Inclusion of Bhutanese folk culture in the B.Ed Primary English modules and the upper primary school English curriculum: A comparative study

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Abstract

This study was conducted to find out if there was any congruity in terms of the inclusion of Bhutanese folk culture in the English modules of the B. Ed (Pry) programme and the English textbooks of classes IV – VI. The study also examined the perceptions of English lecturers of the two teacher training colleges (Paro and Samtse), B. Ed (Pry) pre-service teachers, primary school English teachers and students from classes IV – VI with regard to the inclusion of Bhutanese folk culture in the English syllabuses. The study adopted the mixed methods approach. Some of the key findings of the study revealed that neither the English modules of the B. Ed (Pry) programme nor the primary school English syllabuses from classes IV – VI included much of Bhutanese folk culture. The findings also indicated that English lecturers, B. Ed (Pry) pre-service teachers, primary school English teachers, and primary school students welcomed the inclusion of Bhutanese folk culture in the English curricula at the B. Ed (Pry) programme and at the primary school English curriculum.

Introduction

[5]It is said that if teachers are to teach well in the schools, they must be adequately trained, failure of which, might result to not teaching well in schools. Addressing the congregation of student-teachers at Samtse College of Education, His Majesty Jigme Khesar Namgyel Wangchuk stressed that teachers simply cannot give what they don't have (16th November, 2012).

The Constitution of Bhutan (2008, p.10) states, "the State shall endeavour to preserve, protect and promote the cultural heritage of the country". The Constitution further states that it is the fundamental duty of a Bhutanese citizen "to preserve, protect and respect the environment, culture and heritage of the nation" (2008, p.16). However, to learn to protect and promote one's culture, one must be able to appreciate it. But teachers cannot truly teach about 'culture' if their teacher training curriculum talks nothing about Bhutanese culture.

In December 2009, the workshop on 'Educating for GNH' established that, among others, Bhutan's entire educational system would effectively cultivate GNH principles and values, including deep critical and creative thinking, ecological literacy, practice of the country's profound, ancient wisdom and culture (Worcester, 2004, p.6). Accordingly, 'Educating for GNH' was introduced in the schools. Nevertheless, whether or not English curriculum at the school level incorporated the elements of GNH was yet to be ascertained. Bhutan indeed enjoys an assortment of varied culture, the diversity of which is manifested in "forms of language, traditional arts and crafts, festivals, events, ceremonies, drama, music, dress and etiquettes and more importantly spiritual values that people share" (Ura, Alkire, Zangmo & Wangdi, 2012, p.21). While Bhutan is a showcase for

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cultural diversity, studies on how curriculum at the school level incorporates local culture has never been conducted.

Studies indicate that "centrally prescribed textbooks tend to provide insufficient flexibility in integrating local resources including local 'texts' and culture with the teaching-learning process, and inadequately sensitized teachers add to the problem" (Committee of Central Advisory Board of Education Ministry of Human Resource Development, 2005, p.6). Study by Barnes (2006, p.86) also indicate that "many pre-service and in-service teachers view culturally responsive teaching as an abstract and theoretical process" and in the process they fail to fully understand students' learning needs. All of these indicate that a thorough study must be conducted to examine if some form of Bhutanese culture is taught at the formal classroom setting.

Therefore, based on the aforementioned premise, the central question: *To what extent do the B. Ed primary English modules offered in Paro College of Education and English curricula of the upper primary classes include Bhutanese folk culture?* drove the research. And based on the central question, the following sub-questions were used to seek answers to the problem posed.

- Does the B. Ed (Pry) English curriculum in Paro College of Education incorporate Bhutanese folk cultural elements?
- What are the perceptions of English lecturers about the inclusion of Bhutanese folk culture in teaching English language at the teacher training college?
- What are student-teachers' perceptions regarding the inclusion of Bhutanese folk culture in English modules?
- Does the upper primary English curriculum incorporate Bhutanese folk cultural elements?
- What are the perceptions of English teachers about the inclusion of Bhutanese folk culture in primary school English curriculum?
- What are students' perceptions regarding inclusion of Bhutanese folk culture in English curriculum at the primary school level?

Literature review

There is no denying the fact that culture is one of the most commonly used strategies to teach language. History reveals that great literary figures often drew inspirations from culture to compose their own masterpieces. Boccaccio, Chaucer and Shakespeare all incorporated culture into their work. Even Tagore was attracted to "Baul songs by their distinctive aesthetic qualities and it helped him to discover his poetic gifts" (Islam, 1970, p. 181).

Viewed from linguistic standpoint, cultural-friendly materials help learners to learn language faster. Krashen's affective filter hypothesis theorises that 'motivation, self-confidence, and anxiety' play a major role in language acquisition. These factors become crucial in the process of language acquisition. Learners who are highly motivated and have high self-esteem are much more likely to be successful language learners than those who are not. Krashen's acquisition-learning hypothesis also purports that learners learn the second language (L2) better with the creation of a culturally authentic environment.

Vygotsky's Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) which stresses the fundamental role of social interaction in cognitive development and 'meaning making' process also comes into vogue. Since learners are familiar with the culture, they will not hesitate to make queries, seek clarifications or ask questions where they fail to understand something and this will develop their confidence and ability to interact with others.

Even from the socio-cultural point of view, learners can easily associate themselves with the common situations from everyday life. Hinkel (1999, p. 2) is of view that "second language can rarely be learned or taught without addressing the culture of the community in which it is used". If topics or lessons are predominantly based on foreign/target language culture, this would lead to "cultural shock and language shock for non-native speakers" (Lokho, 2010, p. 92).

However, normally what happens in the classroom is that the knowledge-based view of culture often takes the form of teaching information about another country, another people, other belief systems, and so forth. Language classes seldom make use of the culture of the learners to teach the second language. Sarroub (cited in Porto, 2009, p. 47) states, "the significance of cultural factors in foreign language education is reflected in the notion of 'in-betweenness', which refers to the locality of culture". As learners try to relate text to their own experiences, beliefs systems and values, it becomes easier to learn a second language.

Kramsch (1998, p. 8) believes that "language and culture are inseparable and constitute a single universe or domain of experience" in a given society. Not only that, "culture serves teachers and learners in the classroom as a highly natural means of teaching" (Silva, 2010, p.2). Thus, two important things have to be taken care of if English language education is to be imparted to the learners. Favourable teaching and learning conditions have to be created followed by "the adoption of suitable pedagogic processes" (Mahanand, 2013, p. 21). Bhutanese culture in general and folk culture in particular provide both the conditions necessary not only for the enhancement of English language education, but also for inculcating deep sense of values in their later lives. Therefore, it is helpful to consider how cultural background might influence approach to both learning and school performance (Lynch, 2016).

Further, it has been found that folk songs and fairy tales which form the major chunk of folk culture "often employ magical elements in the forms of words and they directly connect people with nature and their own communities" (Haratyk, 2017, p.33). In the language classroom context, culture-laden content acts as a stepping-stone towards the success of learning a second language. Language and culture are "inextricably interwoven" (Dorji, 2002, p. 7) indeed. Nevertheless, to what extent folk culture is included in pre-service B. Ed (Pry) programme and in upper primary school curricula has never been found out. Hence it was paramount to conduct a thorough study to this effect.

Methodology

This study employed a 'Mixed Methods' approach to researching – a "methodology that advances the systematic integration of quantitative and qualitative data within a single investigation or sustained programme of inquiry" (Wisdom & Creswell, 2003, p.2).

'Mixed methods' was chosen since it had advantages over a unitary method of researching. For instance, the researcher could build a study based on the strength of both quantitative and qualitative research methods, and by doing so, it provided a complete picture of the research problem. Since schools were closed due to the covid-19 pandemic, conventional administration of survey questionnaires, observations and face-to-face interviews were not feasible. Therefore, all the questionnaires and interview questions were administered online using google forms.

Simple random sampling technique was used to determine the respondents of the survey questionnaires, and purposive sampling was used for the selection of the interview participants. The samples included primary school English teachers (N = 128) of which some were interviewed (n = 15), and 10 English lecturers from the two colleges of education of which eight were interviewed. The samples also included B. Ed Primary pre-service teachers of Paro College of Education (N = 199) of which 26 were interviewed. Seven students from classes IV – VI from the Paro valley were also interviewed.

Overall analysis of English textbooks from classes IV – VI (Reading and Literature)

English textbooks for class IV, V and VI are divided into six units with a different theme for each unit. While class IV English textbook has main texts followed by varying numbers of supplementary texts in each unit, only Unit 1 and Unit 5 of class V English textbook and Unit 4 and Unit 6 of class VI English textbook contain supplementary texts. The three textbooks have an aggregate of 154 titles including the supplementary texts.

The units consist of informative essays, narrative essays, poems, short stories, folk tales, non-fiction, plays and a few fictional texts as shown in the table below:

Class	Informative Text/Essay	Poem	Short Story	Folk Tale	Fiction	Narrative Essay	Play	Non-fiction	Total
Class IV	18	17	12	10	0	0	2	0	59
Class V	4	17	10	0	1	3	0	7	42
Class VI	8	21	12	1	0	6	0	5	53
Total	30	55	34	11	1	9	2	12	154

The maximum titles come under poems (55 titles), short stories (34 titles) and informative texts/essays (30 titles). The 'narrative essay' section has nine titles while 'play' has two titles and 'fiction' has only one text. However, 11 titles come under folk tales category.

The entire 154 titles are written by four type of authors: Bhutanese authors, foreign authors, CAPSD as an author and unknown authors. Of the 154 titles in English textbooks from classes IV – VI, 135 titles are authored by foreign writers, followed by 14 unknown authors. CAPSD has authored only three titles followed by another two titles by Bhutanese authors.

Overall, Bhutanese authors constitute a meagre 1.29% against 87.66% of foreign authors, and 9.09% by unknown authors (1.95% by CAPSD). Of the 15 titles written by anonymous authors, two titles discuss something about culture in Bhutan. In fact, Kusum Kapur's two folktales that are included in class IV English textbook are the folk tales from Bhutan, although the writer herself hails from India. An overview of number of titles and author types are illustrated in the table given below:

Genre	Informative Text/Essay	Poem	Short Story	Folk Tale	Fiction	Narrative Essay	Non-fiction	Play	Total
Unknown Authors	7 (1 Bhutanese culture),	4	0	2	0		1 (Bhutanese culture),	0	14
CAPSD	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3
No. of Bhutanese authors	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2
No. of Foreign authors	21	51	33	9	1	8	10	2	135
Total	**30**	**55**	**34**	**11**	**1**	**9**	**12**	**2**	**154**

In terms of cultural friendliness, the three textbooks have only nine titles (two authored by Bhutanese authors, three authored by CAPSD, two titles by a foreign author and two written by unknown authors) and translates to just 5.8% against 94.1% of foreign content.

Analysis of B. Ed Primary English modules

Out of 40 modules spread over the four years, five modules deal with language education, viz. ENG101 (Theory and Principles of Teaching Children a Language), ENG102 (Listening and Speaking), ENG203 (Reading and Writing in Lower Primary), ENG304 (Reading and Writing in Upper Primary), and ENG405 (English Across the Curriculum). The programme also consists of a non-credited module ENG101 (Sound and Speech).

The general objectives of ENG101 states that the module deals with the theories of second language acquisition and their link between choosing suitable methodologies to teach children a foreign language. It also states that this module will ensure social, linguistic and cultural influences in acquiring a second language (PCE, 2010, p.23). While it is possible that some form of cultural elements must be covered while discussing the theories of second language acquisition, there is neither a prescribed text (by a Bhutanese author or text on Bhutan) in the reading list, nor is there any evidence to indicate that Bhutanese culture is used in teaching the theories.

One of the objectives of ENG102 is to "provide students with experiences in selecting and using appropriate methods, strategies, activities and resources for teaching specific language use with particular relevance to age/class" (p.44). Learning outcome number 7.4 states that students will be able to 'execute various activities for oral language development'. One of the subject matters of the module titled under "Development of Listening and Speaking" identifies 'home and family influence' and 'social linguistics and cultural influence' (p.45) as factors for enhancing children's listening and speaking skills. However, there are only six texts prescribed under the Reading List, and none of them have anything to do with the Bhutanese culture.

The general objectives of ENG203 is quite silent on the inclusion of Bhutanese culture in the module. However, learning outcome number 7.5 states that students will be able to 'assess the suitability of reading materials' (66) upon the completion of the module. The module recommends a series of websites, journals and a couple of reading lists. But apart from the manuals (PP-III), Textbooks (PP-III), and Readers and Big books, there is no separate text that students are recommended to read.

ENG304 deals with teaching of reading and writing in upper primary classes. Of the thirteen learning outcomes, two objectives i.e. 'use a range of genres for teaching writing' and 'use literature circle in teaching reading and writing' are specifically relevant in the inclusion of Bhutanese culture. However, apart from the manuals (IV-VI) and (textbooks (IV-VI), and a list of titles for further reading, there is no evidence to indicate that this module pays attention to Bhutanese culture to teach the language.

The ENG405 module's main objective is to familiarise students with the concepts and theory of English across the curriculum, and promote knowledge that their repertoire of language skills and how they can be used in other subjects. Like other modules, this module too, has nothing written on the inclusion of Bhutanese culture.

ENG101 is a non-credited module and it deals with 44 English sounds systems that students have to learn. This module also has no evidence of incorporating Bhutanese cultural aspects in teaching the module. And since this module is not even taught, inclusion of Bhutanese culture in the module is immaterial.

Analysis and Findings of Primary School English Teachers' Questionnaire

Of the 128 primary school English teachers who participated in this survey, 64.3% were females, and 35.7%, males. About 30% of them had the 10 – 14 years of teaching experience and nearly 30% of them had the experience of teaching for more than 15 years. More than 70% of them liked

Bhutanese culture and 99.2% of teachers felt that some of the lessons in English should represent learners' culture and heritage. Around 51.2% said that up to 50% of the lessons should be cultural friendly to the learners. However, 17.5% of teachers 'very much' felt and another 51.6% felt 'to some extent' that contents prescribed English textbooks are unfamiliar to students and therefore difficult to grasp the content. Around 89% said they encounter problems while teaching English with 15.7% and 67% saying, they 'very often' and 'sometimes' come across problems. More than 74% of them think some of the problems are related to lack of folk materials the English textbooks.

While nearly 30% of the respondents feel that current English syllabus fulfils the needs and requirements of the learners from classes PP – VI, more than 68% of them think it fulfils only up to some extent and 27.4% find topics in English textbooks culturally unfamiliar and interesting. In fact, 8% of them say it is culturally unfamiliar and uninteresting. However, an overwhelming 95.2% think that their students would like to study Bhutanese folk culture since they are already familiar with the context and can make real-life connections. The study reveals that 79% of teachers feel students would be most interested to learn legends and folk tales followed by rituals and festivals and songs and dances. Given a chance, a huge majority of 70.6% would like to change the present English syllabus and cite reasons of bulky syllabus, minimal Bhutanese-based text, irrelevant content, and syllabus based on western culture, among others.

Analysis of Primary School English teachers' Interviews

On the question of whether or not English can be taught through Bhutanese folk culture, all the 15 interviewees affirmed that English can be taught through Bhutanese folk culture. They pointed out that folk literature can be used to teach writing skills and enhances their creativity since "they already have more background knowledge on culture" (Tr14).

Their perceptions on the inclusion of folk culture in the English curriculum of the B. Ed (Pry) programme indicate that inclusion of the same is paramount. The participants reasoned out that "teachers need a thorough understanding of what folk culture is and how it could be effortlessly infused in the lessons in the schools" (Tr6). It will better prepare the undergraduates before they actually teach lessons in the class. Others are of view that it is the sole responsibility of teachers to teach their students about Bhutan's folk culture. And these teachers need to be trained on how to teach folk cultures to the students.

However, on the issue of the inclusion of Bhutanese folk culture in the current primary school English curricula, majority of them are of view that very few topics are included in the current English syllabi. The interviewees pointed out that they use Bhutanese folk culture to teach their lessons wherever relevant.

All in all, teachers feel that their students enjoy their lessons when folk culture is incorporated. Its inclusion not only helps students to "recall what they already know, it brings a clear image of the particular topic and helps them to understand the lessons far better than lessons based on other cultures" (Tr14).

Many of them feel that there are only a handful of folktales introduced into English curriculum despite the availability of diverse range of folk literature. The participants argue that Bhutanese

students struggle to learn something which they are never familiar with (referring to foreign content).

Analysis of English Lecturers' Questionnaire

Ten English lecturers were selected for the survey (70% female; 30% male). All of them agreed that some of the topics in English modules should represent learner's culture.

When it comes to the question of whether or not inclusion of learners' cultural components would motivate the learners to learn English, 20% strongly agree and 80% agree that learners culture would motivate them. While 20% strongly agree and 60% agree to some extent that current B. Ed (Pry) English syllabus fulfils the needs and requirements of the pre-service teachers, 10% feel that it 'not at all' fulfils the needs. Around 56% of the English lecturers find the current B. Ed (Pry) English syllabus culturally neutral and interesting while 22.2% find it culturally familiar and uninteresting. Only a little over 11% find it culturally familiar and interesting. However, all the respondents feel that students would be most interested to learn 'legends and folk tales' followed by 'songs and dances' and 'rituals and festivals'.

In terms of whether or not they use any teaching learning materials other than English modules, 60% of them said 'yes', while 40% said 'no'. When it comes to the question of whether lack of the culturally familiar materials in English modules are some of the causes of the problems, 62.5% do not attribute the problems to lack of cultural materials. More than 33% attribute to students' poor proficiency in English as the lack of interest in learning English lessons. However, unfamiliar contents (22.2%) and absence of locally available folk materials (22.2%) also add to the causes of learners' lack of interest in learning English lessons. An overwhelming 100% agree that their students actively participate in the teaching-learning activities.

Although 10% of the lecturer are aware of 100% of leaners' cultural backgrounds, the same number (10%) are not at all aware of it. Some 40% of the lecturers are aware of 75% of learners' cultural background, and 20% aware of 50% of the learners' cultural backgrounds. However, all the lecturers often use cultural references in the English classrooms. If given the opportunity, 80% of the lecturers would like to change the present English syllabus and reason that curriculum should be built on real life practices rather than dominating it with theories. Some respondents feel that inclusion of folk materials, materials related to teaching literature and sounds would be more useful. But many feel that inclusion of using Bhutanese folk culture in the language classes can enhance students' language skills.

Analysis of Primary English Lecturers' Interviews

All the participants (n = 8) are of view that English can be taught through Bhutanese folk culture. They premise that "…if we have folk culture in our syllabus, it will enhance the language of our students. Students will be more confident because they will know more about their culture, and when they know more, they talk more and that will enhance their language" (EL1). Hence, topics like *tsangmo* (quatrain), *lozay* (ballad), folk tales should be included instead of teaching the lessons through regular topics.

On the question of whether or not current English syllabus of the B. Ed Primary programme includes Bhutanese folk cultural elements, a majority of them indicated that it does not. However, almost all of them indicate that it is important to incorporate folk culture in the pre-service B. Ed (Pry) English curriculum. They reason out that these days "we are overpowered by the popular culture of the world, and unless we include our own culture, time might come when our young students might think that ours is not important as long as they know the popular culture" (EL1).

Considering the importance of inclusion of Bhutanese folk culture in English lessons, many of the English lecturers incorporate Bhutanese folk culture in their lessons whenever appropriate. For instance, using Bhutanese folk tales to teach students how to simplify and create picture books for young children, making connections and relating our culture to traditions of other cultures to teach the lessons. They all agree that their students enjoy their lessons when Bhutanese folk elements are incorporated in their lessons. However, they point out that there should be a good blend of our culture and cultures from other countries explicitly stated in the curriculum, failure of which, may lead to teachers not talking anything about the cultures not prescribed in the curriculum.

Analysis of B. Ed Primary Pre-service Teachers' Questionnaire

Of the 199 respondents who took part in the survey, more than 57% of them liked Bhutanese folk culture 'very much' followed by 41.4% who said they like it to 'some extent'. Only a negligible number either didn't like it or were not sure if they liked it or not. To the question of whether English modules should represent learners' culture and heritage, an overwhelming 97.5% felt that lessons should incorporate learners' culture' with majority of them interested in 'legends and folk tales'. About 87% of them admitted they encountered problems while learning English modules and attributed problems to the lack of culturally familiar materials in English modules. However, 33.8% of them admitted that their poor proficiency in English as the cause of their poor interest in English lessons.

On the question of whether or not English curriculum at the B. Ed (Pry) level lacked anything, many voiced out that it lacked materials by Bhutanese authors and materials on Bhutanese culture. A majority of the respondents felt that using Bhutanese folk culture in language lessons could enhance their language.

Analysis of B. Ed (Primary) Pre-service Teachers' Interviews

All the 26 participants were of view that English can be taught through Bhutanese folktales, and attributed it to the familiarity of context. Almost all the respondents are in favour of the inclusion of the folk culture in the English syllabus rather than learning about other cultures. In the same vein, participants were of view that B. Ed (Pry) student-teachers lacked history aspect of Bhutan. They were of view that if it is included in the curriculum, it will help them not only to promote it, but will also have an 'unchanged culture and tradition' to hand over the future citizens.

Analysis of Upper Primary School Students' Interviews

All the seven participants suggested that it will be good to include Bhutanese folk culture in the primary school English syllabus since it will be familiar to them. Some of them also justified that it will give them the opportunities to compare Bhutanese culture with foreign cultures.

The interviewees also said they enjoyed folk culture being taught through English lessons since it helped them to connect themselves to the days when their grandparents told them stories. They also indicated some of the reasons of liking folk culture since they understood and enjoyed Bhutanese folk tales more than foreign stories. They were of view that folk tales, songs, legends, and *tsangmo* (quatrain) are entertaining. All the participants suggested that their English textbooks should contain more Bhutanese folk stories, not only because they want to learn something about Bhutanese culture, but also because it would be more interesting to learn English through Bhutanese folk culture.

Results and Discussions

Of the five English modules in the B. Ed Primary Programme, three modules i.e. ENG101, ENG102, AND ENG304 include learning objectives that deal with some aspect of Bhutanese culture. Nevertheless, apart from the manuals (IV-VI) and (textbooks (IV-VI), and a list of titles for further reading, there is no evidence to indicate that these modules pay any attention to Bhutanese culture. Therefore, when it comes to the question of whether or not the B. Ed (Pry) English curriculum in Paro College of Education incorporates Bhutanese folk cultural elements, the answer is a resounding 'no'. In fact, there is neither a prescribed text (by a Bhutanese author or text on Bhutan) in the reading list, nor is there any evidence to indicate that Bhutanese culture is used in teaching the theories.

Going by the analysis of the English lecturers' questionnaires and the lecturers' interview transcripts, a huge majority of the English lecturers agree that the current B. Ed (Pry) English curriculum does not contain Bhutanese folk culture. However, they propound that inclusion of Bhutanese folk culture in the language classes can enhance students' language skills. The English lecturers premise that "…if we have folk culture in our syllabus, it will enhance the language of our students…" (EL1).

The B. Ed (Pry) student-teachers perceptions regarding the inclusion of Bhutanese folk culture is not very different from that of their English lecturers. Analysis of both the interview transcripts and the questionnaires indicate that English can be taught through Bhutanese folk literature, and given a choice student-teachers would rather enjoy studying English lessons through Bhutanese literature such as folk tales and *tsangmos* since the context is familiar to them. But, of course, almost all of them agree that the current English modules prescribed in the B. Ed (Pry) programme almost include no text that has a bearing on Bhutanese folk culture.

One of the Standards for Reading and Literature reads thus: "Through their reading, graduates have studied and reflected on the cultural values of Bhutan and other countries, particularly the

different ways in which people discover meaning in their lives; different expressions of fundamental values like Truth, Goodness, and Beauty…and have found directions and models for their own aspirations" (CAPSD, 2007, p. xv; CAPSD, 2007, p. xiv & CAPSD, 2007, p. xiv). In the same vein, Introduction to English Class V and VI: Reading and Literature, claims that among other considerations, "a fair blend of both Bhutanese and international writing in English" was taken into account while writing the new English curriculum.

However, the analysis of the three English textbooks from class IV – VI indicate a startling contradiction. Of the 154 titles in English textbooks from classes IV – VI, 87.66% of the titles are written by foreign authors, and only a meagre 1.29% titles are penned by Bhutanese authors. In fact, titles authored by unknown writers far exceed the titles authored by CAPSD, which stands at 9.09% against 1.95%. In terms of cultural friendliness, the three textbooks combined have only nine titles that are culturally friendly to the students and translates to just 5.8% of local content against 94.1% of foreign content. Therefore, the goal that the primary school graduates of classes IV – VI would have studied and reflected on the cultural values of Bhutan is not only farfetched, it is impossible to achieve. Similarly, it is also not true that the English textbooks from classes IV – VI contain a "fair blend of both Bhutanese and international writing in English". In sum, the upper primary English curriculum does not incorporate Bhutanese folk cultural elements contrary to its bold claims.

Analysis of the interview transcripts and survey questionnaires of the primary school English teachers (with a range of experiences) reveal that the English teachers very much like to incorporate elements of Bhutanese folk culture, be it folk tales, folk songs, legends, dances, rituals and festivals in the primary school English curricula. Analysis of the interview transcripts of the primary school students from classes IV – VI also indicate that they would like to study and learn Bhutanese folk culture in the English lessons. While English teachers cite the reason of cultural friendliness as a motivational force to make students learn their lessons, students like it as it helps them to connect their lessons to the days when their grandparents told them stories.

In brief, the current 4-year B. Ed (Pry) English modules do not incorporate Bhutanese folk cultural elements. And only a small percent of the upper primary English curriculum incorporates Bhutanese folk cultural elements.

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