards had complete sentences in Urdu and their translations in English, which is quite unlike the common advertisement strategies or the widespread usage of the language (Ali, 2021).

Fig. 7 Billboard

4.1.4 The Practitioner as Interrogator
As mentioned earlier, the role of interrogation involves the practitioner correctly identifying their power relationship with the intended audience to conclude the right choice of literacy practice. This interrogative aspect was observed first in the initial titles used by these tailors for addressing

and welcoming their clients. For example, the proprietor of Nimra Bridal & Javed Tailoring Shop stated that when he identified the clients as women of Army background, he always chose to talk to them in English. Similarly, the choice of the language used by the selected tailors was found in line with their customers' social statuses: English and Urdu were found reserved for the higher classes, while Punjabi was used as the language of discourse with women from lower social classes.

5. Discussion
The findings of this research on identifying the diversity of literacy practices demonstrated by the tailors in Pakistan in the course of their professional lives indicate that tailors exercise their literacy practices in primarily two critical dimensions. Firstly, these tailors exercise their literacy practices in order to communicate with the clients to understand their needs in the exact technical details. Secondly, these tailors exercise their literacy practices when there is a need to make an accurate record of the design and measurement details as obtained from the customers. Therefore, it is evident that the tailors' use of the literacy skills was primarily driven by and guided by the requirement to perform professional tasks and solve the problems associated with the customers' needs and record keeping.

The above discussed observation also draws relevance to the tendency to construe corporate identities discursively through texts of different kinds. The task of these tailors is more people-oriented, but due to the centralized practice, their documentation is part of the general practice of transferring experience to text daily. This literacy practice involves linguistic literacy skills, for instance, writing for measurement documentation and reading, as well as the use of semiotic literacy skills and smart phones.

Moreover, semiotic literacy skills encompass the use of various symbols, signs and images in the form of visual literacy, graphical literacy, numeral literacy, visual literacy and computer literacy, etc. These linguistic and semiotic resources convey meaning and interpretation of meaning in the tailors' everyday social context of social and professional activities being performed at the workplace. This multidimensional relation to literacy, where reading/understanding and writing/drawing allow an individual worker to be a planner, an independent problem solver and a conveyor of experience as well as a certifier and controller of his or her work, might represent the knowledge-based economy viewed from its best perspective.

In addition to above, it can be argued that the FRM by Serafini (2012) provides deeper insights and more elaborate meanings to the literacy skills practiced by the tailors in Pakistan. The application of this comprehensive model indicates that Pakistani tailors display an increasing amount of complexity and sophistication regarding the display of professional literacy skills; where the needs of the profession are often combined with the social and power-based relationships with their clients.

The tailors become expert navigators when they shift across various literacy practices to choose one that is best aligned with the situation and also with the needs of their customers; while choosing a discourse option best suited for the intended communication with their clients (Ali, 2021).

The tailors become interpreters when they transform the available choices of literacy practices to make the process of understanding more straightforward and more practical; and when they correctly interpret the exact needs and desires of their customers into workable options (Muhammad & Mosley, 2021).

The tailors become the designers when they devise new literacy practices by modifying the existing ones to choose the most suitable option under the customers' needs.

Finally, the tailors become expert interrogators when they identify the dictates of the power relationship with their customers and choose the best suitable literacy practice e.g. the use of language. In this multilingual and multicultural context of Pakistan, people belonging to different ethnic groups feel privileged to talk in their indigenous language to feel a sense of affiliation (Ali, 2021). Therefore, despite the socioeconomic influences, language remains an emblem of the user's individual or social identity (Ahmed, 1992). However, when it comes to their professional communication the tailors in Pakistan specifically the ones living in Islamabad, Rawalpindi and their suburbs make use of Urdu mainly, Punjabi in some cases and a code mixing of Urdu and English to communicate with their clients in accordance with the social status of the clients.

6. Conclusion

This research was aimed at the identification and examination of the diverse literacy practices employed by the Pakistani tailors in their professional domains; and also to explore the ways these tailors used

literacy practices in their work domain and created their social and professional identities.

The findings of this research indicate that the navigation through multimodal texts enables Pakistani tailors to develop a grammar of visual designs, which assists the users in record-keeping and decoding. Moreover, the research subjects also displayed digital literacy practices and an expert use of multilingualism by combining English, Urdu and Punjabi languages. As interpreters, these tailors have been found expert at interpreting the texts for measurement and formal or informal note-taking. Similarly, as designers, Pakistani tailors have been found experts at designing texts as part of note and measurement-taking, visiting   cards, and billboards; while employing multilingualism by combining English with Urdu. On the other hand, as interrogators, the Pakistani tailors have been found identifying their power relationships with the clients on the basis of the latter's social class, which helps these tailors design their discourses or interactions.

Overall, it can be concluded that the Pakistani tailors, despite being formally illiterate, use a wide variety of literacy practices (textual, visual, verbal and digital) with respect to their professional dictates and social stratification. Moreover, it can also be argued that the transition in the concept of literacy practices as a set of skills that is situated and contextual, has given these tailors the liberty to frequently shift across and modify these practices in line with the needs of their customers and to create their identities under this rapidly changing hybrid post-modern era where any person is literate if s/he are successfully surviving in their socioeconomic context. In order to do further research on this area a corpus of tailors' professional discourse focusing upon multimodality of text can be developed.

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