

## From Possibility to Practice: Teacher Agency and the Classroom Enactment of Higher-Order Thinking Opportunities in Pakistan's Secondary English Education

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Received on: 02-01-2026

Accepted on: 15-02-2026

### Abstract

Higher-Order Thinking (HOT) in the modern English language curriculum. While contemporary English language curricula increasingly embed higher-order thinking (HOT) skills as central to language education, coverage of HOT skills by curriculum documents and textbooks does not alone constitute evidence of classroom enactment. Using as a foundation a previous Bernsteinian analysis of Punjab Curriculum and Textbook Board (PCTB) Grade 9 and 10 English textbooks, the paper further develops this through textual recontextualization toward enactment by teachers. Five published empirical studies on HOTS implementation, teacher agency, English curriculum implementation, and challenges faced at the classroom level were comparably synthesised. The evidence focused on English teachers in Indonesia and Pakistan and was based on qualitative case-study, narrative, interview, observation, and mixed-methods research. The synthesis demonstrated that teachers accept and value HOTS but that its implementation is mediated by teacher knowledge and competence, student ability and voice, resource availability, time, assessment pressures, and sociocultural factors. One significant finding was that teachers might adopt a hybrid approach to HOTS implementation through partial adoption, adaptation, or contextualisation, rather than wholesale rejection or acceptance. Drawing on Bernstein's theories of recontextualization and framing, the paper concluded by proposing a HOT Enactment Mediation Model, which maps out curriculum policy, textbook-mediated possibilities, and teacher-mediated enactment, within which the notions of agency and autonomy are subverted into professional judgements within context. Implications for English curriculum design, teacher professional development, and potential future classroom-based research are offered.

**Keywords:** Higher-Order Thinking; Teacher Agency; Classroom Enactment; English Education; Curriculum Recontextualization; Pedagogical Framing; Secondary Education; Pakistan.

## **1. Introduction**

The use of higher-order thinking (HOT) has been gaining momentum as a desired feature of contemporary education. In English language instruction, the subject has a broadened scope that extends to interpretation, analysis, evaluation, argument, creativity, reflection, and meaning-making; it is more than vocabulary, grammar, reading and writing, listening, and speaking. Revised versions of Bloom's taxonomy differentiate a set of high-level cognitive processes including analysing, evaluating, and creating, from a set of lower-level processes of remembering and understanding (Anderson & Krathwohl, 2001). Similarly, scholarship on critical thinking highlights sound judgement, evidence evaluation, interpretation, explanation, and reflective judgement (Ennis, 2018; Paul & Elder, 2019). As such, modern English curricula tend to expect teachers to provide conditions that foster the use of language as a tool for thinking by learners, not as something for merely memorising. This principle idealisation, however, raises the critical implementation challenge. The placement of HOT-related goals and instructions in curriculum documents does not lead directly to HOT instruction in the classroom. Curriculum intentions must go through multiple layers of subletting, reinterpreting, restructuring, and implementation before they translate into pedagogic actions. Textbooks play a key role as they transduce curriculum intentions into specific types of instructions, content, activities, sequencing, assessment priorities, student-teacher interactions, and so on. Nevertheless, the direct implementers of these materials are teachers, who decide how to carry out the instructions in the context of their own classrooms. This matter is also crucial in instances where curriculum reforms are aimed at shifting pedagogy away from transmission modes of instruction to modes that are inquiry-driven, more learner-centred, and cognitively demanding. The Pakistani setting is particularly noteworthy because English holds a distinctive place within the education sector, and teachers operate under strict circumstances of curriculum, assessment, institutional and resource infrastructure, with the results of past studies showing a lack of match between curriculum designs and classroom realities, classroom practices and guidelines related to resources, teachers' preparation, students' participation, and teachers' knowledge of curriculum expectations. For instance, Jadoon et al. (2020) found that English teachers at newly established public secondary schools in Abbottabad faced considerable challenges in enacting a new English curriculum due to resource inadequacies, constraints in student engagement, and lack of knowledge regarding curriculum requirements. The question then is not just whether a curriculum or textbook presents opportunities for higher-order thinking. A better question would be what teachers do with those opportunities. Do they teach the textbook tasks as they are? Do they alter, change, supplement, provide

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additional questions or information, provide models and prompts, or expand the tasks? Do they make cognitively demanding tasks more accessible because the students' English is not yet strong enough? Do they leave them out entirely because of time constraints or exam requirements? Or do they reconceptualize textbook activities in such a way that they open new space for students' thinking? These questions thus reposition analytical gaze from curriculum representation to curriculum enactment. The previous paper by Mukhtar and Akhtar (2026) also draws on the Bernsteinian notions of recontextualization, classification and framing and uses their application to the analysis of PCTB Grade 9 and 10 English textbooks as its starting point. That analysis, which revealed possibilities for analysis, assessment, reflection and creativity, also revealed significant pedagogic framing in the textbooks via sequencing, explicit instructions, organisation of tasks and mandated participation structure. Crucially, that paper did not claim to show teacher agency in action but set a textual benchmark for further research into classroom enactments. The current article goes one conceptual step further.

Its central premise is that:

What a textbook makes possible is not always what a teacher does; and what a teacher does is not always an extension of the textbook. Thus, I think of the transition from curriculum to classroom as involving a range of recontextualising processes: Curriculum policy: Textbook recontextualization HOTS affordances & framing Teacher interpretation Teacher agency Classroom enactment HOTS opportunity. In this paper, five published empirical studies are used as a benchmarking evidence base to analyze this transition. The studies used are research on English teacher agency in HOTS-based learning, HOTS implementation by secondary English teachers, teacher challenges of HOTS promotion and English curriculum implementation in Pakistan, and so on. These studies are not considered as primary data generated by this study. They are analysed comparatively, and common trends are identified for extending the theoretical argument elaborated in the previous textbook research.

The paper addresses four research questions:

1. What does current empirical research tell us about the relationship between more explicit/curricular/textbook expectations and the actual classroom enactment of higher-order thinking in English education?
  2. How do HOTS-oriented curricular expectations imposed on English teachers from the top down come to be translated and enacted in the classroom, evidenced through: a. What kinds of teacher agency emerge in this translation process when English teachers follow, modify, scale down, add to, or otherwise "put their own spin on" the HOTS-oriented curricular expectations?
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3. What are the teacher, student, pedagogical, and contextual factors associated with the enactment of HOT opportunities?
4. Can recontextualization with teacher agency and application help understand the shifting process of curriculum/textbook possibility into a HOT opportunity in the classroom?

## **2. Higher-Order Thinking in English Language Education**

### **2.1 Conceptualising Higher-Order Thinking**

The idea of HOT in education is based on Bloom's taxonomy, where cognitive processes were classified by sequential growth in difficulty (Bloom, 1956). The revised taxonomy then portrayed these cognitive processes as: Remembering, understanding, applying, analysing, evaluating, and creating (Anderson & Krathwohl, 2001). HOT is applicable in English language learning since language acquisition gives students the means to interpret meaning, juxtapose positions, form arguments, assess evidence, synthesise material, and generate texts.

Critical thinking also goes beyond remembrance.

### **3. Textbooks, Curriculum and Recontextualization**

Textbooks, of course, are not neutral repositories of curriculum material. They embody specific choices about what knowledge is included, how it is ordered, the way it is presented, and what kinds of participation (Buchanan & Fuchs, 2017; McGregor et al., 2022) are possible or prevented (Fuchs & Bock, 2018). Bernstein's sociology of education offers a helpful lexicon to analyse this. Bernstein (1990, 2000) has argued that education comprises procedures through which knowledge is rearranged from the 'sites' of origins of knowledge into pedagogic discourse. Recontextualization entails selecting, moving, arranging, and transforming knowledge for pedagogic purposes. Classification refers to the distinctions between or within categories of knowledge, and framing addresses the regulation of pedagogic discourse, especially control of selection, sequencing, pacing, and timing.

As applied to English textbooks, these notions enable researchers to pose questions about the latter, rather than simply ask about the former. That is what Paper A above attempted to show. Our investigations of the PCTB Grade 9 and 10 English textbooks found both HOT affordances and strong framing. The textbooks provided opportunities for analysis, evaluation, creativity, and reflection, but these were often situated within highly structured, coherently sequenced pedagogic instructions. The outcome is therefore not only "high HOT" or "low HOT", but a mixture of 'cognitive affordance' and pedagogical regulation' which is offered in the textbook. This combination creates an important theoretical question: What if, through the vehicle of The Framing, the pedagogical pathway has already been paved, at least in a story

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sense?

There's no way to figure this one out from the text.

#### **4. Teacher Agency and Curriculum Enactment**

Teacher agency is the conceptual link between curriculum materials and classroom practice.

Agency is not the same as unrestrained teacher freedom. Teachers exist within policy and school contexts; they are constrained by school culture, teacher-to-teacher expectations, student expectations, curriculum and assessment policy, resources and time. Yet there are implications for transforming curriculum in situated practice. This was demonstrated in recent studies on English teacher agency. Wulansari and Lestari (2024), for instance, studied two English teachers in a state Islamic high school in Mataram, Indonesia, through observations and interviews. They found that the teachers exercised agency by not fully implementing the HOTS-based learning. The teachers' knowledge, experience, and pedagogic skills, as well as students' socio-cultural background, shaped the implementation of HOTS policy. More importantly for this paper, this finding has important implications here in that it describes a model of implementation that challenges one of the common dichotomies seen in this paper of teachers 'implementing' or 'not implementing' curriculum policy. Alternatively, implementation might include various levels and types of transformation.

A teacher may:

Adopt a textbook task;

Modify its wording;

Add questions;

Provide scaffolding;

Reorder activities;

Contextualise examples;

Simplify a task;

Extend a discussion;

Omit an activity;

Substitute an alternative activity;

Or try to strike a balance between textbook and classroom needs. These forms of action can be regarded as domains of teacher agency. Of course, the crucial thing about these categories is that they are possible as analytical categories rather than being imposed as empirical conclusions. They provide evidence of agency only once they are confirmed empirically.

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## **5. Empirical Evidence from Five Published Studies**

### **5.1 Rationale for Study Selection**

The five published empirical studies were chosen because of their direct relevance to one or more aspects of the proposed curriculum-to-classroom chain of: HOT implementation, teacher agency, English classroom practice, teacher dilemmas, or curriculum implementation.

The studies were chosen to give more of a holistic picture rather than the same picture.

### **Comparative Evidence Base**

Study Context Participants/data Relevance Wulansari & Lestari (2024) Teachers of English in an Indonesian Islamic senior high school 2; classroom observations and interviews Teacher agency and partial HOTS implementation Dima et al. (2021) Indonesian senior high school 5 English teachers; semi-structured interviews; HOTS understanding, implementation, and barriers. Juliyati & Widyanoro (2024) Indonesian senior high school English teachers; qualitative narrative inquiry; HOTS: Challenges and strategies to enhance HOTS. Jadoon et al. (2020) Secondary schools, Abbottabad, Pakistan. Newly inducted English teachers: focus-group interview, questionnaire. Curriculum implementation, resources, student participation, teacher consciousness. Ginting & Kuswandono (2020) Teachers of English in Eastern Indonesia: Challenges in getting started with HOTS and designing HOTS-focused tasks. The categories, as they develop, reflect an important analytical progression from teacher understanding, to the implementation of this understanding, to agency, to what it is in the context that constrains agency, and finally to the pedagogical response.

### **5.2 Did Teacher Understanding Really Lead to Teaching?**

Dima et al. (2021) used a qualitative case-study method with five English language teachers in an Indonesian senior high school. They were able to reveal that participants understood HOTS well and linked it to higher levels of Bloom's taxonomy. They also successfully revealed that all five teachers claimed to implement HOTS in English language teaching. However, the researchers concluded that the practice of HOTS did not work well, as students have low proficiency in the English language, teachers have low English language teaching competence, and there are inadequate supporting facilities such as internet facilities, learning media, and learning sources. This finding is important in that it shows that knowledge of HOTS and classroom enactment are correlated but not identical. A teacher might know what HOTS is and only struggle to translate that knowledge into instructional action.

This difference is essential to our conceptual model:

Teacher knowledge is not sufficient for HOT.

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Instead:

Teacher knowledge x pedagogical skills x learner factors x resources lead to enactment possibilities

### **5.3 Teacher Agency: Leads to Limited and Contextualised.**

#### **5.3.2. Teacher's Action as a Source of Teacher Agency**

The most immediate empirical link to teacher agency is given by Wulansari and Lestari (2024). In their case study research with two English teachers, based on classroom observations and interviews, the teachers' agency was displayed in partial implementation of HOTS-based instruction, which was affected by the HOTS knowledge, experience, pedagogic competence, and the sociocultural situation of the students. This evidence reveals support for the position of agency as unrestrained independence. Instead, agency appears as situated professional action. Teachers are making decisions in conditions they cannot fully control. Their agency is thus about:

Policy expectations;

Pedagogical knowledge;

Student readiness;

Classroom realities;

Available resources; and their own professional judgement. This is very much in Bernsteinian terms of pedagogic control. Strong framing limits choices, but teachers can still make decisions within, around, or against those frames.

### **5.4 Pedagogical Challenges Shape HOT Promotion**

Juliyati and Widyanoro (2024) carried out a qualitative narrative inquiry study to understand the teachers' perceptions of HOTS promotion in the senior high school English classrooms. Based on the thematic analysis conducted, pedagogical issues that educators face in the process of HOTS promotion include teacher competence, lack of time, and students' competence and motivation. Teachers' challenges in HOTS promotion include devising HOTS questions, choosing teaching methods, and time management. This research is noteworthy because it shows how constraints in fact can lead to pedagogical change rather than just being a barrier to implementing a new idea. For example, these terms can be defined as strategies to cognitively enable learning that teachers put forth. Therefore, there is no obligation for constraint to be at all at odds with agency: Limitations may limit how a teacher is able to design pedagogy, at the same time as stimulating the need for the teacher to demonstrate adaptive professional judgement.

### **5.5 Evidence from Pakistan:**

The implementation of curriculum is mediated within a context. We have very pertinent evidence for the Pakistani aspect of this paper from Jadoon et al. (2020). They investigated newly inducted secondary English teachers, who were

putting the new English syllabus into practice in Abbottabad, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. A mixed-methods design began with semi-structured focus-group interviews, which were then verified by means of a survey of the population. According to the study, curriculum implementation was hindered by unsuitable learning conditions and poor resources. Lack of learner participation and inadequate teacher knowledge of the curriculum were also identified as obstacles. The authors suggested better resources, involvement of learners, and teacher training. These findings have a clear direct relevance to Paper B as they show how curricular enactment is inherently rooted in material and social practices. A teacher can never simply be a mechanism of implementation.

Instead:

Curriculum expectation + teacher agency + classroom conditions + participation of students

jointly influence what becomes pedagogically possible.

### **5.6 Designing HOT-Oriented Tasks for Teaching Agency**

Ginting and Kuswandono (2020) is also relevant because their research aims to describe the problems encountered by English teachers in carrying out HOTS through question construction. It makes the synthesis strengthen the existing problem by moving away from attitude and turning to the more concrete problem of constructing the questions. This reinforces the distinction between knowing about HOTS **and** designing/enacting HOTS-oriented classroom opportunities. This is the main difference when the teaching pedagogy is textbook-based. A textbook may have provided you with an activity that had HOTS, but the teacher still has to determine how to introduce, scaffold, question, discuss, assess, and make connections.

## **6. Comparative Synthesis**

The five studies collectively reveal five interconnected patterns.

**Table 2**

### **Cross-Study Synthesis of HOT Enactment**

| <b>Pattern</b>                     | <b>Evidence across studies</b>                  | <b>Implication for Paper B</b>                 |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| HOT is widely recognised           | Dima et al.; Wulansari Lestari                  | & Awareness alone does not guarantee enactment |
| Implementation is partial/variable | Wulansari & Lestari; Dima et al.                | Implementation should not be treated as binary |
| Teacher competence matters         | Dima et al.; Juliyati Widyantoro                | & Professional knowledge mediates enactment    |
| Student/contextual factors matter  | Wulansari & Lestari; Dima et al.; Jadoon et al. | Agency is situated rather than unrestricted    |

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The materials that I believe contribute to adding a HOT-oriented curriculum are creating a pedagogical possibility; however, teacher interpretation and teachers' situated professional actions are what 'generate the translation of a possibility into an opportunity of practice' (Ntseane et al., 2004, p. 338). The proposition does not suggest that teacher agency is inherently powerful, effective, or liberating. Agency could mean expansion, adaptation, diminution, substitution, or omission. What is important about agency is that the curriculum material takes on pedagogic value through practitioners' situated agency.

### **7. From Textbook Framing to Teacher-Mediated Recontextualization**

Paper A established that strong framing characterises significant portions of the PCTB Grade 9 and 10 English textbooks. The framing provides clarity, sequence, structure, and potentially useful scaffolding, but it can also reduce the space available for teacher pedagogical judgement. The comparative evidence suggests that the relationship between framing and teacher agency should not be conceptualised as a simple opposition.

Strong framing may:

1. provide teachers with a clear instructional pathway;
2. support less experienced teachers;
3. structure complex learning tasks;
4. increase consistency across classrooms;

But it may also:

1. reduce flexibility;
2. restrict localisation;
3. constrain teacher decision-making;
4. limit opportunities for spontaneous discussion;
5. Reduce opportunities to modify tasks according to student needs.

The teacher consequently becomes a mediating actor.

The classroom is therefore not simply the final destination of curriculum policy.

Rather, it is another site of recontextualization.

This produces an extended Bernsteinian chain:

**Curriculum policy**

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**Official recontextualization**

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**Textbook**

↓

**Textual framing and affordances**

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**Teacher interpretation**



**Teacher-mediated recontextualization**



**Classroom pedagogical discourse**



**HOT opportunity**

This extension represents the principal conceptual contribution of the paper.

### **8. The HOT Enactment Mediation Model**

On the basis of the preceding analysis, the paper proposes a **HOT Enactment Mediation Model**.

**Figure 1. HOT Enactment Mediation Model**



**Curriculum Policy**



**Textbook Recontextualization**



**HOT Affordances + Pedagogical Framing**



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**Teacher Interpretation / Sense-Making**

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**Teacher Agency**

↙ ↓ ↘

**Adoption — Adaptation — Omission/Substitution**

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**Contextual Conditions**

- Teacher knowledge
- Student proficiency
- Student participation
- Resources
- Time
- Assessment
- School culture

↓

**Classroom Enactment**

↓

**HOT Opportunity**

↓

**Student Cognitive Participation**

The model makes three important distinctions.

First, textbook affordance is not equivalent to classroom enactment.

Second, teacher agency is not equivalent to unrestricted autonomy.

Third, a HOT opportunity is not equivalent to demonstrated student HOT achievement.

These distinctions are consistent with the methodological boundaries specified for Paper B.

## **9. Discussion**

### **9.1 From Possibility to Practice**

The most important implication of the synthesis is that curriculum implementation should not be conceptualised as a linear transfer process.

A linear model would assume:

**Curriculum → Textbook → Teacher → Student**

The evidence instead suggests:

**Curriculum → Textbook → Teacher interpretation → Agency → Contextual negotiation → Classroom enactment**

The difference is theoretically important. The teacher is not simply the final recipient of curricular instructions. The teacher is an interpreter and mediator. This helps explain why similar curriculum materials can produce different classroom practices.

### **9.2 Teacher Agency as Situated Mediation**

The evidence from Wulansari and Lestari (2024) is especially important because it demonstrates that teacher agency is shaped by knowledge, experience, pedagogical competence, and student sociocultural conditions. The present synthesis therefore conceptualises teacher agency as: the situated capacity of teachers to interpret, negotiate, adapt, extend, reduce, replace, or otherwise transform curriculum and textbook expectations within the constraints and affordances of their pedagogical environments. This definition avoids two extremes. The first is the autonomous-agent model, in which teachers are assumed to possess complete freedom. The second is the implementation-agent model, in which teachers simply execute curriculum prescriptions. The evidence supports a middle position: teachers possess agency, but that agency is structured by context.

### **9.3 Strong Framing Does Not Eliminate Agency**

The preceding textbook analysis found that strong framing may constrain teacher pedagogical judgement. However, the comparative literature indicates that constrained conditions do not necessarily eliminate professional decision-making.

Teachers can respond to constraints through:

- selective implementation;
- task adaptation;
- additional scaffolding;
- contextualisation;
- alternative materials;
- modified questioning;
- and selective omission.

Therefore, strong framing should be conceptualised as a condition within which agency operates, rather than as a mechanism that determines teacher behaviour.

### **9.4. Failure to comply with any element of a standard does not automatically lead to the failure of that standard in its entirety.**

The argument has an important consequence for the meaning of 'partial implementation'.

The Wulansari and Lestari (2024) research discovered a partial HOTS implementation and a vision of action theory. Likewise, Dima et al. (2021) were able to observe that teachers claim to use HOTS, but all report that this is very difficult to achieve. This implies that partial implementation could store important evidence of teachers' professional decision-making. Failing to implement HOTS isn't always a

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teacher's mistake; instead, it might just be a case of adapting a task because students don't have enough language skills. And simultaneously, the paper should steer clear of romanticising all adaptation as beneficial. Omission or oversimplification might in turn reduce cognitive demand. Hence, it should be ascertained empirically rather than presupposed that an adaptation increases or limits HOT opportunity.

## **10. Implications for Pakistan's Secondary English Education**

### **10.1 Curriculum Design**

Curriculum writers need to think about HOT as a component of lesson objectives and whether teachers are given enough freedom in implementation of lesson objectives. Curriculum materials should therefore balance:

Structure + flexibility

Rather than maximising prescription.

### **10.2 Textbook Development**

The results of Paper A clearly show that PCTB textbooks afford HOT, though with relatively high framing.

Future textbooks could maintain the useful structure and provide:

Alternative task pathways;

Open-ended follow-up questions;

Opportunities for contextual examples;

Optional extension activities;

Differentiated HOT tasks;

Teacher adaptation notes;

Opportunities for student-generated questions.

### **10.3 Teacher Professional Development**

Professional development must go beyond the HOTS definition.

Teachers require opportunities to practise:

Designing HOT questions;

Modifying textbook tasks;

Scaffolding complex cognitive activities;

Using contextual examples;

Encouraging student explanation;

Facilitating discussion;

Developing evidence-based argumentation;

And assessing higher-order responses.

On the other hand, findings from Dima et al. (2021) and Juliyati and Widyanoro (2024) showed that teacher competency contributes to implementation problems.

#### **10.4 School-Level Conditions**

The Pakistani data also show that teacher enactment can vary by context. Other primary challenges identified by Jadoon et al. (2020) to implementation of the program were limited resources, minimal student participation, and a lack of curriculum awareness. Therefore, teacher agency must not be considered a replacement for institutional support.

#### **11. Methodological Implications**

The present synthesis thus provides a methodological line for future empirical studies.

Describing textbook analysis may be enough, but if research aims to investigate classroom enactment, then textbook analysis is not sufficient. The evidence should ideally connect:

Textbook task

Teacher lesson plan

Observed classroom activity

Teacher explanation

Student artefact/response

This is why the Paper B brief judiciously designates the listed evidence sources, namely classroom observations, artefacts, interviews, and stimulated recall as suitable evidence sources. One of the most powerful types of design would be to carry out stimulated-recall interviews immediately after observing lessons. Teachers could view key parts of a lesson and be asked to:

Why they followed the textbook;

Why they changed an activity;

Why they omitted a task;

Why they added a question;

Why they changed sequencing;

How they interpreted student responses.

This would provide a basis for researchers to relate observable agency to reasoning without treating the teacher's statements in the interview as representing classroom Behaviour.

#### **12. Conclusion**

This article has built on an earlier analysis of HOT opportunities within the secondary school English textbooks in Pakistan by exploring the body of empirical work about what happens when these curricular and textual possibilities meet teachers and classrooms. The main contention of the article is that the translation of curriculum possibility to classroom opportunity is neither automatic nor straightforward but mediated through teachers' interpretation, professional judgement, circumstance,

and teacher agency. These five research findings share consensual evidence of the general acknowledgement of the significance of higher-order thinking skills (HOT), combined with a high degree of difficulty in translating that acknowledgement into pedagogical practice. This involves a complex web of influences from teacher characteristics, student characteristics, student engagement, available time, assessment constraints, sociocultural influences, and available resources. Meanwhile, teachers do not just react defensively or passively to such influences; they may partially implement, adapt, contextualise, extend, scaffold, or make the expectations less demanding by various means. The paper also argues that teacher agency, then, needs to be conceptualised as situated mediation between the curriculum materials and the situated practice in the classroom. This model of the Bernsteinian recontextualization process can be applied to more than just the textbook. While curriculum policy is recontextualised as pedagogic text, teachers recontextualise these texts as well.

The resulting model can be represented as:

Curriculum text HOT affordance/framing Teacher interpretation Teacher agency Context negotiation Classroom enactment HOT opportunity. It is more sophisticated than a simple 'top-down' to 'bottom-up' account of policy and classroom practice. It does not claim that the presence of HOT activities in the classroom necessarily leads to HOT learning nor that partial implementation of policy is always a result of teacher failure. Teachers are viewed as professionals working between agency and structure. For Pakistan, there are critical implications. Higher-order thinking-focused curriculum reform, without state support for teacher professional development, institutional support, resources, instructional flexibility and opportunities for teachers to do professional judgement, by itself, is unlikely to produce any of these. This next empirical phase of the study, in turn, needs to go beyond the comparisons of published textbooks and provide the empirical evidence of what actually occurs in the classroom when Grade 9 and 10 English teachers encounter the PCTB English textbooks. To do so meaningfully, researchers should investigate, episode by episode, how teachers' decisions about expanding, reducing, explaining, choosing, adopting, altering, reordering, replacing, or excising textbook HOT opportunities take place. Only by establishing the links between textbook HOT opportunities, how teachers respond, and what teachers say can possibility become practice.

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