

LANGUAGE AND EARLY SCHOOLING IN GOA

By

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DECLARATION

I, Afonso Manuel Botelho, hereby declare that this thesis entitled '*Language and Early Schooling in Goa*' is the outcome of my own study undertaken under the guidance of Dr. Ganesha Somayaji, Reader and Head, Department of Sociology, Goa University, Goa. It has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma or certificate of this or any other university. I have duly acknowledged all the sources used by me in the preparation of this thesis.



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Place: Goa University

Date: 13/10/2007

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled '*Language and Early Schooling in Goa*' is the record of the original work done by Afonso Manuel Botelho under my guidance. The results of the research presented in this thesis have not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma or certificate of this or any other university.

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I remember with nostalgia my primary classes in Cujira, a ward of Santa Cruz. The primary school I attended was attached to Santa Cruz High School and the classes were conducted in a small hall belonging to St. Gonsal de Amarante Chapel of Cujira, at a distance of about two kilometers from the High School. Apparently, the Principal of Santa Cruz High School who celebrated Sunday masses at the chapel felt that bringing the school closer to the people would encourage them to enroll their children in school. The Lower K.G, Higher K. G and the first standard were held in the same hall, and managed by a single teacher. Goa, which otherwise manifests high indicators of development, even now has a number of single teacher schools.

While I always wanted to do my PhD in Sociology a concrete suggestion to choose a topic, write a proposal and do my registration came from my supervisor, Dr. Ganesha Somayaji. It happened during one of the many informal meetings with him after the ICSSR sponsored seminar organised by the Department of Sociology, Goa University on the topic 'Language Question in Goa: Cultural Identity and Political Mobilisation', wherein I presented a paper on 'Primary Education in Goa: Colonial Legacy and Post Colonial Conflicts'. Dr. Somayaji was thus instrumental in preparing me to continue my further studies leading to the PhD degree after a gap of ten years since my post graduation.

Although I came from a Konkani speaking background, I managed my English medium primary and secondary school education and higher studies without much difficulty. In 1990 the Goa government introduced a new education policy, which denied grants-in-aid to English medium schools. Such a policy seemed questionable and I felt, it

would endanger the future of the children of this state. My impression was that a great majority of parents in Goa preferred English medium of education for their children for reasons of upward social mobility, and also because they themselves had spent most of their academic years in English medium educational institutions. Such a preference notwithstanding, the Marathi medium primary level schools in Goa enjoy the highest level of enrolment. How could a seemingly pronounced preference for English medium schools among parents, across different religions and socioeconomic levels, be reconciled with the fact of the highest enrolment in Marathi at the primary level schools in Goa? How do parents choose or negotiate between the different media of instruction at the time of their children's admission into schools? What subjective considerations and objective constraints influence their choice? These and other such questions prompted me to study the language and education scenario in Goa.

Many persons have contributed to the successful completion of this thesis through their valuable suggestions. At the outset I would like to acknowledge my profound gratitude to Dr. Ganesh Somayaji, my supervisor and friend. As already mentioned, my interest in the subject was first kindled by him. He never failed to encourage me during my research from the moment of its conceptualisation through its completion. I cannot thank him enough for giving me his time and obtaining books relevant to my research, for his informed and insightful comments and indispensable guidance. He was always accessible whenever I needed him to discuss my difficulties and problems. His inputs have gone far beyond the realms of duty, providing academic and professional guidance and direction, which has been greatly appreciated.

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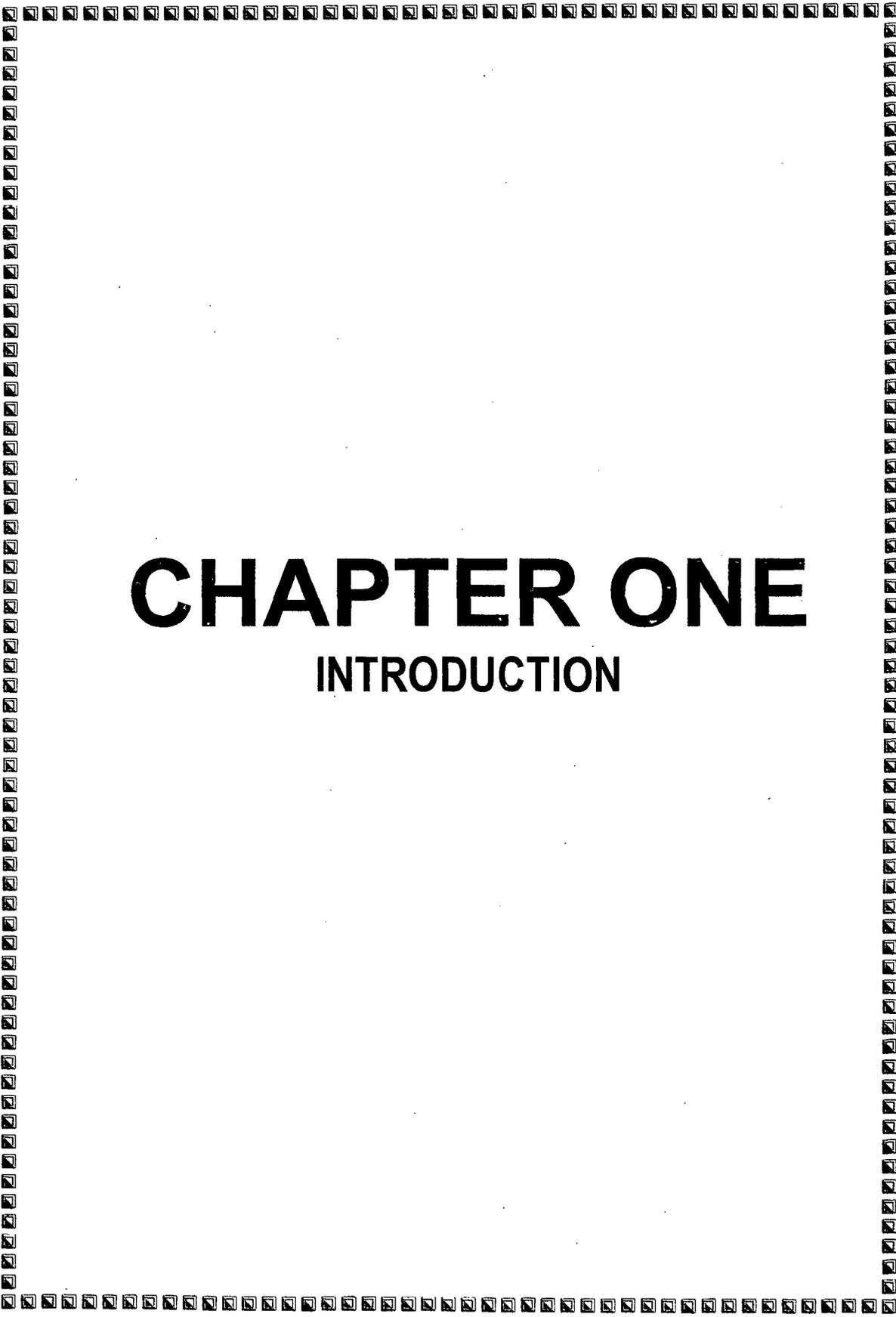
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Afonso Manuel Botelho



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The analysis of education in India, and especially language in early schooling, is both a complex and gigantic task. The complexity arises primarily due to the fact that the different States and Union Territories within the Union have initiated differing educational programmes, which presently are at different stages of implementation. As education is on the concurrent list, the guidelines and recommendations of the national education policy and Education Commissions' documents have been variously interpreted and implemented by the State Education Boards. While some states have displayed spectacular performance in the field of the universalisation of elementary education, others have not performed as well comparatively. Differences abound especially when one refers to the quality of education, received by children of urban and rural parents and by children belonging to the upper and the lower classes¹.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION: CONSTITUTIONAL DIRECTIVE AND RIGHT

India began her journey towards achieving the goal of universalisation of elementary education more than fifty years ago, when the Indian Constitution in Article 45 stated: 'The State shall endeavour to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of this constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years'. The resolve to provide primary education to all freely meant that the government of India had realised the 'public good' nature of elementary education (Tilak 2002: 267). The immense benefits from elementary education are not confined only to children in school but are shared by many in the neighbourhood and are believed to outweigh the direct private benefits. It must be noted

that the contribution of education goes much beyond the economic sphere. Education has the potential to reduce poverty, improve income distribution, nutritional status and health of the population. While it is negatively related to fertility and population growth, it is positively associated with adoption of family planning methods. Further, it is well accepted that education is directly related to an individual's social, economic and political development as well as the overall quality of life. The recognition of these benefits has substantially contributed to the growth of education in India. However, much more remains to be done.

Today, education is 'considered to be a basic need of human living and, therefore it is accepted as a human right' (Aikara 2004: 204). One important question that crops up when one regards education as a basic need of human living is the type and level of education that will make up for the basic needs of human living. According to Aikara (2004: 204), 'the consensus the world over seems to consider basic education² as the minimum need'. He further clarifies that 'the education policy in post-independence India' has 'accepted the free and compulsory education envisaged in the constitutional directive as the operational definition of the concept of basic education. The term "elementary education" was used in the national policy on education in order to refer to basic education' (ibid: 226.n.7). The Constitution 86th Amendment Act, enacted on 12 December 2002, made elementary education a fundamental right³ of every Indian child, between the age of six and fourteen years, thereby explicitly recognising education as a human right, something that was, though implicitly, already suggested in the constitutional directive. This implies that elementary education necessary to live a human life should be of eight years duration, though merely the number of years of elementary

schooling is not enough. The constitutional directive/right does not mean that the state is required to provide education to every child for eight years, but what is meant is that the child from the age of six to fourteen should be engaged in learning in a formal educational institution. What is more important and required in terms of the principle of equality is the content of education, that is, the type of knowledge and skills provided to the child during the eight years. The eight years of elementary schooling in India are divided into primary (lower primary), which consists of four or five years and secondary (upper primary). Lately, with some new programmes like the DPEP (District Primary Education Programme), the objective has been to achieve primary education (five or four years) on a priority basis and, as Aikara (2004: 209) writes, 'there seems to be some consensus that 4 - 5 years of formal schooling is adequate for a child to acquire the literacy skills, that form an important part of the contents of basic education'.

ENROLMENT, RETENTION AND LEARNER ACHIEVEMENT IN PRIMARY EDUCATION

The constitutional directive to provide free and compulsory education to all children up to the age of 14 years, and later the Constitutional right to education, have been the driving forces in the expansion of primary education. In the last fifty years, concerted efforts to achieve universalisation of elementary education have led to a substantial expansion in access to, and enrolment of children in, primary schools. According to Govinda (2002: 2), the number of primary schools has nearly trebled from 1951 to 1991 and the enrolment within them has experienced a phenomenal increase. The 2,09,671 primary schools in 1950-51 increased to 6,41,695 in 1999-2000 (Government of India 1996: 247 and 2001: 216 cited in Aikara 2004: 210). Not only have primary schools increased but also most states of India have performed well and enrolled more and more

children in schools (Govinda 2002: 3). However, retaining them has been a problem. Kaul (2002: 23) describes the scene thus: 'While gross enrolment rates have, over the years, increased significantly, retention and completion rates are still a cause for concern'. In expanding schools* the quality of schools was never considered to be a primary concern. Establishing a school meant posting a teacher to work in the school regardless of the existence of a school building, classrooms, or other academic support material like blackboards, etc (Govinda 2002: 11).

Under the auspices of the National Policy on Education (1986), many programmes and schemes were introduced to improve both, the access to schools and the quality of primary education. One of the major schemes launched by the government of India, in 1987, was the Operation Blackboard. The major components of this scheme were to provide at least two rooms, at least two teachers and essential teaching learning materials in every school. The scope of this scheme was further expanded when in 1992 the government decided to provide three rooms and three teachers in every primary school (Government of India 1992: 7.4.1 cited in Aikara 2004: 211). This scheme has added 1, 03,364 teachers and constructed 1, 15,091 additional classrooms to the existing figures of teachers and classrooms (Sinha 2004: 632). However, according to the Probe Team (1999: 86 cited in Aikara 2004: 211), Operation Blackboard has failed to make any significant progress in providing better educational facilities in the schools, which cater to the poorer sections of the society. Many other schemes like the District Primary Education Programme⁴, National Programme of Nutritional Support (Mid-day Meal Scheme),⁵ Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA)⁶, etc., have been introduced to bring more and more children into schools, and bring about a qualitative improvement in primary

education. Also, over the years, the government recognised the need to provide alternative mechanisms to reach out to children left out of the educational mainstream and has launched the national programme of Non Formal Education (NFE). This gave rise to a number of innovative experiments by non-governmental organisations in different parts of the country. Some of the significant interventions were Lok Jumbish Project⁷, Shiksha Karmi⁸, Education Guarantee Scheme (EGS) of Madhya Pradesh⁹, M. Venkatarangaiyya Foundation (MVF) of Andhra Pradesh¹⁰, etc. With the introduction of SSA, the NFE got subsumed under the Education Guarantee Scheme and Alternative Innovative Education (EGSAIE)¹¹ of SSA.

With SSA the

Institutional capacity-building measures have assumed centre stage. A major capacity-building role for national, state, district and sub-district level institutions have been envisaged. This has been thought of as a significant input for improving the quality of elementary education through a sustainable support system of resource institutions. These institutions would provide inputs in planning and management; capacity-building; curriculum planning and instructional materials development; monitoring and evaluation, and research initiatives (Sinha 2004: 640).

However, all these programmes and schemes needed careful monitoring and implementation and many still do. The focus has not yet fully shifted from mere enrolment and retention, to issues of equity and excellence (see Aikara 2004: 224). With the passage of six decades since independence, it is high time that those, hard to reach and marginalised sections of the Indian society are enrolled, retained in school, and excel in academic achievements.

One of the major objectives of primary education is to provide certain levels of knowledge and skills to children. Universal access, universal retention and universal achievement are the three-pronged goals of primary education. Therefore the real success

of primary education is to be measured not only in terms of enrolment and retention but also in terms of acquisition of certain knowledge and skills by the children. Some efforts have been made to assess the learner achievement in primary education in India and the conclusion is that 'achievement of students on the whole fell short of the level of mastery' (Aikara 2004: 220). According to Aikara (*ibid*), 'one conclusion that can be drawn, especially from the four-state study (Aikara 1997), is that personal factors of gender, age and caste were correlated with learner achievement in school'. The findings confirm 'the traditionally existing disparities in educational performance, viz. children from the disadvantaged section do not possess the socio-cultural capital to have the level of learner achievement comparable to their classmates from the advantaged section' (Aikara 2004: 220). The fact that quantity and quality are negatively correlated is reflected in the increase only in enrolment and retention and not in achievement levels of the children. Enrolment and retention cannot be the goal of universalisation of elementary education but only a means to universal achievement of children.

DECENTRALISATION AND PRIVATISATION

After five and a half decades since the adoption of the constitution and despite several commissions, programmes and schemes at the national as well as the state level, the goal of universalisation of education is still elusive. Responding to the situation Tilak (2002: 268) writes: 'It is strongly felt that elementary education suffered in India due to, apart from several other factors, insufficient allocation of financial resources'.

Though the government of India has recognised education as a crucial investment for national survival, 'the pattern of allocation of resources', according to Tilak (2002:

291), 'is far from satisfactory, judged in terms of adequacy, efficiency, and equity'. In fact, as Tilak says:

The relative importance given to education in the Five Year Plans has declined gradually over the years, from 7.9 percent in the First five Year Plan, to 2.7 in the Sixth Five Year Plan... the relative share of education in any Five Year Plan, including the Seventh and Eight, has been the lowest, despite the hymns sung in praise of education in every Plan document (*ibid*: 273-274).

Besides this, the far-reaching changes in the education systems of most Western countries since the 1980s, due to changes in global economy and post war decline of the welfare state settlement, have had their impact upon developing countries like India. As Dale (1997: 273) puts it, the commonest response to the problems faced by the education systems around the world, has been the shift from 'state control' to 'decentralisation' and 'privatisation'. One serious consequence of this shift in the role of the state in education has been the withdrawal of the public good functions of education, of which the state is the only reliable guarantor. There has been a 'hollowing out' of the state, with some of its activities being lost 'upwards' to supranational bodies, and other activities lost 'downwards' to sub-national or non-state bodies. Dale (1997) argues, thus, that education has remained a public issue but its coordination is no more the sole preserve of the state. It is coordinated through different 'forms of governance'¹², among which decentralisation and privatisation figure prominently' (*ibid*. 274).

The educational governance involves three activities - funding, regulation, and provision or delivery – and three coordinating institutions - state, market and community¹³. The traditional assumption was that all the governance activities were shouldered alone by the state. However, so far, the state has never carried on all these activities alone and the market and the community have always had a share in the

operations of the education system. Today, the difference is in the contraction of the state's involvement and the expansion of the role of market and the community in the governance of education. The complexity involved in the interface between the activities of governance and the institutions of social coordination make the simple public-private distinction of schools confusing and even misleading.

The state is responsible for free and compulsory education till the age of fourteen, and the poor still rely on the massive government school system, but a cursory glance at the funding mechanism shows how intricate the whole situation is, as the actual situation of funding, for instance, is very complex. Direct state funding, fee payments, community or parent-raised funds, international aid for education, schools funded by religious organisations and by corporate houses are some forms of funding. In India, an important issue with significant implications for school education is one relating to private schools and the public policy towards private schools. Private schools necessarily belong to privately managed systems, but not necessarily to privately funded systems of education. Private schools, which are increasing in an unprecedented manner, have become substitutes for, not supplements to, government schools (De 2002: 131). They are basically of two types: private aided and private unaided.

The private aided schools, according to Tilak (2002: 285) 'do not provide any significant financial relief to the government as more than 95 percent of the recurring expenditures, and sometimes some part of the capital expenditures of these schools are met by the government'. At the same time he rightly states that private schools enrich themselves at the government expense by making 'profits by underpaying teachers and other staff, charging various types of non-tuition fees, and through other questionable

practices' (*ibid*: 285). This private sector does not only not reduce public financial burden but also 'contributes to pauperisation of government schools', by taking away disproportionately large amounts from the limited public budgets, 'and misallocation of public resources' (*ibid*: 285).

Tilak states that the private unaided schools 'provide some financial relief, but at huge social and economic cost. The adverse effects include accentuating dualism, elitism, and class inequalities' (2002: 285). Raina (2002: 119) cautions that decentralisation in the form of privatisation of education for greater public choice clearly lacks equity and will not necessarily lead to genuine empowerment. What is needed in India is 'a clear policy articulation that spells out the kind of decentralisation the state and civil society ought to promote, keeping in view rampant caste, class, and gender disparities' (*ibid*: 119).

Apart from this, private schools especially the unaided private schools subject 'young admission seekers to various so-called tests of verbal and non-verbal skills and written examinations before granting them admission' (Kaul 1998: 161). Admission seeking is a harrowing experience for the parents and therefore pre-primary schooling, and that too, with exorbitant tuition fees, is increasingly in demand. Many of these pre-primary programmes, which do not require any governmental approval or 'recognition', are academically and developmentally inappropriate as generally, some untrained personnel manage such programmes with not so adequate facilities. They are at most mere downward extensions of the curriculum to the absurd level of two year-olds. These pre-schools are meant, firstly to compensate for women joining the workforce and the breakdown of the traditional support system of the joint family, and secondly to be preparatory programmes for admission tests to primary schools. Thus, 'in the absence of

any knowledge or skill related to Early Childhood Care and Education (ECCE) these programmes resort to large-scale child-unfriendly “mis-education” in the name of ECCE’ (Kaul 2002: 32).

Government schools, on the other hand, usually begin from the first standard and there are hardly any schools with pre-school facilities. In Goa, hardly any government schools have pre-primary schools attached to their primary, middle or secondary schools. There are, however, some centres related to ECCE and coordinated through the centrally sponsored scheme of Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS), but it must be noted that the education component of ICDS is only one of the six components - which include ‘supplementary nutrition, immunisation, health check-ups, referral services, non-formal pre-school education, and nutritional and health education for children below six years, and to pregnant and nursing women’ (Kaul 2002: 27) - and therefore very limited in its impact. Thus, there are many children, especially the poor, who come to school directly from their homes and without the desired levels of readiness for learning. The National Survey Sample Organisation (NSSO) (52 round) data reports that ‘almost 47 percent of children who drop out of school cite inability to cope academically and lack of interest in studies as the predominant reasons’ (Kaul 2002: 23). In fact evidence from the field of neuroscience suggests that

The period from conception to six years is very significant for brain development. These years provide the base for development of competence and coping skills, which affect learning, behaviour, and health throughout life... there are some critical periods in the course of brain development, particularly in the development of binocular vision, emotional control, habitual ways of responding, language and literacy, symbols and relative quality, all of which can impact school learning and achievement (see Mustard 1999 cited in Kaul 2002: 23).

Thus, there is a need to focus on pre-school and extending pre-school facilities to the poor children coming to government schools also, and to plan the pre-school programme in a developmentally appropriate manner.

Early schooling in Goa, while it shares many of the characteristic traits of pre-primary and primary education in the Indian subcontinent has its own peculiar features and problems, consequences of the social, political and economic developments in pre and post-liberation Goa.

EARLY SCHOOLING IN GOA

In colonial Goa, education, in general, and primary education in particular, was far from satisfactory. Towards the end of Portuguese rule in Goa, the enrolment of students in Portuguese medium schools, especially at the primary level, dwindled and the numbers of students enrolling in Marathi and English medium schools increased manifold. There were some Konkani medium schools also, but few studied in these schools. With liberation, primary education experienced a colossal expansion (Varde 1977: 101). However, at the elementary levels, the enrolments according to the medium of instruction were tilted in favour of Marathi, English and Konkani in the above order. The Maharashtra Gomantak Party (MGP), which came to power soon after liberation, was a pro-Marathi party and did everything possible to further the interests of the Marathi language. Marathi primary schools proliferated in the union territory, the number of English primary schools also increased, but primary schools conducted in Konkani medium remained negligible.

In multilingual Goa, Konkani has the highest number of mother tongue speakers, followed by Marathi, as recorded in all the censuses since 1961. The figures for English mother tongue speakers in the different censuses are not at all impressive but it is

common knowledge that English is almost exclusively spoken by an ever-increasing number of Goans in their homes, besides being used extensively in administration and education at all levels. On 4 February 1987, Konkani acquired the official language status. The Official Language Act 1987, however, said that the Marathi language 'shall also be used for all or any of the official purposes'. The same Act stated that 'the English language shall continue to be used in addition to the languages specified.... for all or any of the official purposes' in the State. It took twenty-six long years, after the liberation of Goa, for the Konkani language to 'ascend the throne'¹⁴.

In the same year 1987, when Konkani was declared the 'Official Language', the enrolment in Marathi primary level schools was the highest at 70734 students, followed by 45596 students in English Schools and only a negligible number of 221 students in Konkani schools. Since liberation, Marathi and English dominated the enrolment figures at the primary level till the government introduced on 15 May 1990 a drastically different education policy. Today, the enrolment figures in Marathi are still the highest but they are much lower than they were in 1986-87, around 45 percent. Almost 40 percent of the school going children then, attended English medium schools, while today, only about 20 percent of the school going children are in English medium schools. The enrolment for Konkani medium schools has increased from the minuscule figure of 0.18 percent in 1986-87 to over 30 percent today (see Table 5.8).

In three month's time, that is, on 30 May of the same calendar year, Goa was transformed into a state with Konkani written in Devanagari script, the majority language, as its official language. Three years later, on 15 May 1990, the Progressive Democratic Front (PDF), which came to power after toppling the Pratap Singh Rane government,

adopted a policy decision making it mandatory for all primary schools to teach only in the regional languages. The schools that refused to abide by the new education policy were denied the necessary grants-in-aid. The policy, introduced when English primary schools had become very popular, ignored the existing educational reality. Over 40 percent of children in all primary schools, at that time, studied in English medium primaries, and enrolment in Marathi primary schools was declining at a rate of more than 2000 children per annum (see Government of Goa, Daman and Diu 1984; Government of Goa 1990). Pro-choice parents, educationists and others launched a prolonged and unprecedented agitation as far as medium of instruction was concerned and they protested vociferously and determinedly. Despite opposition from different quarters, the new education policy was not revoked or repealed but has continued and still is in force today.

Twelve years after the new education policy became operational, a survey was conducted to study the parents' attitudes vis-à-vis the medium of instruction policy, in two talukas, Salcete and Quepem. The survey pointed out interesting facts. While 78.51 percent of the people interviewed claimed Konkani to be their mother tongue, only 62.84 percent spoke to the child in that language and despite availability of free primary education in regional languages, the people interviewed indicated a pronounced preference for English medium primary schooling with a whopping 65.76 percent favouring it as compared to only 15.06 and 12.72 percent favouring Konkani and Marathi respectively (Botelho 2002: 231). There is a widespread desire among parents to educate their children in English and despite government's denial of grants-in-aid to schools conducted in English medium, English schools have not died down but are mushrooming everywhere. They charge exorbitant fees but the enrolment keeps escalating and the

schools with regional language as medium lose students to English medium schools, which pick and choose students as the number of parents seeking admission for their wards in these schools keeps increasing rapidly.

In post-liberation Goa, language is associated with many social, political and cultural issues. Very broadly, these issues centre around two seemingly distinct but inter-related dimensions of social reality – politics of cultural identity and aspirations for mobility. Language of early schooling has become a major site where politics of cultural identity and aspirations for mobility intersect each other and people have to negotiate between them. While ‘identity politics’ and ‘mobility aspirations’ are the two main opposing forces pulling parents towards a choice of different languages for the early schooling of their children, there are other factors also explaining parents’ behaviour. The existence of a dual system of schools, inequality of educational opportunity due to financial constraints, inaccessibility of schools in the desired media, the religio-linguistic divide in the Goan society are some of the factors that constrain the Goan people and their children from enjoying the democratic and egalitarian values enshrined in the Indian constitution.

THE PROBLEM

Identity Politics and Mobility Aspirations

Ever Since the education policy of 1990, admission time in Goa has become a stressful moment for parents, who experience the dilemma: should they admit their children into schools that provide elementary education in the politically defined mother tongue or should they admit them in schools conducted in languages that promise upward mobility. Languages act as symbols of identity. They provide social and emotional identity to an

individual with a speech community. For analytical purposes identity can be classified into two, primordial and instrumental. The primordial identifications which emerge from one's principal cultural identity are found 'in the unconscious realms of the adult personality' (Newman 2001: 155), and pull the people toward language preservation. Primordialism is exemplified in Bhembre's lament over what he calls the 'deculturalisation' process prevalent in Goa. He claims, 'a sizeable section of Goan community will uproot itself from the soil of Indian culture, give up most of the attributes of Goan cultural identity and will begin to live as an Indo-Anglican community; while the other section will by and large preserve Goan identity' (Bhembre 2002).

The instrumental identification is 'chosen out of a large number of possible cultural identities because it seems to offer the greatest chance of political success' (Newman 2001: 156). This identification propels people towards language assimilation (Arel 2002:115). Language assimilation means the appropriation of another language in which people visualise an opportunity for mobility. To get a clearer picture of the connotations of instrumental identifications, we need only to go through such popular writings as 'In Defence of English' or popular movements for or against one language or the other. For example, Martins writes, 'English speaking children reared by English speaking educated parents, using English as a medium of communication from babyhood, will study better in primary schools only in English medium and not the professed mother tongue, specially when knowledge of mother tongue is insufficient' (Martins 1990a: 2). This illustrates how people choose between the identities. The two identities often divide the people into contesting camps.

Commentators on Goan identity and culture say that, in Goa, one does not find essentialism or primordialism and instrumental identity in their pure form, but only as mixtures with a bias in one or other direction (Newman 2001: 56; Kale 1999:140). It appears that while essentialism urges many towards the militant championing of the cause of Konkani/Marathi, which they consider as a key factor in defining Goan identity, the instrumental identity, more often than not, makes the same people choose another language as a medium of instruction for the early childhood education. Could this shift be a result only of market governed instrumental rationality?

The Dual System

In fact the enrolment in English medium primary level schools steadily decreased for about 5 years after the education policy, that is, till 1994-95. From the year 1995-96 the graph has constantly risen due to the mushrooming of private unaided English medium primary schools. Goa in the last decade has witnessed the rise of a dual system of schooling. In the first instance, the privately owned school system catering to those who can afford paying high fees and donations, and where all learning from the nursery to at least the fourth standard, if not to higher education, is in English. The elite, as well as the middle classes, making tremendous financial sacrifices, enrol their children in these schools. There is a rapid proliferation of private schools meant to cater for the demands of an emerging middle class. In a way it has led to commercialisation of education. In the second instance, the government schools, using the mother tongue or regional language as medium of education are the only alternative for the vast majority of masses incapable of admitting their children in the expensive, privately owned and unaided schools. The

private, especially the private unaided and the government schools dichotomy reflects the rich and poor dichotomy in society. Do all parents enjoy the right to choose?

Inequality of Educational Opportunity

From 1995-96, English schools as well as enrolment in such schools have gone on increasing despite the heavy donations and high fees charged by these schools. The Goan linguistic scene is diglossic with English as the 'High' language and Konkani and Marathi as the 'Low' languages. Since liberation, English has been and is still used in education at the primary, secondary, higher secondary and higher education. This has resulted in the rise of a new brand of parents who have been born and brought up in English speaking homes. English is widely accepted in commerce, courts, law, industry, bureaucracy and education. The legislative assembly proceedings and the day-to-day administration in the state take place in English. Further, Goa has been a migration-oriented society. Goans, especially the Christians, are forever seeking jobs abroad or at sea, necessitating the learning of English. As English is required to 'take off' on a professional flight, there is a pronounced preference and demand for English medium education in Goa, even among those who do not have enough money to admit their wards in English medium schools. But the economically weak parents, because of financial constraints, are unable to enrol their children in English medium schools resulting in the shattering of their mobility aspirations. The exorbitant fees have led to the inequality of educational opportunities. Should not the education system contribute to the eradication of inequality?

Inaccessibility of Schools Desired

The education policy that apparently changed the enrolment ratio drastically in favour of Konkani medium schools also slowed down the ever-increasing rate of decline in Marathi enrolment. In hindsight one may state the education policy was more of a political decision than an educational or pedagogical one, and a renewed attempt at 'Marathification' of Goa, as grants were allotted to schools conducting education not only in the mother tongue but also in regional languages. Grants, therefore, were not to be given to schools imparting instruction in English, 'the alien language' but as per the High Court ruling in November 1987 teachers in all non-government schools had to be paid salaries on par with the teachers in government schools. The management of Catholic schools switched over to Konkani medium, either to be eligible for grants, necessary due to the High Court ruling that teachers be paid higher salaries or to promote Konkani, the mother tongue of most Goans. This transition from English to Konkani drastically reduced the English medium schools and enrolment in them. Several academically relevant sociological questions arise. Is the teach-regional-languages-or-don't get-grants-policy the best policy to enhance the educational achievements of children? Was the decision political or pedagogical? How do the heads of institutions react to this policy? Or what is the perspective of the heads of institutions regarding the education policy? Has there been any introspection on the policy since its inception by the educationists, especially by the Archdiocesan Board of Education, which runs a large section of the primary level schools? Even as of 2002-03 some of the talukas did not have a single English School, thereby making English school inaccessible to most from those talukas.

If English schools were accessible, that is, located closer to their homes, would the parents send their children to English medium schools?

English, Regional Language/Mother Tongue and Academic Achievement

Parents who can afford English medium schools are caught between the horns of the dilemma. Should they send their children to English medium schools that provide instruction at nursery, kindergarten and primary in English or should they admit their children in Konkani or Marathi medium schools? If they choose the former they will most probably have a difficult time to look for another school where they can admit their child in the fifth standard as most of the English medium primary schools, with only a couple of exceptions, do not offer secondary education in their institutions. However, they feel that beginning school from the scratch with English as medium of instruction will improve their English skills and make them fluent in the language of future, the language that has better academic and employment potential. Choosing the latter - especially, schools run by the Archdiocesan Board of Education, which are many - they let their children go through an education system that does seem illogical and irrational to them. The topsy-turvy education system in these schools begins at nursery and kindergarten in English, followed by primary in Konkani and again secondary in English. And yet many parents choose to enroll their children in many of these latter schools as these schools are established and reputed schools. If mother tongue education is the best why start in English at nursery and kindergarten? Do these shifts of media at such a tender age affect the child's intellectual growth? Do children who have studied in the mother tongue medium at the primary level fare better in the secondary, which is in English, than others who have studied in English all their school life? Is speaking

Konkani to children from the very beginning and sending them to Konkani primary schools, and then to secondary schools in English better, or will it help academically to start speaking English to the children from childhood and enrolling them in English medium? How does it affect their performance at the secondary examination?

Religio-linguistic Divide

While a majority of Goans speak Konkani at home, there is a substantial section of Goans who speak English, and few who speak Marathi. Konkani, whether in the spoken or written form, is not a homogenised entity. Goans of different religions, castes, and regions speak different dialects and also write differently. While Goan Christians usually write and are comfortable in roman Konkani, Goan Hindus use the Devanagari script. Presently the script controversy has engendered bitterness and division among the Konkani loyalists, due to the Roman script protagonists clamouring for equal recognition. The child is habituated to speak in a certain manner and even if the strictly linguistic differences between the standard Saraswat Konkani followed in schools and the dialectal forms of language are trivial, the parents do find it difficult to tutor their children at home. Most of the parents, having had English education, are more comfortable with English than with Devanagari, making the choice of Konkani at early schooling even more difficult. Many of them, however, even when they speak only Konkani at home, consider Marathi the 'high' language as their mother tongue. This is especially true in the New Conquest areas, as they consider Konkani as a dialect of Marathi. Marathi and Konkani are two languages and the fact is that education begins for many children in Marathi, which is not their mother tongue in the sense of the language learnt from the cradle. Also many Christians in Goa speak English almost exclusively to their children,

but declare Konkani to be their mother tongue, as they think they would betray their Goaness if they do not declare Konkani as such. These are the same people who 'enthroned' Konkani as their 'Mai' or the official language of Goa but within three years formed a protest movement under the banner of ACMI (Action Committee for Medium of Instruction). Konkani education promoted by education planners and policy makers in Goa, and forced upon such children by not giving grants to English medium schools, is not mother tongue education by any stretch of imagination. Whose mother tongue education is promoted? How do we identify the mother tongue of the children? Is mother tongue the language of the parents that is spoken to the child from the cradle, or is it the language associated with the land or that of the majority?

OBJECTIVES

The sociological problems mentioned in the above discussion have been stated as specific objectives. This research has attempted:

1. to find out the trends and patterns in the expansion of early schooling with reference to languages in Goa;
2. to discern the theoretical perspectives on language and early schooling;
3. to understand the processes being undergone by the parents belonging to different socio-economic strata in choosing the medium of instruction for their children's early schooling;
4. to observe the classroom processes and gain an insight into the teaching-learning processes in the context of language and early schooling; and

5. to examine the perspectives of educationists, language protagonists and activists on language and early schooling.

METHODOLOGY

An historical exploration into 'language in education' in the colonial Goa beginning with the Portuguese arrival into Goa, down to the time of liberation and postliberation unfolding of events threw light on the trends and patterns in the expansion of early schooling with reference to languages in Goa. Documentary evidence found in the form of books, articles in journals and media, old enrolment records and secondary data regarding enrolment at early schooling in the state provided in 'Educational Statistics at a Glance' and 'List of Recognised Educational Institutions in Goa', contributed towards this objective.

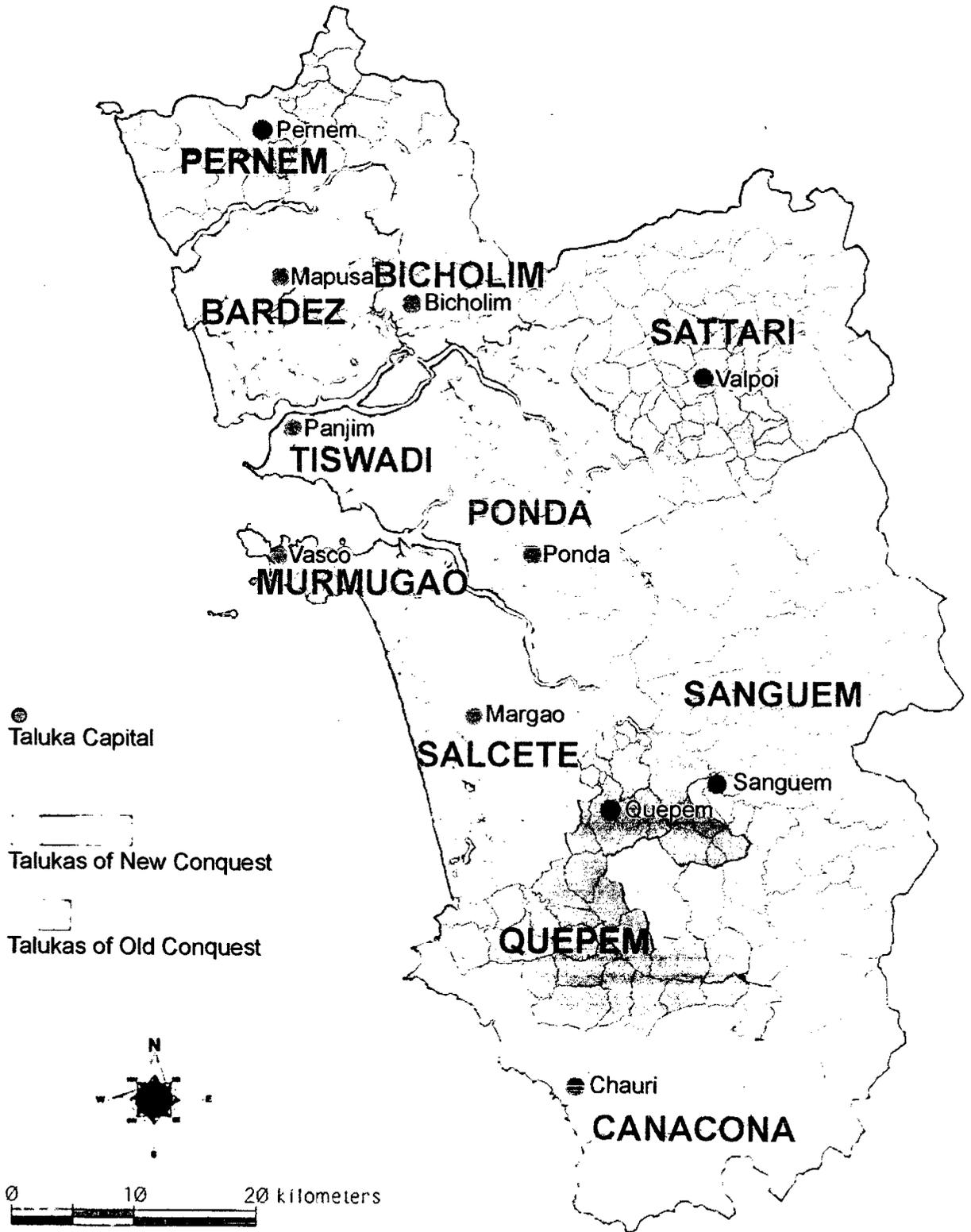
Many popular myths influence the decisions regarding the language in education. The government and educational planners, educationists, language protagonists, management, parents, teachers also fall prey to these myths. It was the researcher's objective to locate the ground reality in Goa within the theoretical context of sociology of language and sociology of education, with a particular reference to the plural and multilingual character of the subcontinent. The review of literature in socio-linguistics and sociology of language and education provided an important backdrop to assess and analyse the language and education scenario in Goa.

The next three objectives were achieved by examining primary data collected during the fieldwork interviewing key informants using both, close-ended as well as open-ended interview schedules in and around Goa, especially, in the selected two talukas. Direct observational evidence provided some additional information on the

topics studied. One of the major objectives was to examine the processes of negotiation undergone by parents belonging to different socio-economic levels and religious groups in choosing the language of instruction for their children's primary education. Parents of children in schools with primary level schooling in the state of Goa comprised the universe of study. 'The List of Recognised Educational Institutions in Goa' published by the Statistics Section of the Directorate of Education, Government of Goa, provides the names of all the recognised educational institutions of different levels of education beginning from the primary to the university levels. The institutions in the list are arranged according to the districts and talukas. Goa is divided into two districts, North and South, and eleven talukas, namely Tiswadi, Bardez, Pernem, Bicholim, Sattari, Ponda, belonging to the North district and Salcete, Mormugao, Sanguem, Quepem and Canacona belonging to the South district.

Besides this, Goa has another significant division due to historical reasons: New Conquest (Pernem, Sattari, Bicholim, Ponda, Sanguem, Quepem and Canacona) and Old Conquest (Tiswadi, Salcete, Mormugao and Bardez). The Old Conquest territories were conquered in the 16th century and were subjected to the longest period of Portuguese colonial rule in the Indian subcontinent, while the New Conquest areas were captured in the 18th century. Having suffered the brunt of Portuguese state sponsored conversion policies and Inquisition the Old Conquests are more Catholic than the New, annexed at a time when the Portuguese were not as zealous and arduous for souls as they were earlier. The New Conquest thus is predominantly a Hindu dominated area. The Old Conquest, being more Catholic, received more attention and was favoured by the Portuguese.

**MAP 1.1: MAP OF GOA
OLD CONQUEST AND NEW CONQUEST TALUKAS**



The most favoured status did not change even in the postliberation era. The Old Conquests are invariably the more developed areas as the bulk of industry is located here and it certainly surpasses the educational, medical, banking and other facilities available in the New Conquests. The Old Conquests are also more fertile with a more pleasant climate and are more densely populated with over 50 percent of the population in Goa living in these areas. The profound differences, both in ecology and history have contributed to differential development of the two areas.

While the research title 'Language and Early Schooling in Goa' suggests that the scope of the present research encompasses the whole of Goa, the empirical element of research is limited to two talukas. In the first stage, therefore, two talukas were purposively selected, one from the North and belonging to the New Conquest, Bicholim, and the other from the South and belonging to the Old Conquest, Salcete. While Hindus form a majority in all talukas except Salcete, Bicholim has the highest percentage of Hindus among the talukas of Goa (Table 5.5). It was also the stronghold of Marathi during the Official Language agitation. Salcete, on the other hand, has the highest percentage of Christians among the talukas of Goa (Table 5.5). It has also been the fortress of Konkani defending it against the onslaughts of Marathi, especially during the language related agitations that Goa has witnessed. Salcete was in the forefront to get Konkani recognised as the Official Language of the State also.

Having selected the talukas, the primary level educational institutions were selected using a stratified systematic random sampling technique. Firstly the primary level institutions in each taluka were arranged in an alphabetical order, beginning with the schools in municipalities and followed by those in the panchayats to give adequate

representation to the urban as well as the rural areas, as there does exist a considerable difference in taluka-wise rural-urban population composition (Table 5.2) and literacy (Table 5.7) even though the rural-urban population composition for Goa taken as a whole is 50.25 to 49.75 percent respectively. Literacy also constitutes a major factor affecting the choice of medium of instruction at early schooling. Within the municipalities and the panchayats, the schools were categorised based on the management, that is, government and non-government, and further divided into aided or unaided schools. These schools representing the government and non-government, at the same time, aided and unaided schools were then arranged alphabetically within each of the categories.

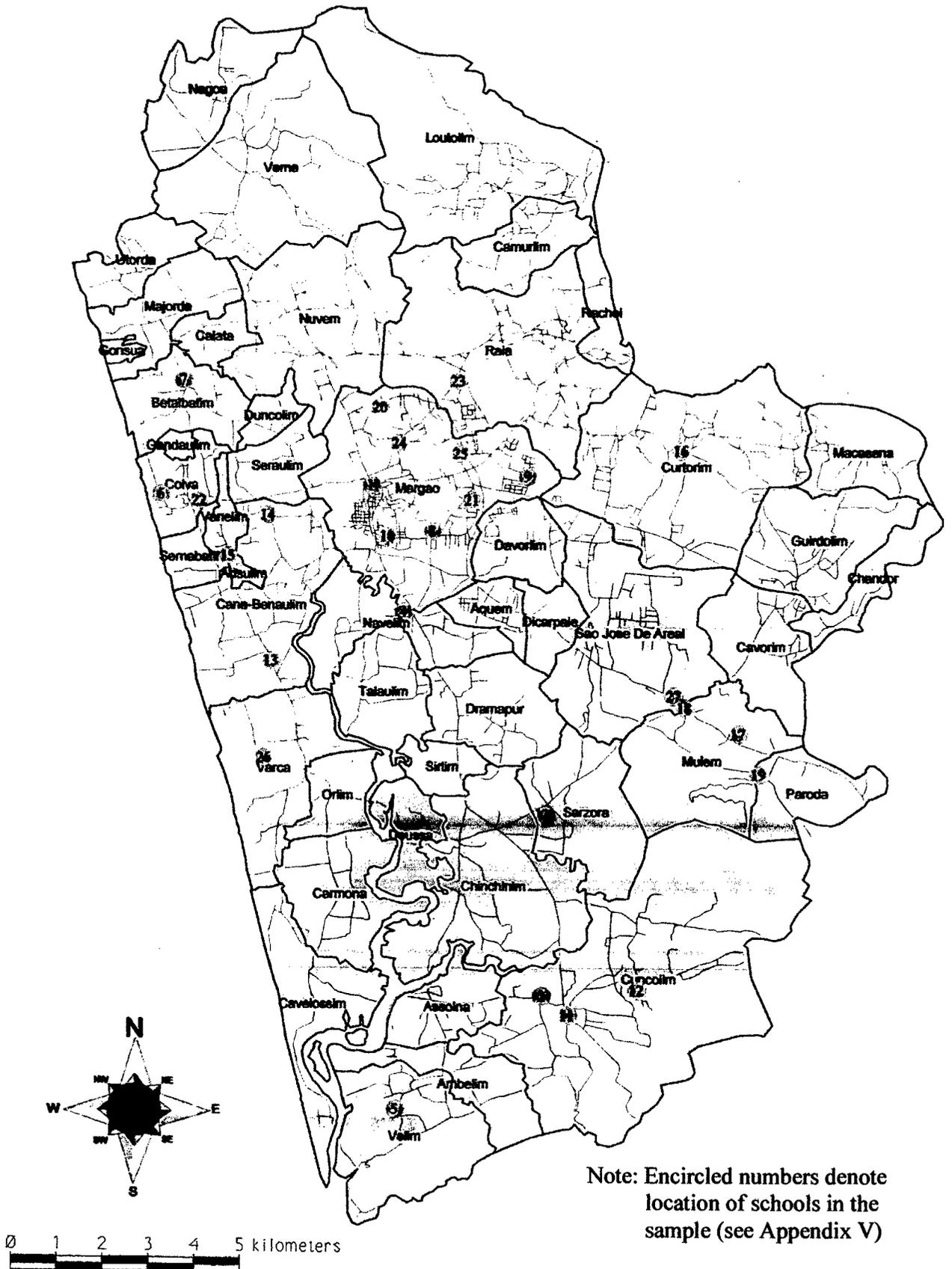
In the second stage of sampling, the schools were selected following a random systematic sampling method. Beginning with the fifth, every fifth school was chosen from both the talukas. About 20 percent of schools were identified from the total of 252 schools with primary level schooling in both talukas. Since there were only three schools each in Konkani and English and 96 Marathi schools in Bicholim, all the Konkani and English schools were co-opted in the sample. Thus, in all 52 schools with primary level schooling were selected to identify the parents to be interviewed, 27 from Salcete and 25 from Bicholim.

In the selection of parents also, systematic random sampling method was employed and parents of children bearing roll number five and the multiples of five in the ascending order were selected depending on the number of parents required to be interviewed from the school concerned. The number of parents to be interviewed in each school depended on, firstly, the overall medium-wise enrolment in both the talukas and secondly on the total enrolment in the school. The total enrolment in the three media,

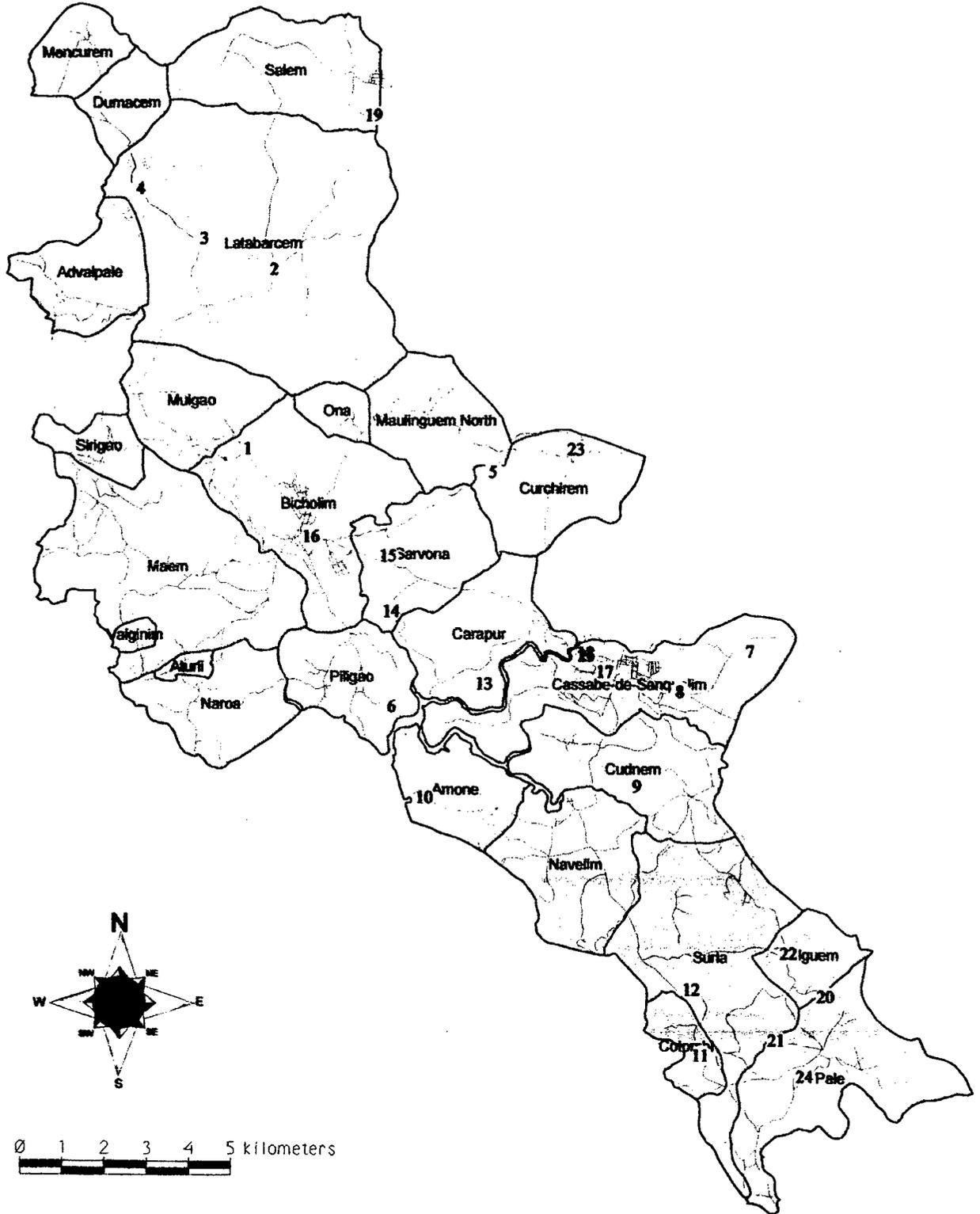
Marathi, Konkani and English together in Salcete (excluding the schools from Verna and Majorda) is about 16996 (75.47 percent) and in Bicholim taluka it is 5522 (24.52 percent), adding up to 22545 (100 percent) for both the talukas together. Accordingly about 75 percent of the respondents were chosen from Salcete and about 25 percent from Bicholim. Enrolment in Konkani, English and Marathi was approximately 53 percent, 30 percent and 17 percent respectively in Salcete taluka. In Bicholim, the enrolment in Marathi was about 76 percent followed by Konkani with about 14 percent and English with about 10 percent respectively. The sample chosen was proportionate to the media-wise enrolment in both the talukas. That is, the number of parents was proportionate to the total number of children enrolled in a particular media and the taluka concerned. In Salcete, the researcher interviewed 212 parents of children in Konkani medium schools, comprising about 53 percent of the total number of parents of children in all media, 117 parents of children in English medium schools, comprising about 30 percent of the total parents and 66 parents of children in Marathi medium which amounts to 17 percent of total number of parents. In Bicholim the number of parents of children in Marathi, Konkani and English medium was 110 (comprising about 74 percent), 21 (about 14 percent) and 18 (about 12 percent) respectively. The total number of parents interviewed was 544 - 395 in Salcete comprising about 73 percent and 149 in Bicholim amounting to about 27 percent of the total enrolment in both the talukas. Thus, the number of parents interviewed in each taluka depended on the percentage of Marathi, Konkani and English students to the overall enrolment in the three media in the two talukas.

At least two teachers were interviewed from the schools selected. If a pre-primary section was attached to the primary, then a teacher from the pre-primary section was also

MAP 1.2: SELECTED SCHOOLS IN SALCETE TALUKA



MAP 1.3: SELECTED SCHOOLS IN BICHOLIM TALUKA



interviewed. However, in the course of my fieldwork I came across many schools, where there were no two teachers in the school to be interviewed. There are many schools with a single teacher and a single room with all the students of all the four standards of the primary, that is, First, Second, Third and the Fourth being in the same classroom. The teachers in such schools employ a variety of methods to carry on the teaching learning processes, which is a sociological problem for another independent research.

The interviews with parents, teachers, principals, educationists and language protagonists were carried on during the academic year 2005-06 from June 2005 to April 2006. Field interviews were also conducted in July 2006. Being a resident of Margao, the researcher visited the schools of Salcete, usually in the mornings as most of the schools are conducted in the mornings. The principals and teachers were interviewed during the free periods when they could spare some time. While the Headmasters or Headmistresses and teachers in private aided and unaided schools invariably fixed an appointment when the researcher could go and interview them, most of the teachers in government schools were most willing respondents, making themselves available to be interviewed at the time the researcher visited the school. Perhaps, the number of students in most of the government schools being very small contributed to the flexibility observed in the government schools, wherein the teachers would stop the class and allow the researcher to interview them. A total of six government schools in the sample from Salcete were single teacher schools. The teacher teaches all the standards and all the subjects single-handedly in one classroom. The only way to distinguish students of different standards is the space or the desks that they occupy in the class allocated to them by the teacher. The teacher takes turns in teaching the students of different standards in the classroom. While

the teacher attends to students of one particular standard the students of other standards are allocated some class work and kept busy.

While a number of principals and teachers agreed to call the parents, systematically chosen by me, to the school premises so as to be interviewed, others provided the addresses of the parents whom the researcher could go and interview in their homes. Though it was very difficult to go to children's homes the end result was much more satisfying as the parents would respond with the least amount of encumbrances. The researcher visited the parents in the afternoons or late in the evenings when they had already been home after the day's work. Educationists and language protagonists were interviewed at times convenient to them.

Bicholim being at a relatively greater distance from the researcher's residence, it would have been very time consuming to collect empirical data by travelling from Margao to Bicholim daily. The network of social relations help and the researcher's acquaintance with a priest working in Bicholim taluka provided with the much needed accommodation and boarding to facilitate the empirical work in Bicholim. The researcher stayed in Bicholim for a considerable period interviewing principals, teachers, parents, educationists and language protagonists there to collect relevant data. About nine out of the eighteen government schools in the sample selected in Bicholim were single teacher schools with all the standards of the primary taught by one teacher in one room, the enrolment of students in such schools ranging from a meagre twelve to about forty-one in all the four standards of the primary level. It must be noted that out of the total ninety-one government primary level schools in Marathi and Konkani about forty-three are handled by a single teacher, wherein all the subjects are being taught by that sole teacher.

While the parents and teachers interviewed were selected from schools identified through a stratified random systematic sampling method, non-probability-sampling methods were utilised in selecting the other respondents. The educationists, language protagonists and social activists were identified both through their popular writings as well as through a snowball sampling method.

SIGNIFICANCE AND LIMITATIONS OF STUDY

The usefulness of the present study lies in the fact that the relevant data gathered will enable the state government to adopt an informed approach and people-oriented language-in-education policy. Secondly, the processes of negotiation by which the language of early schooling for their children is chosen by the parents in Goa have not been given adequate attention. The findings of the study will contribute to knowledge in the area concerned.

The sample was selected on the basis of the 'List of Recognised Educational Institutions in Goa' for the years 2002-03 and 2003-04. These government publications under the Statistics Section of the Directorate of Education included Majorda and Verna under the Mormugao taluka. The 2004-05 'List of Recognised Government Institutions in Goa', published after the sample was selected, includes, however, both Majorda and Verna schools under the Salcete taluka and not under Mormugao taluka as was previously done in the years 2002-03 and 2003-04. Consequently, a total of eleven schools with Konkani in ten of these schools, and Marathi and English in one each were not included in the universe, from which the sample was chosen.

An area that has not been given due attention in this study is the non-enrolled students or children who have never seen the portals of a school. Since the sample of

schools was selected based on the percentage of the total enrolment according to the medium of instruction in the different schools in the two selected talukas, and not on the entire population of children in the two talukas, the never enrolled children and their parents could not be a part of the universe from which the sample was selected.

The sample was selected from the 'List of Recognised Educational Institutions', which does not list any ICDS centres. Therefore, the preparedness or readiness of children, especially of children in government schools, to enter primary education could not be established from the official statistics. The private schools generally have pre-primary education facilities, attached to their primary education. However, whether children coming to primary education in government schools had any exposure to ECCE through ICDS centres, which could develop in them pre-reading, pre-writing, and pre-number skills and vocabulary required, to negotiate the primary curriculum better, could not be verified.

ORGANISATION OF THE THESIS

Thematically this thesis has been presented in nine chapters. This first chapter provides a brief background of the elementary education in India and in Goa. The focus is especially on the language and early schooling scenario in Goa, especially with regard to language-in-education policy and practice. Some of the major sociological problems associated with language and education in the Goan society are provided as prelude to state the objectives. Further, the methodology adopted in realising the various objectives is briefly discussed. The significance and limitations of the study are also incorporated in this chapter.

The language and early schooling scenario is explored from the historical perspective in the second chapter. Beginning with a brief note on the historiography of Goa, the chapter, based on colonial as well as indigenous sources, analyses language and education relationship from the beginning of the colonial era up to the present times. It discusses the languages of primary education during the Portuguese times up to now. The four languages discussed are the Portuguese language, the language of the colonial rulers, the Konkani language, considered to be the mother tongue of the Goans, the Marathi language, considered to be the literary language of the Hindus, and the English language, desired by all those with mobility aspirations.

The third chapter discusses theoretical perspectives in socio-linguistics on the relationship between language and early schooling. The chapter begins with an overview on the language scenario at the global level. Language and language-in-education policies are then examined from a variety of perspectives, viz., political science, historiography, ethnography, linguistics and sociology. Since mother tongue education is universally prescribed by many nations, considerable emphasis is given to investigate the same in this chapter.

The fourth chapter focuses on language and early schooling from the perspective of the sociology of education. It traces the evolution of the analysis of education from the moral-philosophical perspective to the different perspectives within the discipline of the sociology of education. The chapter provides a brief review of the different theories relevant to sociology of education: functionalist, the theory of human capital, neo-Marxists theories of social reproduction, New Right or Neo-Conservative ideology, Resistance theory, post-Marxist theories and Structuration theory.

The demographic profile of Goa and the language in education scenario, based on official statistics of the government of Goa, are outlined in chapter five. A broad description of some characteristics of the parents interviewed is provided. The characteristics described, especially, the father's native state, mother tongue, medium of primary and secondary education are relevant to investigate how parents negotiate in the process of choosing a particular medium of language for their children's early schooling.

The procedure involved in the determination of occupational prestige and, subsequently, the construction of a socio-economic status scale, on the basis of educational qualification, occupational prestige and income, is delineated in the sixth chapter. The chapter also explores the relationship between social status and language choice at early schooling. The mediating factors, viz., religion, parental aspirations for children's education and employment, and other reasons like identity considerations, academic and employment potential of the language, similarity of school language with the home language, the standard and reputation of the school, the discipline imparted in the school, proximity or accessibility of school to the residence, financial difficulties in admitting to English schools, etc., which along with social status, determine language choice at early schooling, are also examined.

The seventh chapter takes a critical look at the linguistic behaviour of teachers, vis-à-vis the students in the class and the medium of instruction followed in the particular educational institution. The chapter is based on interviews with teachers teaching different levels during early schooling, and belonging to different types and media of schools. Other characteristics of teachers' qualification, training, religious composition and mother tongue are also provided. Details are provided, based on the perception of

teachers, about the children's understanding of the medium of instruction and the need for the use of some other language other than the medium of instruction during the class hours. It also discusses how teachers resist and negotiate policy decisions, and use other languages in the classroom, other than the medium of instruction, to facilitate the learning process of the children.

The eighth chapter is primarily based on primary data generated through interviews with language protagonists, educationists, and activists, though secondary data is also sparingly used. The chapter delves into the various facets and implications of the medium of instruction policy followed during early schooling in Goa as narrated by the respondents. Some of the areas discussed are: the rationale for the introduction of medium of instruction policy in 1990, the efficaciousness of the mother tongue versus the regional language, the controversy of Devanagari and Romi script, the medium of instruction hotchpotch during early schooling, the relationship between media at early schooling and academic achievement, the preference for English medium during early schooling and the effect of denial of grants-in-aid and societal inequality. The manner in which the respondents evaluate the present education policy and their opinion on what the education policy ought to be is also recorded in this chapter.

The ninth and the final chapter summarises the insights gained. It draws inferences from the review of literature on language and early schooling in Goa from the historical, sociolinguistic and sociology of education perspectives. Giving an overview of the opinions and perspectives of parents, teachers, educationists, language protagonists and social activists on language and early schooling in Goa, the chapter describes the social implications of language and early schooling scenario in Goa.

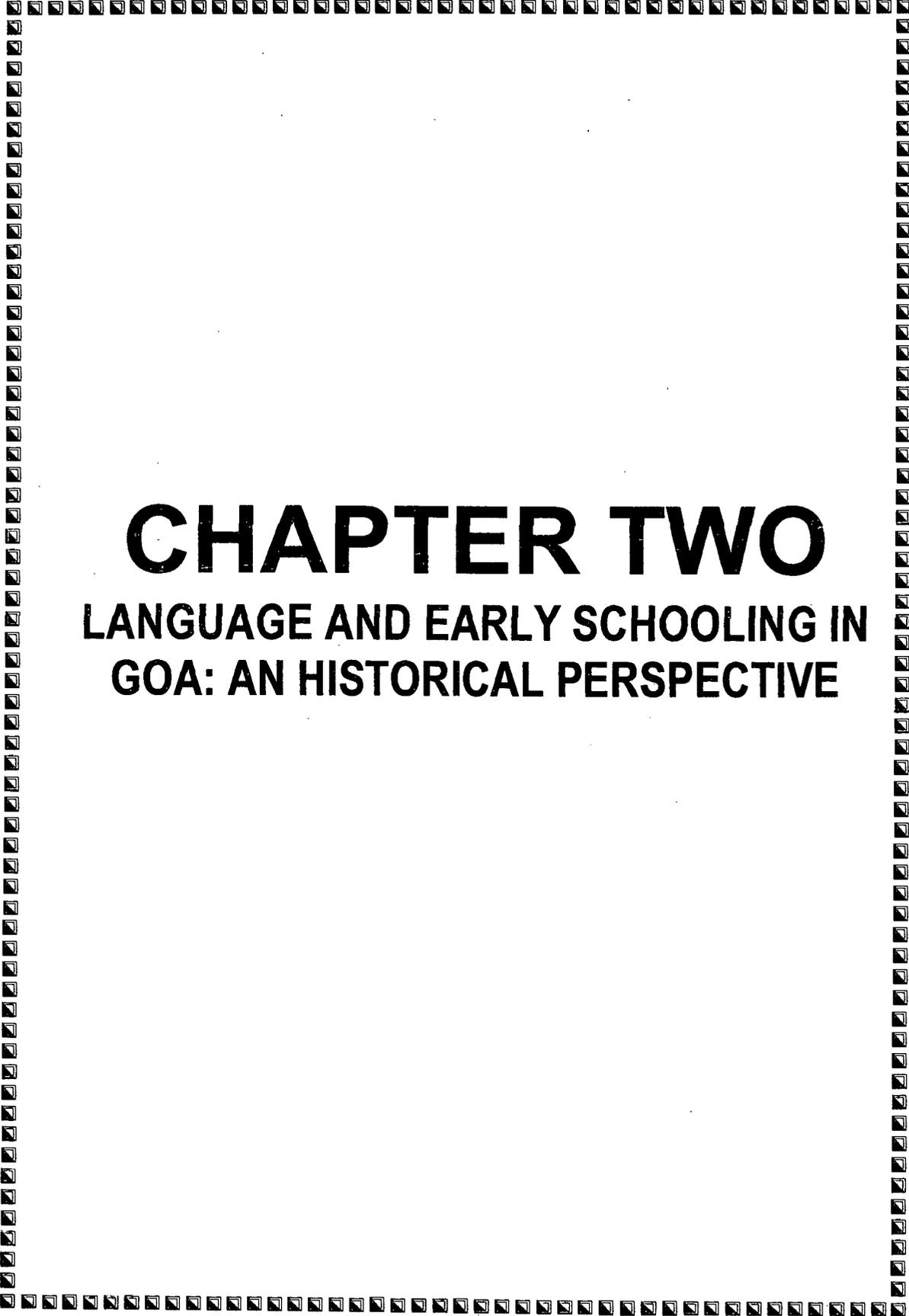
NOTES

1. Scrase (1993: 14) claims that such problems have been acknowledged as the proverbial thorn in the side of the Indian policy makers and politicians, but their persistence has rarely been questioned and addressed adequately by the Indian educational researchers. He further remarks that sociological research into Indian education, initially, was strongly positivist and structural-functionalist in nature (see Thirtha and Mukhopadhyay 1974; Chitnis 1974). Only later a few scholars (Acharya 1981, 1982, 1986b; Kalia 1979; Kumar 1989; Newman 1989; Thapan 1986, 1991) have attempted to explain the educational inequality prevalent in India as a reflection of the various forms of social inequality, which have historically emerged and continue unabated in Indian society.
2. Usually the terms, elementary and primary education, are used to refer to this level of education. The basic education mentioned here is not the same as the basic education proposed by Mahatma Gandhi. His concept of basic education involves 'productive, creative and socially useful work in which all boys and girls may participate, irrespective of any distinction of caste or class' (Bhatt and Aggarwal 1969: 187 cited in Aikara 2004: 225).
3. The constitution 86th Amendment Act inserted a new article, 21A in the part on the fundamental rights. It reads as, 'The state shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of six to fourteen years in such a manner as the state may, by law, determine' (see Aikara 2004: 226n8).
4. District Primary Education Programme (DPEP) was implemented in select states of the country in 1994. Aiming at improving access, enrolment and quality of elementary education it focussed on different districts as units of educational planning and implementation.
5. The Mid-day Meal Scheme initially introduced by the Tamil Nadu government was launched in India as a whole in 1995. The objective of the scheme was to provide the necessary conditions and incentives for enhancing enrolment, attendance and retention of children in schools as well as to improve the nutritional status of the children.
6. The Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan is a massive government programme for universalisation of education. Two of its major aims are: all children complete 5 years of primary schooling by 2007 and all children between the age of six and fourteen are provided useful and relevant elementary education by 2010. According to Sinha (2004: 637) with the launch of this scheme 'it has been envisaged that there will be a primary school for every habitation containing a population of 300 and above'. It provides for extensive in-service teacher training.
7. Lok Jumbish Project (LJP) is a primary education programme initiated in 1992 in Rajasthan. A special contribution of Lok Jumbish is the mobilisation of people or the community for social restructuring, especially in elementary education. An immediate

objective of Lok Jumbish is to involve the community in the programme of universalisation of primary education. Some of the major activities of the Lok Jumbish are: school mapping, micro-planning, repair of school buildings and women's development. School mapping, for instance, involves a visual depiction of all households in the village. Household members of the age group 6-14 are indicated with symbols on the map. School mapping thus helps obtain information on enrolment, dropouts, etc. Thus, the need for building new schools or improving the infrastructure of the existing ones can be decided.

8. To overcome the problem of teachers reluctant to work in remote habitations, Shiksha Karmi Project (SKP) was introduced in Rajasthan in 1987. The concept of Shiksha Karmi was introduced to substitute the absentee primary school teacher. For this purpose a local educational worker was used to reach out to the educational needs of every child in the locality
9. Some of the salient features of the Education Guarantee Scheme (EGS) of Madhya Pradesh are to set up an EGS centre within 90 days of receiving a demand for such a centre. The EGS also aims at providing an EGS centre for 40 children in the age group 6-14, if there is no school within a distance of a kilometre.
10. M. Venkatarangaiyya Foundation (MVF) of Andhra Pradesh has done tremendous work in providing elementary education to working children. MVF believes that the government school system should be strengthened rather than let the children attend alternative avenues of non-formal education. It provides bridge courses to narrow the gap between these working children and the school going children. The MVF has brought about an attitudinal change, a reduction in child labour and social change.
11. Some of the salient features of EGSAIE scheme are: 'Bringing about quality improvement through enhanced instructional time (4 hours), recurrent training of education volunteer/para teachers, regular, academic support from SCERT (State Council of Educational Research and Training), DIET (District Institute of Education and Training), BRCs (Block Resource Centres) and CRCs (Cluster Resource Centres). The major shift is in the use of formal school curriculum with appropriate supplementary materials' (Sinha 2004: 636).
12. Hirst and Thompson (1995: 422 cited in Dale 1997: 274) explains the difference between 'government' and 'governance' stating, 'the tendency in common usage (is) to identify the term 'government' with the institutions of the state that control and regulate the life of a territorial community. Governance, that is, the control of an activity by some means such that a range of desired outcomes is attained is, however, not just the province of the state. Rather, it is a function that can be performed by a wide variety of public and private, state and non-state, national and international, institutions and practices
13. For a better understanding of the complexities of the relationships between governing activities and coordinating institutions, see Dale 1997: 276-280.

14. Robert Newman wrote about the struggle for a Goan identity in the journal South Asia (Vol. 77, No. 1 January 1989) under the title 'Konkani Mai (Mother Konkani) Ascends the Throne'. According to Newman, the common man felt that justice had been done to Konkani, which for centuries had suffered suppression at the hands of the Portuguese and was neglected for 25 years by the Goan governments. However, the Official Language Bill passed on 4 February 1987 did not wholly satisfy both the Marathi and the Konkani protagonists. In fact currently a section of Goans are protesting the use of the definition 'Konkani language' means Konkani language in Devanagari script in the Official Language Act.



CHAPTER TWO

LANGUAGE AND EARLY SCHOOLING IN GOA: AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

CHAPTER II

LANGUAGE AND EARLY SCHOOLING IN GOA: AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The Portuguese dominion imposed, directly or indirectly, the colonial language on the native population. The 4-Ds of domination, denial, devotion and desire encapsulate the linguistic and educational realities during the colonial and the post-liberation period. Education in the Portuguese medium made the natives eligible for a few, comparatively high status jobs. Assimilation to the high status language of education on the part of the elite section of Goans and denial of the status of a language to Konkani, considered a dialect of Marathi, deprived Goans of education in Konkani.

Konkani speakers with a little effort, says Almeida, could understand what the Saint poets of Maharashtra sang (Almeida 2004: 57). He opines that

The Konkani speakers must have gradually come to accept Marathi as their religious language, and then they must have made an effort to learn it as a literary language. Curiously enough, if the absence of any Saint poet among Konkani speakers could be the cause of this state of affairs, it could as well be the consequence of it later on.

Denial of the status of language for Konkani meant that Konkani medium of education suffered ignominy. Marathi medium of education profited from its association with Hindu religion as people chose Marathi due to devotional reasons. From the middle of the nineteenth century English turned to be the much-desired language with potentialities towards migration and employment in British India and abroad.

In this chapter the language and education policies and the preferences of people to one or the other medium of education are discussed. An effort is made to examine the subjective considerations as well as the objective constraints which might have influenced the local people to choose a certain language as the medium of instruction for

their children in the course of the four and half centuries of the Portuguese rule in one or the other region of Goa.

This theme is initiated with a brief note on historiography in Goa so as to contextualise the discussion. Historical objectivity is possible and achievable through the subjective reconstructions of individual historians and this attempt is to contribute to the objective and historical understanding of the issue of language and education in the pre-Portuguese, colonial and post-liberation Goa.

BEYOND COLONIAL AND CONTEMPORARY HISTORIOGRAPHY

Colonial historiography denied Goa and its people an objective history by promoting a mythical image of Goa - Goa Dourada (Golden Goa) - to legitimise the process of Lusitanisation and the colonial power (Trichur 2000: 644; Perez 2001: 9). Golden Goa was an imaginary Goa, Portuguese-speaking, Catholic, 'harmonious society without remarkable fractures or ruptures between individuals and groups' (Perez 2001: 10), and 'a paradise ... where you could sit on your veranda listening to music as the breeze blew in from the sea' (Collis 1946: 32 cited in Souza 1994a: 69). The disproportionately Lusocentric scholarship on Goa endorsed the myth of Golden Goa portraying it as the 'Rome of the Orient' and the jewel of Portuguese mercantile empire (Axelrod and Fuerch 1998: 443). It directly or indirectly influenced the many published historical works on Goa.

This history, in fact the bulk of Goa's colonial history, was constructed from the colonizer's perspective. It was aimed at validating the Portuguese claim that Goa was a piece of Portugal, a European enclave, transplanted on to the Indian subcontinent. For most of the colonial historians, the establishment of Portuguese rule, rationalised as the

civilizing process, was a consequence of divine dispensation. Goans are considered more civilized as a result of their being converted and on their discontinuation of Hindu religious practices (Freitas n.d. in Newman 2001: 58n). Conversion, semantically related to translation, had transformed the 'local culture into a different and alien one' (Perez 2001: 10). This claim was strongly conveyed also through the Portuguese radio station at Goa, '*Emissora de Goa*', which identified Goa with Portugal by the words '*Aqui é Portugal*' (This is Portugal). Perez rightly claims that Portuguese lusocentrism towards Goa led Hindus to sanskritisation (Perez 2001: 36). While the educated Catholics conceived of themselves as Western and Portuguese speakers and looked to Camoes, Eca de Queiroz, and Pessoa, the educated Hindus turned to Marathi and Shivaji, Ramdas, Tukaram, etc., reflecting the influence of their classical literatures and the result of centuries of colonial indoctrination (Newman 2001: 59).

Contemporary historiography or post-liberation Goan studies seek to resurrect the Goan past from the perspective of Goa Indica, which happens to be a nationalist response to the colonial construction of Goa Dourada (Trichur 2000: 641). These latter historians interpret Goan history with the purpose of discerning postcolonial nation building and state formation processes. The post-liberation Goan studies are constructed from the perspective of the colonized and expose the chauvinism inherent in colonial historiography written from the vantage point of the colonizer. In a way the colonized or the objects of research hitherto, are transformed into subjects of history in postcolonial research.

Trichur (2000: 644) pointing out some unintended ramifications of the good intentions of anthropologists and sociologists writes that the post-liberation Goan studies,

have obfuscated, instead of elucidating, the impact of colonialism and the ever-deepening crises in the post-liberation Goan society. To overcome the colonial bias from Goan historiography, the nativist renditions of Goan history, far 'from being an investigation into history,' have been reduced to 'being an historicism – an imposition' (*ibid*: 641).

Souza (1994a: 69; 117) appealed for a radical shift in Goan historiography at the first International Seminar on Indo-Portuguese History in 1978. He reiterated his intent at the second International Seminar on Indo-Portuguese history 'for a new and rectified historiography that will take care of past deficiencies of *approach and evidence*' (emphasis original) (*ibid*: 117). Trichur (2000: 643) observes that Souza's plea for a replacement of Luso-centric history of Goa, based on European documentation, by Goan-centric history, based on indigenous evidences, is suffering from the same limitation, that of being one-dimensional, which he set out to overcome. Viewed from this perspective, the problems in Goan historiography are located in the sources referred and not on the exploitative relations of power in the society.

Researchers have treated Goan history as the history of the colonized, as a homogeneous group, ignoring that Goa 'is more complex and both multi-layered and multifaceted, not amenable to neat and confident portrayal' (Kothari 1993: 24 cited in Fernandes 2003: 334). The colonized were never a single homogeneous group but a society divided by caste and class, religion, language, landlords and government officials, and, tenants and other lower classes, both during colonial and postliberation times. Both the Goa Dourada image and the Goa Indica image are class-based ideologies (Trichur 2000: 637) tainting the actual processes that contributed to the making of the contemporary Goan society and its history. As Foucault (1980 cited in Trichur 2000:

643), wrote, there is a relationship between the production of knowledge and the exercise of power, in the sense that the privileged version of history is the one that belongs to people in power positions. Trichur (ibid: 638) observes that the absence of a theoretically sophisticated and critical account of Goan society and history has led to teleologically constructed assessments rationalizing contemporary developments in the Goan society rather than investigating the social relations contributing to the constitution of historical facts.

Goans during the Portuguese times were never a homogenous group nor are they today. In the past as well as in the present there has been a tendency to speak of Goans as a single entity. History has not provided identical experiences to all Goans and therefore the Goan psyche exhibit a differential consciousness of their history based on religion, caste, language and ownership of property. The elite (upper class landlords and government officials) then and the elite (industrialists and businessmen) now have exploited and are still manipulating the lower classes. It is these elite who have played a determining role in language-related controversies. The outcome of the medium of instruction controversy has been scripted the way it did, perhaps because the voice of the people have remained hushed. An effort is being done in this study to give voice to the voiceless in Goa's contemporary history by listening and reporting their history as it unfolds on the language and education scene.

After this brief overview of Goan historiography, the realm of language and education, from the beginning of Portuguese rule up to the current language and education scenario, is examined on the basis of secondary sources. An effort will be made to interpret the facts provided by different sources in the context of the social relations

and varied groups, with conflicting interests, existing during the different phases of the history of the Goan people and the present times. In examining the language policy in education during the Portuguese rule due attention would be given to both the political as well as the religious agents since language policy in the erstwhile Portuguese regime was the creation of the two. With Renaissance and Enlightenment the world witnessed the separation of temporal and spiritual powers, but for the Portuguese, who were still medieval-minded and not enlightened, Church and State were one, with interests linked (Pereira 1992: 11 cited in Desai 2002: 32).

IMPOSITION OF PORTUGUESE IN EDUCATION FOR DOMINATION

When the Portuguese conquered Goa, they did not meet unlettered or illiterate masses of people, but those well versed in Sanskrit religious literature, conversant with Marathi religious literature and having a well-developed literary culture (Souza 1977: 13; Almeida 2004: 59). Before the advent of the Portuguese, then, there existed a system of education in Goa, which, however, was religion oriented. An informal education by the family instructed the young in caste or craft occupations and the art of social behaviour. The formal education, limited to the upper three high castes (Xavier 1993: 176), and consisting of reading, writing and arithmetic, was provided at *pathshalas* or *parishads* by schoolmasters or *aigals* in local languages. The teachers in the school were also called *Sinais* or *Xennoy* or *Shervi Mama* who would teach in vestibules of temples, porches of big residential houses and verandahs of village administrative offices (Varde 1977: 1). Every village had a school as George Moraes writing on the spread of these schools says, 'there was no village but had a school, be it in the shade of a grove or in the porch of the

temple, where the children were exercised in the knowledge of the three R's' (cited in D'Souza 1975: 46).

Higher education was provided in the following establishments: the *agrahara*, the *brahmapuri* and the *mathas*. The medium of instruction in these institutions of higher education was Sanskrit. *Agraharas* were described as universities of medieval India wherein were taught arts, sciences and religion. Music, rhetoric, mathematics, logic, politics, etc., also found place in these institutions. They were groups or communities of learned Brahmins, usually in rural centres, noted for their profound scholarship that attracted students from distant places. The *brahmapuris*, educational agencies of the pre-Portuguese period, were principally Brahmin colonies or settlements established in urban centres, for the purpose of running educational institutions. At these *Brahmapuris* converged cultured Brahmins well versed in vedas, puranas, smritis, etc. *Maths* were typical Indian monasteries with monks, ascetics, and students living within their precincts. Apart from these institutions there were among the Muslims institutions of primary ('*maktabs*') and higher ('*madrasas*') education.

While the Spaniards exterminated the indigenous races and cultures in America, and the British ruled their colonies by the policy of 'divide and rule', the Portuguese encouraged miscegenation, though it became an end in itself, to homogenize the natives by converting them into a people belonging to one religion, culture and language (Mendonca 2005: 46). Afonso de Albuquerque, visualising for Goa a new mixed society, established in Goa, just as he did in Cochin, schools for Portuguese children and the children of the converted natives mainly to train them for government service (Xavier 1993: 177; Coutinho 1987: 73). The medium of these schools was Portuguese. In fact

Albuquerque wanted to mould Goa in the likeness of Lisboa and strongly felt that the dissemination of the Portuguese language would propagate the Portuguese culture and ways of life (Barros 1988: 166). In the words of Barros, 'Portuguese language, Roman Catholic religion and Portuguese ways of life i.e. Portuguese *modus vivendi* began steadily to influence the local population' (1988: 165).

Albuquerque handed the schools he had established to the village communities but these initial efforts does not seem to have sustained for long as these schools did not flourish (D' Costa 1982: 105; Varde 1977: 1). In 1541, Fr. Miguel Vaz and Diogo Borba founded the Confraternity of Santa Fe. It created a Seminary under its patronage to educate children for priesthood. Latin and Portuguese were taught in this Seminary. Within thirty years of the conquest of Goa till 1772, when secular and official education was begun in Goa, education and educational institutions remained the monopoly of the church, carried on, as they were, by the parochial schools and the seminaries (Xavier 1993: 175; D' Costa 1982: 105). Parochial schools, teaching Portuguese, Christian doctrine and sacred music, were established during the time of the Viceroy Dom Joao de Castro by an order of King Joao III on 8 March 1546 (Coutinho 1987: 73). These schools were the nuclei that helped the spread of Christianity and the adoption of Portuguese way of life.

The Portuguese conquest thus sounded the death knell of the educational institutions, which existed prior to the arrival of the Portuguese. The temples, the *parishads*, *agraharas*, *brahmapuris* and the *maths* disappeared making way for parishes and parish schools all over Tiswadi, Salcete and Bardez. Teaching in the Parish schools was conducted in the Portuguese language; however, Konkani was also used, as the

teachers were not well versed in the Portuguese language (Couto 2003: 16; Saldanha 1952: 15; Borges 1988: 158). All Christians could frequent these parish schools, but the Portuguese preferred children of Brahmins to those of the other castes. The children of Hindus desirous of schooling had to learn at home or go beyond the jurisdiction of the Portuguese territory (Xavier 1993: 178).

The missionaries themselves made effective contributions to the native languages by compiling dictionaries and grammars. But as T. B. Cunha indicates the contribution of the missionaries to the local languages was not out of love and appreciation of the local culture and languages but for their own benefit and to make up for the vandalism of their predecessors (Cunha 1944: 22). Souza also states that 'the mastery of languages was a necessary tool for domination, especially at times when the colonial hold over the native populations was still uncertain' (1994a: 41).

From the mid-18th century, when the colonial power was firmly placed in the saddle, the same religious orders evinced little interest in the local languages and, on the contrary, forced the natives to learn the languages of the colonial power. Such a change in the outlook of the colonizer was already being noticed from 1684.

On June 27, 1684, Count of Alvor decreed that

the locals should speak the Portuguese language and the parish priest and school teachers should teach children the Christian doctrine in the same language so that henceforth it becomes common to all; and their mother tongue should not be used henceforth; and for this effect the Portuguese language should be used in daily life and meetings until they become fluent in it; and for such I assign a period of three years within which all should generally speak the Portuguese language; and only this language should be used for all communication and dealings effected in our lands, and by no means the local language which would attract severe penalty (translation cited in Mendonca 2005: 58).

The Inquisitor, Antonio do Amaral Coutinho, in the year 1731 treading the same dreary path managed to obtain an order from the King by which the subjects were to learn Portuguese, also as a requirement to get married, within a period of six months to one year (Varde 1977: 22; Pereira 1971: 19). Similarly, in 1745 the Archbishop Dom Frei Lourenco de Santa Maria made it mandatory to all would-be priests and even their relatives to be tested through a rigorous examination for their knowledge of, and ability to speak the Portuguese language. The same Archbishop also made it compulsory for the would-be married couples to know and speak the Portuguese language within six months from the date of the publication of that order (Cunha 1944: 22; Shirodkar 1988: 175). Further, the Archbishop Dom Frei Manoel de Sao Galdino in a bid to improve Portuguese teaching recommended in 1812 that students should be prevented from speaking Konkani in the school premises. The Archbishop lay down that the teachers should 'forbid the more advanced to talk in the vernacular' so that the younger ones could learn the Portuguese language soon (Shirodkar 1988: 177; D'Souza 1975: 158).

According to yet another decree dated 23 May 1907, promotion of children to standard second was to be based on the extent of knowledge of Portuguese gained by the student and which would enable them to speak Portuguese (Shirodkar 1988: 178). Even when in 1913, the Portuguese allowed institutions of early schooling to carry on education in different media, eligibility to admission in these schools depended upon acquiring the qualifications of *Primeiro Grau* (Standard IV) of Portuguese. Obviously it was meant to propagate the teaching of Portuguese in schools. Marathi schools, however, could admit without the *Primeiro Grau* as the government redrafted the order subsequent to various representations from Marathi schools (*ibid*: 178). However, English schools,

even in 1929, could admit only those students who had passed the *Primeiro Grau* in Portuguese or had acquired a certificate having passed the examination of 'aula de Portugues' (Portuguese class). Not only in the Old but also in the New Conquest the Portuguese tried to spread the Portuguese language. The primary schools established for the teaching of Marathi in the New Conquest in 1887 were converted into Portuguese-Marathi schools in 1932 introducing Portuguese teaching where it was not taught earlier. This was carried on even though there were primary schools in the New Conquest conducted exclusively in Portuguese (*ibid.*: 177-178). Even on the eve of liberation, that is, in 1958, the Portuguese government was still attempting to impose Portuguese by making primary education in Portuguese compulsory for children in the age group of seven and thirteen years.

After more than three centuries of Portuguese conquest, an almost equivalent period of parish schools and half a century of public schools, that is, in 1823, Governor D. Manuel de Camara describes the state of public education which was in doldrums thus: 'Public education here borders on nothingness. In a population of 2, 60,000, not a single educational institution can be traced' (Varde 1977: 7). Later in 1831 when the first public schools at the cost of the state were established, the viceroy D. Manoel de Portugal e Castro finds it extraordinary that 'a small number of inhabitants speak and write Portuguese' (Pereira 1971: 130n. 75). According to Varde (1977: 12) in 1870 attendance, at primary schools run by government, parishes and private managements, was only 6124 in a population of 385000. In 1901-02 the enrolment in government primary schools in Portuguese medium was 3895 while it was only 131 students in Marathi-Portuguese schools (Menezes Braganza 1923: 164-166; Varde 1977: 87). In 1910 the enrolment rose

up to 8078 in Portuguese and 144 students in Marathi-Portuguese schools. Further increase was seen in 1915-16 with the Portuguese enrolment increasing to 8811 and that of Marathi to 193 students (Menezes Braganza 1923:192-93). In 1920-21 the enrolment in Portuguese primary schools was 9040 and in Marathi-Portuguese schools it was 228 students (Varde 1977:87). In the decade 1920-30 the enrolment in Portuguese primary schools, which was higher than the enrolment in schools conducted in other media, began to dwindle and students from both the communities began enrolling in English and Marathi medium in increasing numbers (*ibid*: 90). In the year 1950 the enrolment in primary, middle and secondary English schools in Goa was 13477 as compared to only 10944 in all Portuguese schools in Goa, Daman and Diu. At the time of liberation the enrolment figure in all Portuguese primary level schools was a meagre 26326 (*ibid*: 91).

Since 1962-63 some educational institutions began teaching their courses in English instead of the erstwhile Portuguese medium. The remaining carried on parallel courses in Portuguese and English, till there were students opting for Portuguese medium. The Portuguese language lost its appeal, as it was no longer required for government jobs. Almost all educational institutions, including the government primary schools, made a switch to English medium by 1967. Portuguese, however, has been taught as a second language in a number of schools and higher secondary schools in Goa. One can also complete, till date, one's Bachelors as well as Masters Degree in the Portuguese language through the Goa University; however, hardly any students opt for it at both the levels.

In Goa, evangelisation and westernization went hand in hand. By introducing the Portuguese language as the language of the State, the Church, commercial and social

intercourse among the higher classes, the Portuguese strove towards the assimilation of the Christians. However, despite the domination of the Portuguese language in administration, in radio and newspapers, in social intercourse among the higher classes and, especially, in the government schools, the enrolment of students in Portuguese medium primary schools all through the colonial regime and towards the end of the colonial rule was miserably low.

One of the reasons for the pathetic figures is that literacy was very low and educational facilities were meagre in Goa during the Portuguese times. The literacy level in Goa was 10.91% in 1881 and increased only to 31.23% in 1960 (Srivastava 1990: 70). Considering the fact that educational opportunities were rather meagre, a literacy level of 31.23% is due to the fact that many individuals who knew nothing more than signing their name considered themselves or were considered literate (D' Costa 1982: 109). Another and more important reason is the fact that in the traditional society education was considered the exclusive monopoly of the higher castes. Souza (1977: 13) states that the village temple schools in the early seventeenth century were catering to 'the sons of the high caste *'ganvkars'* exclusively'. Higher castes could afford education but more than that, the higher caste teachers believed education was meant only for their type and not for the lower castes (D'Costa 1982: 109). Theoretically, the parish schools were open to all Christians but in practice 'it was frequented mostly by the sons of the Brahmin or landowning families' (Mascarenhas 1989: 86). A third factor contributing to the low response to education was the Portuguese medium of education. D' Costa rightly says that 'many children found it unnecessarily troublesome to learn a new language which was difficult ... uninteresting and purposeless' (D' Costa 1982: 109). Though primary

education was free and compulsory under the Portuguese rule, hardly any parents took advantage of the facility, as the medium of instruction in government primary schools was Portuguese (Correia-Afonso 1987: 209). As Correia-Afonso says 'Portuguese speaking Goans never constituted more than a handful of the population' and even at the end of the four and half centuries of Portuguese rule not even '2 percent of people claimed Portuguese as their mother tongue' (Esteves 1966: 22 cited in Correia-Afonso 1987: 210). To quote another historian, 'At the close of the Portuguese colonial regime in India, after a presence of nearly four and half centuries, barely 5 percent of the inhabitants of Goa, the capital of the "*Estado da Índia*", were capable of reading, writing and speaking in Portuguese' (Souza 1997: 377). Portuguese language, in relation to English, lacked any value in the job market in the subcontinent as well as in the many British colonies where Goans would migrate to work. And the local population by and large never took the Portuguese language with enthusiasm which is reflected in the Konkani saying, '*Sermanvank gellim axên, sermanv zalo firngi bhaxên*' (Went with eagerness for the sermon, but the sermon was in a foreign language) (*ibid*: 378).

KONKANI AND EDUCATION IN KONKANI

Gomes (2002b: 54) speaks of the Goan identity in existence from the time the Portuguese conquered Goa, and which was gradually consolidated during the Portuguese regime. One of its main features according to Gomes was 'a linguistic substance in its versatile Konkani, first in Devanagari, then in Kandvi and Roman scripts, and writing in it dating back to at least the 11th century, with literature from the 15th century onwards' (*ibid*: 54). According to Kamat (2000) the first Konkani inscription is from 1187. Couto (2003:14), too, writes about the evidence of written Konkani in the twelfth century, with its first

script being *Goya Kannadi*. Another Goan scholar Correia-Afonso (1995) holds that Konkani has derived from Prakrit and was written in Devanagari and Kannada in the pre-Portuguese era but had little literature. D'Souza (1975: 43) agrees with the others that Konkani in the pre-Portuguese era was written in Kannada and Devanagari. He (*ibid*: 46) speaks of Konkani as 'an ancient and vital language which was used as literary and educational medium and which enjoyed popularity in pre-Portuguese times.' More evidence to the existence of pre-Portuguese Konkani, according to Pereira (1971: 80-82) is found in Sant Namdev's verses in the 14th century (Also Couto 2003:14).

Priolkar (1967: 51) differs from the above. According to him, no one has been able to lay their hands on pre-Portuguese Konkani literature, neither in the Old Conquest nor in the New Conquest areas, which like the former were not subjected to any persecution or had to undergo the rigours of inquisition. If pre-Portuguese Konkani literature did exist then one would discover some book or document written in Konkani in those areas, avers Priolkar in his book 'Goa: Facts versus Fiction' (Priolkar 1962: 23).

Almeida (2004: 55-57) also begs to differ from those who claim that there was a wealth of pre-Portuguese Konkani literature, which the Portuguese destroyed in their fervour to establish their rule. The destruction, which was limited to Goa cannot account for absence of Konkani literature in areas from Ratnagiri in the North to Cochin in the South. As the Portuguese could not distinguish between Konkani and Marathi literature they could not selectively destroy Konkani literature and to the extent that not even a single leaf of such literature could survive. He further states that the earliest Konkani literature available dates back to the beginning of Portuguese empire. Even the sixteenth century Braga manuscripts No. 771 and 772, Almeida opines, could only be transcripts of

an oral tradition of stories of Mahabharata and Ramayana and not Roman script transliteration of an already existing Konkani manuscript in some Indian alphabet. According to Almeida (2005: 159-160), three scripts, from the five, – the other two being Perso-Arabic and Malayalam – are widely used today for writing Konkani. The Roman script has the longest tradition of more than 450 years, followed by Kannada script and lastly by Devanagari script, which started only with the Konkani-Portuguese dictionary published by Msgr. Sebastiao Rodolpho Dalgado in 1893, though the use of Devanagari was made in 1678 (Sardesai 2004: 45). Christianity gave the much-needed impetus for the beginning of Konkani literature in Goa, but, at the same time, one has to agree with the stalwarts like Cunha Rivara, that the Portuguese rule also stunted, through various measures, the growth of Konkani literary tradition during the first three centuries of Portuguese rule. As no conclusive proof is available about the existence of any pre-Portuguese Konkani written literature in Goa, the only possible conclusion that can be drawn from the above is that there was no Konkani literature comparable to that of Marathi prior to the arrival of the Portuguese in Goa.

Souza (1979: 96), although he accepts that Marathi might have been the literary language of the Goans, argues that the spoken language of Goa was Konkani, which the missionaries referred to as '*lingua canarina*', basing himself, amongst others, on Tome Pires. Tome Pires wrote in 1514, 'the language spoken in this kingdom (of Goa) is concanim ... the language of this kingdom of Guoa (sic) differs from that of Deccan as well as from that of Vijayanagar' (cited in Souza 1979: 96).

One of the missions of the Portuguese was to spread Christianity in the orient. The Franciscan friars began working in Goa definitively from 1517. So zealous were they

to spread their religion that they did not mind learning the language of the natives to win them to their Christian faith. The Jesuits came in the 1540s and began learning Konkani (also called *Canarim* or *Lingua Brahmana*) which they knew would help them in the process of evangelisation. It is at St. Paul's College in Old Goa where the newly arrived Jesuits learnt Konkani and prepared themselves to carry on their missionary work. They wrote catechisms, hagiographies, sermons and meditations in Konkani. In course of time many other colleges sprung up where Konkani was taught. Almeida (2004: 61) mentions 'village schools attached to fifteen Jesuit Parishes in Salcete', which imparted instruction in Konkani.

At least the first five Provincial Councils, one after another, beginning from 1567 and going up to 1606, deemed it necessary that the priests/preachers have a good knowledge of the language of the people (Gomes 1999: 65-66). By 1570 Konkani grammars and vocabularies were already compiled making it easier for the missionaries to learn the language (Almeida 2004: 62). Many also mastered the religious and cultural language of the day, Marathi. Even though the spoken language was Konkani, the contemporary opinion then, was that any high literary composition, especially of a religious nature, had to be in Marathi. People would speak Konkani but would make use of Marathi for religious literary works. This was similar to the linguistic arrangement in Europe, where the spoken languages were Portuguese, Italian, French etc., but the language of the liturgy and learned discourses were in Latin. That explains why Thomas Stephens chose to write the *Purana Christao* in Marathi and his *Doutrina Christam* in Konkani language. In fact in the introduction to *Purana Christao* he explains his reasons for not writing his *Purana Christao* in *Shudda* Marathi. If he had done so the middle

classes would not understand it. However, it was meant for the intelligentsia who hungered for such literature. This need is embodied in the request by a Brahmin convert to a priest in Salcete, who said: 'if books in Marathi language on Christian scriptures in the form of Puranas are prepared for us, a deep-felt wish of our people would have been fulfilled' (Priolkar: 1962: 20). He also compiled a Grammar of Konkani, for the training of his fellow Jesuits, who had to learn the Konkani language to impart the religious instruction to the people.

The village schools taught the Christian doctrine in Konkani following the books of catechism written by the missionaries in Konkani. This practice continued till the *alvara* decree of 1684 by which the Portuguese tried to impose the Portuguese language in the village schools. The zeal for Konkani did not last long. It is said that the Franciscans, relatively more addicted to an easy life or licentiousness, were the first to revolt against the need to learn the local language (Almeida 2004: 75). In 1627 Archbishop Dom F. Sebastiao de S. Pedro lamented that the Franciscans neglected the learning of the language of the people. In fact the ignominious decree (*Alvara*) of 27 June 1684, also called 'the sentence of extermination', forbidding the use of Konkani 'under pain of being proceeded against with such severe punishment as might seem befitting' (Cunha 1944: 23), is attributed to the ingenuity of the Franciscans who wanted to continue administering the parishes as Parish Priests without learning the local languages, which the Church was insisting upon. At this time, not only the Franciscans but also the Jesuits, the Dominicans and Augustinians seem to have refused to learn Konkani, which led the Viceroy Antonio de Melo e Castro to complain on 28 January 1666 to the King (Cunha 1944: 22). Many claim that this edict remained in force till the dawning of more

enlightened times in the middle of the 18th century, or the Pombalian regime (Varde 1977: 22; Kurzon 2004: 28). But at least one young historian suggests that the *alvara* may have been toothless from its very inception (Mendonca 2005: 50). He says he is not aware of any penalty or sanctions imposed on anyone for having spoken in the local language. The Inquisition too resolved through Amaral de Coutinho that Christians should speak only Portuguese and give up their language, lest the Hindu Gurus lead them astray (Pereira 1971: 19-20; Cunha 1944: 23). As we have seen in the earlier section, Archbishop Lourenco de Santa Maria, in 1745, also tried his best to do away with the local language. All these decrees and orders proved to be grievously detrimental to Konkani. With the expulsion of Jesuits from Goa in 1759 and later, that of other Religious Orders, the local language was neglected even more (Almeida 2004: 75).

When the Viceroy D. Manoel de Portugal e Castro instituted the first State schools in 1831 at the cost of the state exchequer (by the order dated 5 September 1831) (Gomes 1999: 81), Konkani was excluded from them as being of no avail in the field of education. And even when after a decade on 8 August 1843 the then Governor-General Joaquim Mourao Garcez Palha 'decided to have chairs in Marathi, Kannada, Tamil, Malayalam and Hindustani in some of Goa's educational institutions', (Pereira 1971: 20) the local language 'Konkani was carefully kept out of all the lists'. It was scorned, downgraded, considered a crude native dialect and given no importance. These measures succeeded in demoralising the Konkani speakers: 'Many Goan Christian families began to call Portuguese their mother-tongue and speak that language even at home, a thing they do not seem to have done before' (*ibid.*). When Cunha Rivara landed in Goa in 1855 not only did the government discriminate against Konkani, but among its own speakers,

also, it did not command much respect. The waning of religious zeal and the languishing of Konkani studies went hand in hand. It had been alienated in its own habitat. For instance when Miguel Vicente de Abreu wanted a Konkani hymn book to be published at the government press he was charged the extra 25 percent payable for texts in foreign languages.

Cunha Rivara writes,

In spite of the great impulse which the language received in the first century of Portuguese dominion, there was waged against it an implacable war with attempts to entirely extinguish and proscribe it. Although it was not possible to achieve this end fully, as it is beyond human power to suppress a language, it has, however, been corrupted and adulterated and its literary records practically destroyed with serious loss both to the intellectual and to the moral culture of the people. (quoted in Pereira 1971: 19)

Education in general lagged behind and primary education even more. Local Inspection Boards created in 1869, among other limitations of the education system, pinpointed the medium of education as one of the major causes of inefficiency in education. Quoting Cunha Rivara, the Commissioner of Instruction, it also suggested that 'as a new language can only be learnt by comparison of its mechanism with that of mother tongue, concanin language should be made a starting point to teach the Indians any other language' (quoted in Varde 1977: 13). But the teachers were not convinced of his cold logic – the educated Hindu elite opposed his plans and in 1869, the Governor Pestana totally banned Konkani in schools (Pereira: 1971: 23; Desai 2002: 38). When in 1871 there was an order for the conversion of schools existing in *Novas Conquistas* in to mixed ones, that is, Portuguese-Marathi and Portuguese-Konkani, there were no Konkani books, and hence nothing could be done (Varde 1977: 23).

However, there were some efforts by some individuals in writing primers to promote Konkani education. The *Barao* (Baron) of Cumbharjua Tomas Aquino Maurao Garuz Palha published a primer in Konkani in 1888-89. He felt the primer would silence those who held that Konkani language is an unworthy jargon and predicted an era of full development for Konkani literature (Pereira 1971: 136-137n.228; Desai 2002:42). Sebastiao Teotonio Souza published another primer in the Roman script. However, one is not aware if these primers were ever followed in schools. Later in 1939, Madhav Manjunath Shanbag founded Konkani Bhasha Mandal with its objective being the study and advancement of the mother tongue (Pereira 1971: 76). Yet another individual, the uncle of late A. N. Naik, ex-MLA from Margao, in the early 1940s introduced Konkani in his school for girls (Adarsha Vanita Vidyalaya, Margao), however no records of this are available except a letter from Shennoi Goenbab who wrote to convey his congratulations to the management of the school for the pro-Konkani decision (Desai 2002: 87). It was a Montessori school with Konkani as the medium of instruction for the girls up to the age of six years (Samarth 1988: 270-271).

As T. B. Cunha (1944: 21) wrote, the Goans had been denationalised. He wrote not merely about the denationalisation of Goans but also of their cultural bankruptcy, 'the chief cause of which was the ferocious persecution of their languages, especially of Konkani and Marathi, and the forcible imposition of the Portuguese language. The ban began with the conquest and is still going on especially towards Konkani, which is the mother tongue of Goans'. The net result of following the policy of Official education exclusively in Portuguese, without a single Konkani school, says T. B. Cunha, was the appalling illiteracy prevalent in Goa (*ibid*: 24). At the same time, he further argues that

all the obstacles on the path of development of the mother tongue have deprived Goans of a rich literary Konkani tradition worthy of name to the point that the Goans themselves are ashamed of their uncultivated language (*ibid*: 25-26).

However, in spite of the obstacles there were some efforts done to introduce education in Konkani medium. Saldanha (1952: 17) wrote that the use of Konkani as the medium of instruction in the initial stages of the Portuguese primary schools had been permitted for some time then, and that it was made use of by many English medium primary schools. Also, in 1962 Konkani Bhasha Mandal was formed in Goa and one of its objectives was to promote primary education in Konkani and support existing schools. It did start a school of its own in Margao. According to Almeida (2000), Loyola High School, the Holy Spirit School and two other convent schools began Konkani medium primary sections in their schools. The Loyola High School and the Holy Spirit School carried on primary sections in Konkani for eight years. Some time later, two other schools had primary sections in Konkani and have continued till date. Not surprisingly then, enrolment in Konkani at that time increased from 2161 to 5551 students, especially, during the years preceding the opinion poll from 1963 to 1965. But the enthusiasm did not last long or beyond the opinion poll (Desai 2002: 121).

On 26 February 1975, the Sahitya Akademi, the National Academy of Letters, New Delhi, accorded Konkani the status of being one of the full-fledged literary languages of the country (Gomes 1999: 14-15) paving way for the decision in 1992 incorporating Konkani into the Eight Schedule of the Constitution wherein are listed the major languages of the country. Another milestone was the establishment of the Goa Konkani Akademi on 4 March 1986 meant for the promotion of Konkani language,

literature and cultural unity of the State (Gomes 1999: 29). Within a year on 4 February 1987 Konkani was declared the Official Language of Goa.

Couto (2003: 16) considers it unfortunate that the Goan people themselves have not shown interest in the 'language so despised and derided' that in spite of elementary education in Konkani being approved by the First Provincial Congress in 1916, government schools were opened only in 1961 after the liberation of Goa. The Goan elite used to send their children to the Portuguese schools since Konkani language had no value during the Portuguese times, both in the sphere of education and as far as future prospects were concerned (Cardozo 2006: 20).

From 1990 onwards, Government gives grants only to those schools that impart instruction in regional languages up to the fourth standard. Currently, more than 200 primary schools have Konkani as the medium of instruction (Sardesai 2004: 50). However, as Cardozo (2006: 24) says the parents admit their children in Konkani schools, out of sheer compulsion and not out of love for Konkani education. In fact, Cardozo adds that the use of Devanagari and a particular dialect¹, which is forcibly imposed in schools, has resulted in hatred towards the language itself. Cardozo's view seems exaggerated as the script has not led to the hatred of the language as such, but many Christians who have had English education from childhood do have an aversion to that script.

To sum up all that has been said, the Portuguese attempted to exterminate Konkani, but it was an exercise in futility. As Souza (1979: 97) says 'Konkani was never exorcised from the Goan households, but what did happen is that Konkani was denied an opportunity to develop as an independent language and to have some literature worth the

name'. It also led the Konkani speakers to educate their children through Portuguese and Marathi medium schools during the colonial era and through English, and Marathi and Konkani to a much lesser extent, in the post-liberation period.

MARATHI FOR DEVOTION AND MARATHI IN EDUCATION

When the Portuguese reached Goa, the people of Goa were not uncivilized and illiterate masses urgently in need of civilization. They were already 'well versed in Sanskrit religious literature and were conversant with the contemporary Marathi religious literature as well' (Souza 1977:13). According to Konkannakhyam, 'Marathi did not enter Goa till late in the 15th century when' Bijapur Sultans conquered it. They bestowed official status on the language (D'Souza 1975: 44). With regard to literature, extant copies of Marathi literary works have been found (Almeida 2004: 55). For instance V. B. Prabhudessai discovered two manuscripts of Krishnucharitra by Krishnadas Shama about thirty years ago. Many other 16th and 17th century records have been found. In the 13th century, writes Almeida (*ibid*: 57), there was a shift from the classical language to the regional Marathi, spoken and written language of religion and literature, under the influence of *Mahanubhav* and *Bhakti* movements. It was the philosophers and saint poets who using the popular spoken Marathi wrote their teachings and composed devotional songs. Marathi literature and the growth of Marathi as a literary language sprung from this devotional beginning. The Konkani speakers could, without much difficulty, understand what the saint poets of Maharashtra would sing. In course of time the Konkani speakers must have come to accept Marathi as their religious language and also literary language (*ibid*).

In the 16th century, conversion and later the rigours of Inquisition forced many Hindus to flee from the Old Conquest to the New Conquest, then outside the Portuguese territory. As noted in the previous paragraph, in the neighbouring area, that of the state of present-day Maharashtra, Marathi had been developed much before the coming of the Portuguese to Goa. Jnyaneshwar had written an annotated edition of Bhagavadgita in Marathi in the 13th century, *Bhakti* was popular in Maharashtra from the 15th century, Namdev, Tukaram, Ramdas had written verses praising God in Marathi – contact with these devotional works made Goan Hindus consider Marathi as the language of literature and superior to Konkani which was only a spoken language (Matsukawa 2002: 127).

Pereira (1971: 98) says that it was in a confused moment in the history of the Goan people that Marathi which he calls the '*ghati*' tongue, 'succeeded in getting its claim of being Konkani Hinduism's sacred tongue recognised'. The Inquisitional harassment gave the Hindus no choice but to drive them 'in to the arms of Marathi' as it was from the devotional verses in this language that they could derive 'comfort in the dark moments of oppression' (*ibid*: 21). In support of his argument he claims that history has shown even the most diverse peoples enthusiastically accepting culturally unpalatable tongues when they were hallowed by religion (*ibid*: 98).

Valaulikar (Pereira 1971: 68) also argued that the association of Marathi with religion has been responsible for the Goan Hindu affection for Marathi, since they mistakenly considered Marathi to be Hinduism's sacred tongue. Even today as Desai (2002:13) writes 'there is a widespread feeling among masses that Marathi is the cultural and religious language of Goa and Goans, especially Hindus'. This is the result of the fact

that Marathi was the medium of religious activities like *Kirtan*, *Bhajan*, *Aarati*, etc (Sardesai 2004: 47).

With regard to Marathi in education, Marathi schools did exist in Goa prior to its conquest by the Portuguese, but it is believed that they were confined to the areas bordering the State of present-day Maharashtra (Coutinho 1987: 162-163). Angle (1994: 66) claims that almost every village in Goa had a primary school in Marathi functioning at a temple or the *chowk* of a residential place. However, Marathi schools organised in the manner they function today, did not exist till the middle of the nineteenth century (Quadros 1974: 7). It was only on 10 July 1871 that the government converted the primary schools, functioning till then in Portuguese medium in the New Conquests, into mixed ones with two media - Portuguese and Marathi (Kamat 2002: 49-50; Varde 1977: 13). It is believed that the first formal primary school in Marathi was started by Shri Ramchandra Dattatreya Kulkarni alias Rambhau Azrecar at Mapusa in 1890 (Quadros 1974: 8; Angle 1994: 69). However, Desai (2002: 41) speaks of the opening of the first private school in Marathi with 'modern syllabus' having started in Mapusa earlier than 1890, that is in 1885, and which was followed by many others in other villages around Mapusa. According to Desai (*ibid.*) the private initiative continued for the next four decades consolidating into a well-organised movement.

Saraswats encouraged education of their children by starting private Marathi medium schools. The teachers, popularly known as the Shenaimam, were recruited from the Bombay Presidency². The schools would be held in balconies, temple premises or even under a tree where children of other upper castes were also accepted (Quadros 1974: 8; Kamat 2002: 52). As far as the government primary schools are concerned, by 1897,

there were altogether about 7 bilingual government primary schools in the New Conquests (Kamat 2002: 50).

With the establishment of the Democratic Republic on 5 October 1910 there was a marked change as far as educational facilities were concerned. The Portuguese had introduced religious discrimination, putting the Hindus at a disadvantage in the religious, educational and social fields, and that continued till the establishment of the Republic in 1910. With the Republic, education was open to all, irrespective of caste or creed. Dr. Antonio de Noronha, the then Chief Justice of Goa High Court, wrote the following in '*Os Hindus de Goa e a Republica Portuguesa*',

Here in Goa the Republic destroyed forever the barrier which rose up before the Hindus for religious motives. They now rush in large numbers just like water confined by a dam, when the dykes are thrown open; attend schools in ever increasing numbers, constitute themselves into associations, open schools, establish libraries, take an active part in public life (quoted in Varde 1977: 89).

Though the government did not make much efforts to establish many Marathi schools, private Marathi primary schools 'run by the Hindu community to satisfy their cultural and religious needs' (Varde 1977: 90) took a leap forward from the beginning of the Republican regime (Kamat 2002: 52; Correia-Afonso 1987: 213). Hindus, generally, would first learn Marathi, spending five years in Marathi primary schools, even when primary schooling in Portuguese was compulsory, and subsequently attend English or Portuguese secondary schools (Newman 2001: 61; Varde 1977: 90; Angle 1994: 70).

At the beginning of Republican rule there were 7 Marathi government primary schools. In 1920-21 the government Marathi medium schools became 8 with an increase of just one more school (Malvankar 2002: 91; Varde 1977: 88). However, apart from the government primary schools there were also private primary schools in Marathi set up by some academically conscious individuals through forming societies or institutions. Some

of them, Mustifund Sauntha, Saraswat Vidyalaya, Goa Vidya Prasarak Mandal, Damodar Vidyalaya, with their dedicated services, are still major contributors in the field of education. The number of such privately run Marathi medium primary schools in 1920-21 was 66. This movement for Education in Marathi began during the last decades of the 19th century and became more and more consolidated during the Republican period. In 1924 when a delegation of eminent persons represented the case of Marathi education, the Governor-General Jaime de Castro Moraes was sympathetic towards their cause and promised to extend financial help to them (Kamat 2002: 59-60). The Hindus also managed to evolve a scheme to get support from local temple funds for the Marathi schools. Thus, by the time of Goa's liberation there were 4 government primary schools in Marathi with 125 students; and 167 registered non-government private primary schools with an enrolment of 16220 totalling to 16345 students. Varde also claims that there were about 100 unregistered Marathi private primary schools not registered in the Education Department (Varde 1977: 91- 92).

Soon after liberation, that is, in 1963, the MGP came to power and took 'an anti-Konkani, caste and religion based mergerist position designed to wipe Goa from the cultural and political map' (Newman 2001: 66). The MGP and its supporters claimed that the language of Goa was Marathi and Konkani, a non-language and a useless dialect. The administration headed by late Bhusaheb Bandodkar and later by his daughter Shashikala, promoted Marathi as the language of government and education (Rubinoff 1992: 476; Newman 2001: 68). From 1963 to 1980, the MGP continued in office and 'quietly, silently, insidiously, surreptitiously, deviously' took over the education in the state (*Herald*, Panjim, 24 May 1990: 2). In fact a vast majority of the Marathi schools

owe their existence to the policy followed by the MGP in the 60s (*Goa Today*, Vol. XXIV No. 11, Panjim, June 1990: 5; Malvankar 2002: 98). As it was earlier, with the opening of new schools in Marathi, there was a huge demand for teachers in schools and hence 'Marathi teachers and textbooks flooded in from neighbouring Maharashtra' (Mauzo and Cota 2004). However in the 80s things began to change for Marathi: It was claimed that Marathi students were losing to English schools - which were attracting students from all backgrounds, whether religious or caste and class - at a rate of approximately 2000 students per year (*Herald*, Panjim, 16 June 1990: 1). The total number of pupils in all Marathi medium schools which was 78,607 in 1980-81 reduced drastically to 58,310 in 1989-90 (*Goa Today*, Panjim, July 1990: 13).

In 1990, the Progressive Democratic Front, at the helm of affairs of Goa's government, decided to provide financial grants to primary schools conducting education in the regional languages and denying grants to English medium primary schools. With this policy in force, the fast decline in the enrolment of Marathi students has been contained to a great extent.

MOBILITY ASPIRATIONS AND ENGLISH EDUCATION

Education in Portuguese, in a way, was forced on the Goans directly and indirectly through a number of incentives ranging from government jobs and economic rewards to acquiring a high social status in the Goan society being attached to it. The Konkani language speakers themselves, especially the elite, did not opt for the Konkani language in education: the Catholics preferring Portuguese education and the Hindus opting for Marathi education (Newman 1999: 20). Hindus longed for Marathi education, as Marathi was mistakenly associated with the Hindu religion. The circumstances that led to a desire

for English education among the Goans are completely different depending more on the push and pull factors operational in Goa at that time.

Though English men, like Thomas Stephens, had lived and worked in Goa from the 16th century at least, the dissemination of the English language may be traced to the time when, because of Napoleonic wars, the British troops were stationed in Goa for about 16 years (Correia-Afonso 1987: 210). In 1801 the Governor of Bombay Jonathan Duncan dispatched seven warships with troops under the command of Colonel William Clark on the pretext of protecting the territory from any possible attack by the French. Later the garrison grew in number exceeding 3000 (De Souza 1975: 10). During the stay of the British troops, English language must have been used by these troops in communicating with at least some local people, who also must have picked up some English given the number of years in mutual contact. The occupation of Goa by the English troops also paved the way for the beginning of Goan migration to Bombay and other places as the English Officers took along with them their subordinate staff whose services they had come to appreciate. Initially, therefore, the domestic staff must have migrated along with the British Officers, but later others too followed (Correia-Afonso 1987: 211).

Correia-Afonso (1987: 212) says it is difficult to give a precise date when the study of English began in Goa but conjectures that private lessons must have been sought by prospective migrants, and taught by 'Bombay-returned' Goans. He also presumes that 'there must have been a fair number of Goans who understood English at that time' as even at that period in 1885 a weekly 'Times of Goa' was launched by a priest, Fr. A. F. X. Alvares.

Some of the Portuguese Governor-Generals introduced very progressive policies. J J. Lopes de Lima is one among those Governor Generals, who considering the universality of the English language in India, by his Ordinance dated the 13 February 1841 introduced two classes, one in French and the other in English at the Military Academy at Panjim (De Souza 1975: 10).

In a little more than a decade, that is in 1854, a great number of residents of Bardez made a representation to the then Governor-General Visconde de Villa de Ourem that an English school may be established in Bardez so that the residents of Bardez, who could not attend the English School in Panjim because of the distance involved, may benefit from the school. While in Goa the economic conditions were deteriorating, in Bombay and other towns and cities in the neighbourhood employment opportunities were created. Bombay, Calcutta, Karachi being port cities would provide access to jobs on steamships, which was the major mode of travel during that time. Both on board 'the ships and in various parts of India there was a considerable demand for cooks, waiters, butlers, ayas, tailors and musicians who could cater to European needs' (Mascarenhas-Keyes 1990: 244). It must be noted that a small number of Goans also acquired white-collar jobs. Hindus also, though a proportionately smaller number, migrated to the neighbouring parts of India, not so much overseas. One of the obvious requirements for migration was the English language, which must have forced the residents of Bardez to make a representation to the Governor-General, who by his Ordinance No. 88 dated 29 September 1854 established an English school in Mapusa, the first English school established in Goa (De Souza 1975: 10).

The Governor-General Jose Ferreira Pestana established yet another English school in Margao on 17 March 1869. However, after some time, these English primary schools ceased to function and were incorporated in the other government schools of Panjim, Margao and Mapusa (De Souza 1975: 10).

The linking of Goa to British India by rail in 1881 further increased Goan migration, facilitating the movement of the population of Salcete to Hubli, Belgaum, Poona and Bombay (Correia-Afonso 1987: 211). Also, at the turn of the twentieth century, there was a considerable demand for manual and white-collar workers in both the Portuguese, particularly Mozambique, and the British colonies in East Africa (Mascarenhas-Keyes 1987: 245). As the Goan emigration gradually kept on increasing the increasing need for English education became all the more imperative.

The Bardez taluka gave the lead in establishing some of the earliest English schools in Goa. It is reported that Fr. Lyons (not a priest but belonged to the Society of Jesus of Bombay which he had left as he suffered from some incurable eczema), a native of Dharwar, came to Goa in November 1882 and was residing at Calangute. He taught at St. Joseph's School attached to his residence. The school was first transferred to Siolim on 8 January 1883 and subsequently, in 1886 to Arpora, where he founded the St. Joseph's High School. He was the pioneer of High School education in Goa. In 1900 this school was given permission to send its students to Bombay to answer the Matriculation examination of the University of Bombay. The Governor-General recognising the contribution of the school towards emigration granted it a monthly subsidy of Rs.15/- but the condition for being eligible to receive the grant was establishment of a Portuguese class in the school. This school was like a nursery from which many other schools sprang

up (Correia-Afonso 1987: 213; De Souza 1975: 10). English schools went on expanding slowly and steadily from the latter half of the 19th through the 20th century.

Soon on the heels of St. Joseph's School in Arpora came St. Xavier's School of Assagao, established by some enthusiastic villagers under the leadership of Fr. Diogo Xavier Souza in 1896. The school had Ligorio Monteiro as its Headmaster, who was formerly a teacher at St. Xavier's High School, Bombay. It also had able teachers who led the school to make rapid progress and within a year of its establishment, it had 195 students with 25 boarders from several villages of Bardez. Two years later the rented building from where the school functioned could not accommodate the increasing number of students attracted by the school and there was a plan to build a spacious structure that would be sufficient for about 400 to 500 students and 50 boarders. Later in 1904, however, the school was closed for reasons not known, but during the short span of its existence it achieved a brilliant record (De Souza 1975: 20).

Salcete was not very much behind in establishing an English school. Mr. Roque Santana Gracias founded the Union High School in Margao on 13 July 1899 catering to students from the neighbouring villages. The school grew in strength, but after the death of its founder, it was handed over in 1932 to the Archdiocese of Goa which changed its name to St. Theotoniuss High School. It was again transferred to the management of the Society of Jesus on 11 July 1944, which changed the name of the school again to Loyola High School (De Souza 1975: 20).

In 1903 a report from a school in Saligao stated that the prosperity of Goans depends on migration that was facilitated by the knowledge of English. Emigration led to remittances to families back home in Goa vitally contributing to Goa's economy

(Sequeira 1903). Thus, subsequently, many more English schools were established to cater to the needs of the aspiring migrants, particularly in Bardez Taluka. Some of them rose to become High Schools. They are: 'St. Anthony's High School' in Monte de Guirim in 1904, 'Mater Dei Institution' of Saligao founded on 12 July 1909, and 'High School of the Sacred Heart of Jesus' founded in 1912 (De Souza 1975: 20).

The First World War contributed to the increase in the migratory wave by creating a need for all types of jobs, to such an extent that 'the number of Goan seaman in Bombay rose from 7500 before the war to 12000 during it' (Correia-Afonso 1987: 211). From then on it became necessary to emigrate if one wanted to improve the standard of life in Goa.

The English schools opened the doors, both to higher education and migration to British India, England and British Colonies in Africa and later in America and Canada. Migration was always in search of remunerative employment. The migrant, especially those who had gone earlier, became pace setters. The migrants, with their letters, their periodic visits, their ostentatious display of wealth, overall the visible evidence of 'coming up' in life, served as a reference group for others to imitate. The children of the international migrants, brought up with anticipatory socialisation, were predisposed to migration, much more than the others. In fact as Stella Mascarenhas-Keyes (1990: 247) writes, there was 'reproduction of international migration' which 'was characterised not only by geographical mobility but also occupational mobility as an increasing number of young people took up skilled manual and white collar jobs'. Western education, which would equip the child with internationally marketable linguistic and literary skills, was seen as an investment due to the many job opportunities with high salaries that existed

outside. Thus, the demand for English language in Portuguese Goa led to the establishment of many English schools. Goan children also patronised the English schools in the neighbouring towns and cities of Bombay, Poona and Belgaum.

In the 1920s the number of English schools kept on increasing in response to the needs of emigration (Varde 1977: 90; De Souza 1975: 20), while the number of students in Government schools declined considerably. Thus, on the one hand, a limited sector of the Goan population leaned on Portuguese studies to secure government jobs, on the other hand, the other and bigger sector aspiring to migrate to British India and to countries abroad opted for English education. With such an increase of English schools and the enrolment in them, the Government of Portuguese India feared the denationalisation of Goans – alienation of Goans from Portuguese India and to counter it introduced in 1929 a bill prohibiting the admission of students in English school before their passing the *Primeiro Grau* or the third standard in Portuguese. The English schools could also teach a Portuguese class in which the students had to be declared successful before being promoted to the V standard of English (De Souza 1975: 20). Despite such hiccups and obstacles in the path of English education, by 1950 there were about twenty-five schools in Goa whose students appeared for Senior School Certificate Exam of the Poona Board (Rodrigues 1999). In 1959 out of the 92 secondary schools, with an enrolment of 14290 students, only four schools were in Portuguese, the rest being in English medium (Correia-Afonso 1987: 209). The English schools went on progressing in number and in 1961 there were as many as 120 English schools maintaining a high standard of efficiency (De Souza 1975: 20). So much so that the last Governor-General,

Manuel Antonio Vassalo e Silva, when touring rural Goa, was dismayed at the large number of English medium primary schools in Goa (Newman 2001: 61).

Within six months of liberation two colleges, managed by the Dhempes and Chowgules, respectively, were started. In 1963-64, there emerged St Xavier's College and Nirmala Institute of Education. The Escola Medica was upgraded to two full-fledged Colleges, the Medical College and the Pharmacy College. Carmel College of Nuvem was started in 1964, the Dempo College of Commerce in 1966 and the MES College in 1972. All these colleges are run in English medium and the Colleges that have been established later are also conducted in English medium. At the erstwhile Centre for Postgraduate Instruction and Research and later at the Goa University also the medium of instruction has always been English.

In 1990 when the Progressive Democratic Front (PDF) government decided to fund only those primary schools with regional languages as medium of instruction, and not to give grants to English medium primary schools, there were as many as 42 percent children in these English schools (See Table 5.8).

While there was a constant decrease in the enrolment in Marathi medium for a number of years before the 1990 education policy, there was almost a regular increase in the enrolment in English medium schools. Martins (1990b: 2) portrayed the painful situation of the parents who were adversely affected by the policy. He said the education policy undermined 'the cultural fact that the majority of English-medium educated parents of the post-liberation era, both in north and south Goa, would by all means prefer their children to study in English-medium schools'. After almost three decades of English primary, secondary, higher secondary and tertiary education, English has spread

and has become, in a sense, the linguistic cultural capital among all sections of the Goan society. Desai (2002: 142) laments that the language leaders have failed to see that reality. He further said that English has become the language of mobility and future prospects, and has been recognised as such by parents irrespective of their social background. From the nursery stage to the higher levels of learning, almost everyone aspires for admissions for their children in English medium schools.

Later the government partially amended the education policy, allowing the establishment of English medium schools, which, however, would not be entitled for any government grants. Fees are prohibitive in these schools and yet there are many parents who opt to have their children educated in these expensive schools. A cursory glance at the number of students in different media confirms the demand for English medium schools. For instance, in 1994-95, the 13 English schools had 10793 students with an average of 830 students per school, the 239 Konkani schools had 29288 students having an average of 122 students per school and the 1028 Marathi schools had 55122 students with an average of only 54 students per school (Barbosa 1995: 58). Botelho (2002: 231) also indicates a pronounced preference for English medium education in both the Old and the New Conquests. Matsukawa (2002: 138) suggests that Goans, 'regardless of religious affiliation, caste or economic status,' are opting for English as they have realised its potentialities for jobs. Sardesai (2004: 50) points out that the prestigious private medium schools are all those which are conducted in English medium. She also describes parents as 'practical minded' since they choose to educate their children in English, which they feel is the 'actual language of the stomach'. Cardozo (2006: 24) describes the present education scenario in which 'poor people' prefer English education for their children.

The elite can choose freely according to their preferences but the poor, compelled by circumstances, have no freedom of choice of medium, creating an educational divide among the Goans. Thus different studies have emphasised the preference of Goan parents for English medium schooling of their children. Irrespective of religious affiliation, social and economic status, political and linguistic loyalties, there prevails a desire for English medium primary schooling. There are some parents who prefer other languages – their numbers, however, are certainly incomparable to the ones who prefer English medium primary schooling for their children.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Portuguese was imposed during the Portuguese rule and the outcome was the alarming illiteracy prevalent in the region. Barring few from the elite section belonging to both the Catholics and the Hindus, Portuguese education never took off. The lower sections of the society, Hindus and Catholics, even if they did go to school, were hardly educated. The Portuguese education system focussed on primary education and most of the common people did not study beyond the primary classes.

There was no education in Konkani medium in government schools till the liberation of Goa. The few classes that were held during the Portuguese times in the parish schools were meant more for imparting Christian doctrine than widening the pupils' intellectual horizons. Towards the end of the Portuguese rule, the number of schools that carried on Konkani classes in the primary sections of English schools was negligible. The government never gave importance to Konkani schools nor did the people feel Konkani schools to be of any value to them in the job market.

Marathi education with Marathi government schools began towards the last quarter of the 19th century. Besides the government primary schools, which, however, were not many, there were also private Marathi primary schools, set up by Hindu Educational Societies, formed to further their cultural and religious interests. Private Marathi primary schools increased drastically from the Republican period as the Hindus rushed to schools in the society that was freed from religious discrimination prevalent till then. A number of Marathi schools sprang up. Hindus, true to their devotion to Marathi or the association of Marathi with the Hindu religion, went to Marathi schools even when Portuguese primary schooling was compulsory. Portuguese was required to be eligible to join the secondary, whether in English or Portuguese. That sense of devotion to Marathi and the conviction that Hindu religious beliefs are taken care of in the Marathi primary schools are responsible, to a great extent, for the continued choice of Marathi schools even today.

The deterioration of economic conditions in Goa, the job opportunities in British India and British colonies abroad, created a demand for English education in Goa. From the 19th century the attraction to migrate has never diminished, but on the contrary there has been a 'reproduction of international migration', all the while multiplying the demand for English education in Goa. The increasing value of English as language of higher education and general administration in Goa, as a link language in India and an international commercial language, has only added to the incentives already internalised by the Goan people across religion, castes, classes and linguistic affiliations.

While the Portuguese tried to impose the Portuguese language on the people, only the elite pursued higher education in Portuguese. The rest of the population, if at all they

went to school, dropped out even before the completion of the primary stage. They knew little more than writing and signing their name. Today Konkani and Marathi have been imposed in a number of schools, where the parents might have preferred English. As in the past the elite attended Portuguese schools, today also the elite, the middle classes and the neo-rich opt for English medium schools, not Konkani and Marathi medium schools imposed by the government. Attached to English medium is also some amount of social status that parents enjoy which does not accompany enrolment of children in Konkani or Marathi medium schools. From among the Christians, a few (elite, middle classes and the neo-rich) send their children to Konkani schools not because they desire their education to be in Konkani but because of the standard and reputation of the school concerned or because there is no English school in the vicinity, etc. Most of the Christians who enrol their children in government Konkani schools or other parish schools do so most unwillingly, forced by financial or other difficulties.

With regard to Hindus, a few from the Saraswat community, and still fewer from the middle classes desire their children to learn in Konkani, as they consider it to be their mother tongue. Most Hindu children attend Marathi schools more than Konkani schools out of 'devotion', as they still associate Marathi language with their religion. They do not attend English schools because of financial difficulties and absence of English schools in the neighbourhood (see Table 5.9). History is being repeated. The reality today is similar to the past where one language, Portuguese, was imposed by the government in education, and the people desired education in other languages (Marathi and English).

Today, the government is promoting regional languages but people by and large prefer English, even though the enrolment in Konkani and Marathi is much more than in

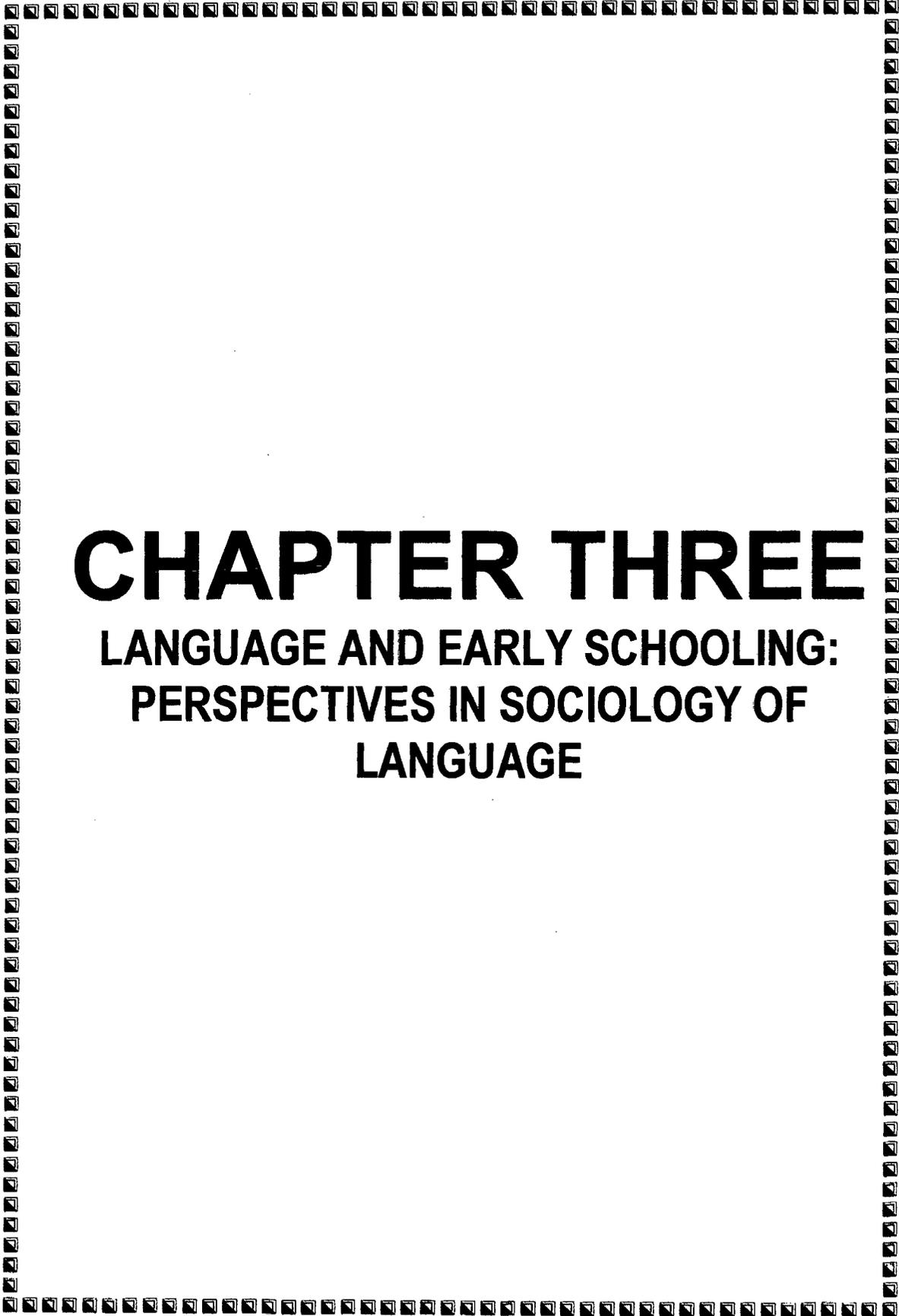
English. The preference of people, and what objective factors and subjective motives compel people to make particular choices as regards medium of education of their children at the primary level, will be discussed in the fourth chapter, but before that the theoretical inputs from the review of literature in language and education will be examined as a prelude to the presentation of primary data based themes.

NOTES

1. There is a noticeable difference between the written language and the spoken varieties of the Konkani language. Goan Hindus and Christians speak Konkani but with different intonations and peculiarities of the language. Goan Konkani differs not only across religions, but also across talukas. Goans, belonging to different geographical regions, religion, castes and tribes speak many and varied dialects of Konkani. Differences among the Konkani dialects may be traced to the policies of the erstwhile Portuguese regime (Almeida 1989). Almeida claims that there must have been two important dialects in Goa before the 16th century: 'the northern or Bardes (N) dialect and the southern or Salcete (S) one' (*ibid.*: 8). Religious persecution and other factors during the early years of Portuguese rule forced many Hindus to the neighbouring Maharashtra in the North and Kanara in the South. Later, many of the migrants returned to their homeland. According to Almeida (1989: 8), 'the Hindus of N came back to Goa and some of these families settled down in South Goa. As a result, a remarkable blend of dialects can be observed today'. The dialects of Konkani have been strongly influenced by contact with other languages. The Portuguese language has affected the spoken and written Konkani in the mainland of Goa as a number of Portuguese words have been borrowed and incorporated into Konkani, especially in the Old Conquest. Konkani has also been influenced by Marathi, the literary language of most educated Hindus (Almeida 1989: 8). Konkani speaking Catholics make use of Romanised, at times Portuguese words to express Konkani vocables and also write in Roman script. The Hindus are more at home in the Devanagari script. Pronunciation among Catholics and Hindus, therefore, differs considerably. Use of different scripts has been a hurdle on the path of standardisation of Konkani language. Further, the Devanagari Konkani followed in educational institutions is the dialect of Saraswat Hindus, which, according to Narayan (2006: 5) not only Catholics, but also Bahujan Samaj find difficult to follow. There are dialectal differences based on religion and caste, noticeable especially at the extremes. The Scheduled castes, tribes and OBCs, for instance, also have a distinctive pattern. In Goa, primary schooling begins at the age of five and a half years. By this age the child is well grounded in the dialectal form of Konkani peculiar to the caste, creed, region, etc., and spoken in the household. He/she is habituated to speak in a particular dialect and even if there are no major linguistic differences between the standard and the dialectal forms of language, switching over to the school version of the standard language from the home dialect does not seem to be an easy task. The pupils are confronted by a language variety

considerably different from what they speak at home. Their parents are not familiar with the school variety and hence find it difficult to tutor them. The choice of Konkani medium at primary level becomes difficult due to these dialectal differences and a lack of common standard dialect in Goa.

2. It is to be noted that Shennoi Goenbab (Pereira 1971: 67) used this very fact to contradict the Marathists' argument against them: if Marathi were really the native language of Goans then the Goans would not have needed men from above the *ghats* to teach them.



CHAPTER THREE

LANGUAGE AND EARLY SCHOOLING: PERSPECTIVES IN SOCIOLOGY OF LANGUAGE

CHAPTER III

LANGUAGE AND EARLY SCHOOLING: PERSPECTIVES IN SOCIOLOGY OF LANGUAGE

From what has been discussed in the last chapter it is evident that Goa has had a unique political, religious, linguistic and educational history. The Portuguese conquered Goa much earlier than the British set foot in India. Lusitanisation was more vigorously pursued in Goa than the process of Anglicisation in the Indian subcontinent. A strong nexus existed between the State and Church, not much noticed in the British India provinces. Liberation itself became a reality almost fifteen years after India's independence. All these aspects have affected the socio-cultural fabric of the Goan society in a profound manner. The intimate linkages between the church, education and language in Goa had tremendous repercussions on the linguistic scene in Goa, which make it stand quite apart in comparison with language in education in the other Indian states.

Though Portuguese education was strongly imposed, Portuguese never really acquired a foothold, except among a few elite in Goa. Though still valued as a spoken language socially, a few years after liberation, Portuguese disappeared as a medium of instruction in Goa. While the majority of Christians, for whom the Church, State and education went hand-in-hand, studied in the parish schools generally conducted in the Portuguese medium, the Hindus, especially after the Republic in 1910, rushed to Marathi private or government schools. After liberation both, the Christians and Hindus enrolled their children in the English primary schools started by the Church as well as the government. Majority of the Hindus continued with Marathi medium schools associated with Hindu religion and '*samskaras*'. It must be noted that many new Marathi schools

were established by the first MGP government. As far as Konkani language is concerned, it always remained the spoken language of the common people, and was made use of, in church liturgy and folk theatre and written in Roman script among the Christians during the colonial times. Most of the Hindu Saraswats also spoke Konkani at home, however, Konkani in Devanagari was written by a few Hindus only towards the end of the Portuguese rule. Both before and after liberation, there were hardly any takers for Konkani as medium of instruction.

After liberation, the strong desire of the MGP, comprising generally of the Bahujan Samaj, was to deny Konkani the status of a language. Their agenda to merge Goa with Maharashtra brought together the Christians and the Saraswat Hindus in their fight against the pro-merger forces. The pro-Konkani forces won the Opinion Poll, later obtained recognition of Konkani by the Sahitya Academy, and succeeded in securing for Konkani in the Devanagari script, the official language status. In the bargain the Marathi protagonists and the *Marathiwadis* also managed to retain the use of Marathi for administrative purposes. Three years after Konkani was declared the official language of Goa, in 1987, Goans got embroiled in another linguistic imbroglio provoked by the Education Policy of 1990. Politicisation of education is not uncommon in India as Jayaram (1993: 113) wrote 'language policy in education in India has been more a matter of political bargain and choice than of academic requirements and practical considerations.' The political parties in Goa have used the education system for ends extraneous to education. The education policy (1990) denied grants-in-aid to English medium schools leading to a switchover from English to Konkani medium in the many Diocesan and a few government schools. The same policy revitalised the dwindling

government Marathi primary schools in the state and paved the way for the proliferation of English medium private schools, more as profit-making, than charitable institutions. They did so with an entirely different objective from that which motivated the earlier post-liberation private primary schools run by the Church. The colonial legacy and forty-five years of post-liberation conflicts have configured the relationship between the people of Goa and the languages in a unique manner².

With this in background, an attempt has been made to examine the ways in which social scientists have studied the phenomenon of language and early schooling. Their conceptual schemes will facilitate description, analysis and interpretation of empirical events. Their insights will help the researcher in making sense of the issue dealt with: language, early schooling and society. For more than half of the last century up to now, educational policy makers throughout the world have introduced a number of reforms to increase academic achievement. It is contended, however, that sociological research on education has often been overlooked and most of educational policy is bereft of benefits from the insights and conclusions of such research (Cookson 1987 cited in Levinson and Sadovnik 2002: 1). This review chapter intends to bring out the value of theory and research in sociology of language and in sociolinguistics in understanding the complex issues facing educational systems as well as indicate the complexity of the relationship among language, education, and society, which the educational policy makers, often, tend to disregard.

LANGUAGE, EDUCATION POLICY AND CIVIL SOCIETY

The focus in this section will be on examining language and early schooling primarily from the perspective of sociolinguistics and sociology of language. Language as a means

of communication is something that is usually taken for granted. It is only when one realises that one's language is different from, and less valued than, others' language/s, that one's options are limited due to one's language - one tends to be more involved in language and language related issues.

Families, neighbourhood, schools, workplaces are all sites where language policies determine the language/s spoken and label them as good and acceptable or bad and unacceptable, appropriate or inappropriate. It is research in language policies that will contribute to understanding of how language policies, explicit or implicit, are instrumental in creating language hierarchy and oppose or reinforce social and economic inequalities in the society.

It must be noted that the term 'language policy' is sometimes interchangeably used with terms like 'language planning' and language-in-education policy (Baldauf 1990, 1994; Cooper 1989; Kaplan 1990; Rubin 1984 – all cited in Poon 2004: 53). Poon clarifies the two terms by stating that language planning is a macro-sociological activity restricted to governmental and national level only. Whereas language policy, according to her, could be both macro as well as micro-sociological activity, that is at the level of government or the institutional level (Poon 2000: 116-117 cited in Poon 2004:53). In the framework of hierarchical order of language planning and language policy, language planning assumes a higher order as specific language policies derive out of language planning.

The topic of language policy is found, in two stories, even in the very first book of the bible, that is, the book of Genesis. The first act of Adam in naming the animals is the work carried on today by language academies. Secondly, there is this incident narrated

about the tower of Babel, where God confounded the languages of the people and ‘decreed (and implemented) individual plurilingualism³ and social multilingualism’ (Spolsky 2004: 3-4). In fact there are different stories told of language policies followed in different countries. However, it becomes difficult to translate them into data that could lead to theory building because of the different types of information that is obtained. Some countries have their language policy incorporated in their constitutions or in law; others do not have them in that way. There are countries that require citizens to supply them information regarding the language/s spoken by them regularly in the census, thus providing data about the number of people who speak various languages, whereas there are other countries, which do not ask the question in their census. Even if the question is asked it is asked differently. Thus in the US, for instance, the question asked is ‘how many people grew up in a home where a language other than English was spoken’ while in Canada the question asked is ‘how many people are proficient in English’ (*ibid.* 4). Thus it becomes difficult to derive generalisations with accurate reliability.

As Spolsky (2004: 11) rightly says, language policy exists in the form of ‘official documents’, or ‘a clause in the national constitution, or a language law, or a cabinet document or an administrative regulation’. There are about 200 states⁴ in the world (Ricento 2006: 231). However, as Spolsky (2004:12) writes, only about 125 constitutions in the world have an explicit policy about language. About 100 from among these have one or more official languages, which enjoy special privileges as compared to the other languages in the state. About 78 states have opted for a single official or a national language, with 32 (of these 78) incorporating a clause that protects the minority and indigenous languages. There are 18 states where there are two official (e.g. Afghanistan

with Pashtu and Dari as official languages; Canada with English and French as official languages) or national languages, half of whom with protection for the minority languages. Further, there are five states in which there are three official languages (e.g. Belgium with French, Dutch and German languages as official languages) and four states with four official languages (e.g. Singapore recognises four official languages: Malay, Mandarin, Tamil and English). South Africa lists eleven official languages.

A number of states have no written constitution and even when there is one, there is no mention of language in them, but there are specific laws relating to languages in some of these states. There are also states where there are no explicit documents regarding language policy, as in England and United States, and one has to search for language practices and beliefs in a 'maze of customary practices, laws, regulations and court decisions (Spolsky 2004: 13). Mostly, language policies have emerged without much official intervention. More often than not, national language practices have evolved piecemeal combining law, custom, court decisions and other policy decisions. However, there seems to be a correlation between the language policy followed in a particular state and the linguistic and ethnic complexity of the state and scholars have attempted developing models based on such an assumption. Spolsky (2004: 58-59) for instance, based on the models presented by Lambert (1999) and Fishman (Fishman, Ferguson and Dasgupta 1968 and Fishman 1969), organised his presentation of language policy in his book (2004) using a model distinguishing 'three basic types of nation state: the monolingual (monoethnic), the dyadic (or triadic) and the mosaic or multiethnic'. The model of grouping countries and the language policies followed in the respective countries based on the degree of linguistic diversity constitute a useful heuristic device.

Language is intricately interwoven with all other aspects of social life. As a result a variety of perspectives ranging from political science, historiography, linguistics; ethnography and sociology, throw light on language policy in societal functioning. The different perspectives of the different sciences, briefly dealt in this chapter are only lenses assisting us in examining the role of language in social life.

Much of this chapter focuses on theoretical perspectives on language policy, as educational language policies are best seen as a subset of language policy and language planning (Paulston and Heidemann 2006: 292). One must accept at the beginning that there is no overarching theory of language policy. This is due to the complexity of the issues involved in language in society (Ricento 2006: 10). Though language policy has been studied for the last fifty years or more, writes Spolsky (2004: ix), there is no consensus about its theories or the terminology used. However, as Spolsky (*ibid.* 5) rightly points out, three components of language policy of a speech community may be distinguished: 'language practices – the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire; language beliefs or ideology – the beliefs about language and language use; and any specific efforts to modify or influence that practice by any kind of language intervention, planning or management'.

In the west, the ethnocentric view of the ideology of nation-states wherein national and linguistic identities were supposed to coincide emerged together with early industrialisation. This has prevailed to a large extent, till today, in many countries. The nation-state ideology and industrialization led to an ever-increasing need for formal education. It was believed that linguistic and educational homogenisation would produce a well-qualified workforce, at the same time, foster national unity. It resulted in the

official language being made the medium of instruction in the west (Europe and neo-Europe, e.g. Australia, Canada, New Zealand and United States), starting from the middle of the nineteenth century and continuing for over hundred years. The nation was assumed to be linguistically, culturally and socially homogenous community of an integrated population (Skutnabb-Kangas 1999: 43-44) and the nationalistic tendencies in the nation-state ideology were oriented to 'uplift' the linguistic minorities from their 'otherness'. Education for these minorities, if they attended school, included no concessions in terms of language. They were taught in the majority language as if that was their mother tongue.

In the 1950s and the 1960s the newly independent nations⁵ in Africa, South America and Asia wanted to develop their indigenous languages and for this task they engaged the expertise of the Western-trained linguists. Scholars trained in linguistics gathered data on many understudied languages advancing different theories beneficial to linguistics. In fact this traditional research also termed as 'neoclassical approach' by Tollefson (1991) assumed that language policies had a practical value of solving the problem of communication in the newly emerging multilingual states, as well as helping, both the linguistic majorities and the minorities therein, to enhance their social and economic opportunities (Eastman 1983 cited in Tollefson 2006: 42). The scholars were convinced that their research activities were beneficial to nation-building and national unification and, were seen as assisting modernization of the developing countries (Tollefson 2006:42). Language policy formulation followed the footsteps of the successful western nations, which they followed as universalistic models that would lead them to economic and national development. Thus, the ideal linguistic model followed in

the early stages of language policy formulation in these emerging nation-states was the colonizer's model of the world (Wiley 2006: 140). This model assumed that Europe or the West was the centre diffusing all human inventions of value to the less developed and underdeveloped periphery. At the macro level this technocratic view of language policy perceived linguistic diversity as socially deficient and causing social and economic backwardness. Linguistic unification and language standardisation were thus 'prescribed as panaceas for the socio-economic ills of "modernising" nations' (*ibid.* 143). They advocated that some major European languages like English or French should be used in formal and public domains like education and that the local languages could be utilised in other more private, informal and familial domains. They considered their views informing social policy, as 'non-political, non-ideological, pragmatic, and even technicist paradigm' (May 2006: 256). The ultimate aim of this language policy was to solve the language related problems of the newly emergent postcolonial⁶ states. However, the result, intended or otherwise, was the creation of stable diglossia wherein the local languages were marginalised and relegated to an inferior status and the erstwhile colonial languages were elevated to national and elite educational sectors and as public languages of wider communication thereby perpetuating the former stratified class based social structures prevalent during the colonial era.

In the late 1970s and continuing through the 1990s, scholars began questioning some of the assumptions which informed language policy in the 1950s and the 1960s. Especially, scholars influenced by critical and post-modern theory questioned many of the well accepted concepts such as 'mother tongue', 'native speaker' 'linguistic competence', central to the linguistic theories, and even considered them as inadequate in

examining the complex multilingual settings in different parts of the world. Even the term 'diglossia' used to describe the linguistic behaviour in many developing countries, was denounced as 'an ideological naturalisation of sociolinguistic arrangements' that perpetuated linguistic as well as societal inequalities (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994: 69 cited in Ricento 2006: 13). The socio-linguistic arrangements were seen not as inevitable and logical but as consequences of the ideologies of state formation. The scholars, then, considered the linguistic theories, which were adopted by language planners and policy makers, not as neutral, objective and scientific tools but as 'detrimental to the development of equitable language policies in complex multilingual settings' (Ricento 2006: 14). Luke, McHoul and Mey (1990: 26-27 cited in May 2006: 256) observe that though the language policy maintained 'a veneer of objectivity', it tended to avoid directly addressing social and political matters within which linguistic processes are embedded.

The policy of monolingualism that led to the imposition of a national language, as the necessary requisite for national unity and social and economic development of the new states - which, however, were characterised by multiple national and linguistic groups - was increasingly questioned. One must note that the model of linguistically homogeneous nation-state favoured by early research is a relatively recent historical phenomenon that arose from the French Revolution and European nationalism. In the course of history, different empires encompassed peoples of different cultures and languages and the rulers did not bother about the different languages so long as taxes due to them were paid. The idea of language as a prominent marker of national culture and the 'linguistic nation', involving individuals united or bonded by a national language,

developed in the eighteenth century and by the nineteenth century had spread throughout Europe. It was only after the French Revolution and the politics of European nationalism that languages became the leitmotif of political organisations around the world. Nation building projects necessitated creation or construction of a national language. In fact when the nation states of France, Italy and Germany were created, only a minority spoke their respective national language, which was but a creation, by the 'the same elite that constructed the nationalist ideology' (Safran 1999: 83), out of mutually unintelligible dialects in those states. In contrast to the optimistic traditional approach, critical language policy researchers argued that the language policies followed in the developing nations have furthered the interests of the majority or the dominant social groups of society or the elite at the cost of the minority. The interests of the majority, according to the critical scholars, are not obvious but camouflaged in hegemonic ideologies, which have become commonsensical ideas and are well accepted to this day. Thus, due to the interests of the elites the policies have not only created but also sustain various form of social inequality. Critical theorists espouse a practical intent, that of uncovering the systems of exploitation, specially hidden by ideologies and of overcoming them. Critical language policy research is, thus, concerned with hegemonic practices defined by Gramsci (1988) as 'institutional practices that ensure that power remains in the hands of the few' (Tollefson 2006:47). Ramanathan (1999), for example, describes how the institutional practices in education in India make English inaccessible to 'low-income learners, despite a discourse of English opportunity in Indian school' (*ibid.*).

Critical language policy researchers contend that power is implicit in the policy making process. The language policy of the state, according to them, is a major

mechanism by which the state aims at influencing the language behaviour of the individuals within it (Tollefson 1991 cited in Tollefson 2006: 46). They also claim that the dominant groups control the state and naturally the language policies adopted by the state are seen as serving the interests of these classes.

Further, this approach also questions two of the grand narratives in the area of language policy: linguistic imperialism and language rights. Linguistic imperialism is an attempt to explain how the languages of the ex-colonials, especially those of England and France, have been promoted in the ex-colonies and other countries, through their social, economic and educational domination and exploitation, all accomplished at the expense of the development of the indigenous languages. Phillipson (1992) used this conspiratorial theory of linguistic imperialism to explain the spread of English.

Fishman counters this theory saying English in ex-colonies is 'no longer as much a reflection of externally imposed hegemony ... as it is part of the everyday discourse of various...autonomous societies, all of whom are essentially following their own 'common sense needs and desires' (Fishman 1996: 639 quoted in Spolsky 2004: 87). This means that the socio-economic forces or factors that assist in diffusing English in different ex-colonies are indigenous, not necessarily connected with the West. Linguistic imperialism theory is also refuted on the bases of the spread of English even in countries without any British or colonial past. A number of authors comment on the growing importance of English, in the Basque country (Cenoz 1998: 175 quoted in Spolsky 2004: 87), in northern Europe where English has become almost the lingua franca (Hoffman 1998: 145-146 quoted in Spolsky 2004: 87), in Hungary, where English has remained

important though studying foreign language has declined there (Dornyei and Csizer 2002 quoted in Spolsky 2004: 87).

The idea of language rights or linguistic human rights, in fact, was stimulated by the model of linguistic imperialism to arrest the growth of 'big' or 'killer' languages that are indulging in linguistic genocide. Not all scholars, however, prefer to use the term genocide and instead use suicide. Spolsky (2004: 216) argues thus: 'whatever blame may reasonably be attached to language policies and social, economic, religious and political forces, it seems that the loss of linguistic diversity results less from linguistic genocide than from linguistic suicide. It must be noted that not all critical language policy researchers emphasise language rights; there are some who 'claim that arguments favouring language rights are essentially normative and ultimately subjective and moral (Brutt-Griffler 2002 cited in Tollefson 2006: 52). Language rights or linguistic human rights aim at maintaining heterogeneity and diversity of languages in the world. Both the linguistic imperialism and the language rights discourse, however, are constructing their critical frameworks from the very paradigms they intend criticising – the grand modernist project. According to Pennycook (2006: 69), the challenge is to move beyond the 'dichotomy between linguistic imperialism and language rights and try to understand in more mobile, fluid, and contextual ways how language resources are mobilised for different ends'.

Contrary to Phillipsons, De Swaan (2001 cited in Spolsky 2004: 88-89) speaks of the global language system wherein individual plurilingualism helps in connecting mutually unintelligible languages. He distinguishes between peripheral, central and super-central languages. Peripheral languages, used only for communication purposes

locally, encompass most of the languages of the world. About hundred languages occupy the central position and together they are used by about 95 percent of the world population. There are also many central language speakers who are plurilingually competent in one or the other of the peripheral languages. However, it is usually the case that the peripheral language speakers learn a central language, and the central language speakers learn the language that is placed at a higher hierarchical level, that is the super-central language. Some of the super-central languages are: Arabic, Chinese, English, French, German, Hindi, Japanese, Malay, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish and Swahili. He explains the dynamics of the global language system by using concepts from economics. He calls languages 'hypercollective goods, which are neither scarce nor are used up by use' (*ibid*). He also considers them as networks as they provide connections to those who use them. For him, choosing a language is an investment, which is more valuable the more other people use it. As in e-mail networks, the more users of the language, the more an individual tends to benefit. De Swaan has proposed a means by which one can calculate the value of a language both to its speakers and to those others who want to learn it. The worth or Q-value of the language, as he terms it, is based on its prevalence, that is, 'the number of people within a language constellation who speak it' and its centrality, that is, 'the number of people knowing another language who can use it to communicate' (Spolsky 2004: 89). Thus in Europe, for instance, though Germans have the highest number of native speakers, that is, its prevalence is high, English, though with a fewer native speakers, has many more speakers who speak it as a second language, thus, raising its centrality. In fact English is a central language for many regional systems helping 'Arabs to talk with Russians and francophones with Chinese' (*ibid*). Rather than

the conspiracy theory of Phillipson, Spolsky finds this model providing a stronger explanation of the world language. To him, 'the development of English in to a global language' is the result of 'local and individual language acquisition decisions, responding to changes in the complex ecology of the world's language system' (*ibid*).

While de Swaan's model referred to one kind of value, the Q-value, Bourdieu (1991), along with his notion of linguistic habitus (that governs both the language behaviour and the judgements regarding the value of languages), recognised different sources of value or capital as he terms them: economic, cultural and social, which together make up for the symbolic capital of a person. Spolsky (2004: 186) referring to these values writes that 'perhaps the way to capture the process of choice underlying language behaviour or practice is to assume a summary choice value, determining how the various values should be added up in a specific situation'. Thus he contends that while the Q-value explains the spread of English, other values of national or regional or local or religious could account for resistance to language shifts engendered by the Q-value.

In the light of the above, the perspective of ethnography constitutes an advance that can challenge the unilateral hold of dominant paradigms and ideologies. Ethnography develops grounded theories about language practised in localised contexts, in contrast to language policy formulated to influence the linguistic behaviour of the community and implemented in a top-down fashion according to the imperatives of the policy makers, According to Canagarajah (2006: 155), Helen Moore (1996), critiquing the language policy, argues that policy documents are ideological discourses with an objective to make reality conform to them rather than the other way round, that is, basing themselves on

reality. Even the successive policy documents are not necessarily advances that reflect the ground reality of linguistic behaviour more closely but are changing ideological priorities of the status quo. However, according to Canagarajah (2006: 154) there is a realisation that 'policy formulation and institutionalisation of linguistic practices' do take place even at the level of the local communities. Established policies are resisted, and alternative practices are constructed, which run parallel to the established policies transforming unequal relationships and are examples of 'language planning from the bottom up'. Researchers have found languages used in the classrooms defying monolingual policies. Teachers and students, exercising their agency and resisting unfavourable policies, perceptively use understandable codes and tap in to local knowledge to facilitate the learning process. Such studies have shown that there does exist some autonomy in the local contexts of schooling wherein the agents can negotiate the policy decisions in their own favour.

Schiffman (2006: 116) describes similar situations in South and Southeast Asia, especially in India, using the concept of linguistic culture⁷, which he sees as being made up of both overt (the explicit, written, de jure, official and "top-down" decision-making about language) and covert aspects (the implicit, unwritten, de facto, and unofficial ideas and assumptions influencing the outcomes of policy-making). He suggests that language policies are too often formulated in terms of

The explicit and the overt, while the cultural notions about language that influence the underlying ideas about language that are current in a particular culture (and which may also influence, sometimes rather profoundly, the implementation of language policies) are often ignored, or are treated as impediments that must be overcome. That is, policy-makers, if they are too confident that their explicit decisions are the correct ones, often see the implicit factors (which are more embedded in the unconscious linguistic culture) as

problematical, thwarting the well-intentioned plans of the decision-makers, who of course are only trying to do the 'right thing (ibid. 112).

Having looked at some perspectives on language policy from the point of view of the various disciplines, the next step is to focus on one of the important locales for language policy, that is, the school. The next section will deal with language education policy, also known as language acquisition policy (Spolsky 2004: 46). Language education policy or 'language-in-education' policy, as alluded to earlier, is a species of language policy in the realm of education' and the medium of instruction policy, that deals with instructional medium in the class, a species of language-in-education policy (Poon 2004: 54).

EDUCATION IN MOTHER TONGUE

The basic question that confronts the policy-maker in language education policy is that of the language that should be used as the medium of instruction. From the fifties, Governments, educators and parents have been profoundly influenced and have acted upon the UNESCO report, which declared:

It is axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child is his mother tongue. Psychologically, it is the best system of meaningful signs that in his mind works automatically for expression and understanding. Sociologically, it is a means of identification among members of the community to which he belongs. Educationally, he learns more quickly through it than through an unfamiliar linguistic medium (UNESCO 1953: 11 cited in Fasold 1984: 293).

Today, it is hardly necessary to reiterate the arguments in favour of mother tongue education, the rationale for which is the empowerment of the underprivileged groups. Many educators have adopted mother tongue education as it 'has proven pedagogical advantages over teaching in a second language' (Chan 2002:271). Skutnabb-Kangas (2004: 60-61) cites several large-scale longitudinal and methodologically extremely

careful studies from the United States in favour of mother tongue education (Ramirez *et al.* 1991 and Thomas & Collier 1997; 2002). The study conducted by Ramirez *et al.* (1990) compares three groups of students with Spanish-speaking background. The three groups were: a) English only b) Early-exit students and c) Late-exit students. The first group was taught in English medium only but had bilingual teachers. Spanish was taught to many of them as a subject, which is, however, very unusual in submersion⁸ programmes. The second group had one or two years of Spanish medium before being transferred to English medium education. The third group was taught in Spanish medium for four to six years and subsequently transferred to English medium. Contrary to the common-sense approach, which would suggest that those with more years of English would do well in English and educational achievement in general, the late-exit students achieved the best results with native levels of English later on and also did well in general school achievement. The study of Thomas and Collier examined 'full immersion'⁹ programmes in minority language, dual-medium or two-way bilingual programmes, where both a minority and majority language were used as medium of instruction, transitional¹⁰ bilingual education programmes, and so-called mainstream (i.e. English-only submersion) programmes' (Skutnabb-Kangas 2004: 61). In this study also, the students who had the mother tongue medium education for the maximum period of time attained 'the highest levels of both bilingualism and school achievement' (Skutnabb-Kangas 2004: 61-62). Yet another study (Skutnabb-Kangas 1987 cited in Skutnabb-Kangas 2004: 62), involving Finnish working class immigrant minorities in Sweden, achieved similar results. The two groups in the study were those with Finnish-medium education and Swedish control groups. After nine years of Finnish medium education

with Swedish as second language, the working class Finnish students achieved better results in Swedish language than even the Swedish middle-class control groups. Besides, the Finnish of these immigrants was also proved to be almost as good as the Finnish of the Finnish control groups in Finland. One can argue from the studies cited above that mother tongue medium of instruction during early schooling is obviously the appropriate one to be followed

There are, however, several researchers who argue differently. UNESCO argued that it was axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child was his mother tongue. But at the end of the same paragraph in which the above suggestion is made, one also finds a qualifying statement that reads, thus: 'it is not always possible to use the mother tongue in school and, even when possible, some factors may impede or condition its use' (UNESCO 1953: 11 cited in Paulston and Heidemann 2006: 298). UNESCO in 1953 had, therefore, realised the difficulties involved in implementing the mother tongue medium education. Though it is considered axiomatic to teach the child in the mother tongue there are studies, which, both directly and indirectly, contest the claim of the mother tongue medium education as the only approach to children's education.

There are a number of dissenting voices as regards difficulties in the application of the axiom on teaching in mother tongue is concerned. (Fasold: 1984; 1992; Gupta: 1994; Le Page: 1992; Slabbert: 1994 cited in Gupta 1997: 496). Fasold (1984: 296) poses three questions regarding education in the mother tongue: 1) Is it possible? 2) Does it work? 3) Is it worth it? To the question of providing every child in the world with mother tongue education, he says the answer is a clear 'no' as it involves a Herculean effort to provide educational materials and to educate teachers in scores or hundreds of languages.

He responds to the second question thus: 'Thirty years and numerous studies after the publication of the UNESCO report the unanimous opinion seems to be that nobody knows whether using the mother tongue as the medium is better than using a second language or not' (*ibid.* 298-299). He further adds, 'it is possible that mother tongue medium instruction is really *not* (emphasis in the original) a substantial advantage to children' (*ibid.* 303). Again citing a number of studies 'by MacNamara(1966), Dakin, Tiffen & Widdowson (1968), Engle (1975) and Tucker (1977)' who themselves had reviewed several studies, Fasold (1984: 312) concludes 'that the linguistic effects of teaching in mother tongue or second language are either not known or inconclusive' (cited in Dua 1990: 90). Thirdly, even if it were possible, and it did work, in reality, he says the 'setting up of a vernacular language to be used as an instructional medium is an expensive business. The benefits would have to be considerable to justify the cost' (Fasold 1984: 303).

Gupta (1997: 496) claims that 'there is no general rule that primary education should be in the mother tongue'. According to her, mother tongue education is often 'predicated upon some sort of ancestral definition of mother tongue' (*ibid.* 499), and many of the members of the modern generation, having experienced language shift, speak languages other than those spoken by their ancestors. She finds no justification in educating children in languages, ancestral or otherwise, which they do not speak. In fact she argues that in some language situations primary education in the mother tongue may not be desirable, for often it is language maintenance, which is at the root of the promotion of mother tongue education. She believes that '*empowerment of individuals should have primacy over the development of an individual's mother tongue and even*

over the preservation of a language (Gupta 1997:497) [emphasis in original]. Gupta illustrates the undesirability of mother tongue education referring to the two countries of Singapore and Malaysia. In neither country there is a requirement for children to have mother tongue education (if it were, it would be seen as denial of access to languages of privilege), but have 'a leading language and a runner-up language' (in Malaysia the most privileged language is Malay and the other privileged language is English while in Singapore they are English and Mandarin) and 'have been very successful in teaching the most privileged language in the schools' (*ibid.* 502). The children do not suffer emotionally or educationally by not receiving education in the mother tongue.

The scholars involved in the 'St. Lambert experiment' (Lambert and Tucker 1972) have 'empirically demonstrated through their immersion studies that children did not lose in any way if the medium of instruction was the second language' (cited in Srivastava 1990: 39). Other studies (Srivastava & Ramaswamy 1987; Srivastava, Ramaswamy & Devaki as cited in Srivastava 1990: 49-50) investigating the effect of medium of instruction, socio-economic status and sex on school achievement of secondary school students found that students from English medium achieved not only on 'par with the mother tongue medium group, but in some subjects even better than them'. Yet another study (Srivastava & Khatoon 1980) comparing two groups of Standard Eighth students, one from mother tongue medium and the other from English medium, found that the school achievement of these students was not due to the difference in the medium of education, but due to other factors like 'difference in teaching methods, materials and teaching aids used, the general school climate and the difference in selection and admission criteria' (Srivastava 1990: 49). Whilst writing on the formative

role of L1-medium education, Alexander (2004: 198) accepts 'that children can learn in any language which they know well enough' and that there are countless examples to prove the proposition. Thus, the possibility of early schooling in a language other than the mother tongue is not denied.

Besides, there are a number of difficulties in implementing mother tongue education. In linguistically homogenous societies, the choice of mother tongue in education is relatively straightforward and not contentious. In plural and multilingual societies, wherein two or more languages co-exist with variant forms of each of these languages, depending on geography, education, caste, creed and some other criteria, it becomes extremely difficult to precisely identify the mother tongue. The politics of ethnicity and identity make the task much more problematic. The concept of mother tongue, which has inspired many a poet to sing its glories, which has been vigorously promoted as the best medium of education by many governments, scholars and educators, is an elusive concept difficult to be defined in precise terms.

Mother tongue has been defined using a number of criteria as people use different criteria to identify a language as their 'mother tongue'. They are as follows: a) origin b) identification c) competence d) function. Accordingly, the language(s) one has learned first or the language(s) in which one has established the first long-lasting verbal contacts may be termed as mother tongue (s). The UNESCO committee of experts convened to consider the language of education worldwide defined *mother tongue* as 'the language, which a person acquires in early years and which normally becomes his natural instrument of thought and communication'(UNESCO 1968: 689-690 cited in Fasold 1984: 293). A few scholars also consider the language learnt without any formal training

as mother tongue. In multilingual situations, the intimate socialisation of the child may involve multiple languages. An implication of such a context is that the child may have more than one mother tongue (Pattanayak 1981: 127).

Also, mother tongue has also been defined in terms of identity - in terms of identifying oneself as being the native speaker of the language (internal identification), or the language with which others identify a person as being its native speaker (external identification). In the 1921 Czechoslovakian census using a hybrid category 'nationality (mother tongue)' made it clear that the term mother tongue referred to the group one descended from, notwithstanding the current language behaviour (Arel 2002:102). As Romaine (1989: 21) writes, Punjabi speaking Pakistanis, who reside in Britain, claim Urdu as their mother tongue and not Punjabi due to religious nationalism. One may claim a language as mother tongue by identification even when one has little or hardly any knowledge of the language or is not identified as the native speaker by other native speakers. There are also individuals who are more competent in one language but may consider another language, towards which he feels a stronger affective attachment as it was learned and used at home, as his mother tongue. It is the language that the individual identifies herself or himself with. Kertzer and Arel (2002: 27) state that 'mother tongue reflects less the language of an individual than the language of the nation to whom the individual is supposed to belong'.

Competence or the language one knows best is the third criterion. The 1950 Swiss census defined mother tongue as 'the language in which [the respondent] think[s] and which [s/he] masters best' (Levy 1964:261 cited in Arel 2002: 99). This definition postulates the mother tongue of a person may change in the course of his life, depending

on the language that the person masters. The definition provided by Finland in its 1940 and 1980 censuses is similar (McRae 1997: 83-84 cited in Arel 2002: 99). In the Prussian census mother tongue meant 'that language in which one is most fluent from childhood on and in which one thinks and also prays' (Kleeberg 1915: 67 cited in Arel 2002:100). There are some who may also claim to have more than one mother tongue, especially those who may feel they are equally competent in two languages. However, the people in powerless position have to struggle to validate the claim of their internal identification, as the claim to mother tongue has to be also defined and accepted by others. Usually, the censuses do not recognize the fact that someone may have more than one mother tongue.

Fourthly, mother tongue is also defined in terms of function or the language one uses most. Minority children often do not use their mother tongue as circumstances force them to use a second or foreign language in educational and other domains. Thus, parents and children may not have the same mother tongues. The last two criteria of competence and function, according to Skutnabb-Kangas, are reflective of 'cultural and institutional linguisticism'¹¹ (Skutnabb-Kangas 1990:10 cited in Hasnain 2001: 63), while the first two criteria of origin and identification, providing a better definition for mother tongue, also 'shows the highest degree of awareness of linguistic human rights.'

There are instances wherein these criteria are found in combination to explain the term mother tongue. Some other criteria, also, are used to define mother tongue. For instance, Hungary, in its 1890 census, defined the term 'mother tongue' as 'that language which you *recognize as your own* and which *you enjoy most speaking*' [emphasis researcher's] (Roth 1991: 142 cited in Arel 2002: 99). Again, Romaine (1989: 20) draws attention to communities in the Vaupes area of Columbia and Brazil, where the marriages

are linguistically exogamous in the sense that they cannot marry in one's own language group. The couples speak in their own language but understand each other's languages, as they are bilinguals in the language of the other. The groups are patrilineal; the fathers transmit their language to their children and the primary language or the mother tongue is the language of the father though the children may be fluent in the languages of both their parents. Further, one can also find examples of cases where the first language learned or spoken may not necessarily be designated as the mother tongue. In South Africa, for instance, it is common to find white children growing up with Zulu Nannies and speaking Zulu even before they speak English or Afrikaans.

Thus, the confusion and equivocation relating to mother tongue is evident from the meanings given by different scholars and other agents. As regards India, the 1881 census defined the term mother tongue as 'language spoken by the individual from the cradle' (cited in Pattanayak 1981: 47). The 1951 census also defined it 'as the language spoken from the cradle' (*ibid.* 48). The instructions given to the enumerators, in the 1961 census, state that the 'mother tongue is language spoken in the childhood by persons' mother. If the mother died in infancy write the language mostly spoken in the person's home in childhood' (*ibid.* 48). To Dasgupta, mother tongue is 'the language name that a speaker offers to a census enumerator, a name that often marks identity rather than realities of linguistic usage' (Dasgupta 2001: 14). Khubchandani (2001: 3) claims a speaker declares a language as his mother tongue depending on social identification and group loyalty and not so much on the speech used for primary communication. Pattanayak writes, 'mother tongue' can be 'either seen as a super-ordinated language system or as an institution affiliating home languages which are self-sustained entities'

(1981: 53). He adds, 'mother tongue is both a socio-linguistic reality and a product of the mythic consciousness of a people. It provides social and emotional identity to an individual with a speech community' (*ibid*: 54). In another of his writings he speaks of mother tongue thus: 'Places are not geographical concepts; they exist in people's consciousness. So does the concept of "mother tongue". It is not a language in the general sense of the word, neither is it a dialect. It is an identity signifier waiting to be explained' (1992).

Mother tongue/s thus is/are language/s first learnt without any formal training during the time of intimate socialization. However, it can also be a language system affiliating home languages or the language of the group one has descended from, making identity more important criteria in defining mother tongue than linguistic usage from childhood in one's home. The identification with the language could be for reasons of religious affiliations, competence, etc.

As a multilingual nation, India has many languages with each of them having its own speech variant. The major Indian languages, which are the media of instruction at the elementary as well as later stages of education, also comprise of many varieties. In this plurilingual context, mother tongue education becomes a highly controversial issue, for it is difficult to identify the mother tongue.

According to Rao (2000: 6), the National Policy on Education 1986 of the Government of India paved the way for broadly identifying one's mother tongue with the major regional language. Krishna (1991: 91) argues that mother tongue and regional language have become alternatives facilitating the states to introduce the regional language even in areas where the majority spoke a different tongue.

If this argument is accepted then the situation boils down to teaching many children in the regional language, which could be a variant of the home language or an altogether different language. This coincides with the broad interpretation of 'mother tongue' that was prevalent during the initial post-colonial period, when different expert bodies regarded all minority languages with no written tradition as dialects of the dominant language of the region, amounting 'to an implicit denial of equal rights to linguistic minorities on the grounds of practicability' (Khubchandani 2001: 4). Later, greater mobilisation on the part of linguistic minorities pressing for mother tongue education succeeded in getting the authorities to recognise the narrow interpretation of the term 'mother tongue', i.e. 'the language spoken from the cradle' (Khubchandani 1997: 294-295). However, the policies of the state governments, even today, only pay lip service to the narrow interpretation, all the while directing their resources to the development of the regional languages (fitting the broad definition of the term 'mother tongue), Hindi and English (*ibid.* 298-299)

Citing Pattanayak (1984), Krishna (1991: 91) writes that less than fifty of our languages are used as media of education at the primary level (see also Annamalai 2001: 46. This being the case, in a country with 1652 mother tongues, for a vast number of children, for various reasons, especially because of mobility aspirations which parents entertain, the difference between the home language and the school language tends to be much more than only dialectal difference, very often, the school language being an entirely new language altogether.

Standardisation of the mother tongue is another major difficulty with mother tongue education. What children speak at home is one or another of the local varieties

and they are expected to learn a standardised, official or national or regional medium of education followed in the school. Many of the local varieties are non-literate languages and what schools universally promote are literary languages. While exploring the promotion of rationally endorsed standardized languages, Illich (1979) concluded that such standardised languages diminished the values associated with local common languages (cited in Wiley 2006: 145). The standardisation process changes the mother tongues so much that people have to go to school to learn their mother tongues', which, as Hobsbawm (1987: 147) put it, are artificially constructed 'out of a jigsaw puzzle of local or regional dialects which constituted the non-literary languages as actually spoken'. Khubchandani (1981: 11) comments on the wide gap between the different speech varieties and the urban-based standards of literary languages which are imposed as *school* mother tongue. According to him, careful drilling in of the 'correct forms of standard regional speech and pronunciation' makes acquisition of literacy in such languages akin to 'learning a second language'. He also says that such a gap runs counter to the facility of expression of students through mother tongue education mentioned in the UNESCO report. It creates a serious communication gap, leading to large number of school dropouts in the country (*ibid.* 27). In fact the value system of the school rates the non-standard varieties of languages, which children speak at home, as grammatically incorrect and conceptually deficient¹² (*ibid.* 33).

Writing about the approach to mother tongue education, Nadkarni (1994: 132) says that it is 'so befogged with sentimentalism that it has become impossible for us to view problems of language planning in education in clear, pragmatic terms. Mother tongue medium education has become a magic formula instead of becoming the

foundation of a carefully planned educational edifice'. In the Indian context, the mother tongue rhetoric is used for several ulterior purposes other than that of education. While some consider the advocacy of mother tongue education as an effective countermove against Hindi domination, others are using it as an effective strategy in the power politics of regionalism branding those in the opposite camp as still under the colonial mentality of subservience to English.

Though mother tongue education has been introduced at the primary level in almost all states, and in others even at the higher levels, it is far from becoming the necessary gateway to careers and job opportunities in India. Lucrative jobs and career opportunities are available only to those proficient in the English language as English is the only effective interstate and intrastate language of bureaucracy and the language of large business establishments of national and multi-national companies. These firms/companies still judge the merit of an individual on the basis of English (Khubchandani 1981: 47). Mother tongue education enthusiasts, however, have dwelt solely on the emotional and cultural benefit of mother tongue education ignoring the economic interests of the mother-tongue speakers, who prefer English medium to fulfill them (Nadkarni 1994: 136). Languages are supposed to serve the social, developmental, scientific and economic interests of people and English, more than any other Indian language, serves, these interests better. English as instructional media that can bring about a higher competence in the language rather than teaching it only as a subject is strongly reinforced by the society. In fact the study of English as a medium of instruction has been transformed into a social value, which every parent, if they can afford, aspire to inculcate in their children. But only the children from higher social strata can afford this

education. It only perpetuates the elitist tradition and rule in the Indian educational system (see Srivastava 1990: 50). The emotional and cultural ties with the mother tongue can be maintained even without making mother tongue education compulsory but by introducing the mother tongue as a compulsory subject in the curriculum from the pre-primary at least up to the end of the secondary education.

The works reviewed above are relevant for our understanding of the Goan educational scenario. Soon after the liberation of Goa, a committee was appointed, in April 1962, under the chairmanship of Shri. B. N. Jha, the then Vice-Chancellor of Delhi University, 'to make a thorough review of the educational system prevailing in Goa, and to make recommendation for its integration with the system generally prevailing in the rest of India, at all levels of education' (Varde 1977: 93). Some of the recommendations approved by the Government for immediate implementation were: 'The medium of instruction in primary schools should be the mother tongue or any of the languages in the 8th schedule of the constitution, the choice being left to the guardian; The teaching of Konkani, if selected, should be through Devanagari script'; and 'Education should be free and compulsory for the age group 6-11' (*ibid.* 94).

After liberation and through the years, Marathi and English primary schools and enrolment within them increased phenomenally, while schools in the mother tongue never took off. According to the 1961 census Konkani was returned as their mother tongue by 84.3 percent of Goans. However, even as of 1989-90, before the government decided to restrict grants to primary level schools with regional languages as medium of instruction, only 216 children (0.20 percent) were enrolled in Konkani medium primary

level schools (See Table 2.1). From then on, due to compulsion, the enrolment in Konkani has increased tremendously.

However, an overwhelming number of parents are of the opinion that grants should be given to all schools (Botelho 2002: 231). Giving of grants to all schools, they feel, will give them more freedom to choose the medium of instruction they aspire for their children's early schooling. But at the same time it will also lead to a decline in enrolment in both, Marathi and Konkani medium schools. The next chapter will review perspectives in sociology of education to gain more insights on issues relating to education in Goa.

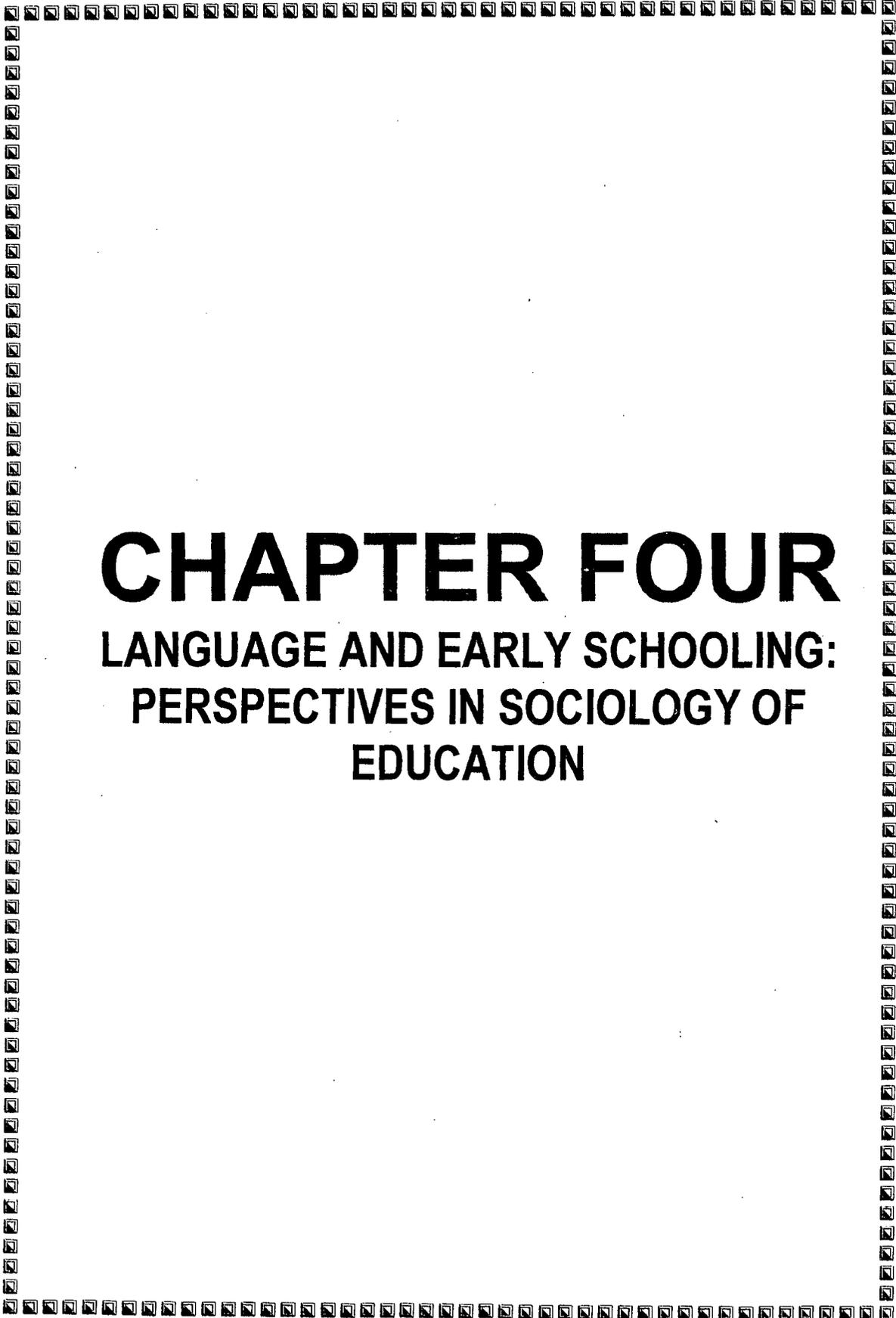
NOTES

1. The belief among some Hindus that Marathi schools will provide their children 'samskaras' or ethos of Hindu religion is akin to Bourdieu's linguistic 'habitus'. The linguistic habitus of these Hindus generates both practices and attitudes and is an outcome of the social background of the individual. It governs their language behaviour as well as judgements about the value of languages.
2. For the Goans the different languages have different significance and prestige. With English education being available from the pre-primary to the university level for the past forty years, it has become entrenched in the Goan psyche. Preference for English is marked across the board, among the Hindus, Christians and other communities of various castes and socio-economic levels, who recognise its academic, employment potentials and its ability to bring about a raise in socio-economic status. A sizeable section among the Hindus is inclined towards Marathi medium of education, as they themselves had primary education in Marathi or due to religious reasons. A small number of Hindus from different socio-economic levels and castes but especially from among the Saraswats, for reasons of identity, prefer Konkani education for their children. So also, some Christians prefer their children to study in Konkani medium for the same reasons. Thus, Goans are torn between the many pulls of mobility, identity and religion. These pulls along with other constraints of accessibility, finance, and protection and safety of children intensify the problematic task of choosing the language of instruction for their children's education
3. Spolsky (2004: 4) uses the term plurilingual to refer to the 'differentiated skills in several languages of an individual member' in a multilingual society. The term multilingual, according to him, refers to a society wherein a number of languages are spoken.

4. Languages outnumber states (about 200) in that the linguistic diversity in the world encompasses over 6000 living languages (Skutnabb-Kangas 2004:41; Robinson 2000: 169; Tucker 2003: 464). The highest linguistic diversity is found in Asia (about 33 percent), followed by Africa (30 percent), the Pacific (19 percent), The Americas (15 percent) and lastly Europe (3 percent). Most nations in the world are multilingual (Agnihotri 2001: 188) and one of the major language problems confronted by the educational policy makers in different nation-states is the choice of the medium of instruction (Paulston 2003: 394).
5. In the second half of the last century, a number of countries achieved their independence. A primary concern of these former colonies was to unitedly consolidate their embryonic states. Identifying one or more languages as 'official' or 'national' languages was one of the means of forging unity. Often, the choice involved 'typically English or French, which connote instrumentalism, modernisation and status quo' (Phillipson 1999: 95), and the claims of one or more local languages. Replacement of the European language with a local language meant 'decolonisation' in the post-colonial countries. In practice, however, the language hierarchies of the erstwhile colonial period prevailed with the European languages enjoying the highest position in the linguistic hierarchies.
6. According to Phillipson (1999), the world today has stepped beyond the post-colonial into the post-Communist, post national and supra-national world. In the post-Communist world, though Russian was downgraded and local language upgraded in the Commonwealth of Independent States, English is still seen as facilitating greatly the incorporation of the new post-Communist states in to the free market dominated by western interests. The post national world has been created by migrations from poorer countries to richer countries, bringing about new Diasporas and linguistic communities in all major cities in the west. A revitalisation process among speakers of indigenous minority languages, has forced states, fashioned on the myth of a linguistically uniform nation, e.g. Spain, Norway, Great Britain, to recognise multilingualism. The European Union (EU) is supra-national, since EU is 'an alliance that brings a number of nation-states together' (Phillipson 1999: 97). In each of these above contexts, speakers of specific languages compete for space and resources. In the pecking order of languages, those languages, which are supported by the state or in the supranational fora, used in official functions and in education expand, others, contract.
7. 'Linguistic culture ... by which I mean the sum total of ideas, values, beliefs, attitudes, prejudices, myths, religious structures, and all the other cultural ideas and expectations that South and Southeast Asia bring from their culture to their dealings with language' (Schiffman 1999: 431)
8. A submersion (also called sink-or-swim) programme is one in which children with a low-status mother tongue and forming a linguistic minority are forcibly instructed in a medium of a foreign majority language with a high status. This is a subtractive language-learning situation, as the majority language becomes a threat to the

children's mother tongue, which may be displaced (Skutnabb-Kangas 1999: 45-46). There is another variant of a submersion programme when powerless majority children are forcibly instructed through a foreign language with high status.

9. In an immersion programme linguistic majority children, enjoying a high status mother tongue voluntarily choose instruction in a foreign language. The children in the class are majority children. This is an additive language-learning situation
10. A transitional program involves instructing linguistic minority children through their low-status mother tongue for a few years and then transferring them (early-exit or late-exit) to a majority language programme
11. *Linguicism* is a term which Tove Skutnabb-Kangas coined ... to 'draw parallels between hierarchisation on the basis of 'race' or ethnicity (racism, ethnicism), gender (sexism) and language (**linguicism**). Just as racism studies were revitalised in the 1970s by Black scholars speaking from a Black perspective, **linguicism** studies attempt to put the sociology of language and education into a form, which furthers scrutiny of how language contributes to unequal access to societal power and how linguistic hierarchies operate and are legitimated' ... '**Linguicism** can be intralingual and interlingual. It exists among and between speakers of a language, when one dialect is privileged as a 'standard'. **Linguicism** exists between speakers of different languages in processes of resource allocation, of the vindication or vilification in discourse of one language rather than another — such as 'English as the language of modernity and progress', Cantonese as a mere dialect unsuited for a range of literate or societal functions, and any of the ubiquitous formulae for stigmatising, downgrading or invisibilising a language' (Phillipson 1997:239)
12. Paulston and Heidemann (2006:301) describe the consequences of such education thus: 'the result is not the intended outcome, but accounts of such failures are hard to come by in the literature'. It also creates an inferiority complex in the parents who have to teach the standardised version to their children. While the standardising agencies look for the prestige norm to implement the mother tongue education, the local speakers are forced to believe that their language variety is incorrect and inappropriate.



CHAPTER FOUR

LANGUAGE AND EARLY SCHOOLING: PERSPECTIVES IN SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION

CHAPTER IV

LANGUAGE AND EARLY SCHOOLING: PERSPECTIVES IN SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION

Schools play a crucial role in shaping our lives, especially in the context of the modern globalised world. Schooling, the major agency of socialisation, wherein the process of learning is in some way formalised or institutionalised, imparts information, skills, technical and other knowledge necessary to prepare children for adult life. The ever-increasing emphasis on compulsory schooling and the parents' anxiety and eagerness with respect to the children's school education show how school education has acquired a much greater importance as an appropriate means to help the child develop to her full potential.

One must note that schooling and education are not the same and hence not to be confused with each other, though such confusion exists. The antagonism, for instance, of many of the radicals is not toward education but toward schooling. 'Education is a "good thing" whilst schooling, which goes on in the contemporary education systems, should not be assumed to be a 'good thing' (Young & Whitty 1977: 1 cited in Demaine 1980: 28). That there are problems with schooling systems is evident from the fact that there are so many attempts to innovate and experiment with new types of schools. That is, schools which will be more sensitive to the child's needs and natural growth and where freedom, creativity, humanism, teacher-taught relationship will prevail.

In modern societies, to be called an educated person, one needs to be declared 'educated', that is, certified by schools as such. To achieve this, an individual has to attend school and be declared successful in the innumerable tests and examinations meant to evaluate one's cognitive development at different levels. Education, therefore, is

impossible without attending the institution called school. Education or what has to be learned, in contrast to the 'underdeveloped social groups' is in the form of abstract symbols, impossible to be learnt informally (Pathak 2002: 17). A formal educational institution with a planned curricula and professionals, capable of teaching these knowledge systems, therefore, becomes a necessity. Further, within the complexity of our modern society, the particularistic, personal and protective values of family and kinship need to be replaced by abstract and universalistic values so as to relate to the vast impersonal social order of the modern society. Schools, peopled by children from diverse families and professional teachers help in imparting these abstract and universalistic values without which the modern complex society cannot function (*ibid.* 20).

Cohen made a distinction between socialisation and education, the former involving an overemphasis on 'particularistic values of kinship' and the latter on universalistic values and considerations in shaping the mind of an individual. 'The development of schools – the institutionalised predominance of education over socialisation in the shaping of men's minds – is a characteristic feature of state societies' (Cohen 1971: 39 cited in Pathak 2002: 18). State societies and modern states thus promote the predominance of universalistic values designed to bring about 'the establishment of conformity to the aims and imperatives of a state system' (Cohen 1971: 41 cited in Pathak 2002: 19).

The traditional model of education, traceable to Plato and Aristotle, dominated the western educational tradition for more than two thousand years. In this model 'the state had a very decisive role in moulding children into desired citizen types – men of gold, silver and bronze, namely rulers, warriors and workers' (Bowen and Hobson 1974 cited

in Mirchandani 2003: 4). This view suffered a setback with Rousseau emphasising the need to adapt education to the child's needs and interests as 'it underlies an individual's autonomous and natural development' (Mirchandani 2003: 4). However, Rousseau's conception of education, too, had certain weaknesses, as it assumed that whatever was natural was best. It is extremely doubtful whether one should follow non-interference even when the child misbehaves, as the 'natural' is the best.

The origin of sociology of education as a specialised field of study is associated with the works of John Dewey and Emile Durkheim (Aikara 2004: 1). Sociology of education dealt with education as a social institution in interaction with other social institutions. Dewey recognised the relationship between the school and society. For him education meant the transmission and communication, of the 'habits of doing, thinking, and feeling', that is, the knowledge and customs of the group, by its adults to the younger generations (Dewey 1966: 3 cited in Pathak 2002: 16-17). He envisaged the type of school that would be able to produce people for a complete living in the world, for instance, one that would link education more closely to the world of work. According to Durkheim, the major function of education is the transmission of society's norms and values. School is, thus, an institution that contributes to the development of social cohesiveness and to a moral order (Pathak 2002: 26).

NECESSITY OF SCHOOLING AND ECONOMIC NATIONALISM

By the 19th century, the necessity of schooling became conventional wisdom throughout the European-centred world system (Boli 2002: 308). Schooling was needed to teach the lower classes improved agricultural methods; new skills required in factories, to instil

virtues of sobriety, discipline and respect for authority, to foster patriotism, willingness to sacrifice for the national good.

Later, in the 20th century, after the collapse of the Ottoman, Austro-Hungarian, British and French empires, colonies transformed into politically independent countries and there began an unprecedented wave of state formation and nation building. That every state should establish a national educational system was taken for granted. There sprang up schools systems as a result of the enactment of compulsory mass schooling laws. Schooling became a major national project in all countries as this “world educational revolution proceeded (Boli 2002:309).

Analysis of education, which hitherto was moral-philosophical, became more theoretical in the 1950s and 1960s. Burton Clark, Parsons, Robert Dreeben developed the functionalist perspective in education. This perspective assumed that the educational system is aimed at developing skills required for functioning in an ever-increasing technological world (Campbell 2000: 401). Parsons observed that education serves to socialise people through the school, ‘the focal socialising agency’ and select them for manpower allocation, by inculcating appropriate values and attitudes in the future workers. He considered schools as performing integrative functions in the society, contributing to the stability of a consensual and cohesive social order. Clark, for instance, put forth a ‘lucid version of what might be called technological functionalism’ (Karabel and Halsey 1977: 9). He declared that ‘our age demands army upon army of skilled technicians and professional experts, and to the task of preparing these men the educational system is increasingly dedicated’ (Clark 1962: 3 cited in Karabel and Halsey 1977: 9)

Technological functionalism justified educational growth in post-war period. The functionalist perspective advanced the sociological study of education as it emphasised linkages between education and other major institutions of society such as economy and polity (Karabel and Halsey 1977: 11). Education was seen to perform a vital selection or allocative function in that employers would make use of educational qualification to allocate people both to humdrum occupation and the more rewarding positions. Functionalist theory, reflecting the spirit of the period in which it was predominant, laid much stress on consensus and equilibrium and argued that schooling contributes to the cohesion of society through the transmission of the core values of society to its students.

Functional analysis, now in disrepute, was severely criticised from several quarters. While functionalists observed some degree of correspondence between the technical skills taught in schools and those required for efficient production, data collected by Berg (1970 cited in Jayaram 1981: 98) suggested necessity of certificates for eligibility to certain jobs. It was unclear whether education made one proficient for those jobs. Again, whether selection and allocation of individuals to unequally rewarded positions was solely based on educational achievements was not clear as they could be determined by ascriptive characteristics such as class, ethnicity or sex. Schools did not always act as 'neutral' selection agents but confirmed 'pupils in the status to which they were born' (*ibid.* 98). The core value transmission thesis too was questionable, as the values promoted by schools were not equally subscribed to and internalised by all sections of society. Also, the unanswered question that concerned policy makers was whether high investment in education was worthwhile. The response came from economists in the form of the theory of human capital.

The concept of human capital refers to the fact that human beings invest in themselves by means of education, training or other activities, which raise their future income by increasing their life time earnings ... thus an analogy was drawn between investment in physical capital investment and investment in human capital (Woodhall 1997: 218 in Aikara 2004: 64).

In his Presidential Address to the American Economic Association, Theodore W. Schultz, speaking on the theme 'Investment in Human Capital' gave a clear message that 'the process of acquiring skills and knowledge through education was not to be viewed as a form of consumption, but rather as a productive investment' which would not only increase individual productivity but also lay the base for rapid economic growth (Karabel and Halsey 1977: 12). The theory exerted a major influence on the development of educational systems through out the world. Education came to occupy a central role in the political economy of nations, some of which experienced a spectacular period of sustained growth. The most effective way of achieving economic growth, it was believed, was by delivering economic security through education, social welfare and occupational mobility. Thus, the key to post-war economic success lay in the development of the doctrine of economic nationalism, in which social progress for workers and their families was advanced through the pursuit of national economic growth. The nation-states, it was believed, had the power as well as the responsibility to provide prosperity, security and opportunity to its citizens (Brown *et al.* 1997: 1-2).

Consequently, the education systems of the advanced capitalist countries expanded to provide the necessary human capital. The influence of this approach, on social policy, extended beyond the western world into the third world nation-states. The poverty of the third world nations, the approach suggested, was not an outcome of the structure of the international economic relations, but was because of the lack of human

capital or inadequate human resources, thereby deflecting the attention from structural variables on to individuals.

By the early 1970s, the benign assumptions that the state would allocate educational resources fairly and ensure equality of opportunity to all were under attack, as, by the end of 1960s, it was a truism in Western Europe and United States that education had not solved the problem of inequality of opportunity for groups such as the working class, women, and the people of colour. As Halsey *et al* (1997: 254) write, a number of studies in the tradition of political arithmetic in Britain (Floud and Halsey 1961; Halsey, Heath, and Ridge 1980), and methodological empiricism in the United States (Coleman 1966; Jencks 1972; 1979), served to demonstrate that there were systematic class inequalities rooted in the structures of society for which education could not compensate.

State, therefore, rather than being a neutral arbiter, was considered by some neo-Marxists such as Louis Althusser, and Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, to be active in maintaining class inequalities. They argued that the state was a means by which capitalists and capitalism designed education to reproduce the privileges of the ruling class. By reproducing in the students the skills and attitudes required to maintain a capitalist economy, the education system remained an instrument of oppression and inequality (Halsey *et al* 1997: 254). Bowles and Gintis' main argument was based on the 'correspondence principle'. They saw 'a close correspondence between the social relationships which govern personal interaction in the work place and the social relationships of the educational system' (Bowles and Gintis 1976: 12 in Pathak 2002:30). Critiquing the role of schools, they argued that schools promoted the 'technocratic-

meritocratic' ideology, which meant that economic success depended on education. For them this was an 'ideological façade' as it created a false belief that economic inequality was caused by differences in talent, abilities or qualifications rather than by differences in the individuals' class, age, sex, race, etc (Pathak 2002: 29-30). According to Bowles and Gintis (1976), the education system, the most significant institution of capitalism, served to reproduce economic inequality, which is endemic to capitalist schools (Demaine 2003: 128). Althusser also attempted to debunk the 'neutrality' of schools and treated education as a part of the 'ideological state apparatus' articulating the dominant class ideology. For him, schools, as far as future wage earners/labourers are concerned, foster in them the feelings of 'modesty, resignation and submissiveness', while in the capitalists and managers, it inculcates 'cynicism, contempt, arrogance, self-importance, even smooth talk and cunning' (quoted in Blackledge and Hunt 1985: 161- quoted in Pathak 2002:31).

In the same period, that is, the early 1970s only, economic nationalism, also, suffered a breakdown. Brown *et al* (1997: 6) observes that 'the removal of border controls in relation to capital, the rise in power of transnational corporations, and the enhanced communications afforded by the electronic revolution have set new challenges as to how economy can best be managed'. In fact since the late 1970s the Anglophone nations embraced the ideologies of competitive individualism and market competition, and encouraged the breakdown of all national barriers to trade. The welfare state and the powers of the trade unions were seen as undermining the culture of enterprise believed to be central to compete in the global economy. As a consequence, the link between economic growth and prosperity for all was broken (Krugman 1993 in Brown *et al* 1997: 6). The breakdown of economic nationalism also undermined the already questioned post

war ideals about educational opportunity and social mobility. Paradoxically, however, a new international consensus was arrived at. The importance of education to the future of individual and national economic prosperity was recognised much more than it was done in the past (Brown *et al* 1997: 7). This new consensus is based on the globalisation of economy and internationalisation of education. This has led to a dramatic expansion of tertiary education. A straightforward link between education and economic productivity is well encapsulated in the passage from a major address on education by Clinton: 'In the 1990s and beyond, the universal spread of education, computers and high-speed communication means that what we earn will depend on what we can learn and how well we can apply what we learn to the work places of America' (cited in Brown *et al* 1997: 8). Also Marc Tucker, President of the National Centre on Education and the Economy, in the United States, is emphatic in claiming that in an increasingly technologically intensive global economy, 'Knowledge – and capacity to put knowledge to good use – is now the only dependable source of wealth all over the world. The people, organisations and nations that succeed will be those that make the most of the human desire and capacity for never-ending learning' (cited in Levinson and Sadovnik 2003: 4)

MARKETISATION OF EDUCATION

From the 1980s, a fundamental restructuring of education began in western societies as an outcome of the economic and cultural renewal guided by the New Right or Neo-Conservative ideology. The New Right ideology combines the neo-liberal virtues of individual freedom and free market with a conservative view of a need of a strong state to preserve moral and political order. Prior to the introduction of the market system in education, the western countries and the developing countries were characterised by the

philosophy of the welfare state, which meant that education in the state was largely state funded. The market reforms in education meant the reversal of the view that the state was responsible to provide full employment, security and opportunity to its citizens, held during the era of economic nationalism. It meant 'privatisation of public institutions and services, reducing the role of the state and increasing reliance on market forces, volunteerism, and individual demands to achieve social ends' (Wells 2002: 508). Market competition introduced in all sectors of education, transformed, schools and other educational institutions into small to medium size business enterprises. The proponents of the market reforms in education believe that competition between the different educational institutions will either enhance the standards of the institution or, not being able to attract students, will simply go out of business. James Tooley (2000), for instance, advocates the privatisation of education, as he believes that 'the private sector of education, operating in the form of competitive market system, will produce the best of educational institutions and services' (Tooley cited in Aikara 2004: 134). According to Aikara (2004: 135), the view of Tooley and others who share in his views are too idealistic. He argues that it is unrealistic to think that the private education would guarantee equality of opportunity, as in the market controlled system quality education would be available as a commodity for only those with a paying capacity. Market based education too does not contribute to improvement in the quality of education (Lauder 1997: 387 cited in Aikara 2004: 152).

Another assumption in the marketisation of education has been that schools irrespective of their intake would compete successfully and achieve equally. However, competition among schools leads to polarisation of intakes as well as educational

achievement. Tomlinson (2001:267) considers this the quasi-market in education which has succeeded in polarising the school system and employment opportunities by social class in ways not apparent in England since the 1950s. She (2001: 271-272) succinctly described the historical linkages between the education policies, from post second world war to the end of the 20th century, and the reproduction of the class structures:

In 1945 education was to be a pillar of the welfare state, contributing to economic stability and to a more egalitarian distribution of life chances. By the end of the century...welfare policies were being abandoned and 'education' had become a prop for a global market economy, a competitive enterprise in which rhetoric of 'opportunities for the many' covered the retreat of policies promoting social justice and equity. The political project of the right ... had been to avoid any recognition of the limited successes of democratic educational reforms and seek to reintroduce selective mechanisms which would work for the reproduction and containment of an hierarchical society. The beneficiaries of policies have been the upper and middle classes ... Notions of education as a humanising, liberalising, egalitarian, democratic force had been put on hold.

An important argument for market competition and privatisation of education is that the parents are able to exercise their right to choose the type of education they desire for their children. The private sector makes available a variety of educational institutions to choose from, in addition to those from the public sector. Brown *et al* (1997: 22) argue that in introducing market competition in all sectors of education, the notion of parental choice is treated as unproblematic. It is assumed that parents can make informed decisions about the choice of school. However, research has found that parents do not make choices with equal cultural and material resources. Coffey (2001: 28) cites a number of studies which argue that school choice involves the appropriation of social/cultural capital. It also involves the capacity and opportunity to be informed to be able to make real choices. These, however, the studies found were differentiated along class lines. The priorities and possibilities of choice differ significantly for different

classes of parents who employ different class strategies of reproduction. However, this line of thought has been the subject of some criticism. Commentators have highlighted the sheer complexity of the decision-making process that could be overshadowed by an over-emphasis on class differentials and over-generalisations in terms of simple social class-choice equations.

According to Bronwyn Wood (1995 cited in Gordon 2003: 19), the 'geo-politics' of choice is a crucial factor in choosing the school i.e. one needs to recognise the importance of location to patterns of choice. Thus, Ball *et al* (1997) exploring parental choice of schools in social class contexts contend that among the working class, the ideas about school choice are subordinated to the constraints of work roles, family roles and the demand of family organisation. Choice of school is more of a pragmatic accommodation. Parental aspirations for their children being vague, the parents are less likely to speculate about the future of their offspring, and the proximity of the school becomes the major priority (practicality) in the making of the choice. They are reticent about choosing a distant school exposing their children to the 'unfamiliar'.

Among the middle classes, on the other hand, the authors found that the family roles and household organisations were being accommodated to school (Ball *et al* 1997: 411). The priorities of the middle class were both more educationally specific and longer term than the working classes (*ibid.* 415). Since the choices of the middle class are more educationally specific and longer term, the choice of the primary school becomes for them the first of the several strategic decisions they would take in the careful construction of their child's school career (*ibid.* 416). They are confident about their children's ability to manage travel and are less constrained by unfamiliarity as well. In fact for these

parents, travel and distance are only contingent factors, not priority or determinate ones. They make a choice for the whole package: the quality, the ethos, and the expressive order of the school, that is, the complex of behaviour and activities in the school which influence conduct, character and manner (*ibid.* 418).

The working class parents are also involved in social reproduction but their use of the educational system is more accommodative than strategic. Both, the working class as well as the middle classes engage in reproduction. The middle classes who were threatened by the increasing social democratic de-differentiation of schools have acquired, through the market and choice, the means to reassert the reproduction advantages' (Ball 1995). To Ball *et al* (1997) parents' choice making is more humanistic rather than technological. The orientation of the parents to the education market differs both culturally and materially. Their expectations from it are different. In fact they suggest the existence of two discourses: a working class discourse with an emphasis on the practical and the immediate and a middle class discourse where the ideal and the advantageous dominate. Such use of the educational market by the middle class families entail a particular strategy of reproduction, wherein class members 'tend, consciously or unconsciously, to maintain or improve their position in the structure of class relations' (Bourdieu and Bolanski 1979: 198 quoted in Ball *et al* 1997: 419). Thus, the market orientations of upper classes or the choices of the school for their children 'involve the reinvestment of cultural capital for a return of educational capital' (*ibid.* 420), which eventually translates in to economic capital.

Madigan described cultural capital, a central concept in Bourdieu's works 'as cultural practices or dispositions a person acquires often through disguised or hidden

ways that realise profits in the economic field primarily through ensuring academic success' (Madigan 2002: 121). In choosing of the school the middle class members make use of cultural capital. The parents from this class refer to multiple sources of information rather than their own social enclaves and social networks in their choice. They also employ direct contact and negotiation vital in accessing information about the schools. Ball *et al* (1997: 417) describes the importance of the cultural capital in choosing the school for their children thus: 'This is where cultural capital plays a crucial role, knowing how to approach, present, mount a case, maintain pressure, make an impact, be remembered'. In fact parents deliberately send their children to prestigious schools to enhance their cultural capital and thus their life chances. It is to be noted, however, that, for Bourdieu, social, economic and cultural capital are not perfectly correlated. In fact the dominant class, according to him, comprises of the dominant segment with a substantial economic capital on which it relies to maintain power and prestige, and a dominated segment with its base in cultural capital, which it invests and accumulates in its claim to power. However, as Tomlinson (2001: 262) argues, those who have the various forms of capital indulge in reproduction strategies, overt or covert, and ensure that their own children obtain access to the most privileged forms of education available in the market.

Marketisation of education, apart from polarising the schools by social class, has also polarised them by languages. Schools conducted in the most prestigious or dominant language/s are preferred much more than schools with the minority or indigenous language as the media of instruction. Presently, both in Europe and many other parts of the world, especially the ex-British colonies, one can experience the current dominance of English and 'Englishisation' (Phillipson 2004: 228). Speaking on the current

dominance of English Khubchandani (2004: 265) claims that it 'has acquired an aura of the unparalleled universal language on the politico-economic, technological and academic scene'. Again, commenting on the universality of English, Joshua Fishman (1998) says: 'whether we consider English as a "killer language" or not, whether we regard its spread as benign globalisation or linguistic imperialism, its expansive reach is undeniable, and for the time being, unstoppable (cited in Khubchandani 2004:265).

Alexander comments on the hegemony of English in Africa saying:

Among other things, colonial conquest, imperialism and globalisation have established a hierarchy of standard languages, which mirrors the power relations on the planet. The overall effect of this configuration has been to hasten the extinction of innumerable language varieties and to stigmatise and marginalise all but the most powerful languages. Above all, English, in David Crystal's coinage, is "a global language", indeed *the* global language (2004: 193).

Education in English in different parts of the world has been a vital site for linguistic reproduction as well as central in the processes of linguistic hierarchisation, that is, in the process of establishing a hierarchy among the languages in any country. Phillipsons introduced the theory of linguistic imperialism, a subtype of linguistic imperialism of Skutnabb-Kangas, to explain the linguistic hierarchisation and examine the structures and ideologies that encourage such processes. According to Morrison (2000:471), the theory suggests that language, especially English, 'is a means par excellence for economic and political domination by the West'. He (*ibid.* 472) rightly states, however, that Phillipson's theory of linguistic imperialism provides a mono causal account for the complex use of English across the world. According to him the theory tends to consider the English learners 'ideological stooges or unenlightened victims of ideological and cultural hegemony'. The theory, he says, fails to make allowance for the deliberate and free choices of the people for economic, political and other reasons. Linguistic imperialism

does not give due importance to people's desire to achieve fluency in the worldwide lingua franca and survive and rise up in the worldwide market. It makes them look like 'cultural dupes or passive puppets of an ideological order' (*ibid*). While linguistic imperialism does have some heuristic value, in the sense that it can provide some explanation for the language situation during the colonial regime across the world, it cannot account for the multiple motives and purposes why there is a pronounced preference for schools conducted in *the* global language, English. Morrison (2000), for instance, in discussing the contemporary linguistic situation concerning the medium of instruction issue in Hong Kong, suggests using an alternative and more apposite concept of 'linguistic capital' to explain the situation there. Linguistic capital, according to him, would do justice in explaining linguistic behaviours in education in a number of countries across the world. Linguistic imperialism and linguistic capital, however, are not two mutually exclusive concepts in that linguistic capital may owe its origin and power to linguistic imperialism. It also does not mean that the two concepts taken together will explain all the contemporary issues surrounding people's preference for the English language.

The concept of linguistic capital, related to Bourdieu view of cultural capital, may 'be defined as fluency in, and comfort with, a high-status, world-wide language which is used by groups who possess economic, social, cultural and political power and status in local and global society' (Morrison 2000: 473). According to the linguistic capital thesis, those who possess the linguistic or its related economic, social and cultural capital make its use in the choice of the school that offers access to the high-status language, which enhances their life chances as the initial choices of schools determine future education

irreversibly. Linguistic capital, thus, transforms into educational capital, cultural capital and beyond that into economic capital, thus reproducing societal inequality.

LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION IN INDIA

The theory of linguistic imperialism and the concept of linguistic capital elucidate the language in education scenario in India. In this section a brief historical outline of education in India is provided. An attempt is also made to analyse the Indian education scenario in terms of linguistic imperialism and linguistic capital.

The transition from infancy to pre-school childhood and early school childhood is very complex. In the traditional Indian system of child rearing and training, this transition was a prolonged one. During the sufficiently long pre-school phase, as observed by Lenoy (1971: 90), the child learnt more from observation, than from instruction. Observation facilitated the child to acquaint herself/himself with various aspects of reality – natural, social and cultural. The formation of a child's consciousness of the self and identification with the cultural categories and social institutions began in the household through interaction with the parents and other relatives during the first few years.

It is in this same process that the child learnt the language of the household. For many, the learning of the letters was not at all perceived as a necessity. Only a few, whose parents saw prospectus of economic mobility in formal education, were admitted to schools. In ancient India, mostly Brahmins functioned as teachers and provided formal instruction only to a small minority of the population. Religious edicts debarred other *Jatis* from letters and formal education. Brahmins were the repositories of learning and transmitted the knowledge of the divine scriptures and higher religious and secular

knowledge to succeeding generations in religious institutions called *tols*, *vidyalayas* and *chatuspathis* (Bottomore 1975: 263; Desai 1991: 137). The medium of instruction was Sanskrit. Apart from these, there were, in all villages and towns, vernacular schools, which taught reading, writing and elementary arithmetic. Traders, generally, took advantage of these schools. The lower *jatis*, agriculturists, women and the untouchables hardly attended any school¹. The family and the traditional occupational groups trained the novices in technical skills in informal and practical ways. Among Muslims, it was the Arabic and Persian languages which were used as the media of instruction.

Today, formal schooling has come to be regarded as an ethical ideal. In India, free and compulsory primary education is a citizen's fundamental right and hundred per cent literacy is the national goal. There is a strong political-economic concern too. Now education is being increasingly seen as an avenue for an individual's mobility and an important catalyst in national development (Government of India 1968 and 1986). One of the consequences of the changes in the educational ethos of the subcontinent has been the reduction in the number of years a child spends at home before schooling. This entails curtailment of observational learning and early beginning of instructional learning.

The British Government was one of the main agencies responsible for the introduction and dissemination of modern education in India. Colonial education, more than evangelising and enlightening the natives, had a politico-administrative objective. Motivated by political-administrative and economic demands, the British established a network of schools and colleges and churned out thousands of educated Indians required to meet the needs of the immense administrative machinery. As suggested by the theory of linguistic imperialism the British used English and English education in the service of

the colonial domination. English medium education was preferred as an obvious means of assimilating the natives with the rulers (Annamalai 2001: 92). The colonial government encouraged English education and the English educated Indian urban middle class elite favoured it (Krishna 1991: 79). English education was also a means by which one could climb the social ladder. While linguistic imperialism promoted the interests of the imperialist in their exercise of domination over the natives, the seeds of linguistic capital were already sown among the elite of the country. However, English medium of education did not take off without contest. A protracted controversy raged on among the Orientalists, Anglicists and Vernacularists until Lord William Bentinck finally resolved, based on the (in) famous minute of Thomas Macaulay (of 2nd February 1835), to financially and administratively support only English medium education.

In the post-independence multilingual India, there emerged several language issues, which had remained unresolved during the colonial times. These included, among others, the question of the national language, official language of the union and the states and the medium of instruction at different levels: primary, secondary and higher education (Karna 1999). Even after acrimonious debates on the idea of national language, no language has been designated as such. However, Hindi came to be recognised as the official language and English as the associate language of the Union till the States could reach to some agreement on the exclusive adoption of Hindi. Knowledge of English became linked to the learned professions, the civil services, and other prestigious employment opportunities and to a privileged class.

As per the provisions of the Constitution, two Commissions, Linguistic Provinces Commission and States Reorganisation Commission were set up. The States

Reorganisation Act of 1956 created linguistic states on the basis of language. The organising principle was that each state would have a majority language. The majority languages, often, became the official languages. Some of these are emerging as dominant languages in the states concerned.

Indian multilingualism includes more than 1600 mother tongues, reducible to 200 languages belonging to four language families: Indo-European, Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic and Sino-Tibetan (Annamalai 2001: 35). Besides being demographically multilingual, the country is also functionally multilingual – forty-seven languages are used in education medium, eighty-seven in print media, seventy-one in radio, and films and television make use of as many as thirteen languages. The functional distribution of languages is not static. Social and political formations determine the relative status and power of languages, which are derived from the access to resources of the state and the rewards the speaker hopes to obtain on acquisition of a particular language.

Multilingualism, today, has become an essential part of the school curriculum. The educational policy adopted and incorporated in the national Policy on Education in 1968 is the three-language formula (TLF). The three languages are the regional language (or the official language of the state when the two are different) Hindi and English. In Hindi speaking regions, there is a special recommendation in TLF to teach a modern Indian language other than Hindi, preferably a south Indian language. The three languages are taught as first, second, and third languages and under each category one can choose from a number of languages. The TLF makes no explicit statement as to which language should be taught as first, second or third languages. An outcome of the three-language formula, enabling the states to choose between the mother tongue and the

regional language is that, even as of 1991 less than 50 languages were used as media of instruction at the primary level (Pattanayak 1984 cited in Krishna 1991: 91).

Besides, even after Independence, the dominance of English and its ascendance have remained unchallenged. English offers an advantage in the socio-economic domain due to its 'dominance in professions, higher education, high level management in business and administration, in government and broadening opportunities at national and international levels' (Annamalai 2001:166). Today, there is a scramble for English schools and it is simplistic to suggest that in preferring English schools one subscribes to some Anglo-centric ideology rather than practical and sheer economics. An important observation to be noted is that all the States and Union Territories of India use English as medium of instruction at all levels (Koul and Devaki 2001 :107).

It is almost sixty years since Independence and fifty years since the creation of the linguistic states in India. At the societal level, English and its use in urban India is evident from our different transactions, whether in academic, technological, commercial, administrative domains or in creative writing, mass media, tourism and entertainment circles. The obvious proliferation of English from the upper crust to the middle and lower classes is a truism in urban settings, to such an extent that Khubchandani (2004: 266-267) cautions about the rapidly growing phenomena in India characterised as 'passive smoking' of English without its being systematically learnt in school. It is taken for granted that individuals in urban settings would have at least a minimum level of acquaintance of English. Not possessing that, one would be considered an 'odd man out' (Khubchandani 1994: 78). At the political level, the north-eastern states of Meghalaya, Nagaland and Mizoram have English as their sole official language. The language

policies in the states aimed at shedding the dominance of 'imperial' English and replacing it with regional languages have not succeeded. In the educational sphere, English medium of instruction enjoys the most privileged position, both at the primary as well as the secondary and tertiary levels. In fact, owing to this aspiration for English medium schooling, there has emerged in both urban as well as rural India, a dual system of schooling.

According to Sheth (1995: 189), language in education policies introduced in several states, instead of establishing 'the regional language as a universal medium of education and administration' have 'allowed the market principle of demand and supply to prevail over policy which, in effect has given rise to a dual system of schooling in every state': the privately owned school and the government owned schools. The privately owned school system caters to those who can afford paying high fees and donations. Nurseries and primaries belonging to this system have mushroomed everywhere with English as medium of instruction. In the post-colonial era, English continues to be dominant due more to its being the linguistic capital of many and a signification of its global importance than because of any ideological hegemony. The elite, many of whom possess both the economic as well as the linguistic capital, generally patronise these English medium private schools where children are often discouraged from speaking the home language. The government owned schools conduct schooling through the regional languages or the mother tongue. They are the only alternative for the vast majority of masses incapable of admitting their children in the expensive, privately owned and managed, schools. Even when they desire English education, the freedom of choice attributed to private education remains, for many, only an aspiration never to

become a reality. According to Aikara (2004:144) this dual structure prevails unchallenged and the value of equality is being compromised in preference to the value of liberalism in education. It should be noted, however, that in a country like Singapore, private schools are only for those who have failed in the government sector and to non-citizens, the most privileged education being offered in the government sector (Gupta 1997: 498).

Srivastava (2003:1024-25) says that the Indian educational scenario depicts a clear trend of rapid proliferation of private schools meant to cater for the demands of an emerging middle class. Many of these schools use English as the medium of instruction and are usually established by corporate business houses ('the Goenkas, Living Media, The Shriram Group, and Magor and Macneill among them) as profitable business ventures'. Shukla (1996: 1349) observed: 'Privatisation and separate schools for the well-off are being resorted to in increasing measure, with the English/non-English distinction tending to coincide with the private/public management dichotomy. A divided system leading to an even more divided society appears inevitable'.

While Shukla suggests that the dual system leads to an even more divided society, Jayaram (1977: 185) indicated that an overwhelming majority of students found in institutions of higher education have had English medium education in privately managed schools. By implication, those with access to English medium education in schools privately owned and managed, in contrast to regional language school owned by government, have better chances to join the ranks of the higher education. Similarly, Chitnis says only a minority belonging to the higher stratum goes to the private, expensive schools, which provide students with a range of curricular and extra-curricular

exposures and confidence building activities. More often than not, students who gain admissions in prestigious institutions at university level invariably come from such schools (Chitnis 1999: 378).

The social background of students determines their admission to qualitatively different types of educational institutions (M. S. A. Rao 1967: 137 cited in Jayaram 1977: 184). Thus, the economic status of the parent has been a significant determinant of school selection (Bhatia and Seth 1975 cited in Kumar 1987: 30). Kumar (1987: 28) holds that 'early selection' is an important feature of the Indian education system. It refers to placing of children in different institutions even when they are very young. This is a major characteristic of Indian education system that allows 'sponsored' as opposed to 'contest' mobility. 'Early selection' is a 'reproductionist' force in Indian education. Similarly, Mirchandani (2003: 44) claims that the inequalities of the social structure are not only perpetuated but also reinforced through education.

Furthermore, Altbach (in Zechariah 1987: 293) rightly points out that education has a payoff in incremental social mobility. But even if it does not occur, there is still a measure of prestige attached to it. It has been argued that with every increase in the level of education, incomes also increase (Becker 1975; Blaug. et. al. 1969; Schultz 1972 cited in Mirchandani 2003:101). The findings of Mirchandani (2003: 101) in the Indian context, supports the above claim with empirical findings of postgraduates earning higher than the graduates.

Thus, socio-economic backgrounds or economic capital and linguistic capital determine the entry into schools with English medium and thereby segregate the different strata in terms of educational institutions attended. In this way, though educational

attainment is a means to enhance social status, it ends up being a mechanism 'stabilising the status-quo instead of acting as an agent of social change' (Mirchandani 2003: 112; also Jayaram 1977). However, sociologists have also challenged the grand narratives of reproduction theories and proposed alternatives.

GRAND THEORISING TO CONTEXT-SPECIFIC FORM OF THEORISING

The radical theories of social reproduction of the 70s and 80s were characterised by a tendency towards grand theorising, and considered schooling as a tool of capitalism serving ruling class interests. Since the latter part of the 1980s there has been a shift from grand theorising to context-specific form of theorising (Gewirtz and Cribb 2003: 244), asserting that the processes of social reproduction work differently at different times, in different spatial locations and for different constituencies. These latter theories have questioned some of the sweeping and confident generalisations in the past approaches. The reproduction theme has now fallen into disrepute. While Willis takes the foremost place among these critics, it was Giroux who was influential in bringing about the transition from reproduction theory to resistance theory (Swartz 2002: 554-555). Willis (1977), for instance, argued that the reproduction theorists were 'too structural, too deterministic and too mechanical, giving insufficient attention to processes of resistance, contradiction and contestation' (cited in Swartz 2002: 554). He criticised the different versions of social reproduction that stressed structural determination and gave little attention to agency (*ibid.*). In fact he introduced a new orientation in that he illustrated how reproduction occurred through the cultural mediation of agency, wherein 'the lads' nonconformist resistance to the achievement ideals of schooling led to structural reproduction (*ibid.* 555). More recently, Swartz (*ibid.*) wrote that many of the resistance

theorists have assumed post-Marxists positions, thereby extending their analysis beyond the social class to new social movements including also race, gender, environment, etc. He further suggested that both resistance and post-Marxist theories share 'the search for a source of agency that embodies the promise and capacity for generating broad-based social transformation (*ibid.*). Giroux also, pointed to the neglect of agency in reproduction theories of Bowles and Gintis (1977), and Althusser (1971) as well as in Bourdieu's cultural-reproductive model (1983 cited in Gewirtz and Cribb 2003: 245; see also Mehan 1992: 8). Giroux claimed that Bourdieu's theory of reproduction displays no faith in subordinate classes and groups, nor any hope in their willingness to reconstruct the 'conditions under which they live, work and learn' (1982 cited in Harker *et al* 1990: 102). In fact Giroux saw the Marxist studies then and especially Willis (1977) as 'attempts to link social structures and human agency which represents a significant theoretical advance over functional-structuralist and interactionist accounts' (1983: 98-99 cited in Davies 1995:1459).

STRUCTURATION THEORY AND SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION

Accordingly, Shilling writes that sociologists, since the late 1970s, have recognised how the structure-agency division has obstructed the theoretical progress in the sociology of education and have made attempts to address or/and overcome 'the structure-agency dualism which has characterised educational research' (1992: 73). According to Shilling Giddens' theory of Structuration has offered a resolution to the dualism of agency and structure. To Giddens the 'constitution of agents and structures are not two independently given sets of phenomena, a dualism, but represent a duality' (Giddens 1984: 25 in Ritzer 1996: 531). Shilling observes, 'Social structures are not seen as purely constraining,

impersonal forces which stand above and apart from individuals, but instead are both implicated in and reproduced by actors interacting with others through time and space in their daily lives' (Shilling 1992: 77-78). Giddens (1984: 2 cited in Ritzer 1996: 528-529) argues in his theory of Structuration that the basic domain of the study of the social sciences is 'social practices ordered across time and space' not the experience of the individual actor, nor the existence of any form of social totality. He insists that these social or human practices should be seen as recursive, that is, 'in expressing themselves as actors, people are engaging in practice, and it is through that practice that both consciousness and structure are produced' (Ritzer 1996: 529).

Giddens' agents 'continuously monitor their own thoughts and activities as well as their physical and social contexts' (*ibid.*). In searching for security the agents rationalise their world, that is, develop routines helping them to deal with their lives efficiently, at the same time, obtaining a sense of security. Actors also have motivations, which prompt action and have a significant role in human conduct. In fact Giddens accords the agents great power whereby they can transform the situation. Giddens spoke of discursive and practical consciousness with the help of which they carry on their day-to-day lives. Discursive consciousness is the capacity to provide reasons for or rationalise one's actions and those of others. Practical consciousness involves the stock of knowledge made use of in acting and interpreting others' actions, without being able to articulate the reasons for how they act. The latter type of consciousness is important to the theory of Structuration, as what is of significance for the theory, is what is being done rather than what is being said or intended.

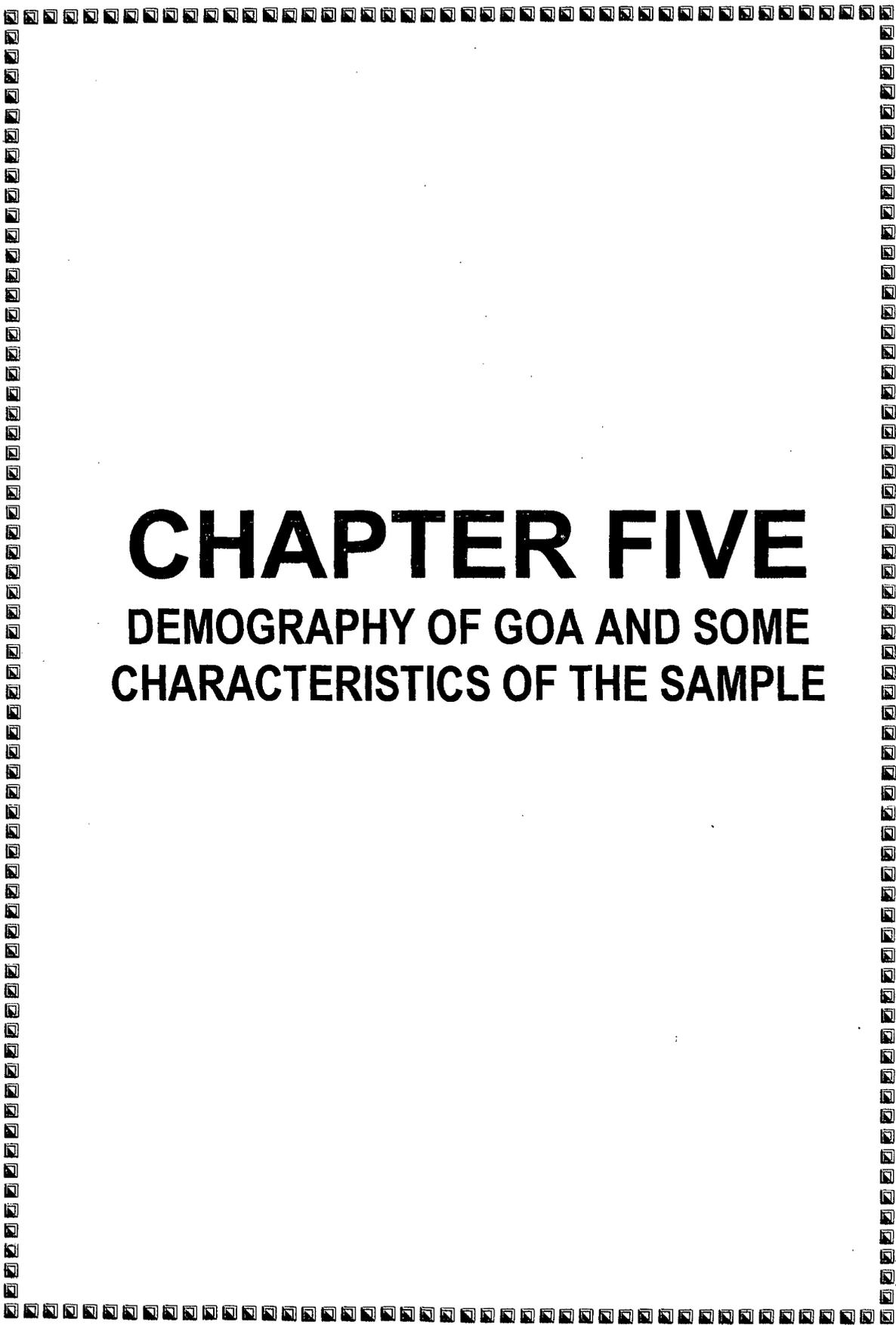
Structuration theory introduces a distinction between structure and social system, terms that were viewed as almost synonymous in the functionalist and Marxist approaches to education. Structure, which is made possible by rules and resources², 'only exists in and through the activities of human agents' (Giddens 1989: 256 in Ritzer 1996: 530). While not denying that structures can be constraining on action, he stresses that they are always 'both constraining and enabling' (Giddens 1984: 25,163 in Ritzer 1996: 531). Structures themselves do not exist in time and space but 'as memory traces orienting the conduct of knowledgeable human agents' (Giddens 1984: 17 in Ritzer 1996: 531) and 'are "instantiated" in social systems' (*ibid.*). According to Ritzer (*ibid.*), 'Giddens defines social systems as reproduced social practices' or 'reproduced relations between actors or collectivities organised as regular practices' (Giddens 1984: 17, 25 in Ritzer 1996: 531). Social systems have no structures but exhibit structural properties.

Apart from Giddens, three more prominent names that figure in the agency-structure literature are Bourdieu, Habermas and Archer. While there is a considerable disagreement on the nature of the agent, most (Giddens, Bourdieu) tend to treat the agent as an individual actor (Ritzer 1996: 554). However even among those who treat the agent as an individual actor there are differences. For instance Bourdieu's agent is far more mechanical 'dominated by their habitus, by internal ("structuring") structures' than Giddens' agent. Habitus, referring to 'a set of relatively permanent and largely unconscious dispositions about one's chances of success and how society works that is common to members of a social class or status groups', helps Bourdieu to stress that 'educational choices are dispositional, tacit, informal decisions rather than conscious, rational calculations' leading 'individuals to act unwittingly in ways that can reproduce

the prevailing structure of life chances and status distinctions' (Swartz 2002: 553). Thus 'habitus' leads parents unconsciously to act in ways that serves to ensure class reproduction. However, 'Giddens' agents 'have more wilful power than do Bourdieu's' (*ibid.*). As Ritzer says 'they have at least some choice ... they have power, and they can make a difference in their worlds' (*ibid.*; see also Layder 1985: 131 cited in Ritzer 1996: 554). Thus Giddens' Structuration theory emphasises, much more than any other agency-structure analyst, the centrality of agency in the production and reproduction of society. It is in the light of the sensitising devices or concepts provided by the Structuration theory that choices, made in the context of early schooling, by the parents of school going children, would be analysed and interpreted. That is, how the agency of parental aspirations combines with structure of the parents' cultural background and the school system to produce and reproduce society will be investigated.

NOTES

1. Dharampal (1981: 14) and Di Bona (1983: 2) do not agree with the view that education in pre-British India was limited to the Brahmins. According to Di Bona, a striking feature of pre-British Indian education was that 'it was not undemocratic'. He also disagrees with the commonly held belief that in India only Brahmins are the teachers and cites one case wherein Kayastha teachers outnumbered Brahmin teachers. The picture that Dharampal provides is in sharp contrast to many scholarly pronouncements assuming that education was limited to the twice-born among the Hindus and among the Muslims to the ruling elite. According to him the actual situation was different, with, for instance, 'Soodras and the castes considered below them' predominating in thousands in the 'then still-existing schools in the districts of Madras Presidency and two districts of Bihar.
2. Giddens posits that a 'rule is a methodology or technique that actors know about, often only implicitly, and that provides a relevant formula for action' (Giddens 1984: 20-21 in Turner 2003: 478). 'Resources are facilities that actors use to get things done. For, even if there are well-understood methodologies and formulas – that is, rules – to guide action, there must also be the capacity to perform tasks. Such capacity requires resources, or the material equipment and the organisational ability to act in situations. Giddens visualises resources as what generates power (Giddens 1984: 14-16 in Turner 2003: 4.



CHAPTER FIVE

DEMOGRAPHY OF GOA AND SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

CHAPTER V

DEMOGRAPHY OF GOA AND SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

In this chapter a brief description of the location, the demographic profile of Goa, the educational statistics and some characteristics of the sample are provided. This discussion is a prelude to the application of the structural process in the realm of the choice of language in early schooling examined in the next chapter.

LOCATION AND DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

Goa, the twenty fifth state of the Indian Union, is geographically situated on the western coast of Indian peninsular between the parallels of 15° 48'N and 14° 53' N of latitude and between the meridians of 73° 40' E and 74° 21' E of longitude, east of Greenwich. Bounded on the west by the Arabian Sea, the east by the mountainous ranges called Western Ghats, the south by Uttar Kannada district of Karnataka and the north by the Sindhudurg district of Maharashtra, the state of Goa covers an area of 3702 square kilometres with its length from the north to the south measuring 105 kilometres and its width from east to west being only 62 kilometres.

As stated earlier in chapter one, Goa is divided for administrative purposes into two districts and eleven talukas. These talukas have further subdivisions in the form of towns and villages. According to the 2001 census, the total number of villages in the state is 359 out of which only twelve are uninhabited. The number of towns and statutory towns is forty four and fourteen respectively (Census of India 2001).

The total population of the state is 1347668. Table 5.1 provides the details of the population of Goa along with its decadal growth rate from 1900 to 2001. The decadal growth of 34.77 percent during the period 1961-71 was due to the large influx of

outsiders into Goa (Gomes 2002a: 34; Government of Goa 2006c: 1). The growth rate, however, tapered off later as is evident from the later censuses. The number of outsiders in Goa has not decreased. Mario Cabral e Sa scrutinising the demographic metamorphosis, in his article titled 'Goa De-Goanised?' in Goa Today magazine, cites the Economic Survey 2004-2005 that estimated the non-native population to be about 50 percent of the Goan population (Cabral e Sa 2005: 9).

Table 5.1: Population of Goa and Decadal Growth Rate

Serial Number	Year	North Goa District	South Goa District	Goa	Decadal Growth
1	1900	294074	181439	475513	
2	1910	306323	180429	486752	+2.36
3	1921	288039	181455	469494	-3.55
4	1931	313614	191667	505281	+7.62
5	1940	336628	204297	540925	+7.05
6	1950	330874	216574	547448	+1.21
7	1960	349667	240330	589997	+7.77
8	1971	458312	336808	795120	+34.77
9	1981	568021	439728	1007749	+26.74
10	199	664804	504989	1169793	+16.08
11	2001	758573	589095	1347668	+15.21

Source: Government of Goa 2006c. *Economic Survey 2005-2006*, Directorate of Planning, Statistics and Evaluation, pp. 1.

Beyond its division into two districts, Goa is further divided into talukas, and the taluka-wise distribution of population as per 2001 census indicates that there is no uniformity in the pattern of distribution of population among the talukas (Table 5.2). The talukas may also be categorised as coastal talukas and inland talukas. The coastal divisions are more thickly populated but occupy less area while the inland talukas have

less population but extends to a greater area. As far as the rural/urban composition is concerned about 49.75 percent of the population of Goa is urbanised. This is due to the widespread urbanisation during the post-liberation period in Goa.

Table 5.2: Area of Districts and Talukas and Taluka-wise Population (2001 Census)

State/District/Taluka	Total Geographical Area in Kilometres	Rural Population	Urban Population	Total Population
GOA STATE	3702.00	677091	670577	1347668
North Goa	1736.00	416824	341749	758573
Tiswadi	213.57	55019	105072	160091
Bardez	263.98	94250	133445	227695
Pernem	251.69	62386	9613	71999
Bicholim	238.77	53647	37087	90734
Satari	495.13	50696	7917	58613
Ponda	292.75	100826	48615	149441
South Goa	1966.00	260267	328828	589095
Salcete	292.94	110456	151579	262035
Mormugao	109.12	24587	120362	144949
Sanguem	873.75	53074	11006	64080
Quepem	318.25	40054	33980	74034
Canacona	352.02	32096	11901	43997

Source: *Goa – A Portrait of Population*, Directorate of Census Operations, Goa, pp. 28 and Government of Goa 2006c. *Economic Survey 2005-2006*, Directorate of Planning, Statistics and Evaluation, pp. 2.

Another demographic feature, important to this study, is the data on religion or the religious composition of Goa. Religion is of great interest to the anthropologist, sociologist, demographers, and planners as also to laymen. Different facets of a person's life are influenced by the person's religion and it certainly has a bearing on the choice of the medium of instruction during early schooling. Table 5.3 provides evidence of

substantial changes in the religious composition of the population of Goa during the past five decades.

Table 5.3: Religion-wise Population of Goa (1960-2001)

Religion	1960	1971	1981	1991	2001
Hindus	353526	496389	646986	756621	886551
Christians	224612	270126	315902	349225	359568
Muslims	11505	26480	41317	61455	92210
Others	354	2125	3544	2492	9339
Total	589997	795120	1007749	1169793	1347668

Source: Government of Goa 2006c. *Economic Survey 2005-2006*, Directorate of Planning, Statistics and Evaluation, pp. 144.

While in absolute terms the populations of all religions have increased 'during the last four decades, the Hindu population has increased by two and half times, the Christian population has increased by about one and half times, Muslims by about eight times and other religions by over twenty-six times' (Government of Goa 2006c: 2). In terms of percentage to total population, however, while the Hindu and Muslim populations have increased from 59.92 and 1.95 percent to 65.79 and 6.84 percent respectively, the Christian population has declined from 38.07 percent in 1960 to 26.68 percent in 2001. Population increase among the Hindus and Muslims is mainly attributable to the large influx of Hindus and other religions from the other states in the post liberation era (*ibid*). From 1991-2001 the Muslim population in Goa increased by 50 percent, the Hindu by 17 percent and the Christian by only 3 percent. It is not known whether it is emigration of many Christians or the adoption of small family norm by them, which are responsible for a low growth rate among them, as compared to the others. But it will certainly be very

pertinent and highly interesting to explore the reasons for such divergences, which, however, are beyond the scope of this study.

Hindus, Christians and Muslims constitute almost the entire population of Goa, the others being very negligible. These religious communities are found in both the North and the South district of Goa but the proportion of the communities in the two districts differ (Table 5.4).

Table 5.4: Religion-wise Population of the Districts

District/Religion	Population	Percentage
Goa	1347668	100
Hindus	576848	76.04
Christians	136390	17.97
Muslims	43383	5.71
Others	1952	.25
North Goa	758573	100
Hindus	309703	52.57
Christians	223178	37.88
Muslims	48827	8.28
Others	7387	1.25
South Goa	589095	100

Source: Government of Goa 2006c. *Economic Survey 2005-2006*, Directorate of Planning, Statistics and Evaluation, pp. 144.

The proportion of Hindus in the North is much higher, that is 76.04 percent as compared to its proportion in the South, which is only 52.57 percent. Similarly Christians constitute 37.88 percent of the population in the South as compared to its proportion in the North, which is only 17.97 percent. Likewise, the percentage of Muslims in the South is slightly higher than in the North. While the researcher could compare the proportion of

the members of the different religious communities on the basis of the districts, similar comparison on the basis of talukas is not possible as the researcher has not been able to lay his hands on the taluka-wise religious composition in Goa as per the 2001 census. However, since data from the 1991 census is available, the taluka-wise percentage distribution of population by religion as per the 1991 census has been made use of in this study, and the details are provided in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5: Percentage Distribution of Population by Religion in Talukas

Talukas	Hindus	Christians	Muslims	Others
Tiswadi	59.42	34.77	5.58	0.23
Bardez	64.29	31.9	3.62	0.19
Pernem	88.54	10.8	0.60	0.06
Bicholim	92.56	2.42	4.91	0.11
Satari	91.76	1.55	6.66	0.03
Ponda	84.85	10.26	4.68	0.21
Salcete	28.52	65.06	6.30	0.12
Mormugao	61.53	27.35	10.5	0.62
Sanguem	79.52	15.13	4.84	0.51
Quepem	62.38	33.3	4.23	0.09
Canacona	78.58	20.22	1.18	0.02

Source: *Goa – A Portrait of Population*, Directorate of Census Operations, Goa, pp. 161-162.

The geographical and cultural differences between the populations of the two major communities in Goa may be traced to the acts of commission and omission of the erstwhile Portuguese rule. The discrimination meted out to the Hindus compelled them to flee along with their deities to the New Conquests and settle there. In the course of history cultural differences emerged in terms of dress, traditions, food and also language.

The population of Goa is also categorised according to the language declared as the mother tongue. Mother tongue distribution has strong linkages with the issues related to the medium of instruction at early schooling. Though Konkani is the Official language of Goa, declared as such on 4 February 1987, different languages are spoken as mother tongues in Goa, revealing to an extent the cultural pluralism of the population in Goa. Table 5.6 provides details of the distribution of population by languages spoken as mother tongue from 1961 to 1991 in Goa, as the latest figures of 2001 are not available.

Table 5.6: Population by Languages Spoken as Mother Tongue (1961, 1971, 1981 and 1991 Censuses)

Languages spoken as Mother Tongue	No. of speakers (1961)	% of speakers	No. of speakers (1971)	% of speakers	No. of speakers (1981)	% of speakers	No. of speakers (1991)	% of speakers
English	450	0.076	2654	0.33	6,367	1	4,816	0.41
Hindi	1,147	0.194	11375	1.43	20,498	2	37,073	3.16
Kannada	813	0.137	16504	2.07	33,473	3	54,323	4.64
Konkani	497373	84.3	556237	69.95	600004	59.53	602626	51.51
Malayalam	126	0.02	5620	0.7	7,562	1	12,962	1.1
Marathi	9,333	2	168339	21.17	265803	26.37	390270	33.36
Telugu	162	0.27	3870	0.48	5,501	1	7,949	0.67
Urdu	7,970	1	18910	2.37	27580	2.73	39,944	3.41
Other Languages	72623	12.3	11611	1.46	40,961	4	19,830	1.69
Total	589,997	100	795120	100	1,007,749	100	1,169,793	100

Source: Adapted from

1. *Statistical Year Book, 1961*, Goa Daman and Diu, Panjim, pp.24-25.
2. *Census of India, 1971*, Series 28- Goa Daman and Diu, Part II C, Social and Cultural Tables, S. K. Gandhe, Indian Economic Service, Director of Census Operations, Goa Daman and Diu and Nagar Haveli.
3. *Census of India 1981*, Series -29, Goa Daman and Diu. Part I of 1987. Household and Household Population by Language mainly spoken in the Household, S. K. Gandhe, Indian Economic Service, Director of Census Operations, Goa Daman and Diu and Nagar Haveli.
4. *Census of India, 1991*, State Profile 1991 India, Dr. M. V. Jayanunni, Registrar General and Census Commissioner, India

EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS AT A GLANCE

Another important demographic feature is literacy. A literate, as per the 1991 census, is any person who can read and write with understanding in some language. While the literacy rate of Goa has increased greatly from the merely 31.23 percent in 1960 (D'Costa 1982: 108) to 82.01 in 2001 census (Table 5.7), the rural-urban variation in literacy rates is still very high, the urban areas being much more literate than the rural areas, influencing the choice of medium of instruction in urban and rural Goa.

Table 5.7: Literacy Rates in Urban/Rural Areas of Talukas

State/District/Taluka	Rural	Urban	Average
Goa State	79.7	84.4	82.0
North Goa	82	85.4	83.5
Tiswadi	82.4	86.3	84.9
Bardez	86.6	84.8	85.5
Pernem	80.6	82.1	80.8
Bicholim	81.7	86.8	83.8
Satari	74.5	88.3	81.4
Ponda	82	88.47	82.9
South Goa	76	83.3	80.1
Salcete	79.5	83.7	81.9
Mormugao	76	83.7	82.9
Sanguem	74.2	82.6	75.7
Quepem	69.2	81.4	74.8
Canacona	72.8	80.1	74.8

Source: Government of Goa 2006c. *Economic Survey 2005-2006*, Directorate of Planning, Statistics and Evaluation, pp. 5.

Goa ranks fourth among the States and Union Territories of India as far as literacy rates are concerned. Goa has advanced from the 6th position it occupied on the literacy scale in 1981 among the States and Union Territories of India to the fourth position in 2001, with its literacy rate rising from 65.71 in 1981 to 82.01 in 2001. The remarkable progress of literacy in the State may be attributed to the rapid spread of educational facilities in the post liberation era.

The educational structure in the State consists of Primary stage of Education comprising standard I to standard IV. There are also a number of private institutions that provide pre-primary education: a year in Nursery and two years in Kindergarten. The pre-primary education provided in the government schools is negligible. There are also a number of Anganwadi workers working under the Integrated Child development Services (ICDS) Programme. These workers have many centres in Goa, which, however, have not been investigated in this research since they are more involved in a programme of childcare than pre-school education. The Middle stage includes the V, VI and VII standards, from VIII to X comprise the Secondary stage, and XI and XII, the Higher Secondary stage. Excluding the X standard, all the examinations prior to that are conducted by the concerned institutions. The Goa Board of Secondary and Higher Secondary Education conducts the X and the XII standard examinations, after which the students can either opt for professional educational courses like medicine, dentistry, engineering, architecture, etc., or join the non-professional three-year degree courses in the faculties of Arts, Commerce and Science. Goa University also conducts post-graduate degree courses in a number of subjects and has provision for scholars to engage in research leading to M. Phil and PhD degrees.

For the purpose of this study the Primary stage of Education and the Pre-primary, both the Nursery and the Kindergarten are relevant. In recent years, Pre-primary and Kindergarten education has become very popular in Goa. Most of these institutions are privately managed and the medium employed is English. There are hardly any pre-primary schools attached to the government primary schools.

Broadly, there are three types of primary schools in Goa: government, non-government aided and non-government unaided schools. Primary schooling in Goa is conducted in various languages: Marathi, Konkani, English, Hindi, Kannada, Malayalam, Telugu and Urdu. While government schools are carried on in all the above media, non-government aided primary schools mainly employ Konkani, Marathi, English and Urdu. The non-government unaided schools are almost exclusively held in English. However, the three major languages, which the parents have opted for their children's primary education for the last few decades are Marathi, Konkani and English. Table 5.8 provides the medium-wise enrolment of children at primary level from 1982 to 2006.

In the year 2001-02, the percentages at the all Goa level in the enrolment figures in Marathi, Konkani and English were 47.24, 30.18 and 17.95 respectively; the percentages of the number of schools in different media did not correspond to the percentage of the enrolment in those media. Marathi enrolment figures constituted about 47.24 percent of the overall enrolment; but the percentage of schools in Marathi was about 73.64 percent. Konkani enrolment was about 30.18 percent but the percentage of schools in Konkani was only about 13.93 percent. And while the enrolment in English was about 17.95 percent, the percentage of schools in English was only 5.73 percent. Table 5.9 provides details of the taluka-wise number of schools in different media.

Table 5.8: Enrolment in Different Media for the years 1982-83 to 2005-2006

Year	Medium of Instruction							Total
	Marathi	%	English	%	Konkani	%	Other Languages	
1982-83	81598	64.13	42318	33.26	1337	1.05	1971	127224
1983-84	82400	63.75	43960	34.01	640	0.49	2250	129250
1984-85	76584	62.16	44474	36.10	410	0.33	1655	123191
1985-86	73514	60.19	46036	37.69	314	0.25	2259	122123
1986-87	70734	59.52	45596	38.37	221	0.18	1577	118828
1987-88	65867	57.31	45571	39.65	248	0.21	3229	114915
1988-89	63099	56.15	45560	40.54	257	0.22	3446	112362
1989-90	58310	54.38	45204	42.16	216	0.20	3486	107216
1990-91	57000	54.19	42798	40.69	1644	1.56	3731	105173
1991-92	56759	53.99	34626	32.93	9818	9.33	3920	105123
1992-93	57258	54.50	26566	25.28	16787	15.98	4436	105047
1993-94	57051	55.02	17627	17.00	24333	23.47	4662	103673
1994-95	55122	55.25	10793	10.81	29288	29.35	4557	99760
1995-96	52858	53.41	11630	11.75	29763	30.07	4715	98966
1996-97	51042	51.51	13429	13.55	29601	28.87	5007	99079
1997-98	50137	50.15	14800	14.80	29847	29.85	5179	99963
1998-99	50087	49.55	15706	15.54	30108	29.78	5167	101068
1999-00	47533	48.82	15687	16.11	29468	30.27	4657	97345
2000-01	46512	47.72	16474	16.90	29691	30.46	4780	97457
2001-02	44422	47.24	16887	17.95	28378	30.18	4341	94028
2004-05	36863	45.06	15736	19.23	25512	31.19	3684	81795
2005-06	36805	44.78	13382	16.28	28152	34.25	3843	82182

Source: Adapted from *Educational statistics at a glance* for the years 1982-83 to 1986-87, Statistics Section, Directorate of Education, Government of Goa, Daman and Diu, and for the years 1987-88 to 2001-2002, 2004-05, 2005-06, Statistics Section, Directorate of Education, Government of Goa.

Table 5.9: Number of Primary Schools in Different Media in 2002-2003

Name of Taluka	Marathi	Konkani	English	Others	Total
Pernem	95	4	4	-	103
Bardez	88	33	13	9	143
Bicholim	94	3	3	3	103
Sattari	115	1	2	2	120
Tiswadi	49	18	16	14	97
Ponda	158	6	3	5	172
Sanguem	121	4	-	2	127
Quepem	84	10	-	4	98
Canacona	73	5	-	3	81
Salcete	33	66	18	25	142
Mormugao	15	25	13	17	70
Total	925	175	72	7	1256

Source: Adapted from *List of Educational Institutions in Goa as on 30-9-2002 (2002-2003)*.
Directorate of Higher Education, Statistics Section, Government of Goa.

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

The background data provide a framework for the selection of the sample of parents from the two talukas. The details of the sample selected are provided in Table 5.10.

Table 5.10: Parents by Medium of Instruction

Medium of Instruction of the Child	Salcete		Bicholim		Total	Percent
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent		
Marathi	66	16.7	110	73.8	176	32.35
Konkani	212	53.7	21	14.1	233	42.83
English	117	29.6	18	12.1	135	24.81
Total	395	100	149	100	544	100

Though the sample was based on the medium of instruction, different types of schools, viz., government, private-aided and private unaided schools were represented in the sample. This is due to the use of a stratified, systematic random sampling method in the selection of the sample. In Goa, at least since the introduction of no grants-in-aid policy to schools run in English, that is, from the 1990s, many private unaided schools have emerged. The government schools and even the private-aided schools have taken a backseat with a growing preference for private unaided schools in English medium. In the subcontinent too, from the nineties one notices a increasing disenchantment with government's involvement in different fields, whether it be manufacturing steel and generating electricity or running hospitals and schools. A clarion call for a greater involvement of the private sector and a reduced role of government in the provision of varied goods and services was seen to be applicable in the running of the educational institutions also (De *et al* 2001: 131). Private sector has seen not only a sizeable growth in the number of private schools during the past three decades, but has also transformed, to a great extent, into a commercial enterprise (Sharma 2004: 1378). The inability of the government to provide quality education, especially English education, perceived to be worthwhile by the parents has resulted in the private service providers exploiting the prevailing excessive demand for English medium, operating with profit motive and charging heavy fees. However, despite the current preoccupation with privatisation, as far as educational research in the involvement of private sector is concerned, there is a paucity of research with the result that the subject has remained under-studied¹.

Basing themselves on data culled from various educational surveys conducted by the National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) De *et al* (2001:

134) writes that in rural India the share of private unaided schools in the overall picture of all the elementary schools is insignificant and even private aided schools have a limited presence. The same authors, however, state that in urban areas the size of private sector, especially the private unaided sector, is far from negligible and has grown considerably in the course of years. In Goa, the private aided and the unaided sector makes up for about 22 percent of the total number of schools at the primary level in the state (Government of Goa 2005) catering to about 55 percent of the total enrolment in government and private schools at the primary level (Government of Goa 2006a: 19).

Table 5.11: The Urban-Rural Composition of Government, Aided and Unaided Schools

Name of the Talukas	Urban			Rural			Total
	Government	Private Aided	Private Unaided	Government	Private Aided	Private Unaided	
Pednem	3	2	1	83	6	8	103
Bardez	7	1	8	76	31	13	136
Bicholim	5	2		86	4	5	102
Sattari	8	2	1	103		3	117
Tiswadi	15	8	8	42	11	9	93
Ponda	6			142	15	9	172
Sanguem	6	1		112	3	3	125
Quepem	25	8		61	3		97
Canacona	9	2	1	63	3	2	80
Salcete	28	15	13	48	33	11	148
Mormugao	15	9	8	16	8	4	60
Total (%)	127 (10.30)	50 (4.05)	40 (3.24)	832 (67.47)	117 (9.48)	67 (5.43)	1233 (100)

Source: Adapted from the *List of Recognised Educational Institutions in Goa as on 30-09-2004* (2004-2005), Directorate of Education, Statistics Section, Government of Goa, Panaji – Goa.

The private aided and unaided sector in the rural areas is almost 15 percent of the total number of schools and given the usually higher enrolment in private aided and unaided schools, many of which are English medium schools, the enrolment percent would be much higher (Appendix No. 4). The private unaided sector itself comprises about 5 percent of the total number of schools at the primary level. As mentioned earlier, this sector saw an increase in its numbers in Goa due to politicisation of education by language protagonists who demanded that 'no grants nor assistance should be given to those private schools which harm the minds of the tender children by thrusting on them ... (pre) primary and primary education in alien languages, especially English' ('Resolution passed' Konkani Bhasha Mandal, no date – cited in Noronha 1999: 50). However, as Gupta (1997) has stated in the context of education in Singapore and Malaysia, children do not seem to suffer emotionally or educationally for having not received education in the mother tongue. Since the demand is made more by the language protagonists than the educationists, one must note, it is the language maintenance and promotion of the regional languages and not the empowerment of the individual educationally that is at the root of the change in educational policy in Goa. The demands of the language protagonists fitted in well with the needs of the then MGP-dominated Progressive Democratic Front which wanted to address their concerns about the dwindling numbers of enrolment in Marathi. Today, therefore, the private aided and unaided schools in urban areas in Goa make up almost 50 percent of its involvement in the rural areas (Government of Goa 2005). Thus there is a substantially different picture in Goa as regards the private sector involvement in the educational field in the rural and urban areas. Table 5.12 provides the details regarding the locality of the school, the total

number of existing schools in the selected talukas, as well as of the number of schools selected. In Table 5.13 the number of parents interviewed or the sample selected from these areas is provided. Table 5.14 provides the number and percentages of parents interviewed from the different types of schools in Salcete and Bicholim.

Table 5.12: Locality of Schools, Existing Schools and Number of Schools Selected

Locality of the school	Salcete				Bicholim				Total	%
	Total No. of Schools		Schools Selected		Total No. of Schools		Schools Selected			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
Urban	57	41.60	12	42.85	7	6.86	2	8	14	26.41
Rural	80	58.39	16	57.14	95	93.13	23	92	39	73.58
Total	137	100	28	100	102	100	25	100	53	100

Table 5.13: Locality and Number of Parents Interviewed

Locality of the school	Salcete		Bicholim		Total	%
	Parents Interviewed		Parents Interviewed			
	No.	%	No.	%		
Urban	190	48.1	11	7.4	201	36.94
Rural	205	51.9	138	92.6	343	63.05
Total	395	100	149	100	544	100

Table 5.14: Parents by Type of Schools

Type Of School	Salcete		Bicholim		Total	%
	No.	%	No.	%		
Government	119	30.1	110	73.8	229	42.09
Private Aided	159	40.3	21	14.1	180	33.08
Private Unaided	117	29.6	18	12.1	135	24.81
Total	395	100.0	149	100.0	544	100

The children studying in different media in the Goan schools are not all native Goans but belong to various states of India and speak various languages. Goa is a multilingual and multicultural state with the numbers of minorities from different states and minority language speakers ever increasing and adding to the number of languages spoken in Goa. Kannada speakers have risen from 16504 in 1971 to 54323 in 1991. Urdu speakers also have registered an increase from 18919 in 1971 to 39944 in 1991. Hindi mother tongue speakers have increased to 37073 in 1991 from the 11375 in 1971. Malayalam, Telugu, Tamil, Gujarati, Bengali and Punjabi speakers are also increasing in Goa (Sinha 2002: 220). Thus a number of parents of non-Goan origin also formed a part of the sample and were interviewed. Though the parent's details, that is, of the father and the mother, were collected, there is not much difference at least in the details collected, and, secondly, since in the patriarchal society like ours, it is the father's decisions, which predominates, the details of the father's native state and his mother tongue are provided here. After marriage the tradition in Goa and India is to stay at the residence of the husband. Naturally, therefore, it is the residence of the father or his native state that gains importance. Likewise, the mother tongue of the couple is usually the same as they are generally from the same state, whether it is Goa or some other state of India. Very few spouses belonged to different states. Table 5.15 and 5.16 give details of the native state and mother tongue of the child's father in both the talukas.

Out of the 395 respondents in Salcete, 62.02 percent were native Goans and 37.97 percent were non-native Goans. In the Bicholim sample comprising of 149 respondents, there were 83.22 percent native Goans and 16.77 percent non-native Goans. Data suggest, therefore, the presence of more non-native Goans in Salcete, as compared to Bicholim

taluka. In Salcete, 8.56 percent of the native Goan population had their children in government schools, 51.42 percent in private-aided schools and 40 percent in private schools, whereas the percentages for non-native Goans were 65.33 percent in government schools, 22 percent in private-aided schools and 12.66 percent in private schools. Bicholim had a different picture in that children of 76.61 percent of native Goans were in government schools, 16.9 percent in private-aided schools and 6.45 percent in private schools. As regards the non-native Goans in Bicholim taluka, 36 percent were in government schools, 24 percent in private sided schools and 40 percent in private schools. Data thus reveal that the percentage of native Goans in government schools in Salcete was negligible as compared to the percentage of native Goans in government schools in Bicholim taluka. One of the main reasons for a higher percentage of native Goans in government schools in Bicholim taluka is the minuscule number of private and private-aided schools in this taluka, where 94.11 percent of schools are government schools. Other important reasons for the lesser percentage of native-Goans in Salcete in government schools are the desire for English schools, a great number of private-aided and private schools available and still mushrooming everywhere as well as the pitiable conditions of government schools in comparison with private aided and private schools.

Table 5.15: Regional Background, the Type of School and the Medium of Instruction

Type of School	Medium of Instruction		Salcete						Bicholim						Overall Total (A+B) %
			Native		Non-Natives		Total (A)		Natives		Non-Natives		Total (B)		
			No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Government	Mar	No.	15	22.72	51	77.27	66	100	95	92.34	9	8.65	104	100	170
		%	6.12		34		16.70		76.61		36		69.79		31.25
	Kon	No.	6	11.32	47	88.67	53	100							53
		%	2.44		31.33		13.41								9.74
Private-Aided	Mar	No.							4	66.66	2	33.33	6	100	6
		%							3.22		8		4.02		1.10
	Kon	No.	126	79.24	33	20.75	159	100	17	80.95	4	19.04	21	100	180
		%	51.42		22		40.25		13.7		16		14.09		33
Private	Eng	No.	98	83.76	19	16.23	117	100	8	44.44	10	55.55	18	100	135
		%	40		12.66		29.6		6.45		40		12.08		24.81
Overall Total		No.	245	62.02	150	37.97	395	100	124	83.22	25	16.77	149	100	544
		%	100		100		100		100		100		100		100

Abbreviations: Mar – Marathi; Kon - Konkani; Eng – English.

It is not that the government schools are any better in Bicholim Taluka, but just that the parents have no option even if they want to admit their children elsewhere as there are hardly any private-aided and private schools in their vicinity. Another important observation is that while in Salcete parents in government schools have sent their children, both to Marathi (16.70 percent) and Konkani (13.41 percent) schools; in Bicholim the parents have no choice but to admit their children in Marathi medium schools as there are no Konkani government primary level schools in Bicholim Taluka. This finding is surprising given the fact that Konkani is the official language of Goa. Another pertinent observation concerns the number of children in private-aided schools. Data suggest that there are hardly any private-aided institutions in Marathi, both in Salcete and Bicholim, as compared to their numbers in Konkani. This again is difficult to explain as, it is believed, that a number of Marathi institutions were set up by private individuals and Trusts during the pre-liberation era. While it is known that many of the private schools of the Portuguese times were directly converted into government schools in the post liberation period, the other plausible explanation, as one of the respondents claimed, is that the erstwhile Trusts which furthered Marathi education in Goa during the Portuguese times have shifted to more lucrative private unaided English education in the State. As regards the composition of respondents in private schools in Salcete, 83.76 percent of the respondents in English schools were native Goans and the remaining 16.23 percent non-native Goans. The native Goan population in Salcete, as one principal responded, prefers English medium schools as many parents intend to send their children to work as 'shippies' later on. They do not want them to pursue higher studies. But they want them to complete SSC with a good base of English language which will help them

at work. This could be one of the important reasons for many native Goan parents in Salcete to prefer English medium from the beginning. In Bicholim Taluka, the non-native respondents with children in English schools (55.55 percent) were more than the native respondents (44.44 percent). Probably, the non-native Goan respondents in English schools in the Bicholim Taluka were more because of the location of English schools: while one is located in the semi-urban area of Sanquelim, the other two are located in Dodamarg on the border of Goa with students from across the borders, and in the Chowgule mining area, where the school is established mainly to cater to the needs of the migrant labour working in the mines.

The Census data given in Table 5.6 (pp. 150) indicate an enormous increase in the percentage of those who returned Marathi as mother tongue in 1991, from the mere 2 percent in 1961 to 33.36 percent in the 1991 census. There is also a substantial decrease in the percentage of those who returned Konkani as their mother tongue, plummeting down from 84.3 percent in 1961 to 51.51 percent in 1991 census.

An attempt is made here to provide an explanation for the comparatively lesser percentage of Goans declaring Konkani as their mother tongue in the distribution of the population by mother tongue as recorded in the 1971, 1981 and 1991 census as against the percentage in the 1961 census. The percentage for Marathi mother tongue speakers, in comparison with that of Konkani, was very low in 1961 when the anti-Konkani, pro-Marathi, caste and religion-based merger oriented propaganda of the MGP had not yet begun. The giant leaps in the percentages of Marathi mother tongue speakers in the subsequent censuses have been an outcome of the pro-Marathi communal and merger campaign unleashed by the MGP. The MGP won the 1963 elections on the communal

and merger platform. The linguistic tensions that surfaced later, during the opinion poll, the official language agitation and the medium of instruction controversy are apparently the offshoots of the politicisation of language by the MGP. Though the MGP lost the opinion poll, its government conveniently believed that the language of Goa was Marathi and labeled Konkani as a dialect of Marathi dismissing all claims of Konkani protagonists. It went about establishing as many Marathi schools as possible assiduously taking over the primary education in Goa. Consequently, today there are many Goans who can read and write Marathi better than Konkani, and return Marathi as their mother tongue, especially to the census enumerators. Bewildered by the behaviour of some Goans, Vinayak Naik, a Goan writer, (2003) says, 'it has me wondering as to how can any worthy Goan claim Marathi to be his mother tongue. I can say with cent percent certainty that the language of thought of every local Marathi votary is Konkani.' He also comments thus:

Merely excelling in a language does not make a case for its adoption as one's mother tongue. Why should one go for an ersatz mother tongue by dumping one's own? True, there are lots of Goans who can read and write Marathi, and very well at that. Likewise, it is also true that there is an even bigger number of Goans who can do the same in English (*ibid*).

Many Hindus, especially from the New Conquest areas and from the Bahujan Samaj declare Marathi as their mother tongue. Such a response to the mother tongue question is a result of pre-liberation historical circumstances as well as the post-liberation politicization of languages. What Kertzer and Arel (2002: 27) said about mother tongue is very pertinent to understand the reasons for the higher percentage of Marathi mother tongue speakers in the later censuses in Goa. Many Goans declare a language as mother tongue not because they speak it in their homes or because it is the 'language spoken in

childhood by the person's mother to the person' but because it is 'the language of the nation to whom the individual is supposed to belong'. As Dasgupta says, for many Goans, mother tongue is the language that 'marks identity rather than realities of linguistic usage' (Dasgupta 2001: 14).

Konkani officially written today is Saraswat Konkani and is in essence different from colloquial Konkani or the Konkani used by Hindu Bahujan Samaj. The Hindu Bahujan Samaj is critical of the Saraswat Konkani and favours the dual language formula. Members of the Bahujan Samaj declare Marathi as their 'mother tongue' with a clear political motive of securing equal status to Marathi language. One must note that the enumerators during the census are predominantly the Marathi teachers in the government Marathi schools in Goa. The Census or official statistics are the 'technologies of truth production' utilised by the political groups to engrave their numerical weight in the political space.

According to Table 5.16, while only about 10 percent have declared Marathi as their mother tongue in the sample, a total of about 32 percent are studying in Marathi medium schools. If the government is serious about mother tongue education without any politicisation of education than these parents should have been provided access to mother tongue schools in the vicinity, which at least in Bicholim with 96 of the total 102 primary level schools being in Marathi, is far from being achieved. It may be argued that the parents want Marathi medium schools, but more than that, a far greater number of parents prefer English medium schools too.

Also, about 65 percent have responded that Konkani is their mother tongue. However, only about 43 percent are studying in Konkani schools. Konkani has never

been accepted as a medium of instruction, neither by Catholics, who otherwise espouse her cause with motherly devotion, calling it '*Amchi Mai*' (Our Mother), nor by Hindus, majority of whom, have preferred Marathi, probably due to its linkage with religion.

Only 1.47 percent declared English as their mother tongue, but almost about 25 percent of their children are studying in English medium schools. Strange, but true, they are familiar with all the pedagogical arguments strongly advocated by linguists, educationists and governments everywhere. The parents, however, go through all difficulties and strain every sinew to get their children admitted in English medium schools, perceived as the better schools, well equipped to explore the potentials of their children and prepare them for their future in the present ever-competitive world.

Divergence in the percentages of Konkani mother tongue speakers in the 1991 census and in the data collected by the researcher during his fieldwork (Table 5.6 and Table 5.16) needs to be explained. It is crucial to remember that a number of years have passed since the Opinion Poll politics of language, official language agitation and the medium of instruction controversy rocked the otherwise peaceful atmosphere of Goa. The emotions aroused by the political parties on either side of the language divide have considerably subsided. At the time this fieldwork was carried on, the flames of the linguistic tensions had been significantly smothered. Further, it must be acknowledged that the respondents tend to be less wary and more genuine in their responses when the data are collected by private individuals purely for academic reasons than by government officials for census or other administrative purposes. In all probability then, the actual linguistic reality, far from being different from, may be closer to the percentage of Konkani mother tongue speakers as recorded in the researcher's field data.

Table 5.16: Parents' Mother Tongue and Medium of Instruction in the Two Talukas

Mother Tongue	Marathi				Konkani				English				Total		Overall Total %
	Salcete		Bicholim		Salcete		Bicholim		Salcete		Bicholim				
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Kon	14	3.92	90	25.21	131	36.69	17	4.76	94	26.33	11	3.08	357	100	(65.63)
Mar	19	34.54	14	25.45	13	23.63	1	1.81	4	7.24	4	7.27	55	100	(10.11)
Eng					3	37.5			5	62.5			8	100	(1.47)
Kan	9	30	2	6.66	14	46.66			4	13.33	1	3.33	30	100	(5.51)
Urdu	5	41.66	1	8.33	3	25	2	16.66	1	8.33			12	100	(2.20)
Hindi	8	17.77	3	6.66	29	64.44	1	2.22	3	6.66	1	2.22	45	100	(8.27)
Por									1	100			1	100	(0.18)
Lam	2	25			6	75							8	100	(1.47)
Nep	1	16.66			5	83.33							6	100	(1.1)
Bhoj	3	42.85			3	42.85			1	14.28			7	100	(1.28)
Bel	1	100											1	100	(0.18)
Ben					2	100							2	100	(0.36)
Odiya	2	100											2	100	(0.36)
Tel	1	100											1	100	(0.18)
Tam					2	50			2	50			4	100	(0.73)
Raj					1	100							1	100	(0.18)
Mal	1	25							2	50	1	25	4	100	(0.73)
Total	66	12.13	110	20.22	212	38.97	21	3.86	117	21.50	18	3.30	544	100	(100)

N.B. 1) Only the percentages in parentheses are added vertically. All other percentages are added horizontally.

2) Abbreviations: Kon - Konkani; Mar - Marathi; Eng - English; Kan - Kannada; Por - Portuguese; Lam - Lamani; Nep - Nepali; Bhoj - Bhojpuri; Bel - Beldar; Ben - Bengali; Tel - Telugu; Tam - Tamil; Raj - Rajasthani; Mal - Malayalam.

That would be in conformity with the perception of the researcher who lives in the same socio-cultural milieu as that of the respondents.

Religion of the parents constitutes a significant variable in the choice of the medium of instruction and the details regarding the religious composition of the sample is provided in Table 5.17. Since, as per the census of 1991 Christians form a majority in Salcete followed by Hindus and Muslims, the sample selected also represents the three communities in the same order, though the Hindus have got proportionately a higher representation than the Christians. In Bicholim the sample selected is fully representative in the sense that it is almost proportionate to the population according to the Census of 1991.

Table 5.17: Parents' Religion

Religion of the Parents	Salcete		Bicholim		Total	Percent
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent		
Hindu	161	40.8	135	90.6	296	54
Christian	189	47.8	7	4.7	196	36.02
Muslim	44	11.1	7	4.7	51	9.37
Agnostic	1	.3			1	0.18
Total	395	100.0	149	100.0	544	100

The medium of instruction of the parents' primary as well as secondary education gains significance as the topic is concerned with the choice of medium of instruction by the parents. Often parents tend to choose the language they are comfortable with or the one, which they will be able to handle and teach their children efficiently. Thus data was collected regarding the medium of the parents' primary and secondary education. The data on the father's medium of education at primary and secondary education are

provided in Table 5.18 and Table 5.19. A glance at Table 5.18 reveals that most of the parents interviewed (38.6 percent of the total number of parents interviewed) had their primary education in Marathi. One of the reasons that explain this educational situation, besides the historical association of Marathi with the devotional aspects of the Hindus, is the MGP government's enthusiasm to establish Marathi government schools, especially in the strongholds of MGP, like the Bicholim constituency, during its long and continuous rule after the liberation. Some argue that the elite among the MGP did not want the lower castes and classes to learn English, as that would be detrimental to the exploitative interests of the high castes and classes. A similar argument could be read in the local newspapers during the recent introduction of the English subject in all government schools conducted in regional languages. However, about 57 percent from these parents sent their children to Marathi medium schools only, the rest admitted them either in English or Konkani schools.

English also was another predominant medium of primary in Goa after the liberation, especially, in Congress dominated talukas, like the Salcete taluka. From among the parents interviewed, 32.72 percent had done their primary in English medium. These parents have sent their children to English and Konkani schools with only 1 parent (0.56 percent), having enrolled the child in Marathi medium. Most of these parents who have sent their children to Konkani medium schools have not chosen the medium but the school, whatever the medium is. The characteristics of the school, the reputation, standard of the school mattered the most in choosing, especially the Konkani schools under the Archdiocesan Board of Education. The English schools have been chosen for the language of instruction.

Table 5.18: Medium of Instruction of the Father and the Child at Primary Level

Medium of Instruction of the Father's Primary Education	Medium of Instruction of the Child						Grand Total	%
	Salcete			Bicholim				
	Mar	Konk	Eng	Mar	Konk	Eng		
---	19	41	1	13		1	75	13.79
(%)	25.33	54.67	1.333	17.33		1.333	100	
Konkani		5	6				11	2.022
(%)		45.45	54.55				100	
Marathi	27	42	22	94	13	12	210	38.6
(%)	12.86	20	10.48	44.76	6.19	5.714	100	
English	1	92	77		7	1	178	32.72
(%)	0.56	51.69	43.26		3.93	0.562	100	
Urdu		8		1	1		10	1.83
(%)		80		10	10		100	
Kannada	10	13	5	2		2	32	5.88
(%)	31.25	40.63	15.63	6.25		6.25	100	
Hindi	5	8	2			1	16	2.94
(%)	31.25	50	12.5			6.25	100	18.38
Nepali	1	2					3	0.55
(%)	33.33	66.66					100	
Bengali		1					1	0.18
(%)		100					100	
Odiya	1						1	0.18
(%)	100						100	
Telugu	1						1	0.18
(%)	100						100	
Tamil			2				2	0.36
(%)			100				100	
Malayalam	1		2			1	4	0.73
(%)	25		50			25	100	
Total	66	212	117	110	21	18	544	100
(%)	12.13	38.97	21.51	20.22	3.86	3.309	100	

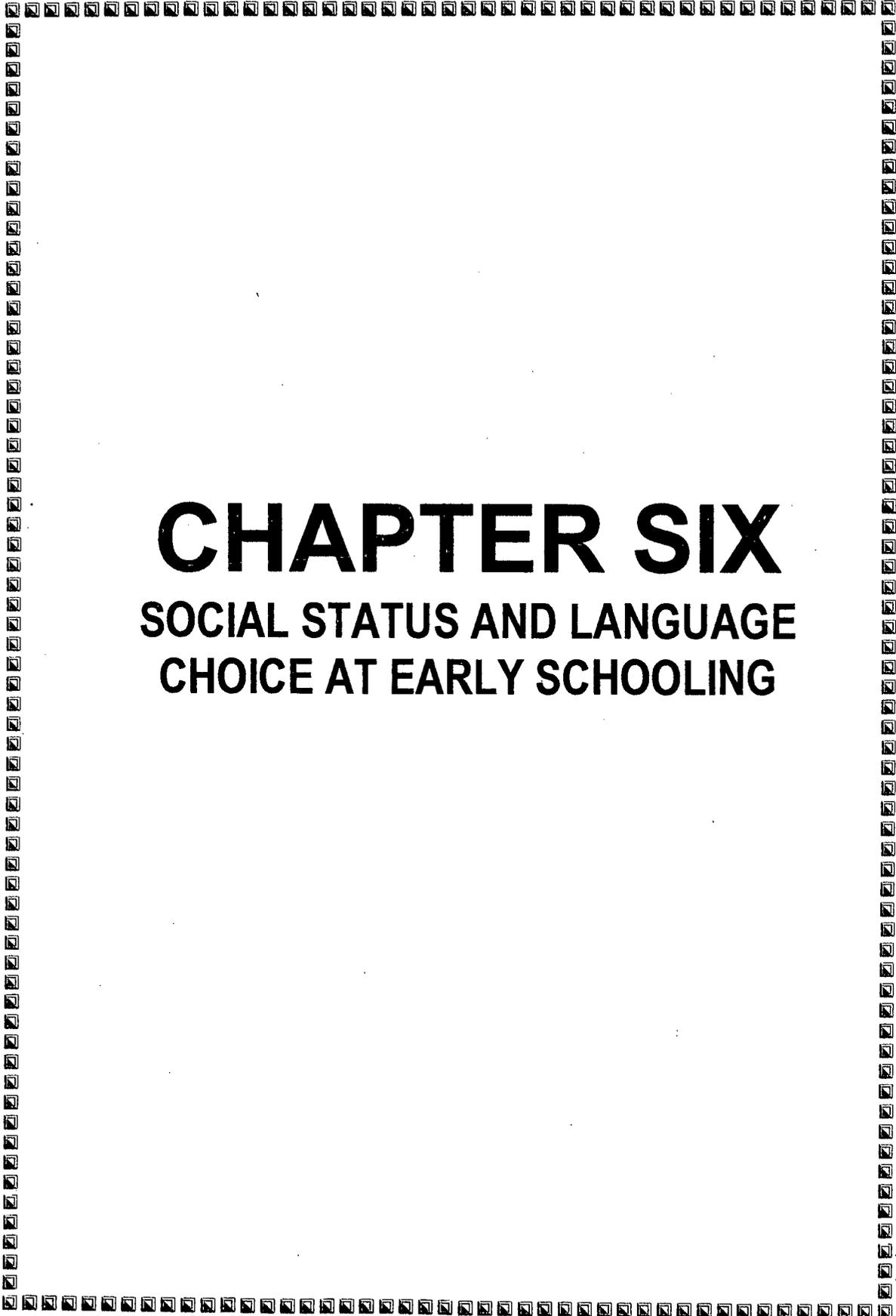
Table 5.19: Medium of Instruction of the Fathers' Secondary Education and Medium of Instruction of the Child at Primary

Medium of Instruction of the Father's Secondary Education	Salcete			Bicholim			Grand Total	%
	Mar	Konk	Eng	Mar	Konk	Eng		
-- (%)	30 24.19	60 48.39	3 2.419	28 22.58	1 0.806	2 1.613	124 100	22.79
Marathi (%)	8 20.51	7 17.95	2 5.128	19 48.72	0	3 7.692	39 100	7.16
English (%)	16 4.706	123 36.18	109 32.06	62 18.24	20 5.882	10 2.941	340 100	62.5
Urdu (%)		4 80		1 20			5 100	0.91
Kannada (%)	8 40	10 50				2 10	20 100	3.67
Hindi (%)	4 30.77	7 53.85	1 7.692	0	0	1 7.692	13 100	2.38
Bengali (%)		1 100					1 100	0.18
Tamil (%)			1 100				1 100	0.18
Malayalam (%)			1 100				1 100	0.18
Total (%)	66 12.13	212 38.97	117 21.51	110 20.22	21 3.86	18 3.309	544 100	100

Secondary education of the parents was predominantly in English. Even if some of them have done their primary in Marathi, 62.5 percent of the parents had secondary education in English. The six years of secondary done in English medium with only two subjects of the second and third language, even if it is presumed that the parent has completed only till SSC, ought to render the parent more comfortable in English than in the regional languages, and ill at ease to handle the Devanagari taught in schools. This is a reality, which has been expressed by many parents who find it difficult to teach their own children their own language written in a not so familiar Devanagari script and spoken with an accent of only a small section of the majority community.

NOTES

1. Some of the names notable in the research on the private sector involvement in school education are provided by De *et al* 2001. The researchers are: Bashir 1994, Dreze and Gazdar 1996, Duraisamy *et al* 1996, Govinda and Varghese 1993, Kingdon 1996, Majumdar and Vaidyanathan 1995, Mathew 1990, Shatrugna 1988, Tilak 1991



CHAPTER SIX

SOCIAL STATUS AND LANGUAGE CHOICE AT EARLY SCHOOLING

CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL STATUS AND LANGUAGE CHOICE AT EARLY SCHOOLING

Having examined some characteristics of the sample population in the last chapter, an attempt has been made in this chapter, to construct a socio-economic status scale and relate it to language choice. A host of socio-economic, cultural, political and other factors influence people's educational choices for their children. Not all are equitably positioned and equally free to choose, according to their wants, the medium of instruction in the educational system. Social stratification is ubiquitous. Inequalities are organised and positions formalised in some hierarchical order with strata identified in terms of status in all societies. In this study the variable occupation is used as one of the bases for identifying strata as it is highly correlated with other indices such as income and education (Hall 1969; Kahl and Davies 1955; Reiss et al. (eds.) 1961). The researchers have constantly used occupation as an index of social stratification (Mirchandani 2003: 69). Socio-economic index may not represent the stratification system exactly due to community as well as regional variations in the relative socio-economic positions of the occupations involved. Yet, on the whole, it is a fairly reliable indicator of the stratification system.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS INDEX

To construct a composite status index, information on occupational prestige, education and income was made use of. Firstly, the occupational prestige index was constructed by using variables such as job title, the nature of work done and the size of organisation. The researcher categorised the different occupations of the parents into status groups, and to avoid any subjectivity of the researcher asked a number of people belonging to different

occupations to grade the major occupations into different strata, thereby ensuring the appropriateness of the classification.

All the major occupations the parents were engaged in were graded on a five-point scale based on the prestige they enjoyed in the community. The score of 1 point indicated high prestige, 2 moderately high, 3 medium, 4 somewhat low and 5 low prestige occupations. The occupations indicated by the five points were heterogeneous and differed from the other groups significantly, but in its own group they formed a homogeneous whole.

The high prestige group included the following occupations: Administrator, Bank Officer, Doctor, Officer, Engineer, Excise Inspector, Landlord, Lawyer, Lecturer and Manager. The moderately high prestige group comprised of occupations like the Accountant, Artist, Goldsmith, Golf Coach, Nurse, Professional Actor, Real Estate Developer, Self-employed, Translator and those Working Abroad. Typical of the third medium group were occupations like the Beautician, Bus owner, Businesswoman, Chemist, Clerk, Contractor, Decorator, Draftsman, Head Constable, Insurance Agent, Landscaping, Musician, Bakery Owner, Photographer, Receptionist, Seaman, Supervisor and Technician. The fourth category of somewhat low prestige group involved the Carpenter, Cook, Driver, Factory worker, Farmer, Housewife, Jailor, Mechanic, Motorcycle Pilot, Rickshaw Owner, Plumber, Havaladar, Rice Mill Owner, Salesman/woman, Tailor and some who were hiring out Jeep/Van, etc. The last or the fifth category with low occupational prestige involved occupations like the Barber, Barge Employee, Basket Maker, Cobbler, Scrap Collector, Fisherwoman, Fruit Vendor, Hamali (coolie), Loader, Mali-Gardener, Mason, Masseur, Matka 'taker', Packer, Peon, Plucker,

Milkman, Room Boy, Bhelpuri Seller, Servant/ Maid, Cooking Utensils Seller, Toddy Tapper, Wage Labourer, Waiter, Watchman and Welder.

After ranking the occupations based on prestige, education and income were also ranked in a similar manner. The parents were ranked according to their educational qualifications on the five-point scale with 1 indicating the graduate and post-graduate parents, 2 representing those who have passed their SSC and HSSC, 3 implying those who have reached the secondary but not passed the tenth standard, 4 referred to the parents with primary education and 5 meant that the parents were illiterate. The qualifications of the parents are provided in Table 6.1 and 6.2.

Table 6.1: Father's Qualifications in Salcete and Bicholim

Father's Qualification	Salcete		Bicholim		Total	%
	No.	%	No.	%		
---	61	15.4	15	10.1	76	13.97
First to Fourth	34	8.6	16	10.7	50	9.19
Fifth to Seventh	32	8.1	24	16.1	56	10.29
Eighth and Ninth	58	14.7	30	20.1	88	16.17
SSC	95	24.1	29	19.5	124	22.79
HSSC	34	8.6	11	7.4	45	8.27
Diploma post SSC	8	2.0	1	.7	9	1.65
Diploma post HSSC	6	1.5	5	3.4	11	2.02
Grad. Non-Professional	41	10.4	13	8.7	54	9.92
Graduate Professional	14	3.5	1	.7	15	2.75
P. G. Non- Professional	8	2.0	4	2.7	12	2.2
P. G. Professional	4	1.0			4	0.73
Total	395	100.0	149	100.0	544	100

Table 6.2: Mother's Qualifications in Salcete and Bicholim

Mothers' Qualification	Salcete		Bicholim		Total	%
	No.	%	No.	%		
---	86	21.8	25	16.8	111	20.4
First to Fourth	25	6.3	25	16.8	50	9.19
Fifth to Seventh	45	11.4	23	15.4	68	12.5
Eight to Tenth	50	12.7	33	22.1	83	15.25
SSC	77	19.5	17	11.4	94	17.27
HSSC	46	11.6	6	4.0	52	9.55
Diploma post HSSC	3	0.8	1	.7	4	0.73
Graduate Nonprofessional	53	13.4	15	10.1	68	12.5
Graduate Professional	4	1.0	1	.7	5	0.91
P.G. Nonprofessional	5	1.3	3	2.0	8	1.47
P.G. Professional	1	.3			1	0.18
Total	395	100.0	149	100	544	100

Further the income variable also was ranked on the five-point scale wherein 1 stood for high incomes of more than 40000 per month, 2 included parents with income of more than 20000 to 40000 per month, 3 indicated parents with more than 10000 to 20000 per month, the somewhat low income group lay between 2500 and 10000 and was indicated by 4 and finally the lowest group of income less than 2500 was indicated by 5. Details of Parental income are provided in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3: Parental Income in Salcete and Bicholim

Monthly Income of Parents	Salcete		Bicholim		Total	%
	No.	%	No.	%		
---	4	1.0	3	2.0	7	1.28
Less Than 1000	6	1.5	1	.7	7	1.28
1000 to 2500	55	13.9	39	26.2	94	17.27
2501 to 5000	124	31.4	40	26.8	164	30.14
5001 to 10000	72	18.2	42	28.2	114	20.95
10001 to 15000	44	11.1	13	8.7	57	10.47
15001 to 20000	15	3.8	4	2.7	19	3.49
20001 to 25000	13	3.3	6	4.0	19	3.49
25001 to 30000	19	4.8			19	3.49
30001 to 40000	15	3.8	1	.7	16	2.94
40001 to 50000	13	3.3			13	2.38
More than 50000	11	2.8			11	2.02
More than 100000	4	1.0			4	0.73
Total	395	100.0	149	100.0	544	100

The composite social status index was derived by adding the scores of the three indices of occupation, education and income of the parents. The score facilitated the division of the sample population into five status groups. The higher the status groups the lower was the score and the lower the status groups the higher was the score. Thus all the parents were divided into the five status groups based on the composite score. The composite score of 5 to 9 represented the high social status, the scores ranging from 10 to 14 stood for the moderately high status, the scores 15 to 19 referred to those with medium status, the scores 20 to 24 meant the somewhat low status and finally the lowest status was indicated by the score 25. The last social status category differed from the one above

it by only one additional point and, at the same time, the combination of the last two status categories, it seemed, would provide more useful information than the five-category grouping. Thus, the last two categories were amalgamated into one - low status - category. The social status derived by adding the scores of three indices is provided in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4: Socio-Economic Status Index

Social Status	Salcete		Bicholim		Total	%
	No.	%	No.	%		
High	20	5.06	3	2.01	23	4.22
Moderately High	136	34.43	30	20.13	166	30.51
Medium	108	27.34	66	44.29	174	31.98
Low	131	33.16	50	33.55	181	33.27
Total	395	100	149	100	544	100

SOCIAL STATUS AND EDUCATIONAL REALITIES

The data presented in Table 6.5 indicate some correlation between social status, medium of instruction and the type of school attended. In both Salcete and Bicholim, the parents belonging to the higher social status have opted for English and Konkani and those of the lower statuses have chosen Marathi for their children's early schooling. There is a shift from English and Konkani to Marathi as one moves from the higher social status to a lower one. A similar trend is seen in the types of schools attended by the children belonging to the different social status. De *et al* (2001:136) basing themselves on the data generated by NCERT surveys, writes that 'private schooling is very much more expensive than schooling in government schools'. Private unaided schools which rely wholly on user finance are much more expensive than the private aided schools where

again the costs are substantially higher than the government schools, though the aided schools are almost wholly funded by the government. For parents of lower social status, therefore, the private schools, especially the unaided schools, are inaccessible. Thus one finds a higher percentage of children of higher social status parents in the private unaided and private aided schools than in government schools.

From the 1990s Goa entered into the era of marketisation of education. This was due to the denial of grants-in-aid to English medium schools and promoting primary education only through the regional languages. English medium schools switched over to the regional languages to be eligible for the grants-in-aid from the government. Almost all the private schools that switched to Konkani did so, as Tomazinho rightly puts it, not 'because people love (d) it but because there was no option but to accept it' (*Navhind Times, Panorama, Panjim, 19 February 2006: 3*).

Before and immediately after liberation of Goa, many private schools were set up with a sole motive of providing educational facilities and religious/moral values. The schools were established by the religious, linguistic groups as well as by private individuals with a philanthropic bent of mind. Today, however, that philanthropic streak in the education sector has waned and replaced by the dominant mode of commercialisation of education. Business houses and individual entrepreneurs have entered the sphere of education subordinating education to serve commercial interests. Education has become a commercial enterprise, a profit making activity.

The private unaided schools in Goa belong to this category. These schools are heterogeneous, covering children of parents from a wide socio-economic spectrum. However, the fact that the parents from medium and low status groups are found in

Marathi and Konkani medium government and aided schools proves that the accessibility of the private unaided English schools for the medium and low status groups is limited. A higher percentage of parents from high and moderately high status enrol their children in private unaided and private-aided schools whereas a much higher percentage of children belonging to low status parents are found in government primary schools. The fact that the children of low status parents are found overwhelmingly in Government schools probably means that the commodity of education available for a fee is beyond the reach of the parents of low status. This has resulted in polarisation of schools in the sense that the government schools enrol children of poor parents whereas the private schools, especially the private-unaided schools, in spite of their heterogeneity, have become exclusively limited to the higher status groups. Not only there is polarisation of schools by status there also exists a polarisation of schools by languages. The parents of higher status, at least in Salcete, show a pronounced preference for schools conducting education in English which they perceive as a prestigious and dominant language. The parents of low status both in Salcete and Bicholim have their children in government schools.

In this whole process the state has failed to bring about equality of opportunity and quality education to 'all' – a euphemistic term extending also to the disadvantaged groups. Equality has remained merely a constitutional aspiration and education has failed to be a liberalising and an egalitarian force. Since, as studies have indicated, only those with access to English education in private schools have better chances of joining higher education or to put it in another way, students gaining admission in prestigious institutions of higher education comes from such schools (Jayaram 1977; Chitnis 1999). The letter written by Sam Pitroda, the Chairman of the National Knowledge Commission,

to the Prime Minister, recommending that English language should be taught from Class I, emphasises the importance of English in India. It also considers understanding of, and command over, the English language as 'the most important determinant of access to higher education, employment possibilities and social opportunities' (cited in *The Sunday Express*, Mumbai, 7 January 2007: 1-2). The letter speaks of the possibility of transforming the 'exclusion' of those deprived of adequate training in English into 'inclusion' through public provision of English from Class I onwards.

Advocates of privatisation eulogize the choices the parents can make in choosing the type of school desired in the private sector (Tooley 2000). They presume that all parents are equally endowed with social, cultural and economic capital and can therefore make real and informed choices. However, the ground reality encompassing the parents of different statuses is far from the assumptions of the advocates of privatisation and the policy makers. The geo-politics of choice is a significant factor in the choice making of the school. While the parents from higher status make choices with the long-term benefits of the strategic choice made at early schooling and with a priority given to the calculated building up of the career of the child, the choice of parents with poor background depends on whether the choice of the school can be accommodated with the fulfilment of the immediate demands of family organisation. While the parents belonging to higher status are not constrained in their choices by the distance of the school, the parents of the lower status are more reluctant in choosing a distant school. Thus, the parents of higher status in choosing a school invest their social, cultural and economic capital with a long term socio-economic gain. Multiple sources of information about schools are accessible to these parents, either because of the cultural capital they possess or their social capital

and wider networks. They have the required economic capital to pay the heavy donations at admission time as well as the monthly fees. And, these forms of capital help them to approach the school they desire for their children and obtain admission for them in different ways, even using the right influence to pressurise the management of the school if so required.

Table 6.5: Parents by Social Status, Type of School and Medium of Instruction

Taluka	Social Status	Type of School						Total (A+B+C)	
		Government Schools			Private-aided Schools				Private Unaided Schools
		Mar	Konk	Total (A)	Mar	Konk	Total (B)		Eng (C)
Salcete	High (%)					7 (35)	7 (35)	13 (65)	20 (100)
	Mod. High	1 (0.73)		1 (0.73)		52 (38.23)	52 (38.23)	83 (61.02)	136 (100)
	Med (%)	20 (18.51)	4 (3.70)	24 (22.22)		64 (59.25)	64 (59.25)	20 (18.51)	108 (100)
	Low (%)	45 (34.35)	49 (37.40)	94 (71.75)		36 (27.48)	36 (27.48)	1 (0.76)	131 (100)
	Total (%)	66 (16.70)	53 (13.41)	119 (30.12)		159 (40.25)	159 (40.25)	117 (29.62)	395 (100)
Bicholim	High (%)					2 (66.66)	2 (66.66)	1 (33.33)	3 (100)
	Mod. High	4 (13.33)		4 (13.33)		15 (50)	15 (50)	11 (36.66)	30 (100)
	Med (%)	53 (80.30)		53 (80.30)	5 (7.57)	4 (6.06)	9 (13.63)	4 (6.06)	66 (100)
	Low (%)	47 (94)		47 (94)	1 (2)		1 (2)	2 (4)	50 (100)
	Total (%)	104 (69.79)		104 (69.79)	6 (4.02)	21 (14.09)	27 (18.12)	18 (12.08)	149 (100)

Abbreviations: Mar – Marathi; Konk – Konkani

The interrelationship between social status and the medium of instruction does not change much even when compared across religious communities in Goa. Table 6.6 provides the interrelationship between social status and medium of instruction across the major three communities in Goa. However, as is expected because of the historical

circumstances, one does observe a higher percentage of Christians in Konkani medium schools in Salcete (a negligible number of 4 Christian children out of the total 189, that is only 2.11 percent were in Marathi medium schools) but surprisingly one notices that the percentage of Hindus too, who have opted for Konkani in Salcete, is much higher than those who have opted for Marathi for their children's early schooling. In Bicholim the children of medium and low status Hindu parents have overwhelmingly opted for Marathi medium while the parents of high and moderately high social status have opted for Konkani and English medium schools.

Table 6.6: Religion, Social Status and the Medium of Instruction

Religion	Social Status	Salcete				Bicholim				Grand Total (A+B)
		Medium of Instruction of the Child			Total (A)	Medium of Instruction of the Child			Total (B)	
		Mar	Konk	Eng		Mar	Konk	Eng		
Hindu	High (%)		3 (37.5)	5 (62.5)	8 (100)		2 (66.66)	1 (33.33)	3 (100)	11
	M. High (%)	1 (2.85)	12 (34.28)	22 (62.85)	35 (100)	4 (16.66)	9 37.5	11 (45.83)	24 (100)	59
	Med. (%)	16 (31.37)	26 (50.98)	9 (17.64)	51 (100)	56 (91.80)	1 (1.63)	4 (6.55)	61 (100)	112
	Low (%)	32 (47.76)	35 (52.23)		67 (100)	46 (97.87)		1 (2.12)	47 (100)	114
Christian	High (%)		4 (36.36)	7 (63.63)	11 (100)					11
	M. High (%)		39 (39.79)	59 (60.2)	98 (100)		4 (100)		4 (100)	102
	Med. (%)	3 (5.76)	38 (73.07)	11 (21.15)	52 (100)		2 (100)		2 (100)	54
	Low (%)	1 (3.57)	26 (92.85)	1 (3.57)	28 (100)			1 (100)	1 (100)	29
Muslim	M. High (%)		1 (33.33)	2 (66.66)	3 (100)		2 (100)		2 (100)	5
	Med. (%)	1 (20)	4 (80)		5 (100)	2 (66.66)	1 (33.33)		3 (100)	8
	Low (%)	12 (33.33)	24 (66.66)		36 (100)	2 (100)			2 (100)	38
Ag nos tic	High (%)			1 (100)	1 (100)					1
	Total	66	212	117	395	110	21	18	149	544

Abbreviations: Mar – Marathi; Konk – Konkani; Eng – English.

SOCIAL STATUS AND PARENTAL ASPIRATIONS

As the data indicate, the social statuses of the parents determine the parental aspirations for children's education and employment. The parental aspirations are directly proportional to the social status, the higher social status parents aspiring for higher degrees and high status employment opportunities and the lower status parents aspiring for much lower qualifications and jobs. About 11 and 23 percent of medium and low status parents respectively in Salcete and about 32 and 44 percent of medium and low status parents respectively in Bicholim, responded with 'whatever they can/want' when questioned about their plans for their children's education, as they entertained no specific aspirations. A considerable percentage among these groups indicated no specific plans for their children's employment also. Further, about 2 and 6 percent of parents of medium and low status respectively from Salcete and 2 percent of parents of low status from Bicholim responded very fatalistically as regards their children's education. As regards employment aspirations too, about 2 and 12 percent of the medium and low status parents respectively from Salcete gave a fatalistic response. Similarly, 2 percent parents of low status from Bicholim responded likewise. However, a number of parents of medium or low status responded with high educational and employment aspirations too. Entertaining high educational and employment aspirations by some parents from lower statuses means that they nurture mobility aspirations for their children. These parents are involved in resisting structural determination and reproduction of their situation. Hope is writ large in their aspirations in the sense of the willingness they show to reconstruct their learning and working conditions. Table 7a, 7b, 8a, 8b, 8c and 8d provide details regarding the social status and the parental aspirations for their children's education and employment.

Table 6.7a: Social Status and Parental Aspirations for Children's Education

Taluka	SS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Salcete	H (%)	15 (75)	3 (15)	2 (10)						
	MH (%)	47 (34.55)	23 (16.92)	55 (40.44)	1 (0.73)	1 (0.73)		4 (2.94)		2 (1.47)
	Md (%)	13 (12.03)	5 (4.62)	43 (39.81)			1 (0.92)	15 (13.88)	1 (0.92)	14 (12.96)
	L (%)	1 (0.76)	2 (1.52)	12 (9.16)				14 (10.68)		46 (35.11)
	T (%)	76 (19.24)	33 (8.35)	112 (28.35)	1 (0.25)	1 (0.25)	1 (0.25)	33 (8.35)	1 (0.25)	62 (15.69)
Bicholim	H (%)	3 (100)								
	MH (%)	17 (56.66)	7 (23.33)	5 (16.66)						
	Md (%)	8 (12.12)	5 (7.57)	17 (25.75)				8 (12.12)		3 (4.54)
	L (%)		1 (2)	4 (8)				3 (6)		10 (20)
	T (%)	28 (18.79)	13 (8.72)	26 (17.44)				11 (7.38)		13 (8.72)

Abbreviations: SS – Social Status; H – High; MH – Moderately High; Md – Medium; L – Low; T – Total; (%) – Percentage. 1: Professional Degree 2: Post-Graduation 3: College Graduation 4: Sky is the limit 5: We don't want to exert any pressure 6: Let them choose their vocation 7: HSSC 8: Technical diploma after SSC 9: SSC 10: Middle school 11: To teach lots 12: Want to teach lots but cannot 13: If they pass I will teach them 14: Not decided 15: Whatever they can/want 16: Whatever in store for him/her 17: Enough to sell vessels 18: Not responded

Table 6.7b: Social Status and Parental Aspirations for Children's Education

Taluka	SS	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total
Salcete	H (%)										20 (100)
	MH (%)					1 (0.73)	2 (1.47)				136 (100)
	Md (%)		1 (0.92)	1 (0.92)			12 (11.11)	2 (1.85)			108 (100)
	L (%)	5 (3.81)	2 (1.52)	7 (5.34)	2 (1.52)	1 (0.76)	30 (22.90)	7 (5.34)	1 (0.76)	1 (0.76)	131 (100)
	T (%)	5 (1.26)	3 (0.75)	8 (2.02)	2 (0.50)	2 (0.50)	44 (11.13)	9 (2.27)	1 (0.25)	1 (0.25)	395 (100)
Bicholim	H (%)										3 (100)
	MH (%)						1 (3.33)				30 (100)
	Md (%)		3 (4.54)	1 (1.51)			21 (31.81)				66 (100)
	L (%)	1 (2)	1 (2)	6 (12)	1 (2)		22 (44)	1 (2)			50 (100)
	T (%)	1 (0.67)	4 (2.68)	7 (4.69)	1 (0.67)		44 (29.53)	1 (0.67)			149 (100)

Abbreviations: SS – Social Status; H – High; MH – Moderately High; Md – Medium; L – Low; T – Total; (%) – Percentage. 1: Professional Degree 2: Post-Graduation 3: College Graduation 4: Sky is the limit 5: We don't want to exert any pressure 6: Let them choose their vocation 7: HSSC 8: Technical diploma after SSC 9: SSC 10: Middle school 11: To teach lots 12: Want to teach lots but cannot 13: If they pass I will teach them 14: Not decided 15: Whatever they can/want 16: Whatever in store for him/her 17: Enough to sell vessels 18: Not responded

Table 6.8a: Social Status and Parental Aspirations for Children's Employment

Taluka	SS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Salcete	H (%)	1 (5.00)	1 (5.00)		1 (5.00)	2 (10.00)	5 (5.00)	1 (5.00)		1 (5.00)	1 (5.00)	1 (5.00)	3 (15.00)		
	MH (%)		4 (2.94)	1 (0.73)	20 (14.70)	1 (0.73)	30 (22.05)			2 (1.47)	1 (0.73)		17 (12.5)		
	Md (%)			1 (0.92)	12 (11.11)		20 (18.51)				1 (0.92)		1 (0.92)	1 (0.92)	1 (0.92)
	L (%)				6 (4.58)		9 (6.87)				1 (0.76)				
	T (%)	1 (0.25)	5 (1.26)	2 (0.5)	39 (9.87)	3 (0.75)	64 (16.2)	1 (0.25)		3 (0.75)	4 (1.01)	1 (0.25)	21 (5.31)	1 (0.25)	1 (0.25)
Bicholim	H (%)						1 (33.33)		1 (33.33)				1 (33.33)		
	MH (%)				10 (33.33)		8 (26.66)	2 (6.66)			1 (3.33)		1 (3.33)		
	Md (%)		2 (3.03)		6 (9.09)		20 (30.30)			1 (1.51)	3 (4.54)		2 (3.03)		
	L (%)				2 (4.00)		5 (10.00)								
	T (%)		2 (1.34)		18 (12.08)		34 (22.81)	2 (1.34)	1 (0.67)	1 (0.67)	4 (2.68)		4 (2.68)		

Abbreviations: SS – Social Status; H – High; MH – Moderately High; Md – Medium; L – Low; T – Total. 1: Aeronautical Engineer, 2: Computer Engineer, 3: Mechanical Engineer, 4: Engineer, 5: Manager, 6: Doctor, 7: Dentist, 8: Chartered Accountant, 9: Pilot, 10: Lawyer, 11: Architect, 12: Some Professional, 13: IAS Officer, 14: Pharmacist, 15: Some Officer, 16: Commander, 17: Customs Officer, 18: Navy Officer, 19: Lecturer, 20: Businessman/woman, 21: Inspector, 22: Chemist, 23: Air Hostess, 24: Teacher, 25: Nurse, 26: Priest, 27: Nun, 28: Professional Musicians, 29: Go Abroad/Ship, 30: White Collar Job, 31: Sportsman, 32: Football Player, 33: Actress, 34: Clerk, 35: Soldier, 36: Police, 37: Mechanic, 38: Typist, 39: Tailor, 40: Carpenter, 41: Electrician, 42: Government job, 43: Some job, 44: Wage labourer, 45: Sell vessels, 46: To be seen later, 47: Whatever they want, 48: Whatever is in store for him/her, 49: Not decided, 50: Get her married, 51: Not responded.

Table 6.8b: Social Status and Parental Aspirations for Children's Employment

Taluka	SS	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
Salcete	H (%)										1 (5.00)		1 (5.00)		
	MH (%)	1 (0.73)		2 (1.47)	1 (0.73)	2 (1.47)	6 (4.41)				23 (16.91)	1 (0.73)	4 (2.94)	3 (2.20)	1 (0.73)
	Md (%)						1 (0.92)	1 (0.92)		1 (0.92)	10 (9.25)	3 (2.77)	2 (1.85)	3 (2.77)	
	L (%)										10 (7.63)		1 (0.76)	2 (1.52)	
	T (%)	1 (0.25)		2 (0.5)	1 (0.25)	2 (0.5)	7 (1.77)	1 (0.25)			1 (0.25)	44 (11.13)	4 (1.01)	8 (2.02)	8 (2.02)
Bicholim	H (%)														
	MH (%)	2 (6.66)	1 (3.33)				2 (6.66)		1 (3.33)		1 (3.33)				
	Md (%)	2 (3.03)					1 (1.51)				11 (16.66)	3 (4.54)			
	L (%)										7 (14)	2 (4)			
	T (%)	4 (2.68)	1 (0.67)				3 (2.01)		1 (0.67)		19 (12.75)	5 (3.35)			

Abbreviations: SS – Social Status; H – High; MH – Moderately High; Md – Medium; L – Low; T – Total. 1: Aeronautical Engineer, 2: Computer Engineer, 3: Mechanical Engineer, 4: Engineer, 5: Manager, 6: Doctor, 7: Dentist, 8: Chartered Accountant, 9: Pilot, 10: Lawyer, 11: Architect, 12: Some Professional, 13: IAS Officer, 14: Pharmacist, 15: Some Officer, 16: Commander, 17: Customs Officer, 18: Navy Officer, 19: Lecturer, 20: Businessman/woman, 21: Inspector, 22: Chemist, 23: Air Hostess, 24: Teacher, 25: Nurse, 26: Priest, 27: Nun, 28: Professional Musicians, 29: Go Abroad/Ship, 30: White Collar Job, 31: Sportsman, 32: Football Player, 33: Actress, 34: Clerk, 35: Soldier, 36: Police, 37: Mechanic, 38: Typist, 39: Tailor, 40: Carpenter, 41: Electrician, 42: Government job, 43: Some job, 44: Wage labourer, 45: Sell vessels, 46: To be seen later, 47: Whatever they want, 48: Whatever is in store for him/her, 49: Not decided, 50: Get her married, 51: Not responded.

Table 6.8c: Social Status and Parental Aspirations for Children's Employment

Taluka	SS	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42
Salcete	H (%)		1 (5.00)												
	MH (%)	2 (1.47)										2 (1.47)			3 (2.20)
	Md (%)	6		1 (0.92)	1 (0.92)	1 (0.92)	6 (5.55)					3 (2.77)		1 (0.92)	2 (1.85)
	L (%)	1 (0.76)					7 (5.34)		3 (2.29)	1 (0.76)	1 (0.76)	5 (3.81)	1 (0.76)	1 (0.76)	7 (5.34)
	T (%)	9 (2.27)	1 (0.25)	1 (0.25)	1 (0.25)	1 (0.25)	13 (3.29)		3 (0.75)	1 (0.25)	1 (0.25)	10 (2.53)	1 (0.25)	2 (0.5)	12 (3.03)
Bicholim	H (%)														
	MH (%)														
	Md (%)			1 (1.51)				1 (1.51)	2 (3.03)	1 (1.51)		1 (1.51)			1 (1.51)
	L (%)		1 (2)				1 (2)		2 (4)						4 (8)
	T (%)		1 (0.67)	1 (0.67)			1 (0.67)	1 (0.67)	4 (2.68)	1 (0.67)		1 (0.67)			5 (3.35)

Abbreviations: SS – Social Status; H – High; MH – Moderately High; Md – Medium; L – Low; T – Total 1: Aeronautical Engineer, 2: Computer Engineer, 3: Mechanical Engineer, 4: Engineer, 5: Manager, 6: Doctor, 7: Dentist, 8: Chartered Accountant, 9: Pilot, 10: Lawyer, 11: Architect, 12: Some Professional, 13: IAS Officer, 14: Pharmacist, 15: Some Officer, 16: Commander, 17: Customs Officer, 18: Navy Officer, 19: Lecturer, 20: Businessman/woman, 21: Inspector, 22: Chemist, 23: Air Hostess, 24: Teacher, 25: Nurse, 26: Priest, 27: Nun, 28: Professional Musicians, 29: Go Abroad/Ship, 30: White Collar Job, 31: Sportsman, 32: Football Player, 33: Actress, 34: Clerk, 35: Soldier, 36: Police, 37: Mechanic, 38: Typist, 39: Tailor, 40: Carpenter, 41: Electrician, 42: Government job, 43: Some job, 44: Wage labourer, 45: Sell vessels, 46: To be seen later, 47: Whatever they want, 48: Whatever is in store for him/her, 49: Not decided, 50: Get her married, 51: Not Responded.

Table 6.8d: Social Status and Parental Aspirations for Children's Employment

Taluka	SS	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	Total
Salcete	H (%)										20 (100)
	MH (%)					1 (0.73)		8 (5.88)			136 (100)
	Md (%)	5 (4.62)			2 (1.85)	8 (7.40)	2 (1.85)	10	1 (0.92)	1 (0.92)	108 (100)
	L (%)	27 (20.61)	1 (0.76)	1 (0.76)	2 (1.52)	18 (13.74)	15 (11.45)	8 (6.10)		3 (2.29)	131 (100)
	T (%)	32 (8.1)	1 (0.25)	1 (0.25)	4 (1.01)	27 (6.83)	17 (4.30)	26 (6.58)	1 (0.25)	4 (1.01)	395 (100)
Bicholim	H (%)										3 (100)
	MH (%)							1 (3.33)			30 (100)
	Md (%)	3 (4.54)				1 (1.51)		4 (6.06)			66 (100)
	L (%)	19 (38)			1 (2)	3 (6)	1 (2)	2 (4)			50 (100)
	T (%)	22 (14.76)			1 (0.67)	4 (2.68)	1 (0.67)	7 (4.69)			149 (100)

Abbreviation: SS – Social Status; H – High; MH – Moderately High; Md – Medium; L – Low; T –Total. 1: Aeronautical Engineer, 2: Computer Engineer, 3: Mechanical Engineer, 4: Engineer, 5: Manager, 6: Doctor, 7: Dentist, 8: Chartered Accountant, 9: Pilot, 10: Lawyer, 11: Architect, 12: Some Professional, 13: IAS Officer, 14: Pharmacist, 15: Some Officer, 16: Commander, 17: Customs Officer, 18: Navy Officer, 19: Lecturer, 20: Businessman/woman, 21: Inspector, 22: Chemist, 23: Air Hostess, 24: Teacher, 25: Nurse, 26: Priest, 27: Nun, 28: Professional Musicians, 29: Go Abroad/Ship, 30: White Collar Job, 31: Sportsman, 32: Football Player, 33: Actress, 34: Clerk, 35: Soldier, 36: Police, 37: Mechanic, 38: Typist, 39: Tailor, 40: Carpenter, 41: Electrician, 42: Government job, 43: Some job, 44: Wage labourer, 45: Sell vessels, 46: To be seen later, 47: Whatever they want, 48: Whatever is in store for him/her, 49: Not decided, 50: Get her married, 51. Not responded.

SOCIAL STATUS AND CHOICE

The Tables 6.9 and 6.10 present the reasons determining the choice of school in Salcete and Bicholim. They indicate that the parents belonging to the higher social status choose a school based more on the characteristics and the language of instruction in the school than any other reasons. As one goes lower on the status scale the parents increasingly choose the school for some other reasons. For the purpose of explanation, the characteristics of the school, the language of instruction in the school and the other reasons, given in the Tables 6.9 and 6.10, are presented in greater detail in Table 6.11a, 6.11b and 6.11c.

Table 6.9: Reasons Determining Choice of School by Social Status in Salcete

Social Status	Reasons Determining the Choice of School by Parents				Total
	No Reason Provided	The Characteristics of the School	The Language of Instruction in the School	Other Reasons	
High %		6 (30)	14 (70)		20 (100)
Moderately High %		36 (26.47)	79 (58.08)	21 (15.44)	136 (100)
Medium %	2 (1.85)	24 (22.22)	19 (17.59)	63 (58.33)	108 (100)
Low %	3 (2.29)	5 (3.81)	4 (3.05)	119 (90.83)	131 (100)
Total %	5 (1.26)	71 (17.97)	116 (29.36)	203 (51.39)	395 (100)

Those whose choice of school was determined by the characteristics of schools chose on the basis of the perceived standard/reputation of the school, the discipline and perceived values imparted in the school and the need to admit the child in the desired school from the fifth standard. Others chose on the basis of language: the academic and employment potential of the language, the similarity of language of instruction with the language used at home and the relationship of language and identity. It is clear in the

field that the academic and employment potential of the language has been more significant in the choice of the medium of instruction than the languages' relation to identity or the similarity of its use at home. The academic and employment potential of the language is more characteristic of the higher social status than the lower ones, who have opted for the medium for some other reasons (Table 6.11a). Again the choice of school based on the standard/reputation of the school and also the values/discipline imparted in the school is more characteristic of the parents belonging to the higher social status than the parents belonging to the low status (Table 6.11b).

The parents of the high social status do not figure in Table 6.11c as they have selected the school for the characteristics of the school or the characteristics of the language. In Salcete, almost 50 percent of those who have chosen the school for other reasons other than the ones mentioned above have done so due to reasons of proximity or

Table 6.10: Reasons Determining Choice of School by Social Status in Bicholim

Social Status	Reasons Determining the Choice of School by Parents			Total
	The Characteristics of the School	The Language of Instruction in the School	Other Reasons	
High %	2 (66.66)	1 (33.33)		3 (100)
Moderately High %	12 (40)	13 (43.33)	5 (16.66)	30 (100)
Medium %	8 (12.12)	19 (28.78)	39 (59.09)	66 (100)
Low %		1 (2)	49 (98)	50 (100)
Total %	22 (14.76)	34 (22.81)	93 (62.41)	149 (100)

accessibility. As far as Bicholim is concerned, 60 percent of the parents belonging to the moderately high status and over 85 percent of the parents belonging to both the medium and low status who chose the school for other reasons opted for the school because of reasons of proximity or accessibility. The findings only corroborate research, which has identified proximity as a key factor in school decision making especially among the working classes (Coffey 2001: 25; Ball *et al*1997: 412). Space and travel are tightly tied into the choice of school. As said earlier, for these parents, especially the low status parents, the distance from the school, the limitations of public and private transport, the constraints of household organization are of particular significance in the choice of school.

Another key element that determined the choice of school among the 'Other Reasons' offered for the choice of school was the financial difficulties involved in admitting the child into a school. In Salcete, about 15 percent of those from the moderately high, 20 percent from the medium status and about 27 percent from the low status, who chose the school for 'Other Reasons', did so because of financial difficulties. In Bicholim too, about 8 percent from the medium and 15 percent from the low status parents, who chose the school for 'Other Reasons', did so because of financial constraints in admitting the child to an English medium school. Another important reason cited by almost 10 percent of parents from low status who chose for 'Other Reasons' was that the teachers persuaded them to send their children to school.

The Goa government in promoting education in the regional languages has become an instrument, firstly, of politicization of education in the hands of the language protagonists, and secondly, of maintenance and reproduction of economic inequalities.

Also, the supposed neutrality of the education system and that of the schools, not only sustain but also produce differential results widening the gulf between the rich and the poor, since the type of education provided in many schools with one teacher handling in one classroom children of four standards (see Photo 6.1), cannot compete with children in English medium and also some aided schools with a much better infrastructure facilitating the children's all round development.



Photo 6.1: Government Primary School with Single Teacher Konkani Medium Primary Classroom in Margao Municipal Area, Salcete Taluka (Standard I to IV)

Data also indicated the prevalence of the preference for English medium schools among those presently studying in Konkani and Marathi medium schools in both the talukas (Table 6.12). Pronounced preference for English medium is evident across all strata except among those parents with children in Marathi medium from the medium status in both, Salcete and Bicholim, where more than 50 percent of the parents preferred Marathi. Most of these parents' mother tongue is Konkani but they prefer Marathi probably

because of some conception they have of Konkani and Marathi. Language users have certain conceptions of language and they use the language or languages on the basis of those conceptions thereby reproducing them. One of such conceptions, still persisting among some Goans, is that Marathi is a standard variety and that Konkani is its dialect. For instance, a number of respondents declare their mother tongue as Marathi, despite their speaking Konkani in the household and not knowing much of Marathi. They do so because Marathi is a standard language and Konkani a '*gaunti*' language (a derogatory term meaning local and ordinary language). This is an outcome of the kind of glorification of some regional languages, which takes place at the ideological level (Aikara 2004: 44).

Table 6.11a: Social Status, Language Characteristics and Choice of School

Taluka	Social Status	The language has Better Academic and Employment Potential	The Language is related to our Identity	The Language of Instruction is Similar to the Language use at Home	Not Res-ponded	Total (%)
Salcete	High (%)	11 (78.57)	1 (7.14)		2 (14.28)	14 (100)
	Mod. High %	62 (78.48)	2 (2.53)	11 (13.92)	4 (5.06)	79 (100)
	Medium %	14 (73.68)		1 (5.26)	4 (21.05)	19 (100)
	Low %			4 (100)		4 (100)
	Total %	87 (75)	3 (2.58)	16 (13.79)	10 (8.62)	116 (100)
Bicholim	High %	1 (100)				1 (100)
	Mod. High %	8 (61.53)		1 (7.69)	4 (30.76)	13 (100)
	Medium %	3 (15.78)		1 (5.26)	15 (78.94)	19 (100)
	Low %				1 (100)	1 (100)
	Total %	12 (35.29)		2 (5.88)	20 (58.82)	34 (100)

However, the preference for English medium education is an outcome of the practical point of view shared by many parents that English education has tremendous academic and employment potential. Parents prefer English medium schools, as they believe them to be the means by which their children would gain access to knowledge, better occupations and attain upward social mobility. However, these parents gave reasons for not admitting their children into English medium schools. Some of these reasons are: 1) Many of the private-aided schools in Konkani and Marathi are reputed schools and have been catering to the educational needs of the Goan people for more than some decades at least. The parents tend to choose these schools despite the fact that the medium of instruction followed in the school is the regional language. They do so since they are aware of the good standards of the concerned schools and intent on gaining

Table 6.11b: Social Status/School Characteristics Determining Choice of School

Taluka	Social Status	The Standard/ Reputation of the School	The Discipline/ Values imparted in the School	Need for Admission for Fifth Standard in the Same School	Not Responded	Total (%)
Salcete	High (%)	6 (100)				6 (100)
	Mod. High %	28 (77.77)	5 (13.88)	2 (5.55)	1 (2.77)	36 (100)
	Medium %	14 (58.33)	7 (29.16)	1 (4.16)	2 (8.33)	24 (100)
	Low %	1 (20)	1 (20)		3 (60)	5 (100)
	Total %	49 (69.01)	13 (18.30)	3 (4.22)	6 (8.45)	71 (100)
Bicholim	High %		2 (100)			2 (100)
	Mod. High %	6 (50)	6 (50)			12 (100)
	Medium %	6 (75)	2 (25)			8 (100)
	Low %					
	Total %	12 (54.54)	10 (45.45)			22 (100)

Table 6.11c: Social Status and Other Reasons Determining the Choice of School

Taluka	SS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Total	
Salcete	H (%)															
	MH (%)	13 (61.90)	3 (14.28)	2 (9.52)	1 (4.78)	1 (4.78)								1 (4.76)	21 100	
	Md (%)	35 (55.55)	13 (20.63)	6 (9.52)	5 (7.93)		2 (3.17)	1 (1.58)	1 (1.58)							63 100
	L (%)	59 (49.57)	33 (27.73)	7 (5.88)	2 (1.68)		1 (0.84)		3 (2.52)	11 (9.24)	1 (0.84)	2 (1.68)				119 100
	T (%)	118 (58.12)	38 (18.71)	15 (7.38)	8 (3.94)	1 (0.49)	3 (1.47)	1 (0.49)	4 (1.97)	11 (5.41)	1 (0.49)	2 (0.98)		1 (0.49)	203 100	
Bicholim	H (%)															
	MH (%)	3 (60)		1 (20)									1 (20)		5 100	
	Md (%)	35 (89.74)	3 (7.69)	1 (2.77)											39 100	
	L (%)	42 (85.71)	7 (14.28)												49 100	
	T (%)	87 (93.54)	3 (3.22)	2 (2.15)									1 (1.07)		93 100	

Abbreviations:- 1: Proximity/ Accessibility of School to Residence, 2: Financial Difficulties in Admitting to English Schools, 3: Parents/ Siblings Studied/ Are Studying in Same school, 4: Got Admission Here, So Admitted Here, 5: Since KG to College Available Here, 6: Loyalty/ Respect Towards Village School, 7: Good Teachers Here, 8: All Send Here Only, 9: Teachers came and Persuaded us to Send Our Children, 10: Birth Certificate Was Not There, Teachers Helped, 11: Since Neighbour's Child's Company, 12: No Other Alternative, 13: Teaches 'Samskaras', 14: Not Responded'

admission for their children in the same schools for their secondary education also. They consider the four years of regional language medium of instruction in the primary school a transitional period to be tolerated. 2) For most parents in Bicholim there are no English schools physically accessible as there are only three English schools at the primary level in the whole of Bicholim Taluka, which, on the other hand, has 96 Marathi schools at the same level. 3) For many parents financial difficulties or constraints prevent them from admitting their children in English schools. 4) Another important reason is the limited number of seats available in the English schools.

Thus for many, as Aikara found out for the whole of the subcontinent, the policy of encouraging regional languages is in a way prejudicial to the interests of the lower sections of society, although it is overtly proclaimed to be a measure to help them (Aikara 2004: 44).

Apart from a number of parents of children in Marathi and Konkani medium, many parents of children in English medium schools also, offered many and varied reasons for their preference of the English medium schools (Table 6.13). Table 6.14 provides in detail these many reasons why people would prefer English medium schools. One of the reasons why parents prefer English medium schools and the one that figured prominently across all strata of parents is the universality of English. English has attained the status of 'unparalleled universal language' and, one does experience, in Goa, the predominant phenomenon of 'Englishisation'. It may be an outcome of globalisation or linguistic imperialism. But in the present context of the linguistic behaviour of Goans, the concept of linguistic capital does justice to the deliberate and freely done choices for

English medium at schools and in other domains than linguistic imperialism or other such concepts, which treat the language users as 'ideological stooges' or 'passive puppets' of some ideology. For the parents who choose English, English is associated with progress, development and modernity. Yet another reason that figured especially among the medium and low status parents, both in Salcete and Bicholim, is the prospect of a better future and the better chances of securing a job. What was once a window on the world has become the link-language. It is considered a high status language and a passport to many positions and careers in government, private and other national and multinational firms and companies. In this regard Pattanayak cites some studies reported by Srivastava *et al.* (1984), which according to him 'deserve scholarly attention everywhere', though he does not seem to agree with them and considers them as biased in favour of English (Pattanayak 1997: 275-276). The studies concerned indicate that both the socio-economic status and the medium of education

have effect on first language, second language and mathematics. They further point out that where a non-cognate language is the medium of instruction, the children invariably score higher in first and second languages and mathematics. In other words, in the Indian context English medium students score higher in the three fields than the dominant Indian language users. First of all, English being the high status language and the language of opportunity creates higher achievement orientation. Second, thanks to the colonial thrust in favour of English, the methods, materials, the teacher preparation and the school conditions being superior in the case of English, through transference of generalised skills the mother tongue improves. All these being poor in the case of the mother tongue it fails to improve English, which is introduced late in the curriculum in the mother tongue medium schools (*ibid*).

The above passage has been quoted at length, as a similar situation seems to prevail in Goa. Writing on the desire for English medium schools, Tomazinho Cardozo (*Navhind Times*, Panjim, 19 February 2003: 3), ex-headmaster of an aided high school and an ex-speaker of Goa Legislative Assembly, says that parents want their children to

get 'a good job after finishing her/his education. The language for getting jobs today is only English'. Not only in Goa but throughout India and abroad, it is the English language that can help you to earn your daily bread. He further asks a very pertinent question, 'how long are we going to block the setting up of English medium schools when people want them? Moving against the time will only make all these schools (schools in regional languages) non-functional in times to come. No one would like to study in a language in order to support its promotion.'

Further, parents across all statuses expressed the need for English medium of education, from the beginning, to avoid difficulties in the secondary level. At present all colleges, all but one higher secondary school and, almost all, with the exception of about 20, secondary schools are in English medium in Goa. The structure of the medium of instruction being predominantly English at all levels, except at the primary stage, the focus is on English medium and the parents feel that their children face difficulties in the V standard as they switch on to learning the English language as well as the content taught at that level in a different language with which they are not at ease. In a way the government has rightly anticipated the difficulties at the beginning of the secondary level and has recently introduced English language subject in all government and aided schools from the first standard. The government also amended Section 4 of Goa, Daman and Diu Education Act allowing the setting up of primary schools within a distance of 1kilometre from each other. According to the Chief Minister the latter decision was taken in view of the huge demand for English medium schools (*Herald*, Panjim, 8 June 2006: 2-3; *Navhind Times*, Panjim, 9 June 2006: 2).

However, there was stiff opposition, especially from the political parties. The MGP and RSS, under the banner of Marathi Bachao Andolan objected to the introduction of English subject from standard I in primary schools conducted in the medium of regional languages, as according to them it would lead to 'disastrous implications' to the regional languages (*Herald*, Panjim, 15 June 2006: 3). One notices the same concern for the maintenance and promotion of languages taking priority over educational or pedagogical issues, as the language protagonists are more concerned about the languages than of the pedagogy or the preference of the parents. The BJP chief Rajendra Arlekar said that the government was indulging in 'cultural degeneration' (*Herald*, Panjim, 7 June: 2006: 3). The criticism is imaginary and influenced by political ideology.

The Education Minister, Luizinho Faleiro, refuted the arguments of the Opposition stating that the decision was taken to prevent the high dropout rate of about 40 percent in the secondary (*Herald*, Panjim, 10 June 2006: 1). He also stated that he did not wish to confine the knowledge of English to a few sections of society which can afford to attain it in unaided schools (*Herald*, Panjim, 16 June 2006: 3). He categorically ruled out any change in the government's decision declaring that the decision was based on a household survey conducted by the Education Department, which indicated that 90 percent of parents in the rural countryside support English subject at standard I. Others, too, joined the debate between government and the opposition. Mr. Rajendra Desai, a former Mayor of Canacona, reported of the demand for English medium schools in Canacona, the purchase of flats in cities of Margao and Panjim by Canacona families and their migration to these cities for the past 10 years because of the belief that English education would help their children to obtain better jobs (*Herald*, Panjim, 13 June

2006:1). Datta Naik, the Executive President of *Lok Shakti*, in a press note said that students from regional languages are diffident and remain backward in studies at standard V as they lack adequate knowledge of English. The press note further added that unlike the masses in the past who were denied access to Sanskrit, the vulnerable sections of society today should be given opportunity to learn English (*Herald*, Panjim, 14 June 2006: 4).

Another difficulty experienced, not by children but by the parents is the difficulty in teaching the standard Konkani taught in schools in the Devanagari script. This is especially true of Salcete, where the parents had most probably studied in English medium even in the primary schools. Even in 1981, for instance, almost 60 percent of the government primary level schools were in English medium in Salcete. Almost all the government middle level and high schools and non-government schools of all levels had English medium primary schools. And even though the parents learnt Devanagari at the secondary level, a majority of the parents have never been comfortable with it. Besides the Konkani used in the Konkani textbooks is typical of only a small elite section of the majority community. Even the first textbook of Konkani taught to the first standard students of Konkani medium schools has as many as twenty words which are not understandable even to adults, who otherwise may have a good command of the spoken and written Roman Konkani.

Vinayak Naik, the editor of *Goa Today* magazine, observes whilst interviewing Tomazinho Cardozo that the Konkani used in the Konkani textbooks for the primary students is abstruse (Naik 2005: 20). Tomazinho responds to the observation by Naik saying that 'Today, for our children, learning Konkani is like learning French and Latin.

The Konkani that they study is not the Konkani they speak or hear' (Tomazinho in Naik 2005: 20).

In total, only 15 parents, all from Salcete and none from Bicholim, preferred Konkani medium (Table 6.15) and 49 parents, 16 from Salcete and 33 from Bicholim preferred Marathi medium (Table 6.16) schools. One of the important reasons for these parents' preference for Konkani medium schools was their belief in the pedagogical argument which states that the child is best taught in her/his mother tongue. Teaching in the mother tongue, these parents believe, has pedagogical advantages to the child's intellectual development. Another reason was the patriotic feeling towards the state and Konkani – these parents identify Goa with Konkani and vice-versa. Such thinking reflects the conception of the ideal organisation of society as comprising of 'one language-one culture-one territory' (Blommaert 2006:247). They subscribe to cultural nationhood as discussed by Anderson (1991) in his classic work 'Imagined Communities'.

While some parents of children in Marathi medium schools opted for Marathi since they spoke Marathi in their homes, others considered Marathi to be easier for their children to learn than English, due to its closeness to Konkani. It means that these children are familiar with Konkani, the obvious reason being that the language is spoken in their homes. A few identify themselves with Marathi language saying 'Marathi is our language' thereby voicing a hierarchy of languages in which the respondent also declares his membership of the particular language group. These parents want their children to be taught in Marathi medium only, as only in these schools, they feel, the children are taught 'samskaras' or ethos of Hindu religion. Some felt that their children must learn Marathi, and that primary education was the only time they would learn it.

Table 6.12: Social Status, Medium of Instruction and Preference for English in Salcete and Bicholim

Medium of Instruction	Social Status	Whether Parents Would Opt for English Medium Schools if they were Equally Good, Free and Closer?											
		Salcete				Bicholim				Total			
		Yes	No	NR	T	Yes	No	NR	Total	Yes	No	NR	Total
Konkani	High (%)	5 (71.42)	1 (14.28)	1 (14.28)	7 (100)	1 (50)	1 (50)		2 (100)	6 (66.66)	2 (22.22)	1 (11.11)	9 (100)
	Mod. High (%)	42 (80.76)	7 (13.46)	3 (5.76)	52 (100)	14 (93.33)	1 (6.66)		15 (100)	56 (83.58)	8 (11.94)	3 (4.47)	67 (100)
	Medium (%)	62 (91.17)	4 (5.88)	2 (2.94)	68 (100)	3 (75)	1 (25)		4 (100)	65 (90.27)	5 (6.94)	2 (2.77)	72 (100)
	Low (%)	65 (76.47)	11 (12.94)	9 (10.58)	85 (100)					65 (76.47)	11 (12.94)	9 (10.58)	85 (100)
	Total (A) (%)	174 (82.07)	23 (10.84)	15 (7.07)	212 (100)	18 (85.71)	3 (14.28)		21 (100)	192 (82.4)	26 (11.15)	15 (6.43)	233 (100)
Marathi	High (%)												
	Mod. High (%)	1 (100)			1 (100)		4 (100)		4 (100)	1 (20)	4 (80)		5 (100)
	Medium (%)	9 (45)	11 (55)		20 (100)	28 (47.45)	30 (50.84)	1 1.69	59 (100)	37 (46.83)	41 (51.89)	1 (1.26)	79 (100)
	Low (%)	26 (57.77)	10 (22.22)	9 (20)	45 (100)	38 (80.85)	9 (19.14)		47 (100)	64 (69.56)	19 (20.65)	9 (9.78)	92 (100)
	Total (B) (%)	36 (54.54)	21 (31.81)	9 (13.63)	66 (100)	66 (60)	43 (39.09)	1 (0.90)	110 (100)	102 (57.95)	64 (36.36)	10 (5.68)	176 (100)
Total (A+B)		210 (75.53)	44 (15.82)	24 (8.63)	278 (100)	84 (64.12)	46 (35.11)	1 (0.76)	131 (100)	294 (71.88)	90 (22)	25 (6.11)	409 (100)

Abbreviations: NR – Not Responded.

Table 6.13: Parents' Reasons for Preference of a Particular Medium

Taluka	No. of Parents Who Offered other Reasons for their Preference of the Medium of Instruction				No. of Parents Who did not Offer any Reasons for their Preference of the Medium of Instruction	Total
	Eng	Mar	Konk	Total	All Media	
Salcete	234	16	15	265	130	395
Bicholim	79	33	---	112	37	149
Total	313	49	15	377	167	544

Table 6.14a: Social Status and Other Reasons for Preference for English Medium

Social Status	Other Reasons For Preference For English Medium	Salcete		Bicholim		Total	%
		No.	%	No.	%		
High	Problem in English grammar as Marathi in primary	1	0.42		0	1	0.31
	English is universal	2	0.85	1	1.26	3	0.95
	Not able to teach in Marathi and Konkani	2	0.85		0	2	0.63
	English needed, otherwise difficult afterwards	1	0.42		0	1	0.31
	Because of societal pressure	1	0.42		0	1	0.31
Mod. High	Personalized attention to the few students	2	0.85		0	2	0.63
	English is universal	34	14.53	3	3.79	37	11.82
	English needed otherwise difficult afterwards	11	4.70	1	1.26	12	3.83
	Konkani teaching is bit tough, English is better	10	4.27	1	1.26	11	3.51
	Better for future, you can get a job also	6	2.56	3	3.79	9	2.87
	The child does not know Konkani	1	0.42		0	1	0.31
	English is a language of status	2	0.85		0	2	0.63
	English makes you smart	3	1.28	1	1.26	4	1.27
	For fluency in English better to start in English	6	2.56	1	1.26	7	2.23
	English important, Konkani/Marathi not much important	3	1.28	1	1.26	4	1.27
	It sounds nice to talk in English	1	0.42		0	1	0.31
	English is standardized	1	0.42		0	1	0.31
	English is good. Isn't it?	2	0.85		0	2	0.63
	Konkani spoken at home is enough, need learn English	1	0.42		0	1	0.31
Mother tongue is English	1	0.42		0	1	0.31	

Table 6.14b: Social Status and Other Reasons for Preference for English Medium ...Contd.

Social Status	Other Reasons For Preference For English Medium	Salcete		Bicholim		Total	%
		No.	%	No.	%		
Medium	English is universal	27	11.54	11	13.92	38	12.14
	English needed, otherwise difficult afterwards	2	0.85	2	2.53	4	1.27
	English important, Konkani/Marathi much important	3	1.28	1	1.26	4	1.27
	Konkani teaching is bit tough, English is better	7	2.99		0	7	2.23
	Better for future, you can get a job also	17	7.26	13	16.46	30	9.58
	At home we don't speak English, the child will speak	1	0.42		0	1	0.31
	For fluency in English better to start in English	4	1.70	1	1.26	5	1.59
	Konkani spoken at home is enough, need learn English	1	0.42		0	1	0.31
	Everybody sends to English nowadays, don't they?	1	0.42		0	1	0.31
	English makes you smart	5	2.13	2	2.53	7	2.23
	English is good. Isn't it?	1	0.42	1	1.26	2	0.63
	I like English	1	0.42		0	1	0.31
	English is language of status		0	1	1.26	1	0.31
	Low	English is universal	21	8.97	9	11.39	30
English needed, otherwise difficult afterwards		4	1.70		0	4	1.27
It sounds nice to talk in English		2	0.85		0	2	0.63
English makes you smart		5	2.13	2	2.53	7	2.23
For fluency in English better to start in English		1	0.42	2	2.53	3	0.95
Better for future, you can get a job also		18	7.69	14	17.72	32	10.22
English is good. Isn't it?		11	4.70	3	3.79	14	4.47
At home we don't speak English, the child will speak		3	1.28		0	3	0.95
English important, Konkani/Marathi not much important		1	0.42	2	2.53	3	0.95
I like English		1	0.42		0	1	0.39
Everybody sends to English nowadays, don't they?		3	1.28	2	2.53	5	1.59
Need English to speak to foreigners		1	0.42		0	1	0.31
In Goa English is required		1	0.42		0	1	0.31
Educated children don't speak Konkani but English		1	0.42		0	1	0.31
English is language of status			0	1	1.26	1	0.31
	234	100	79	100	313	100	

Table 6.15: Social Status and Other Reasons for Preference for Konkani Medium

Social Status	Other Reasons for Preference for Konkani Medium	Salcete		Bicholim		Total	%
		No.	%	No.	%		
High	It is better to teach mother tongue Konkani first	1	6.66			1	6.66
	I like Konkani	1	6.66			1	6.66
Mod. High	At home English is spoken so she must learn Konkani	1	6.66			1	6.66
Medium	In Goa it is Konkani so sent to Konkani	1	6.66			1	6.66
	It is better to teach mother tongue Konkani first	4	26.67			4	26.67
	No one speaks English at home so chose Konkani	1	6.66			1	6.66
	In Goa it is Konkani so would send to Konkani	1	6.66			1	6.66
Low	No one speaks English at home so chose Konkani	2	13.33			2	13.33
	Don't need to teach Konkani, if English must teach	1	6.66			1	6.66
	We want our language first	2	13.33			2	13.33
		15	100			15	100

Further, data suggested that inaccessibility of schools imparting good/moral education, schools with English medium, schools with good standard/reputation and non-availability of private schools are some of the reasons prompting parents to send their children to schools outside their own village or town. Table 6.17 gives details of children studying outside the village/town of residence of the child.

The absence of English medium schools in the vicinity is one of the major factors responsible for about 31 percent of those who are not studying in their own town/village. They are compelled to go to another town/village in search of one such English school (Table 6.18). The dominance of English and the parents' desire to admit their children in English schools even outside their own town/village is not the result of any ideological hegemony but a manifestation of the symbolic and cultural capital of English in the Goan society.

Table 6.16: Social Status and Other Reasons for Preference for Marathi Medium

Social Status	Other Reasons Offered for Preference for Marathi Medium	Salcete		Bicholim		Total	%
		No.	%	No.	%		
High	Helps numerical ability			1	3.03	1	2.04
Mod. High	Marathi is our language			1	3.03	1	2.04
	Marathi easier to study than English/teaches 'Samskaras'			1	3.03	1	2.04
Medium	Marathi is our Language	1	6.25	1	3.03	2	4.08
	Better to study Marathi first/since close to Konkani so not Difficult	3	18.75	6	18.18	9	18.37
	Learn Marathi as we already know Konkani	1	6.25			1	2.04
	Since I studied in Marathi	3	18.75			3	6.12
	Marathi is used in our village in Karnataka/Maharashtra	1	6.25			1	2.04
	We speak Marathi at home/It will be understood not English	1	6.25	2	6.06	3	6.12
	Marathi is Easier to study than English/teaches 'Samskaras'	1	6.25	3	9.09	4	8.16
	We want Marathi, it's a must			3	9.09	3	6.12
	Otherwise they don't learn Marathi well			5	15.15	5	10.2
	Must know all languages			1	3.03	1	2.04
Low	Since I studied in Marathi	1	6.25	1	3.03	2	4.08
	Marathi is our Language	2	12.5			2	4.08
	Marathi is used in our village in Karnataka/Maharashtra	2	12.5			2	4.08
	We don't speak English, becomes difficult			3	9.09	3	6.12
	Otherwise they don't learn Marathi well			2	6.06	2	4.08
	Speak Marathi at home/will be understood			1	3.03	1	2.04
	Better to study Marathi first/close to Konkani so not difficult			2	6.06	2	4.08
		16	100	33	100	49	100

Table 6.17: Medium of Instruction and the Village/Town of Schooling

Medium Of Instruction Of The Child	Whether Children Are Schooling In The Same Village/Town							
	Salcete		Bicholim		Salcete and Bicholim (Yes)		Salcete and Bicholim (No)	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Total	%	Total	%
Marathi	62	4	110		172	41.15	4	3.175
Konkani	162	50	19	2	181	43.3	52	41.27
English	50	67	15	3	65	15.55	70	55.56
Total	274	121	144	5	418	100	126	100

Since the liberation of Goa, English language has been accorded a higher status than Konkani or Marathi in Goa. English language proficiency is correlated with high social status even though Konkani is the Official language of Goa since 1987. English medium schools are perceived as better schools in the society and English medium instruction associated with pride and status. Acquiring the English language is acquiring the cultural capital, which can lead to future success by converting it to economic capital.

The choice of schools away from the village or town is confined more to English medium than to the other regional languages and again more to the rich and the powerful than the lowly. However, as provided in Table 6.7a, 6.7b and 6.8a, 6.8b, 6.8c and 6.8d, not only have parents of medium and low status responded with high educational and employment aspirations but, as Table 6.5 indicates, about 19 percent of 108 parents and 6 percent of 66 parents belonging to medium status from Salcete and Bicholim respectively, and similarly 1 percent of 131 parents and 4 percent of 50 parents belonging to low status from the same talukas, respectively, have admitted their children in private unaided English schools. Table 6.19 provides characteristics/aspirations of these parents.

Table 6.18: Medium of Instruction of the Child and Reasons for not Studying in the Same Village/Town

Reasons for not Studying in the Same Village/Town	Medium of Instruction of the Child								Total Salcete and Bicholim	Percent
	Salcete				Bicholim					
	Mar	Konk	Eng	Total	Mar	Konk	Eng	Total		
Not Responded	4	28	20	52		1	1	2	54	42.86
Good Education/Moral Values/Manners Available here		7	3	10					10	7.93
No English Medium Schools in the Village			38	38			1	1	39	30.95
Standard in the Village/Neighbourhood School is not Good		4	5	9			1	1	10	7.93
Don't Teach Well in Government Schools		9		9					9	7.14
No Konkani Medium in the Village		2		2					2	1.58
Neighbours Go here			1	1		1		1	2	1.58
Total	4	50	67	121		2	3	5	126	100

Abbreviations: Mar – Marathi; Kon – Konkani; Eng – English.

The field data has prompted the researcher to introduce some sensitizing concepts of Structuration theory, for he thinks that the parental negotiation with reference to their children's schooling can be best explained through them. According to Structuration theory, the terms social system and structures are not collapsed into one in the sense that it considers social systems as possessing structural properties but not as structures in their

own right. Structures do not exist as disembodied entities apart from human action but set of rules and resources actors draw on and reproduce in social interaction. They are both

Table 6.19: Aspirations/Characteristics of Medium and Low Status Parents with Children in English Medium Schools

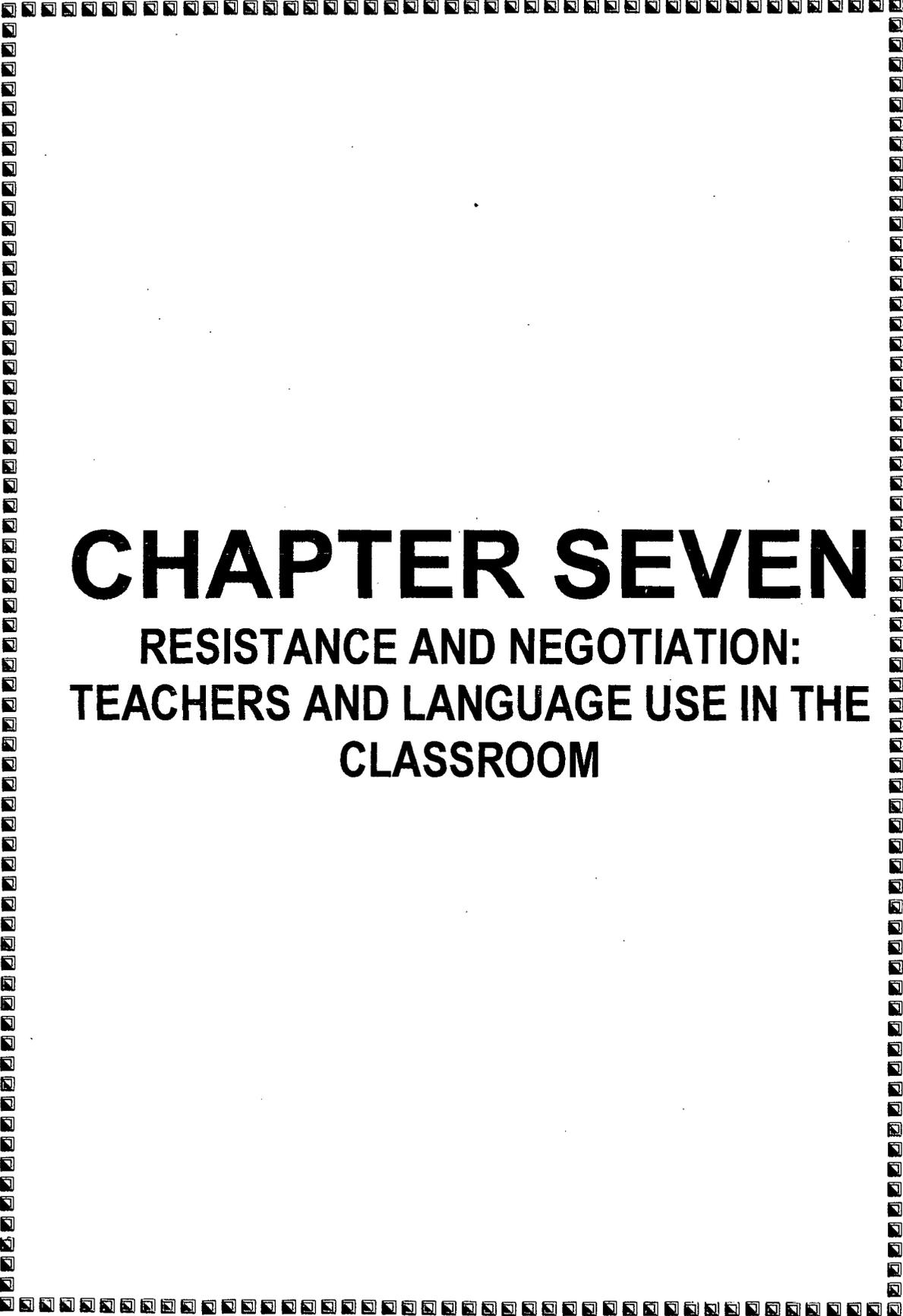
Parents' Aspirations For Children's Education		Parents' Aspirations For Children's Employment		Parental reasons Determining Choice Of School	Total	Religion	Total	Language Used At Home Is English	Total
Qualification Desired	Total	Occupation Desired	Total						
Professional Degree (%)	6 (22.22)	IAS (%)	1 (3.70)	Characteristics Of The School (%)	5 (18.52)	Hindu (%)	14 (51.85)	---	17 (62.96)
Post Graduation (%)	4 (14.81)	Doctor (%)	6 (22.22)	Language of Instruction in School	20 (74.07)	Catholic (%)	13 (48.15)	All The Time (%)	3 (11.11)
College Graduation (%)	8 (29.63)	Mechanical Engineer (%)	1 (3.70)	Other Reasons (%)	2 (7.40)	Muslim (%)		Mostly (%)	1 (3.70)
HSSC (%)	1 (3.70)	Engineer (%)	3 (11.11)			Agnostic (%)		Sometimes (%)	6 (22.22)
Technical Dipl. after SSC (%)	1 (3.70)	Some Professional (%)	1 (3.70)						
SSC (%)	1 (3.70)	Nun (%)	1 (3.70)						
Whatever They Can/Want (%)	5 (18.72)	Teacher (%)	3 (11.11)						
Let them Choose their Vocation	1 (3.70)	Clerk (%)	1 (3.70)						
		Some Job (%)	1 (3.70)						
		Not Decided (%)	5 (18.72)						
		Whatever They Want (%)	3 (11.11)						
		Get Her Married (%)	1 (3.70)						
Total	27 (100)		27 (100)		27 (100)		27 (100)		27 (100)

constraining and enabling and agents have power that can transform the situation in which the agent finds himself. Structural rules are generalisable procedures, which include social conventions providing agents with tools to accomplish their action, however they do not determine behaviour. It is only through the instantiation in action carried on by the agents that the rules become structural features of society. Thus, contrary to the existing structuralist and functionalist approaches, Structuration theory enhances the contribution of the human agent in social reproduction by according him the central position. Parents are not puppets determined by the structures in the functionalist and Marxian sense, but are themselves agents of reproduction of the structural principles of the society.

In terms of language choice at early schooling then, the implications of this view is that language choice is not to be conceptualised solely as determined by school system operating over and above the individual parents but as mediated and negotiated by the agency of the parents. Though social reproduction goes on in the society, as the reproductionists advocate, there is an ever-present possibility of change giving room for optimism in the deterministic milieu. In the case of the some parents, the agency of parental educational and employment aspirations have resisted the structural elements of their culture and school system and obtained admission for their children in English medium schools to bring about a change in their social world thereby reproducing and restructuring society. The agency of parents can resist as they have in them the capability to act otherwise or in other words, they may exhibit the transformative capacity to make a difference. This presupposes knowledgeability of the human agents. In the context of the present study, the parents have stocks of knowledge with the help of which they live their

daily life. Usually actors regularly draw on the same type of rules and resources as there is a deep-seated need for ontological security among human beings. They rationalise, which means they develop routines that enable them to live their life efficiently.

However, actors also have motivations to act. Access to the discursive consciousness of parents was gained through the responses given to the questions in the interview schedule and by listening to them intently during the interview. The parental aspirations for their children's education and employment were the reasons or the motivations that were discursively articulated during the interview and which led them to admit their children in English medium schools. According to Table 6.19, about 65 percent of these parents aspired that their children be in the category of people who have completed college graduation or post-graduation or acquired a professional degree. About 42 percent aspired for a professional career for their children. Majority of the parents, about 74 percent, chose the school because of the language of instruction, while about 36 percent of parents spoke English at home, at least for some time. Everybody did not provide reasons for their choice of English for their children's early schooling. However, the agency of the parents acted based on tacit awareness of their circumstances and surrounding, and competence or practical consciousness. In other words, the children would not have been admitted into English medium schools if not for the distinct intervention of their parents.



CHAPTER SEVEN

RESISTANCE AND NEGOTIATION: TEACHERS AND LANGUAGE USE IN THE CLASSROOM

CHAPTER VII

RESISTANCE AND NEGOTIATION: TEACHERS AND LANGUAGE USE IN THE CLASSROOM

Language planning and policy involve deliberate efforts made to influence others with respect to the acquisition of their language codes (Cooper 1989:45 cited in Canagarajah 2006: 153). It usually works in a top-down fashion shaping the linguistic behaviour of people in accordance with the dictates of the policy-makers. However, researchers are also becoming increasingly sensitive to the fact that there is considerable policy formulation and institutionalization of linguistic practices at the level of local communities and contexts (Canagarajah 2006: 154). In the Goan diglossic society (see Kurzon 2004: 6) English is a high status language. But language in education policy, assuming near monolingual norms typical of western societies, has denied grants-in-aid to English medium early schools and has been promoting the regional languages only. The policy has led to teachers and children initiating language-acquisition and communicative practices that counteract the dominant policy.

CHARACTERISTICS OF TEACHERS

Interviews were conducted with teachers from different schools both in Salcete and Bicholim. The objective of interviewing teachers was to examine the linguistic behaviour of the teachers vis-à-vis the students in the classroom, in relation to the medium of instruction policy. The interviews revealed how teachers resist and circumvent the medium of instruction policy in the classrooms defying monolingual policies. Teachers negotiate the policy decisions and perceptively use other codes or languages to facilitate the learning process. That is, the agency of teachers use more than one language during early schooling to assist the children in learning the school language as well as the

content prescribed by the syllabus. Thus, in a way, the form of instruction practised in the early schools in Goa extends from the prescribed monolingual medium of instruction to bilingual and trilingual education, though to a very limited extent.

Table 7.1: Number of Schools and Teachers Interviewed

Name of the School in Salcete	Teachers interviewed	Name of the School in Bicholim	Teachers interviewed
1. GPS Madikatta	1	1. Progress High School	4
2. GPS Takaband	1	2. Shivaji Raje High School	2
3. GMS Ambaji	3	3. Chowgule Pale Mines	2
4. GPS Aquem Alto	2	4. Our Lady of Grace High School	2
5. GPS Housing Board, Gogol	2	5. St. Ann's Girls High School	4
6. GPS Gudi, Paroda	2	6. St. John of the Cross	2
7. GPS Mullas	2	7. GPS Vhalshi	1
8. Maria Bambina Convent H. School	4	8. GMS Cudchirem	2
9. GPS Pajifond	1	9. GMS Velguem	1
10. Presentation Convent High School	3	10. GPS Arvalem	2
11. Vidya Bhuvan Konkani Shalla	4	11. GPS Bhamai	1
12. GMS Colva	2	12. GPS Cottombi	1
13. GPS Agramorod	1	13. GPS Dhangarwada	1
14. GPS Cana Benaulim	2	14. GPS Falwadi	2
15. GPS Curtorim	1	15. GPS Ghodakahatad	1
16. GPS Magilwada	1	16. GPS Kasarpal	2
17. GPS Sernabatim	2	17. GPS Kharwada	1
18. Assumpta Convent High School	4	18. GPS Kudapwada	1
19. Infant Jesus High School, Colva	3	19. GPS Mathwada	2
20. Our Lady of Livrament School Arlem	3	20. GPS Naigin	1
21. Rosary High School, Navelim	4	21. GPS Pratap Nagar	1
22. St. Jude's High School Betalbatim	4	22. GPS Sarvana	2
23. St. Rock's High School, Velim	3	23. GPS Ussap	1
24. Les Anges Academy, Fatorda	4	24. GPS Vattadev	2
25. St. Anne's High School, Borda	4	25. Shree Navadurga High School	1
26. Cambridge Primary School, Varca	4		
27. St. Joseph's Primary School, Sao Jose de Areal	4		
Total	71		42

Some characteristics of the teachers interviewed are provided in Tables 7.1 to 7.8 as they enhance the reliability of the data obtained. The total number of teachers interviewed was 113, out of which 71 were from Salcete and 42 from Bicholim. As the Tables indicate the teachers represent the two talukas of Old and New Conquest, different types of schools, different medium of instruction, different levels within early schooling, that is, different standards, possessing different qualifications, having secured different training, belonging to different religions, and declaring different mother tongues. The total number of teachers interviewed from each school is provided in Table 7.1.

The teachers interviewed belonged to five types of institutions of early schooling (Table 7.2), categorised on the basis of the following three criteria: 1) Level of early schooling, that is, pre-primary or primary, 2) Management that is, government or private and 3) If private, the aided or unaided characteristic of the school.

Table 7.2: Type of Institutions and Number of Teachers Interviewed

Type of Institution	Salcete		Bicholim		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Government Primary	18	25.4	25	59.5	43	38.05
Preprimary Unaided/ Primary Aided	32	45.1	4	9.5	36	31.85
Preprimary/ Primary Unaided	16	22.5	8	19.0	24	21.23
Government Preprimary/ Primary	5	7.0			5	4.42
Primary Aided			5	11.9	5	4.42
Total	71	100	42	100	113	100



Photo 7.1: Government Primary School in Marathi in Bicholim Municipal Area, Bicholim Taluka



Photo 7.2: Government Primary School with Two Classrooms, Two Media (Konkani and Urdu) and Primary Classes from I to IV of both Media Conducted in Single Classroom each in Margao Municipal Area, Salcete Taluka

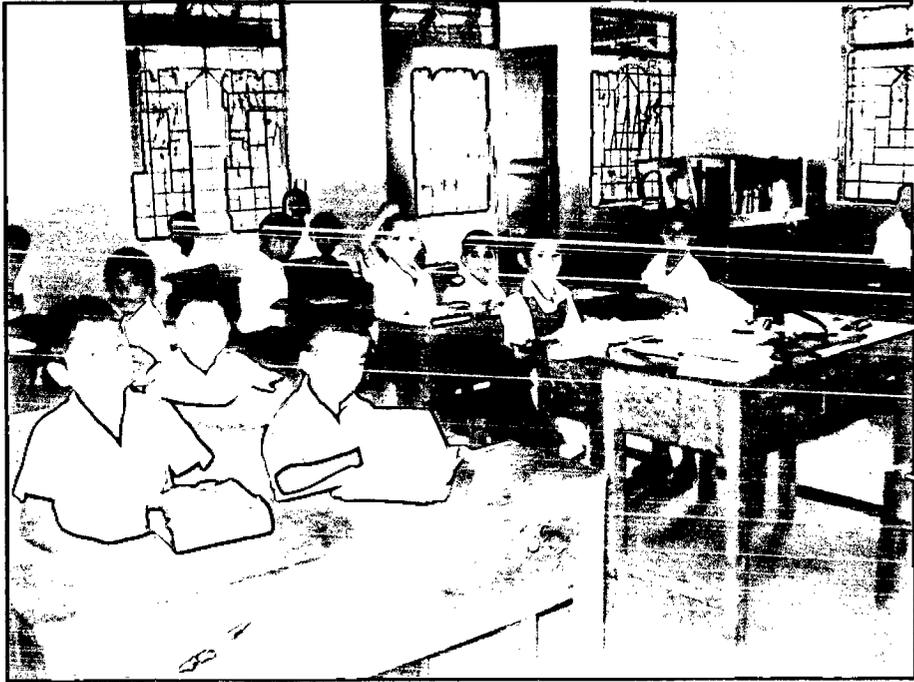


Photo 7.3: Private Aided Primary Classes (Standard I and IV) in one Classroom in Private Unaided Preprimary (English) and Private-Aided Primary (Konkani) School in Panchayat Area, Salcete Taluka

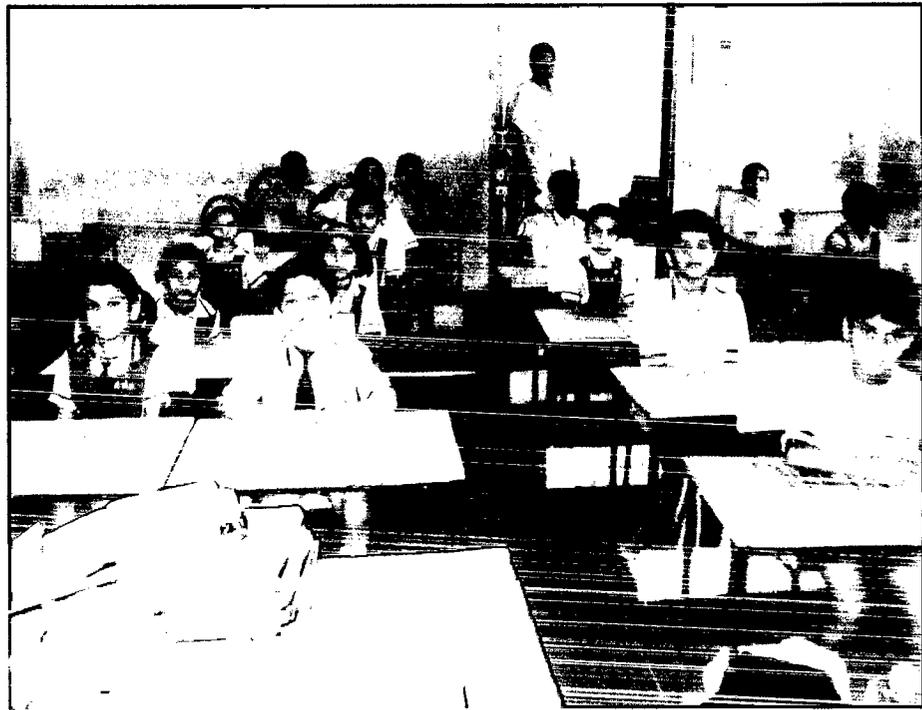


Photo 7.4: Private Unaided Preprimary Class in Konkani Medium in a Private-Aided Primary School in Konkani in Margao Municipal Area, Salcete Taluka



Photo 7.5: Government Middle and Primary School in Marathi in Panchayat Area, Bicholim Taluka



Photo 7.6: Private Aided High School and Private Aided Primary School in Marathi Panchayat Area, Bicholim Taluka

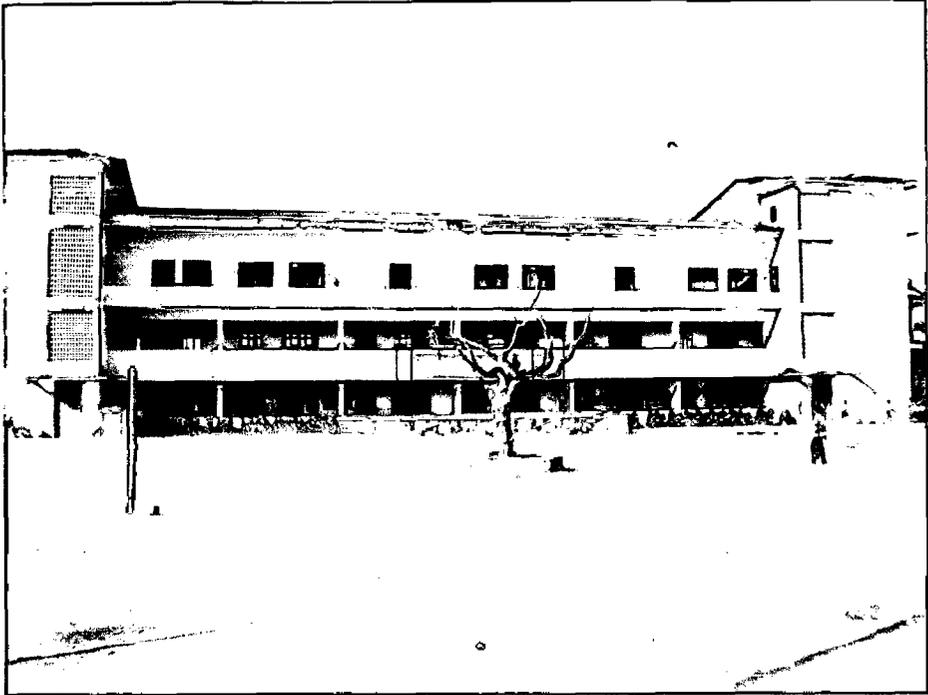


Photo 7.7: Private Aided High School, Private-Aided Primary School in Konkani and Unaided Pre-primary School in English in Panchayat Area, Salcete Taluka



Photo 7.8: Private Aided High School, Private Aided Primary School in Konkani and Unaided Pre-primary School in English in Margao Municipal Area, Salcete Taluka



Photo 7.9: Private Aided High School and Private Unaided Preprimary and Primary School in Bicholim Taluka

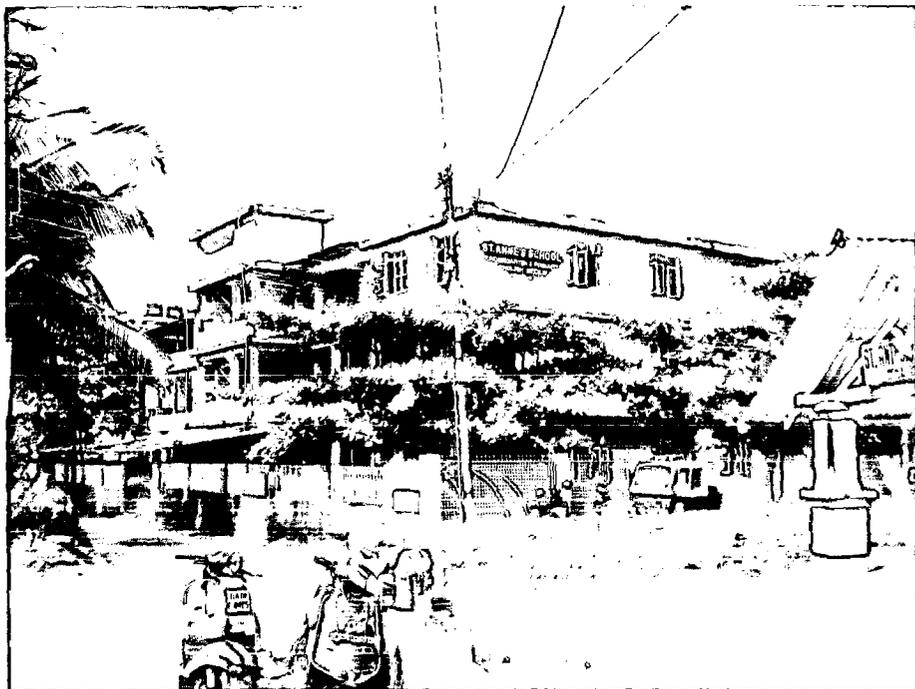


Photo 7.10: Private Unaided Preprimary and primary School in English in Margao Municipal Area, Salcete Taluka

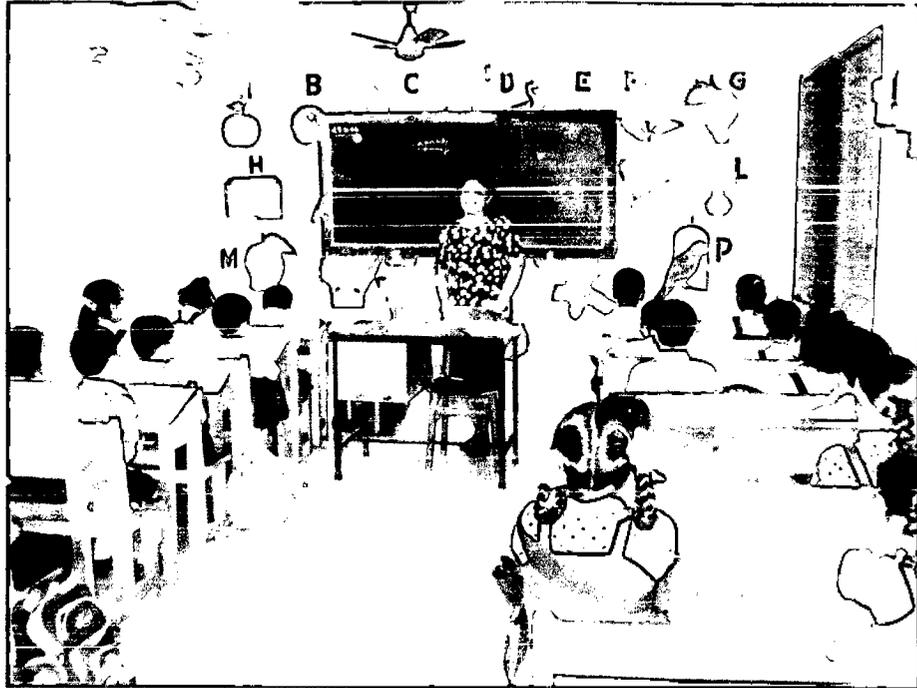


Photo 7.11: Private Unaided Primary Class in a Private Unaided Pre-primary and Primary School in English in Margao Municipal Area in Salcete Taluka

The teachers interviewed belonged not only to different types of schools, that is, different levels of early schooling, different managements and aided or unaided category, they also represented the three important media of instruction, viz., Marathi, Konkani and English, at early schooling, which attracts a substantially higher enrolment (Table 7.3).

Table 7.3: Medium of Instruction in Schools and Number of Teachers Interviewed

Medium of Instruction in School	Salcete		Bicholim		Total	%
	No.	%	No.	%		
Marathi	10	14.1	26	61.9	36	31.85
Konkani	14	19.7	4	9.5	18	15.92
English	16	22.5	8	19.0	24	14.15
Eng in Pre-primary and Konk. in Primary	28	39.4	4	9.5	32	28.31
Marathi/Konkani	3	4.2			3	2.65
Total	71	100	42	100	113	100

The teachers were purposively selected to represent the Nursery, Kindergarten and the Primary classes (Table 7.4). To restrict the number of teachers to manageable numbers, only the First and the Fourth standard teachers were interviewed. The reason to select teachers only from the First and the Fourth standard was to obtain a picture of the linguistic behaviour of the teachers vis-à-vis the students from the beginning to the end of the primary classes.

The qualification of the teachers (Table 7.5) is an important indicator of the linguistic capabilities of the teachers, specially the ability of the teachers to speak and teach English. Since the medium of instruction in almost all secondary, higher secondary schools, all colleges and at the postgraduate level is English, the higher the qualification the more likely it is that the teacher will be bilingual in English. It is worth noting that the percentage of those who have completed graduation and post-graduation is over 40 percent of the total teachers interviewed in Bicholim. If twelfth standard is considered, then more than 60 percent of the teachers interviewed come in this bracket. As far as Salcete is concerned almost 50 percent of teachers have completed at least the twelfth standard. As far as Konkani speaking regions are concerned, Amritvalli (2001: 214) writes that 'three out of four Konkani speakers ... are bilingual'. He further says that 'Konkani and Sindhis also turn out to be the most *trilingual* populations' (*ibid.*). Speaking on the question of what these bilinguals are bilingual in, he writes that the 'Konkanis rank next only to Malayalis in their percentage of English bilinguals (21.67 percent)' (*ibid.*: 215). The teachers, therefore, are all bilingual and at least to a certain extent, trilingual, having successfully completed the secondary schools, as the education

system in Goa follows the three-language formula. Again, as provided in Table 7.6 almost 80 percent of the teachers are trained.

Table 7.4: Classes Taught by the Teachers

Teacher Teaching	Salcete		Bicholim		Total	%
	No.	%	No.	%		
Nursery	6	8.5			6	5.30
KG	16	22.5	4	9.5	20	17.69
First	19	26.8	10	23.8	29	25.66
Fourth	19	26.8	12	28.6	31	27.43
All Primary classes	6	8.5	11	26.2	17	15.04
First and Second	1	1.4	3	7.1	4	3.53
Third and Fourth	2	2.8	2	4.8	4	3.53
First and Fourth	1	1.4			1	0.88
First and Third	1	1.4			1	0.88
Total	71	100.0	42	100.0	113	100

Table 7.5: Qualification of the Teachers

Qualification of the Teacher	Salcete		Bicholim		Total	%
	No.	%	No.	%		
SSC	37	52.1	16	38.1	53	46.9
XII	14	19.7	9	21.42	23	20.35
Graduation	20	28.2	13	31.0	33	29.2
Post Graduation			4	9.5	4	3.53
Total	71	100.0	42	100	113	100

Table 7.6: Teachers' Training Course

Teacher Training	Salcete		Bicholim		Total	%
	No.	%	No.	%		
Nil	16	22.5	8	19.0	24	21.23
D.ed	26	36.6	25	59.5	51	45.13
B. ed	7	9.9	7	16.7	14	12.38
B. P. ed.			1	2.4	1	1.88
PTC	10	14.1	1	2.4	11	9.73
Montessori	5	7.0			5	4.42
Balwadi Course	1	1.4			1	0.88
TTC	1	1.4			1	0.88
TD	2	2.8			2	1.76
TCH	1	1.4			1	0.88
KG and Montessori	1	1.4			1	0.88
STC	1	1.4			1	0.88
Total	71	100.0	42	100.0	113	100

Abbreviations: D. Ed. - Diploma in Education; B. Ed. - Bachelor in Education; B. P. Ed. - Bachelor in Physical Education; PTC - Primary Teacher Certificate; TTC - Teacher Training Certificate; TCH - Teacher's Certificate Higher; STC - Senior Teacher Certificate.

Further, as Spolsky (2004: 51) rightly comments, 'religion can play a special role in language choice'. In India language is tied to religion, however, though a conscious effort was not made to select teachers belonging to different religions the teachers interviewed represent fairly well the religious composition of the population in the two talukas (Table 7.7). The mother tongue of the teachers was also obtained as it does have an influence on the medium of instruction desired by the teacher and her language behaviour in the classroom (Table 7.8)

Table 7.7: Religious Composition of the Teachers

Religion of the Teacher	Salcete		Bicholim		Total	%
	No.	%	No.	%		
Hindu	24	33.8	36	85.7	60	53.09
Christian	46	64.8	6	14.3	52	46.01
Muslim	1	1.4			1	0.88
Total	71	100.0	42	100.0	113	100

Table 7.8: Mother Tongue of the Teachers

Mother Tongue of the Teacher	Salcete		Bicholim		Total	%
	No.	%	No.	%		
Marathi	2	2.8	16	38.1	18	15.92
Konkani	64	90.1	26	61.9	90	79.64
English	2	2.8			2	1.76
Portuguese	1	1.4			1	0.88
Hindi	1	1.4			1	0.88
Urdu	1	1.4			1	0.88
Total	71	100.0	42	100.0	113	100

However, as far as their preference of the medium of instruction is concerned, teachers in Salcete prefer English medium, followed by Marathi and Konkani in the same order, whereas, as expected, the preference of teachers in Bicholim is for Marathi medium, followed by English and Konkani. If both the talukas are taken together the preference of the teachers is for English medium followed by Marathi and Konkani in the same order. The details are provided in table 7.9.

Table 7.9: Medium of Instruction Preferred by the Teachers

Medium of Instruction Preferred by the Teacher	Salcete		Bicholim		Total	%
	No.	%	No.	%		
Marathi	16	22.5	24	57.1	40	35.39
Konkani	15	21.1	3	7.1	18	15.92
English	40	56.3	15	35.7	55	48.67
Total	71	100.0	42	100.0	113	100

MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION AND USE OF OTHER LANGUAGES

Some of the questions, which the teachers were asked to respond to, were whether the students understood the medium of instruction in their school (Table 7.10), whether the teachers felt a need to use some other language (Table 7.11), other than the language of instruction and if so, the details of the additional languages used in the class (Table 7.12).

The Nursery teachers interviewed were mainly from Salcete taluka, as the schools selected from Bicholim Taluka did not have the Nursery section. All the Nurseries in Salcete, with the exception of one school, where the medium is Konkani, conduct their education in English. Out of the six Nursery teachers interviewed five responded that the children understand the medium partially while the remaining one teacher said that the children understood it fully. All the Nursery teachers interviewed, however, belonged only to the Nurseries conducted in English medium.

Out of the twenty Kindergarten teachers, only three teachers responded that the children did not understand the medium of instruction (in this case it is English) at all. A total of fifteen considered that the students understood the medium partially while two felt that the students understood the medium fully.

Table No. 7.10: Different Levels of Early Schooling, Medium of Instruction and Children's Understanding of the Medium of Instruction

Teacher Teaching	MOI	Children's Understanding of the Medium of Instruction											
		Not at all Able		Partially Able		Fully Able		First and Fourth Partially Able		First Partially/ Fourth Fully Able		Total	
		Sal	Bich	Sal	Bich	Sal	Bich	Sal	Bich	Sal	Bich	Sal	Bich
Nursery	English			2		1						3	
	Eng in Preprimary Konkani in Primary			3								3	
KG	Konkani			2								2	
	English		2	4		1						5	2
	Eng in Preprimary Konkani in Primary	1		7	2	1						9	2
First	Marathi	3	1	2	6							5	7
	Konkani			4		1	2					5	2
	English			2	3	2						4	3
	Eng in Preprimary Konkani in Primary			1		7	1					8	1
Fourth	Marathi			3	3	1	5					4	8
	Konkani			1		4	2					5	2
	English				3	4						4	3
	Eng in Preprimary Konkani in Primary			1		7	1					8	1
All Primary classes	Marathi			2	3		3		2		3	2	11
	Konkani			2		2						4	
Total		4	3	36	20	31	14		2		3	71	42

Out of the thirty-five teachers teaching the First standard students in the three media concerned, four out of twelve teachers in Marathi medium school stated that the

students did not understand the medium at all. Eighteen teachers felt children understood the medium partially while thirteen responded that children were fully able to understand the medium of instruction.

None of the teachers teaching in the Fourth standard reported that the children did not understand the medium at all as they had already been accustomed to the medium of instruction for a number of years. Out of the total thirty five teachers teaching the fourth standard students eleven stated that the children understood the medium partially while the remaining twenty-four said the medium was understood by the children fully.

The demand for English education is reflected in the fact that almost all Nurseries are in English. None of the Nursery teachers reported that the medium (English) is not at all understood but at least partially understood. In Kindergarten also, seventeen out of twenty parents, that is 85 percent, understood the English medium at least partially. These data are evidence of the familiarity of the children in these schools with the English language. Evidently, a number of parents do speak to their children in English. It is also significant that thirteen teachers teaching the First standard students who reported that the medium was fully understood by the children were from Konkani and English medium schools. Four teachers from Marathi medium schools reported that children did not understand the medium at all. In the Fourth standard also, eighteen teachers belonging to Konkani and English medium schools said the children understood the medium fully while five teachers said the children understood it only partially. While in Marathi 50 percent of teachers reported that children understood the medium fully, the other 50 percent said children understood it only partially. Apparently, it reflects the greater familiarity of children with Konkani and English in comparison with Marathi.

The teachers were also asked whether they feel a need to use some other language in the classroom other than the language of instruction officially followed in the school. The responses of the teachers are provided in Table 7. 11. Out of the total 113 teachers, 100 reported that they feel a need to use some other language, other than the medium of instruction.

In Salcete there are about eighty Konkani schools many of which have Nursery and Kindergarten in English, fifty-two Marathi schools and eighteen English schools. While schools in all the three media are physically accessible in Salcete the picture is very different in Bicholim. It must be remembered that in Bicholim taluka ninety-six schools out of the total of 103 primary level schools are run in Marathi. However, as per the mother tongue of the parents (Table 5.16) only about 10 percent of the respondents (parents) have declared Marathi as their mother tongue. In a situation like this, the children whose mother tongue is Konkani and who generally speak Konkani at home are admitted to Marathi schools, either because Marathi schools are accessible and at a close distance or because of the association of Marathi with Hindu religion. The teachers, many of whom are Konkani mother tongue speakers (Table 7.8), are forced to explain, translate and speak in Konkani whilst teaching the children in Marathi medium. Similarly, both in Salcete and Bicholim, in English schools, too, teachers are compelled to speak Konkani or some other language to assist the children in the learning process.

Some of the *Marathi medium schoolteachers*, both in Salcete and Bicholim, expressed their language behaviour in the classroom: Marathi teachers made the following three statements:

1. 'The first four months we have to speak Konkani',

2. 'In the first standard they don't understand (Marathi) at all ... at least six months',
3. 'When teaching lessons, we use Marathi, otherwise while conversing, Konkani',

Table No. 7.11: Different levels of Early Schooling, the Medium of Instruction and Need for the Use of Some Other Language

Teacher Teaching	Medium of Instruction in School	Salcete		Bicholim		Salcete/Bicholim		
		Yes (A)	No (B)	Yes (C)	No (D)	Yes (A+C)	No (B+D)	Total
Nursery	English	3				3		3
	Eng in Preprimary Konkani in Primary	3				3		3
KG	Konkani	2				2		2
	English	4	1	2		6	1	7
	Eng in Preprimary Konkani in Primary	9		2		11		11
First Standard	Marathi	5		7		12		12
	Konkani	5		2		7		7
	English	4		3		7		7
	Eng in Preprimary Konkani in Primary	6	2	1		7	2	9
Fourth Standard	Marathi	4		8		12		12
	Konkani	5			2	5	2	7
	English	2	2	3		5	2	7
	Eng in Preprimary Konkani in Primary	6	2	1		7	2	9
All Primary classes	Marathi	1	1	10	1	11	2	13
	Konkani	2	2			2	2	4
Total		61	10	39	3	100	13	113

In one instance, as observed by the researcher, a Marathi schoolteacher in Bicholim was explaining the meaning of the Marathi word '*tallim*', which means 'practice', in Konkani and not in Marathi. Though the medium of instruction in the

schools is Marathi, the schoolteacher used Konkani profusely, an indication, perhaps, that teachers use Konkani to a great extent, since it helps them in the teaching learning process and it is understood by all.

Many of the Marathi teachers in Salcete are forced to use Hindi, as that is the only language the migrants are familiar with. In fact it is the fact that many government schools in Salcete survive because of the migrants' children enrolled in these schools. One schoolteacher says: 'We call the children ...they (their parents) do not want to admit them in schools... they don't have any birth certificates ...we, teachers, do their affidavits ... we are charged about Rs.80/- by the Notary ... Otherwise they don't come to school ... in June we have to go and convince them'. Another schoolteacher said: ' We approach the parents and get children admitted ... we go to construction sites ... we won't get any students if we don't canvass ... not one of them will come ...these parents are happy if you talk to them in English ... We can't talk to them in Konkani ... only language they are a little familiar with is Hindi ...'. In one instance the researcher saw a Marathi schoolteacher in Salcete teaching English to first standard students and they were writing dictation in English on slates. When asked whether they have English in the first standard, the teacher replied that she wanted to prepare the children well to help them in the fifth standard. Some statements made by Marathi school teachers in Salcete are given below:

1. 'Local Konkani is used to make them understand'
2. 'We speak to them Marathi and Konkani and to some extent Hindi'
3. 'Hindi is understood by all, we speak to them in Hindi'
4. 'I have to speak to them in Hindi only, because they have to understand'

Table No 7.12: Different Levels of Early Schooling, the MOI and the Additional Languages Used by Teachers

Teacher Teaching	Medium of Instruction in School	Additional Language/s Used by the Teacher in the Class															
		Nil		Konkani		English		Hindi		Konk/Hin		Marathi		Mar/Konk		Total	
		Sal	Bich	Sal	Bich	Sal	Bich	Sal	Bich	Sal	Bich	Sal	Bich	Sal	Bich	Sal	Bich
Nursery	English			1						2						3	
	Eng in Preprimary Konkani in Primary			3												3	
KG	Konkani							2								2	
	English	1		1						3					2	5	2
	Eng in Preprimary Konkani in Primary			5	1					4					1	9	2
First	Marathi			1	7					4						5	7
	Konkani						2	5								5	2
	English			2	1					2	1		1			4	3
	Eng in Preprimary Konkani in Primary	2				5	1	1								8	1
Fourth	Marathi			3	8			1								4	8
	Konkani						2	5								5	2
	English	2		1	2					1					1	4	3
	Eng in Preprimary Konkani in Primary	2				6	1									8	1
All Primary classes	Marathi		1		10			1		1						2	11
	Konkani	2						2								4	
	English																
Total			9	1	17	29	11	6	17		17	1	1		4	71	42

The languages used in the classroom, therefore, defy the medium of instruction policy followed in the institution concerned, the policy which is largely monolingual and purist. The teachers, as well as the students, use the local or vernacular languages in covert ways. They do use the official and authorised language for the ‘on-task’ purposes (teaching) but they also use other languages in ‘off-task’ contexts (when supplementing the explanation given in the medium of instruction through the local language and when not teaching). Thus, covertly they tap into the local language and knowledge to facilitate the teaching –learning process.

Konkani schoolteachers also, whether in Salcete or Bicholim, resist the unfavourable policies in different ways. It must be noted, however, the interviews were conducted before the introduction of English as a subject from the first standard. Here are some of their comments related to the languages they speak in the class:

1. ‘We use English to prepare them for fifth standard not to make them understand lessons’
2. ‘Sometimes English is used to make them understand ... sometimes to prepare them for life’
3. ‘Use English because they understand English better as they have had Nursery and Kindergarten in English’
4. ‘On humanitarian grounds we teach them English ... but the ADEI (Assistant District Education Inspectors), they come ...and they take children’s books ...if English books are around when they come we dump them in polythene bags’
5. ‘We use English for those who don’t understand Konkani’

6. 'From the First standard we teach oral English ... on result we put from Third standard ... I use English words so that they understand in the future ...'
7. 'We speak to them also in English as some children come from English speaking background'
8. 'First and Second standard we teach English without the department knowing it ...we explain in English because of difficulty in Fifth standard'
9. English is not heard at all at home ... I use it so that they get a good base ... it will benefit them in the Fifth standard ...'
10. 'Only First standard they speak in Hindi even to me ...afterwards they speak only Konkani ...no problem because of Konkani but I teach them English in Fourth not to make them understand but to prepare them for Fifth standard'
11. 'As parents don't know Konkani ... so your work is difficult ... as parents cannot help them ... as parents not happy with this ...about one fourth of students will not understand Konkani ... so I have to use English ...'
12. 'Many children feel shy to communicate in Konkani and speak in English (broken) ... some children find Konkani difficult ... so you have to use English to make them understand ... to make them understand better not only to prepare them for Fifth standard ...'.

The overt policy of mother tongue education is distorted. Firstly, a number of parents do not admit their children in Konkani medium schools for the overt reason of teaching them Konkani but for the covert reason of securing for them admission in the fifth standard. Secondly, the education policy itself was modified without incorporating the perspectives of the teachers. The discerning voices of the teachers at the grassroots

remained indistinct and unheard. Many of the teachers themselves, and also their principals, are influenced by the assumption that the regional languages are to be reserved for local domains of use and English for public domains of school and employment later. The above statements of the teachers reveal that English is used to prepare the children for secondary and higher education in English medium. It also points to the fact that some children are more comfortable with English either because they spoke it in their homes or because they were familiar with it in the preprimary.

In these schools, therefore, the teachers are exercising their agency and resisting the unfavourable policies of the management of the institution. Such covert resistance to the medium of instruction policy and the choice of English language to teach the children is an example of negotiation between the different languages, carried on by the teachers, in favour of the children at the level of early schooling. Canagarajah (2006:160) describes such resistance and negotiation as 'an example of language planning from below' wherein 'students and teachers are initiating covert language-acquisition and communicative practices that counteract dominant policies'. In a way, the teachers acting on behalf of the marginalised subjects are resisting the established policies, constructing alternative practices and are, thereby, initiating changes that would transform unequal relationships.

In English schools, especially the Nursery and the Kindergarten, which are almost entirely conducted in English, with the exception of one or two schools, teachers have to use some other language other than the apparent language of instruction to make the children understand and help them learn. Here are some of the remarks of the *English schoolteachers*:

1. 'We use Konkani also ... because they have to understand... so 50 percent Konkani and 50 percent English'
2. 'Everything is explained in English ... then in Konkani'
3. 'We speak to them first in Konkani and then in English... first we have to speak in Konkani'
4. 'June, July, August Konkani ... more of Konkani ... at the end of the year they talk in English'
5. 'First I explain in Konkani then in English ...everything is explained in Konkani ...two languages are used..'
6. 'After some time they speak English'
7. 'First I tell in English... if not understood ... in Konkani ...rarely in Hindi'
8. 'Initially I translate in Konkani but later not much ...'
9. 'Parents tell us to teach/speak only in English ...all Goans as well as outsiders'

This language-in-education situation, especially at Nursery and during the two years of Kindergarten, wherein English is the medium of instruction but Konkani is liberally used, is similar to what Schiffman (1999: 431) wrote commenting on the educational scenario in Nagaland and Madura in Indonesia. He writes:

For example, in Nagaland in northeast India (Sreedhar 1974), there exists a situation involving the overt use of English and covert use of Nagamese in the schools of the state as a kind of linguistic *modus vivendi*, a compromise ... the covert use of Nagamese as the (unofficial, but de facto) language of explanation (whereas English functions as the official overt language of education) ...on the island of Madura in Indonesia, Madurese is typically used as the explanatory language of education, though Bahasa Indonesia is supposedly the only official language used in-teaching . This is a kind of bilingual behaviour that usually is not described in overt ways.

Schiffman (*ibid*: 434-435) apparently tries to explain this situation by referring to 'diglossia',

a socio-linguistic situation in which more than one form of a language interacts with other forms, such that one 'high' form (H) is perceived as older, more prestigious, purer, more beautiful, and perhaps the only one deserving to be used for schooling, 'high' literature, religion, and so forth. The other 'informal' language (L) is as different from the H variety as are Latin and French, but L has no prestige and is devalued and even despised, although it is the actual 'mother tongue' of the population, being learned first and used by all members for colloquial (home, street, bazaar, humorous) purposes

However, such linguistic behaviour of the teachers also brings out the subtle tensions between policy and practice and the ensuing compromises in realising the policy. Canagarajah (2006: 154), writing on benefits of adopting ethnographic methods to study languages and communities, says that 'there is considerable policy formulation and institutionalisation of linguistic practices at the other end of the policy spectrum that is, local communities and contexts'. In fact the remarks of the teachers is a call to 'LPP (Language Planning and Policy) scholars to listen to what ethnography reveals about life at the grass-roots level – the indistinct voices and acts of individuals in whose name policies are formulated'.

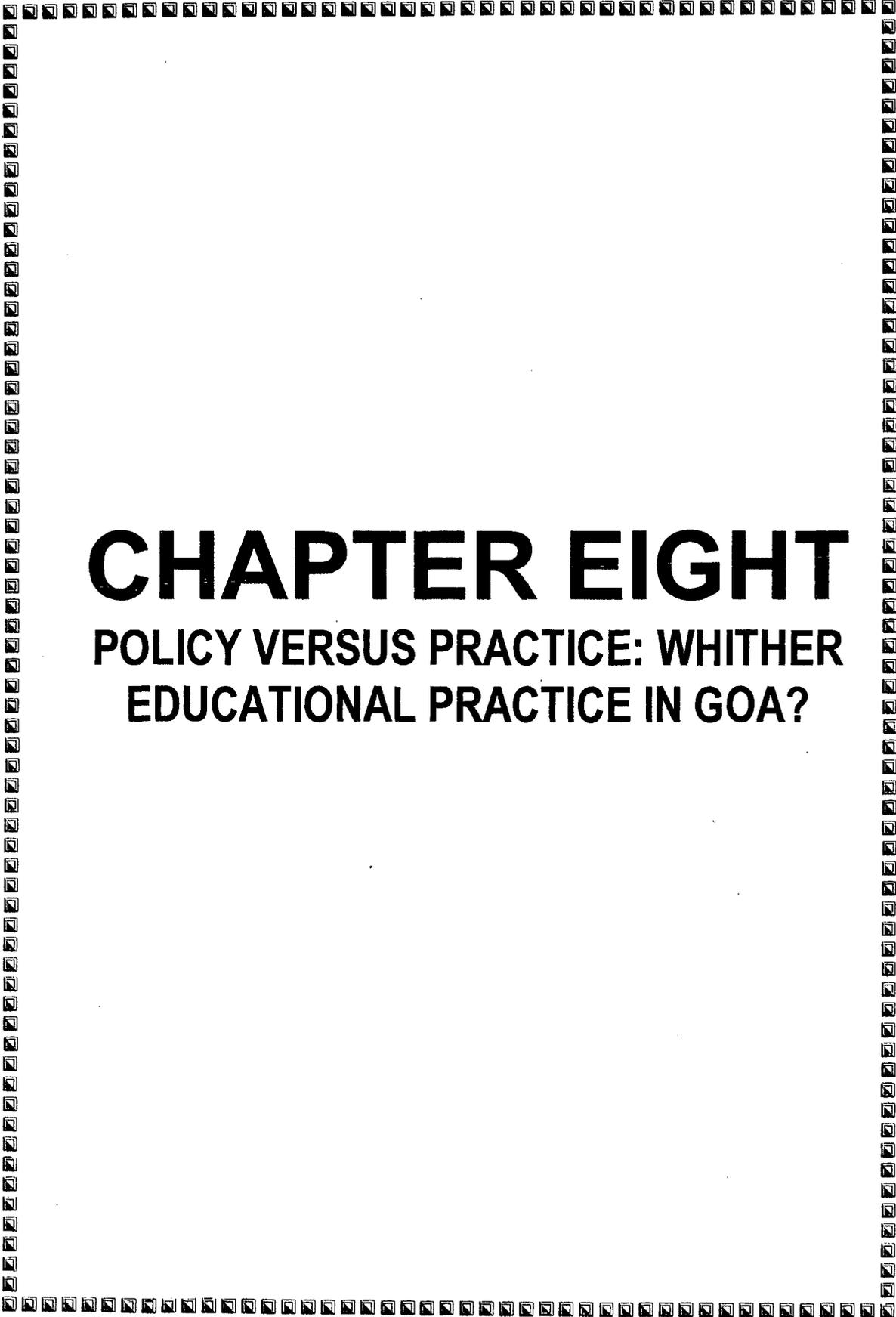
The details of additional languages the teachers are forced to speak in the classroom so as to help children understand the medium of instruction as well as the content matter are provided in the Table 7.12. Out of the six nursery teachers (where English is the medium in all six instances), four teachers used Konkani while the remaining two used Konkani and Hindi in the classroom. From the twenty English medium Kindergarten teachers, one teacher did not feel a need for the use of any other additional language, seven teachers used Konkani, two used Hindi, seven used Konkani and Hindi, and three used Marathi and Hindi. In the First standard where the medium is

Marathi, Konkani or English, out of the thirty-five teachers two did not feel a need to use an additional language but eleven used Konkani, eight used English, six used Hindi, seven used Konkani and Hindi, and one used Marathi. In the Fourth standard four did not find it necessary to use an additional language in the classroom, fourteen teachers used Konkani, nine used English, six Hindi, one Konkani and Hindi, and one Marathi and Konkani. In the primary section wherein a single teacher handles all classes, three did not feel a need for an additional language, ten used Konkani, three used Hindi and one used Konkani and Hindi. Thus, apart from the medium of instruction, teachers, in general use an additional language or two to make the children comprehend the medium of instruction as well as the content matter taught in different standards.

The use of additional languages shows that children do not understand the language of instruction followed in particular schools. Teachers in Marathi medium use Konkani or Konkani and Hindi. This is particularly true in Bicholim Taluka and in rural areas. Teachers in Konkani medium use English and Hindi. English is used as many of the children are bilingual in their homes and, if not, they have already had three years of English education in Nursery and Kindergarten. From the responses given by some teachers there is also reason to believe that teachers use English, for instance in Konkani schools, not for children to understand the content matter but to prepare them for the secondary section. And teachers in English medium use Konkani, Konkani and Hindi and Konkani and Marathi. Different languages are thus used at early schooling.

Thus, not only the parents prefer English medium for their children's education as seen in an earlier chapter, the teachers also are in favour of English medium education. While Konkani teachers liberally use English in their classes, Marathi teachers also, at

least to a certain extent, teach English in the Marathi medium classes even as early as in the first standard, something which was not permitted at least during the field work that was carried on in 2005-2006, prior to the introduction of English subject from First standard in regional medium schools in the academic year 2006-2007. The use of English, whether in regional language medium or in mother tongue medium, means that teachers want their children to be prepared for English when they reach the Fifth standard and later. In fact many of the teachers have explicitly said so. This situation is engendered by the fact that all our secondary and tertiary education is in English and English education is a 'social value' as one of the Konkani protagonist interviewed by the researcher, said. This is, indeed, language planning from below as the teachers exercise their agency to bring in changes they deem fit.



CHAPTER EIGHT

POLICY VERSUS PRACTICE: WHITHER EDUCATIONAL PRACTICE IN GOA?

CHAPTER VIII

POLICY VERSUS PRACTICE: WHITHER EDUCATIONAL POLICY IN GOA?

The focus of this chapter is the medium of instruction policy at the primary level in Goa. The chapter attempts to examine the policy followed from the time of liberation and, especially from 1990 onwards, when the government of Goa decided to allocate grants-in-aid to only those primary schools that would conduct their education in the regional languages. The discussion primarily makes use of primary data acquired through interviews with language protagonists, principals, educationists and activists. The chapter presents the opinions, attitudes and orientations of the respondents on various aspects of the medium of instruction policy in Goa. An audio-tape was used to capture their responses. Detailed responses are provided for they are laden with layers of unseen meanings. These are reported in the form of narrations as gathered from the respondents themselves and are thematically arranged. A brief assessment of the responses provided is also attempted.

INTRODUCTION OF THE NEW MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION POLICY

Primary education policy in Goa, from the time of liberation till 1990, did not discriminate on the basis of language. Primary education was provided in Marathi, English, Konkani and other languages in government primary level schools. The private primary level schools were not provided any grants-in-aid but could adopt any medium of instruction in their institutions. In 1990, the medium of instruction policy was changed in that the government primary level schools shifted the medium of instruction to regional languages only. This meant a change in the medium of instruction in many government primary level schools which had English as a medium of instruction. Secondly, the policy

affected the private primary level schools as grants-in-aid were tied to medium of instruction in the school. Denial of financial assistance from the government was acceptable as long as the management of the private primary level schools was not compelled to pay their staff, salaries on par with government scales. But the High Court ruling in November 1987 had stated that primary school teachers in private schools had to be paid on par with government primary school teachers. The consequence was a shift to regional language medium in many private primary schools.

The motive behind the denial of grants to English medium primary level schools may not be as evident as the immediate cause of the introduction of the new policy. Writing in *Sod*, a Konknni Research Bulletin, Joe F. Vaz (2006: 97) says, 'One fails to understand the rationale behind the imposition of either "Konkani" or "Marathi" as a mandatory "medium of instruction", in Government-funded schools in Goa – other than for purely selfish and self-serving political motives'. Fr. Pratap Naik, a Jesuit and Director of the Thomas Stephens Kendr, Porvorim, spoke at length on both the immediate cause as well as the motive behind the medium of instruction policy:

There was a court case in Loyola School, Margao ... a teacher who was qualified, filed a case against us (Jesuits) saying ... she is a qualified teacher ... why she was paid less salary compared to a government teacher ... the High Court gave a ruling ... all the private schools in Goa, irrespective of the medium of instruction should pay the government scales (to the teachers). That decision should have been challenged in the Supreme Court by all the private schools because you are not bound to give government pay scales, but you have to give minimum pay scales ... I make a distinction. What did they do ... they ran to the government ...

I feel this was a conspiracy ... because they knew ... if grants were given to English medium schools, children would run to minority run schools and their schools will decline ... By insisting on local medium they knew that Catholics had to take Konkani because they do not like to go for Marathi ... Catholics, for sake of grants ... accepted Konkani medium ... mainly the church schools ...nobody challenged the government and nobody challenged the decision in the court ...not just coming to the road ... there was legal avenue ... English is no more a foreign language ... there was no leadership from day one ... somebody should have taken leadership at that time and should have challenged the decision ... the situation would have been different today ...

Mr. Udhay Bhembre, an advocate by profession, an ex-MLA, and a Konkani language protagonist had different views on the issue:

The logic behind is that primary education should be in the mother tongue of the child and the government believed that English is nobody's mother tongue here in Goa ...mostly Konkani ... but there could be some families speaking Marathi and of course the Constitution guarantees that every state government should make provision for imparting primary education through the mother tongue of the child who is a migrant ... so the government of Goa had to start schools in Hindi, Kannada, Urdu ... the logic behind ... was to discourage imparting education through a foreign language ... it (English) is a foreign language ... there may be a few families who speak to the child in English but it is not the language of the environment and for all practical purposes it is a foreign language, although we use it in different walks of life, in education and other walks of life ...I interpret it

(policy) to be closer to the principle universally accepted ... to have education in the mother tongue of the child ... (However) the government was not honest because Marathi is nobody's mother tongue ...but still for political reasons they gave some leverage to Marathi....

Another Konkani language protagonist, a well-known dramatist, an ex-MLA and Speaker of the Goa Legislative Assembly, an ex-Headmaster, and someone who is presently in the limelight due to his involvement in the Konkani language script controversy, is Mr. Tomazinho Cardozo. He opined thus:

Our primary schools ... run by the Diocesan Society of Education (DSE), were all in English ... government came with a policy ... they will give grants if the primary education is ... in regional language not in the mother tongue ... actually, the worldwide concept was, and is, to give primary education in the mother tongue ... if you consider Goa, the mother tongue is Konkani whereas when you say regional language ... it can be Marathi ... it was a political decision in order to protect the interest of Marathi ... our government changed ... mother tongue into regional language, thereby giving opportunity, side by side, to continue Marathi education as it was going earlier ... there was no option for Diocesan Society than to go for Konkani medium schools ... that too ... in Devanagari script ...may be at that time DSE felt that Devanagari script would unite all the Goans ...that is the way I thought of it at that time ...although Christians are going to sacrifice the roman script, it will be worthwhile if unity of all Goans, that is Catholics, Hindus and other communities ...(will be achieved).

An ex-Professor of Economics at the Chowgule College, Prof. Shyam Verenkar, who also occupied at different times the posts of the General Secretary as well as that of the President of the Konkani Bhasha Mandal (KBM), was interviewed and the motive that he attributed to the government's change in policy is that the government wanted to 'give them (people) not what they demanded but what was best for the society at least in the primary stage (of education)'. According to him the government while introducing the policy must have said:

We (the government) have to make the child learn through the mother tongue ... it is necessary that we should emphasize or ... adopt a firm policy wherein the facilities are given only to the vernacular medium schools... that is why, perhaps, they (government) said no grants to English medium schools ... unless and until they (schools) teach in the vernacular.

Mr. Bhiku Pai Angle, a Marathi protagonist as well as an educationist while commenting on the reasons prompting the government to deny grants to English spoke thus:

One thing let me tell you very clearly ... very categorically ... whatever is going on here is all illegal right from the very beginning ... the Constitution of India says that education is the state subject and that all children up to the age of 14 shall be given free education in the vernacular ...how does English come there?

A Professor at the Goa University, Prof. Joe D' Souza, attributed the change in policy to the manipulation politics indulged in by the then Education Minister Mrs. Shashikala Kakodkar. He said:

Her primary aim was to save the Marathi schools which were declining in strength ... not that she had any love for Marathi because if she had any love for Marathi she would have put her own children in Marathi schools ... her own children were in Don Bosco High School ... true, mother tongue is good ... (but) when everything from KG to PhD is in mother tongue ... as long as you get employment within your own country ... whereas in Goa the whole scenario is different ... pre-primary is in English ... primary in Konkani ... and in secondary (which is in English) they are totally lost.

In the responses provided by the interviewees a few motives are ascribed to the government for the introduction of the education policy in Goa in 1990. Adv. Bhembre commends the action of the government for encouraging mother tongue education and for discouraging education in English, which, according to him, is a foreign language and nobody's mother tongue in Goa. He also says that government must make provisions to teach the migrant children from other states in their own mother tongue. However, he targets Marathi and English stating that Marathi is nobody's mother tongue and English is a foreign language. On the contrary it should be noted that there are a few Goans who speak Marathi at home and it is the mother tongue of a considerable section of Goans who are migrants in Goa. He also ignores the fact that many Goan families, much more than any other migrant group from any other state, speak English at home and also that English is the official language of India along with Hindi and therefore cannot be considered any longer a foreign language. Adv. Bhembre accepts that we use English in different walks of life but labels it as a foreign language. This labeling echoes

nationalistic sentiments of people who use the terms 'nation' and 'state' as synonymous terms and subscribe to the 'one nation – one language' ideology.

Prof. Verenkar assumes that the government is in the better position to judge 'what is best' for the society and that it acted in the best interests of the Goans. It seems like Prof. Verenkar's thinking is directed by monolingual norms typical of Western societies which Pattanayak (1988 cited in Canagarajah 2006:155) argued against saying 'postcolonial communities have to deviate from such models to consider radically polylingual norms viable alternatives'

Mr. Angle, categorically condemning the type of policy followed in the state till 1990 at the primary level, in which English has crept in, lauds the governments' efforts to promote primary education in the vernacular (meaning Marathi and Konkani). Like Adv. Bhembre he seems to look at Goa in isolation forgetting the official language status of English at the Union.

Fr. Pratap and Mr. Tomazinho condemn it as a conspiracy to check the decline in the Marathi enrolment in primary schools and a political decision to protect the interests of Marathi respectively. One of the issues raised by Fr. Pratap's comments is the religio-linguistic divide prevalent in the Goan society. Hindus show an affinity towards Marathi and use Marathi for educational, religious and literary purposes. Catholics are more inclined towards Konkani as Catholics consider it as their mother tongue.

Prof. Joe also considers the policy to be a ploy to save the Marathi schools, at the same time commenting that mother tongue education is good only when all education, from pre-primary to the highest level, that is PhD, is in mother tongue and suitable employment can be found within the state. There is no clear evidence to say whether the

policy was a conspiracy, or not, to protect the interests of Marathi as Fr. Pratap, Mr. Tomazinho and Prof. Joe claim, but there is statistical evidence that enrolment in Marathi schools was dwindling. Prof. Joe's argument that higher education and employment is available to those proficient in English and that Goans do seek employment abroad is a fact.

MOTHER TONGUE AND REGIONAL LANGUAGE: ARE THEY EQUALLY EFFICACIOUS?

Having introduced the policy, the subsequent question that needs to be answered is the relevance of the policy. Mr. Radharao Gracias, an advocate by profession and also a politician, was actively involved in the movement under the banner of ACMI (Action Committee for Medium of Instruction), which started an agitation when the English medium schools were denied grants-in-aid in the year 1990. The ACMI emphasised that the medium of instruction must be a choice of the parents and that the government should not force it upon them. The policy was introduced, says adv. Radharao, with the ostensible reason to promote the mother tongue education. He says:

The government came with a bright or brilliant idea that all medium of instruction should be in the mother tongue, which by itself, on the face of it may look proper ... if that was so, there should have been a compulsion that at the time of admission you should check ... the mother tongue of the child because in Goa everybody's mother tongue is Konkani and yet more than fifty percent of the students are sent to Marathi schools ...if the child whose mother tongue is Konkani, is forced by the parents to learn in Marathi ...how ... does the policy help ... all that the policy did was deprive the child the opportunity to study in English from the lowest level ... whereas the child whose mother tongue may

have been Konkani could learn in Marathi ... could learn in Konkani or any other medium even though it may not have been her/his mother tongue ... so, therefore it has not served any purpose at all ... Marathi is nobody's mother tongue in Goa ... it may be the language of religion, culture.

Commenting on the almost fifty percent of children, who actually speak Konkani at home, but studying in Marathi medium primary level schools in Goa, Adv. Bhembre said you cannot categorise their education as mother tongue education. To a question whether these children suffer academically/psychologically, he answered thus: 'I suffered ... it cannot be called mother tongue education ... you have to learn it ...it is learning another language ... may be its closer'.

Again, Prof. Verenkar, speaking about Marathi education in Goa, said: 'Marathi schools are not suitable to Goa ... I used to learn Marathi in the beginning ... we never used to understand ... never felt something familiar ...even though Marathi is much closer'.

However, being a Marathi protagonist, Mr. Angle has a different explanation. He categorises education received by Konkani speaking children in Marathi schools not as education in the mother tongue but as in the vernacular. He says:

(We) have been doing it... Konkani is a dialect of Marathi ... Marathi has been here for ages ... that has become also the language spoken at home in some of the parts ... also it is the commercial language as well as language of religion ... in our house ... since morning we are reciting prayers ... all in Marathi ... that has got some sort of influence on the mind of the parents of the child.

Similarly, a considerable section of Goan children, speaking English at home are studying in Konkani medium schools. Adv. Bhembre reacts to such a situation thus: 'If both the parents speak to the child in English I would never say that the mother tongue of the child is Konkani, it is English ... such a child will suffer academically/pedagogically... Definitely...' Mr. Celso Dias, Headmaster in a secondary school with experience in dual medium teaching in a primary school in Ambora, says that children do suffer if they exclusively speak English at home. Fr. Pratap argues that such children will have difficulties because 'home environment is totally English ... neighbourhood also may be English'. But he does not think that such a situation should create any problem if the parents take a little effort and help the child. He calls it a transitory period, wherein the role of the schools becomes important in helping the child make that transition. And that is the reason he says 'the whole education should be child centred'. Mr. Tomazinho argues thus:

Mother tongue is the language you speak ... people speak English at home ... so their mother tongue is English ... so therefore they are denied the opportunity to learn in their mother tongue... This is one clear fact ...and this is happening more among the Catholics but there are Hindus also ... families who now speak English

Thus, according to Mr. Tomazinho, many are deprived of education in their mother tongue due to the 1990 policy. However, he has a different argument to offer when it comes to academic achievement. He says:

Whether you speak English or Konkani or whatever language, your higher education will depend on your background ... family background, your efforts, your perseverance to study for a required number of hours, of course your

intellectual ability ... I have seen students who never speak English ... scoring 87/88 percent in SSC including 75 percent in English ... because at home ... parents sit with them and see that they study ... that is more important than language.

Prof. Verenkar says mother tongue education is:

not just what the mother speaks, it is the environmental language... and if Konkani is the environmental language of Goa, then education should be in Konkani ... the environmental language brings them (students) the culture of the soil ... otherwise the roots will be cut of and they will be rootless ... and that is the fate of many.

Ms. Madhavi Sardessai, a lecturer in Konkani at the Goa University, does not find anything wrong in teaching Konkani to children speaking English at home. To her 'education in the local medium and language of the environment ... is not artificial at all because every Goan who goes and buys fish in the market talks in Konkani ... so that medium is not an artificial medium'.

Adv. Radharao said that children speaking English at home but studying in Konkani do suffer academically and pedagogically but hastened to add that 'that it is for people in the field to conduct a survey and determine ...difficult for me to give a categorical answer'. However, he threw some light on the language behaviour among Catholics in Goa. Citing his own example he says:

I sent them (his children) to Konkani medium school ... but somehow the moment they ended up in school they have almost forgotten that they study in Konkani ...they have been speaking English amongst themselves ... in school

they speak English ... among themselves all over here ... among neighbours they speak English ... although they are studying in a Konkani medium school ... For the Catholic community ... the middle class ... for all practical purposes English has become the mother tongue ... but we are shy to say that ... Most of us prefer to say our mother tongue is Konkani and we say it in English ... This is the reality ... practically for a good number of Catholics English is the mother tongue and therefore even forcing them to speak in Konkani or study in Konkani is again forcing them to study in a language which is no longer their mother tongue ...

Thus Adv. Radharao, Adv. Bhembre and Prof. Verenkar concur that Marathi education for Konkani speaking children is not mother tongue education. Stating that 'it is no body's mother tongue', that 'it is learning another language', that 'we never used to understand', Adv. Radharao, Adv. Bhembre and Prof. Verenkar question the efficaciousness of the Marathi medium in Goa. The evaluation of such education is crucial as almost 50 percent of children in Goa study through Marathi medium. But it must be borne in mind that Marathi education for the almost 50 percent enrolled in Goan Marathi schools is not mother tongue education, by any stretch of imagination, as many among them speak Konkani at home and does not understand Marathi. The fact that most of the parents of children in Marathi medium school declared their mother tongue as Konkani suggest that the census Marathi tongue speakers population may be biased. Perhaps non- utilisation of the services of primary school teachers for the enumeration work during the census will yield different results.

Mr. Angle chooses to call Marathi education in Goa, as education in the vernacular qualifying further that Konkani is a dialect of Marathi. One finds it hard to

understand that even today after the Konkani language has been incorporated into the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution there should be some, not linguists, who still consider it a dialect.

As regards English speaking children studying in Konkani medium schools, Adv. Bhembre and Mr. Dias say that this type of children do suffer academically. It is natural as they are not familiar with Konkani, though, it is the local language. Fr. Pratap and Mr. Tomazinho argue that language is not the only or the major factor determining scholastic achievement, the school and the home environment can play a decisive role. Prof. Verenkar and Ms. Sardesai are arguing for the medium of the environmental language, even if that is not the spoken language in the immediate family. It means that they want that the environmental language should be the medium of instruction even of children who are not familiar with the language. The question to ponder on is - what is being promoted? – The language and culture or children's education? As Adv. Radharao claims English has become the mother tongue for many Catholics and so Konkani medium education for these Catholics is not mother tongue education. One may call it regional or environmental language, which is certainly not as familiar to the child as the mother tongue (in these cases English) and therefore not as efficacious as the mother tongue.

MOTHER TONGUE: DEVANAGARI OR ROMI SCRIPT?

Another contentious issue that has emerged recently and is still being hotly debated is that of the script. Cardozo (2006: 20), one of the leaders spearheading the movement for the recognition of Romi script, writes about Romi script Konkani education during the Portuguese times. He says that the elite preferred to send their children to the Portuguese medium schools. 'Hindus preferred Marathi education while the majority of the children

coming from poor Catholic families studied Konkani in Roman script in church schools ... I was one of the few students in my village who started learning through Konkani in Roman script'. After liberation Konkani in the Devanagari script was introduced in some schools, but the enrolment was very poor.

On 15 December 2005 Tomazinho, in his paper presented during the 'History Hour' at Xavier Centre for Historical Research (XCHR), made a very pertinent observation. He said:

When Konknni was recognised by the Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, it recognised **Konknni Language** without mentioning any script. When Konknni was included in the 8th schedule of the Constitution of India, it also mentions **Konknni language** and not any script in particular. The Constitution of Goa Konkani Akademi also refers to the development of **Konknni language** without specifying any script for Konknni. It is only the Goa Official Language Act, which states **Konkani language means Konkani in Devanagari script** (2006:23).

He calls the addition of Devanagari script in the Official Language Act an act of manipulation. Soon after the Official Language Act was passed, the enrolment in Konkani schools, which was a little more than two hundred in the year before the introduction of the policy, increased drastically, as the Diocesan Society of Education and the Archdiocesan Board of Education switched over to teach Konkani in Devanagari in their schools, instead of English. According to Cardozo, however, the Devanagari script and the dialect that is used in the textbooks followed in the primary create major hurdles for the children and the parents (Cardozo 2006: 24). He also remarks further that 'Konknni in Devanagari script and in a particular dialect is forcibly imposed on Christian managed schools' (*ibid.* 25), which make up for 126 of the total 136 schools in Konkani medium.

And as narrated to the researcher in the interview, Mr. Tomazinho said: 'it is only the Catholics who are supporting Konkani ... if it is only the Catholics and not the Hindus ... why should they opt for Devanagari script, which is not their script? ... Why should they opt for that '*boli*' (dialect) which is not theirs and not '*Romi*', their own script'. Further he is convinced that:

1) to keep Konkani language alive, Roman script and the dialect of Christians should be introduced and 2) to keep Goan identity alive Roman script is needed, otherwise Goan Catholics will go away from Konkani and they will be foreigners in their own land ... and I am of the opinion that people responsible for this would be our educational authorities, particularly our DSE... I told them ... you don't take your own decision ... you only ask the parents about sending their children to Konkani... Whether they want to teach their children in Konkani in Roman script or in Devanagari script ... let the people tell ... and I tell you ... 90 percent of our parents in our schools, which are basically Catholics, will say we want Konkani in Roman script.

Naik (*Herald*, Panjim, 9 August 2006: 12) writing on 'Myth and Reality of Roman Script' said

it is true Catholics are studying Konkani in Devanagari script. This is because it is made compulsory. It is also true, that Catholic schools are teaching Konkani in Devanagari script, only because they don't want to lose the government grants and not because of any love for the Devanagari script. If the same Konkani was taught in the Roman script, Catholics would have opted for that Konkani. So would have the Catholic schools. Nineteen years have passed and this section of Goans has still not willfully accepted the Devanagari script. They never will.

When the researcher asked him whether he would prefer some schools to teach in Romi script, Fr. Pratap responded saying 'That's a parent's choice ... any medium should

be of parents choice. It should not be imposed ... you give them various possibilities ... let them choose’.

Mr. Herculano Dourado, an ex-Minister opined that ‘School students should be given a choice between Roman and Devanagari script to study Konkani since its obvious that our primary schools are finding it difficult to get students in the Devanagari Konkani medium schools’ (Antao 2006: 6-7, 11). Mr. Alexyz, the famous Goan cartoonist writing on the script controversy, says: ‘The Konkani they have imposed at the primary level is a Konkani that is alien to the Catholic community simply because it is not the Konkani they speak. No wonder so many English primary schools have mushroomed in Goa ...’ (cited in *ibid.* 11). Similarly, Mr. Dias also felt that ‘If it was Roman script there would have been better acceptance by the Catholics ... if it is made (i.e. Roman script is introduced) I would say ... it would arrest the rush to English schools’.

Adv. Radharao said:

Roman script is not recognised ... you can’t teach in a language which is not recognised ... when I was an MLA I had moved a bill... for giving Roman script the same status in the Official language as given to Marathi ...what I had sought to amend was ...however, Marathi and Konkani in Roman script may be used for all or any official purposes so that both the communities get a balanced treatment ...but that was also rejected ... once both the scripts are recognised, it would be up to the parents to decide... which script the child should study in...

Thus, Devanagari script is seen, by the Roman Catholic intelligentsia, as placing major hurdles for the children and parents. It has never been willfully accepted nor will be accepted in future by the Catholics. It makes it difficult for Catholic schools to attract

students. It is alien to the Catholic community, which do not speak that dialect and is said to be one of the reasons for the mushrooming of English schools. The Roman script protagonists also believe that the choice of the medium of instruction, especially the script to be used, should ultimately be left up to the decision of the parents.

On the other hand, Pundalik Naik (cited in Antao 2006: 6-7, 11) a Konkani writer and presently the President of the Goa Konkani Academy says:

Only Devanagari script should be used in Konkani education because it is a natural and most systematic script of Konkani language and the same has been the tradition since 1962 ... there must be only one script if the language is to flourish in all spheres. Therefore, the only alternative is Devanagari script in the present and in the future.

The development of language seems to be the uppermost in the mind of Adv. Bhembre when he says:

Konkani has suffered for a number of years because of multiplicity of scripts ... no language can make progress with multiple scripts ... because multiple scripts create islands... they divide ...there's a hurdle for communication ...there's a hurdle for propagation of literature and it doesn't help standardisation at all... now Devanagari being the naturally suited script for Konkani has been considered as that one script to which all should converge ... and not by design but either course of circumstances or realisation we have gone in that direction ...for e.g. education in Goa in Konkani is in Devanagari script ... Official language Act also mentions Devanagari script ... So this process will be helped if children of today learn through Devanagari ...there won't be a script problem after two generations ...to my mind ...but if probably Roman or other script is used, then it will mean

that we are preserving the multiplicity of scripts and this preservation will be detrimental to the development of Konkani...

Again, the development of the Konkani language seems to be the major concern of many others. Ms.Sardessai spoke thus:

For the sake of Konkani, one script is the ideal option ...the issue of script should not be confused with education and medium ...one person said ...I speak in Roman script ...In Maharashtra ... everybody learns in one script whether one is Hindu, Christian or Muslim ... why should we have a problem here in Goa?

Prof. Verenkar also argued similarly:

It (Roman script) is not necessary ... in education at least we should not bring in politics ... we want Konkani so that it unites Hindus, Christians and Muslims in Goa ...there may be some dialectical differences ...pronunciation may be different ...Nevertheless Konkani brings us together ...our thinkers long back in 1939 ...discussed and said Devanagari is the natural script for Konkani ... some political minded people have created the problem ...there are no objections from the students ...they are happy ...and it is not something which is foreign, alien as such ... it is an Indian language ... it is the natural script for Konkani because ... the sounds can be very easily expressed through the Devanagari script ... so Devanagari script appears to be the most appropriate script for Konkani ... children don't find it difficult ... my experience in Konkani Vidya Bhuvan School ... There are many Catholic students also ...they learn it very naturally ...they ... (have) even scored the highest marks at the SSC and the HSSC.

Another language protagonist and Konkani writer, Mr. Ravindra Kelekar, in response to the question whether Konkani should be taught in Romi script in some schools condemned it as an absurdity. He said that it is:

as absurd as teaching Portuguese in Devanagari script, because it is not the script of Konkani ... At that time to avoid this controversy we published primary education books in both the scripts ... but the government of India appointed a commission ... Jha commission ... which recommended that primary education should be in Konkani in Devanagari script ... so the government accepted primary education in Konkani in Devanagari script ... I called for a meeting of all my friends in Konkani Bhasha Mandal ... Carmo da Silva was there ... Lucio da Veiga Coutinho was there ... Alvaro Renato de Mendes ... Vasco Rego ... Antonio Pereira ... only Father who objected to Devanagari script was Anastasio Gomes ... Roman script because it was international script ... he said let us give an example for all other Indian languages ... that was too much of an ambition ... Lucio da Veiga Coutinho belonged to a family which was completely Portuguese ... He said ... let us change it ... we have to be one ... Hindus and Christians ... common language should be there ... that was their interpretation ... Roman script is a symbol of denationalisation ... we do want to keep any vestiges of denationalisation ... Christians' identity won't cease to exist if they adopt Devanagari script ...

The proponents of the Roman and the Devanagari script have put forth different arguments. Devanagari script proponents consider Devanagari script, the natural script of Konkani through which the Konkani sounds can be written well. This claim of

Devanagari protagonists does not carry much weight as a script is only 'a set of symbols arbitrarily chosen to represent speech sounds' (Almeida 2006: 72) and Devanagari script was not expressly created to represent Konkani sounds. Further, as Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji (cited in Almeida 2006: 71) appropriately writes 'Any alphabet can be written in any script and therefore it follows that any language can be written in any script, provided the alphabet has the necessary sounds. If it has not, such sounds may be added and visual symbols invented or adopted to represent them'. In the educational field it has been said that Konkani in Devanagari has been in use since liberation and is already followed in Konkani schools, but it must be noted that the writing in Konkani in the Roman script has the longest tradition of about 500 years. According to Naik (2006b: 12)

For the last 500 years a large section of Goa's population has been using Roman script for literature, cultural, business, mass media and religious purposes. All these years this section is responsible to maintain the tradition of written Konkani. At present 30 % of Goa's population uses Roman script. The Tiatr, Khell Tiatr, Khell, Motets, Kantaram, Mando, Dekhnni, Ladin and Gaiona, which are popular forms in Goa, are written in Roman script.

Even the father of Konkani renaissance fondly remembered as Varde Valaulikar or Shennoi Goenbab wrote thirteen books in Roman Konkani before he wrote his first book in Devanagari Konkani (Almeida 2006: 73). 'For the development of Konkani, for the sake of Konkani we must adopt Devanagari script', this is the ideal espoused by the Devanagari protagonists. However, the danger that those who, as of now read Konkani in Roman script, may give up reading Konkani once and for all, if only Devanagari script is used to write Konkani, is not visualised by them. Those espousing the cause of Devanagari script also claim that the students do not find it difficult to study Devanagari Konkani. However, many parents in the course of the interview schedule have stated that they find it difficult to teach their children in Konkani and therefore they find it a better

option to send them to English schools. A proponent of Devanagari script also said that 'in education at least we should not bring in politics'. Konkani (in Devanagari script) unites Hindus, Catholics and Muslims in Goa. Konkani in Devanagari script is put forth as a basis for Goan unification, the price to be paid, however, is the abandonment of the Roman script Konkani. Nairn (1997: 1 cited in Khandeparkar 2006: 51) writes: 'Nationalism is not the awakening of Nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist'. As Naik (2006b: 12) says, Devanagari script has united neither the entire Hindu community nor Hindus and Christians. Whilst condemning other's views as politically motivated, some Devanagari protagonists consider their views on the script to be used in Konkani education as non-political and non-ideological. However, they could also be perpetuating hegemonic ideologies camouflaged in commonsensical ideas and furthering the interests of the majority or elite of the society. Almeida (2006: 74) seems to suggest that the votaries of Devanagari soon after liberation dissuaded the Roman script writers and sympathisers from claiming any rights for Roman script, for the benefit of the Konkani language. The reason for the acceptance of Devanagari script by many priests mentioned earlier could also be due to the 'alienation' factor which a section of Goan Catholic society was experiencing and yearned for 'a language link to 'genuine' Indianness, which seemed questionable' (Noronha 1999: 47) at that time. The Roman script protagonists speaking against the Devanagari script maintained that it creates difficulties for students, that it is not the language they speak, that it is the imposition of a particular dialect on the others, that it is highly Marathicised (Naik 2006b: 12), and that, it has led to the mushrooming of English schools.

LANGUAGE HOTCHPOTCH DURING EARLY SCHOOLING

English primary schools have mushroomed in cities and villages and they begin with English education from the pre-primary: Nursery and Kindergarten. However, a number of schools, with mother tongue medium in the primary section, have English as the medium of instruction in the pre-primary section consisting of Nursery and Kindergarten. Adv. Bhembre reacting to this educational situation in Goa said thus: 'That's illogical ... that's wrong ... perhaps that would create problems in the child's psyche ... That's absolutely wrong ... there's a demand from the people and they give in or for some reason they have these classes (primary) in Konkani reluctantly ... To me the first step must start in the mother tongue and that should continue till the primary'

Mr. Tomazinho spoke at length on the issue saying:

'This is a very bad policy... if they want Konkani medium in Primary, they should also have Konkani medium in Nursery and Kindergarten. ...it is the short-sightedness of our planners as far as education is concerned ... because we are confusing the child ... As far as Konkani medium is concerned ... my experience as Headmaster in Arpora ... they are sending the child to Nursery and Kindergarten and after that is over, they send them to English medium schools somewhere else ... somehow or other these people are not understanding the impact of our policy on the minds of the children and secondly, what example are we giving to others ... other educationists ... if they analyse it they will laugh at us ... I am of the opinion if you are really promoting Konkani education ... have this (Nursery and Kindergarten) also in Konkani ... otherwise shift over to English ... and do everything in English'.

To the suggestion that Nurseries and Kindergartens are carried on in English medium, perhaps, to attract parents and then retain the children for the primary section also, Mr. Tomazinho said that:

We are thinking about our survival ... that is, teachers and the institution ... not the survival of the students and I think schools are there first to see the betterment of the child ...if betterment of the child is to be seen then the Nursery and Kindergarten cannot be in English, if you are having primary in Konkani.

Speaking on the same issue Mr. Radharao says:

Everyone takes to English medium schools ...no one has gone (shifted to Konkani medium) for the love of Konkani ... they have gone for ... because the system demands it ...you give grants for English ... in a decade 90 percent of Goans will go to English medium schools ... Hindus, Christians ... all ... it is detrimental to the students ... you teach them first in pre-primary in English ... A, B, C, D ... then in primary you teach them K, Kh, G, Gh, N (Devanagari Characters) ... to me it is a waste of time and it is obviously confusing for the child ... the child should study the same throughout ...introduce the second language somewhere along the way.'

Mr. Dias, was very critical of the managements which follow the policy of conducting Nursery and Kindergarten in English and Primary in Konkani. He said:

They want to get students ... to get them and retain them ... Do you think the Church has a policy? ... Or would the church have allowed Marina School in Verna to continue in English after taking over ... (Attached to Marina High School is an Unaided Primary School in English medium that belongs to the Diocese for the last 5 years.

Prof. Verenkar stated that the 'Kindergartens are business shops ... earning more and more money ... it has become the source of income ... we are not concerned with the child's development'. According to Mr. Kelekar, 'the education policy from Kindergarten to the highest level' should have been in Konkani. He said, 'teach all the languages in between ... teach all subjects in Konkani and have English as a subject from beginning till end'. Mr. Angle called it 'Trade – *dhand*a (business).

The unique phenomenon in Goa, that is, conducting education in different media at different stages of education, viz., Nursery, Kindergarten and Primary, within the same institution has been perceived as illogical and wrong, as a waste of time, as an evidence of no proper policy, as short-sightedness of the educational planners creating problems in the child's psyche, as detrimental to the child and as confusing the child. The institutions of early schooling have been viewed as business shops. The hotchpotch has been seen, as a measure adopted by some institutions for the survival of teachers and institutions not the development of students.

MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION DURING EARLY SCHOOLING AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

While mother tongue education is prescribed universally, in Goa, neither the pre-primary nor the secondary education is in the mother tongue. Only the children studying in Konkani medium primary level schools are studying in the mother tongue, in the narrow sense of the word, meaning, thereby, the language spoken at home. It must be noted that even this is highly controversial as the Devanagari Konkani followed in schools is considered a dialect of only a small section of the Goans. The secondary education is in English. Almost all secondary schools in Goa are English medium schools and therefore

many parents consider it better to educate their children in English from the very beginning.

Adv. Bhembre did not think primary education in mother tongue in Goa was at the cost of education of the children. He responded saying:

Because of the peculiar situation in our country ... higher education is in English ... naturally you have to start with English somewhere ... Maharashtra made an experiment of going up to SSC in Marathi and the children suffered ... even the brightest student was a failure at the college level ...so not to repeat that mistake ... if at all higher education is in English ... now language should be secondary ... as far as education is concerned ...regional languages help only at the primary level ... because at that level the child is not capable enough to assimilate or grasp words in a language which is foreign to the child or further away from the environment and therefore these regional languages help. Now remember, I would not put Konkani and Marathi on par... because Konkani is known to the child whereas Marathi he has to learn ... I had to learn what is said to this (pointing to the table) article. I had to learn that this is not ... '*mez*' in Marathi ...in Marathi I cannot call it '*mez*' ... I should know what the word is ... and that is a strain on the mind of the child ...Konkani and Marathi cannot be put on par but mother tongue ... using mother tongues at the primary level is not at the cost of education of the child.

Mr. Tomazinho, speaking on the effect of the medium of education at the primary level on the child's educational development, said:

Your primary education does not have much effect on your class and performance ... therefore, whether you have English education in the primary ... or Konkani education in the primary, I don't see much effect of it on your performance afterwards, because your performance depends on your intellectual ability and that intellectual ability, of course, it gets better if it is in the mother tongue ... but also it depends on the friend's circle, the conditions under which you study, your home problems, your psychology, ... there are so many things ... primary education (in mother tongue) may be one of the hundreds of factors that affect the performance of the child ...

Mr. Dias, on the same issue of whether English should be taught as a medium from the beginning or whether Konkani should be taught at the primary, said he 'would not have total English education ... like the private (English medium) schools ... you will kill the instant response of the child'. He believed that children should be given a chance to say whatever they felt through their mother tongue. But when asked whether children with mother tongue education will do better in the secondary than children with English education from the beginning he stated that the 'children of the masses not the classes need English education ...they are the ones who cannot do well at the higher level ...'. Thus he felt that teaching in Konkani medium does affect the masses or the poorer sections of the society, as they have no support at home to cope with English that is introduced from the fifth standard.

Thus, there are some who think that teaching in the mother tongue at the primary level would help in the intellectual development of the children; there are others, however, who are convinced that while mother tongue does help, there are also many

other factors that influence the child's development. There are still others who feel that the children from lower classes, not the upper classes, are at a disadvantage and do badly in their higher studies, that is, if they have primary education in the mother tongue and not in English, which is the medium of education at the secondary and later.

PRONOUNCED PREFERENCE FOR ENGLISH MEDIUM DURING EARLY SCHOOLING

Further, whether one considers the minority community, the Christians or the majority community, the Hindus, there seems to be today a growing preference for English medium education at the primary level. Fr. Pratap spoke thus:

If Salcete people took Konkani, it is not that they wanted Konkani ... it was forced upon them ...there is no choice for them ... minority community ... if there is a choice between English and Konkani ... they would have definitely gone for English ... especially the poorer lot ... there are not many English medium schools ... in Goa ... they are spread out here and there ...parents cannot take their children to such a distance ... 20 kilometres and 30 kilometres ...therefore parents out of sheer necessity ... they are sending to Konkani medium schools ... it is not out of conviction ...if you take North Goa (Bicholim), there is a difference ... what happens in villages ... majority community ... they want to keep their roots with Marathi because Marathi is the language of their religion. So ... therefore they prefer to study at least the primary education in Marathi ... but now ... even in the majority community the picture is changing ... Take (for example) in the cities ... they send their children to English medium education but they prefer the child should also know a little Marathi ...as one subject ... because of their religion ... same thing could have been done ... having English

medium schools and Konkani as one subject ... they would have been rooted in their culture and economically would have come up ... People think rightly or wrongly ... having a command over English ... they have better prospects either for education or for jobs ... and we cannot deny this reality ... one's mother tongue and language ... its only for our cultural identity ... emotional fulfillment ... for household talking ... let our education be in English ... because Goa cannot give job opportunities for our people ... our people have to move outside Goa and to move outside Goa , English is necessary. Let us not be fanatics about language... I am not glorifying English ... tomorrow it could be (any other language) ... depends on who is dominating the market ... time being it is English ... I prefer that our education is in English ...

Speaking on the pronounced preference for English, Adv. Bhembre said:

It is a national phenomena not restricted to Goa alone. Unfortunately, people of this country are led to believe or believe that English is the language of the stomach and English is the language of making a living and therefore it is better to start right from the beginning in English. That seems to be the fashion or the logic and people are proceeding in that direction and that is the reason why English schools are coming up very fast. Even this tendency to start from Nursery is ... to give proficiency to the child in English right from Stage I ... and that is how English schools are growing ...these are misconceptions ...but this fashion has caught up ...

Mr. Tomazinho spoke at length about the interaction between the religious communities and the language preference in education. He said:

One thing we must never forget ... Hindus will never ever leave Marathi because they consider it as their religious language ... because all their religious activities are conducted in Marathi and Marathi only ... Even our leaders like Adv. Bhembre who are proud of Konkani in Devanagari script ... are having their religious activities in Marathi ... therefore I tell them this is a biggest hypocrisy ... internally Marathi ... externally Konkani, that too in Devanagari script ... Hindus are also migrating to English no doubt, but the percentage is less compared to Catholics ... it is less ... because they, till now, feel that Marathi being their religious language they should study it and they continue to study it ... Catholics ... those who can afford ... definitely send their children to English medium schools ... when Luizinho Faleiro introduced English in the first standard actually the move was very right ... but, unfortunately, he is at the receiving end... English is the language for survival and each and every parent in Goa, may be Hindu, Christian or Musalman wants their children to be good enough in their life time and therefore they want to teach them English ... and therefore I tell you if government was to give an option 90 percent of the parents of Marathi medium students would have told Luizinho ... 'Go ahead'... we want English'... there was a time each school (Marathi medium) was having 40,50,70, 100 students ... today if you see the statistics ... it is given that about 200 schools are there with students less than ten ... and these ten students belong to all four classes (standards)... One teacher ... to teach them ... I think nowhere in the world such education systems exists ...

Commenting on the preference of parents to send their children to English medium schools, Prof. Verenkar spoke of some 'demonstration effect' on parents:

Majority, nowadays, prefer (English) ... even illiterate, everyone, because they find that rich people, well-to-do people, upper class people's children go for English medium schools ... whether they are villagers ... Catholics or Hindus ... they feel that it is profitable ...they can get jobs very easily ... they prefer going to English medium schools and I feel it is because of the government's policy ... because today if you know a little bit of English you get a job ...even if you are a first class in the vernacular language you don't get any job ... they should have encouraged mother tongue ... given the present state ... parents prefer to send their child to English medium schools ...general aspiration is to go to English medium school ...

Mr. Angle also speaks of the 'demonstration effect' caused due to competition. He says that today the 'general trend is of competition ...my neighbour is sending to English medium school ...why should I send to Marathi or Konkani ... Marathi and Konkani ... globalisation has spoilt even our cultural aspects ...'.

Prof. Joe said:

There is a pronounced preference (for English) ... and it is only through English that Goa will be empowered. Further, he added and said: 'If I had children, I would have definitely put them in English, given them coaching in Konkani ... perhaps later once they are empowered in English ... tell them ... now master your Konkani and write some books in Konkani as a service to the language and culture.'

Adv. Radharao also commented on the preference for English. He said:

Everyone is shifting over to English because English is an international language ... English is the language of administration in the country ... English is the language wherein the future lies ... so everybody wants to study in that language ... I think Marathi, Konkani ... even Konkani ... may be in three or four generations will die ... may be the whole world will become 'Englishised' because ... today everything is ... in English ...it's a part of civilisation and evolution ... As things evolve some things die off, new things crop up... languages throughout history have died ... new languages will come ... I feel ... if English medium was given grants ... the moment you start speaking English, learn English, your horizons broaden and widen ... you read the vernacular papers and English papers ... there is a complete difference in the manner of reporting ... the vernacular press keeps you backward .. the upper caste Hindu ... have controlled and dominated the lower caste Hindu ... consciously done ...Historically ... for thousands of years the Hindu society has been hierarchical and its suits the upper caste to keep the lower caste backward ...earlier they were kept illiterate ...now they are kept literate in a language which doesn't help them to grow ... I think it would be better for these people to study English ... they would advance much quicker ... that is what is happening ... the lower castes who are studying English now are becoming doctors, lawyers, professionals and it is helping them come out... the basic purpose behind denying English instruction is to keep the historically suppressed community backward so that they (upper castes and the new upper castes) can continue exploit them ...

Ms. Sardessai spoke of the changing linguistic scenario in Goa saying:

If government opens schools in English ... I think even these Hindus (from Bicholim area) will prefer English to Marathi ... because there is no choice in the villages everybody goes to Marathi medium schools ... because now everybody values English much more than Konkani or Marathi ...everybody values English and we Goans, especially, ... we like to produce 'export quality' ... actually everybody does not go for jobs outside Goa but that is the fashion ... people project it that way and they say if you learn Konkani and Marathi your job market is only Goa and Maharashtra ... if you want to go out then it's English ... but I feel if we learn primary education in Konkani and Marathi ... it's not a handicap ... I feel personally ... you know ... in secondary somehow you get to learn English ...then there is TV ... I feel there is a hegemony of English everywhere in India, more in Goa ... when I put my child in Konkani medium school ... Konkani Bhasha Mandal school ... she told me she doesn't want to go to that school ...I (the daughter) would prefer a 'chokchokit' (shining) school (English)... we had a neighbour ... and that time 'Kare' school (Vidya Vikas) had just come up and she (my neighbour's child) was going to that school ... she (my daughter) used to feel that it was a better school ... around us some were also going to Manovikas ... she (my daughter) felt that it was a better school (too) ... later on also she used to put in more efforts to learn English ...and now she puts English words in her Konkani ...I keep on correcting her ...this is an indication that English has a value in the society ... if you know English somehow your status is higher ...knowing English is being educated

Thus educationists, language protagonists, activists agree that there is a pronounced preference for English medium schools at the primary level. However, it is contended by some that there is no proper choice for all and if there were a choice, the minority community, especially, and also the majority community would have opted for English. According to the different responses even the members of the majority community, in cities as well as villages, are sending their children to English medium schools. People associate a good command over English with better jobs and better prospects in future and believe it is better to start learning it from the beginning. In fact the desire for English medium schools, it is believed, has percolated from the rich and upper caste and class to the lower sections of the society. This behaviour is also seen as an outcome of the faulty government policy giving importance to English for jobs in government and other sectors. Thus, the responses of the interviewees suggest that the preference of the people is for English medium at the primary level.

DENIAL OF GRANTS-IN-AID TO ENGLISH MEDIUM AND REPRODUCTION OF INEQUALITY

While there seems to be a preference for English medium schools across all sections of the Goan society, denial of grants to English medium schools have made English schools inaccessible to the poorer and weaker sections, thereby perpetuating inequality and poverty. Fr. Pratap agreed that the denial of grants to English does lead to the perpetuation of poverty. He said:

Everybody cannot afford a high fee ... you go to Pernem ... you go to Canacona ... you see the poverty which is there ... so we are perpetuating injustice this way ... the rich are going to English medium schools and they get the best of education and the others are struggling and from this Marathi medium, Konkani

medium ... they go to high schools ... they suffer there ... Sharda Mandir, Manovikas are charging very high fees ... common man cannot think about it ...

According to Mr. Tomazinho, the government had given an assurance at the time of the new education policy in 1990 that it would not permit any more English schools in Goa. However, he says that the government changed that policy and today we have about 100 English medium schools. The latest amendment of removing the distance ban, he said, would lead to an addition of more English schools, thereby leading to the perpetuation of inequality 'because poor people will not be in a position to take that education'. Mr. Dias also felt the denial of grants to English medium schools 'support inequality'. According to him 'it is like saying ... you do not have the means, don't travel by luxury, you travel by the ordinary bus ...'. Adv. Bhembre also agrees that the denial of grants to English medium schools leads to inequality saying:

'To some extent ... yes ... that is one of the effects of this policy ... the disadvantaged or unprivileged class will find it difficult to have an access to English medium schools because you have to pay high fees ... to that extent this distinction will continue ... this is one adverse effect of this policy'.

Adv. Radharao feels that it is obvious that the denial of grants to English medium schools lead to inequality. He justifies his position saying:

Today every parent who can afford in Margao ... will send their child to Vidya Vikas, Manovikas, St. Annes, or some other private school ... Historically, it is always like that ... even in England the rich parents would send their children to Public Schools ... By doing this the government is consciously creating a class conflict ... by depriving the poorer section the right to study in English ... Those

people who oppose English medium schools are those who have set up these schools ... Mustifund, Manovikas, Sharada Mandir, these are schools intrinsically run by people with RSS inclinations ... look at every founder ... they are basically of the Saraswat community and almost all of them would be aligned to the RSS either as members of RSS or inclined towards them. These are the people who will tell you to study in local languages and they are running these high profit schools like Manovikas, Mustifund and Sharada Mandir ... now how do you explain that ... if these people feel Konkani and Marathi are better Manovikas should be in Konkani or Marathi ... Sharada Mandir should be in Konkani and Marathi ... Mustifund should be in Konkani and Marathi ... Obviously they send their children to English medium schools.

That inequality is perpetuated by the denial of grants to English medium schools is accepted by all of the interviewees. They feel those who can afford to pay the high fees in English medium schools go to those schools and get the best of education there, and those who cannot afford to pay the high fees go to Marathi and Konkani schools and face difficulties in high school. Opposition to English medium schools is also seen by some as a ploy by some sections of society to further their own interests. As Pennycook argues the promotion of mother tongue education involves strategies on the part of the dominant classes to sustain their privileges (2002b cited in Tollefson 2006: 46).

LANGUAGE-IN-EDUCATION POLICY: A FAILURE?

The language in education policy followed in Goa since liberation and especially the one introduced by the Progressive Democratic Front in 1990 is considered by most of the interviewees as a failure. Mr. Tomazinho said:

It is a total failure ... because of various reasons ... 1) As I told you ... the parents of the students who are sending their children to Konkani medium schools ...they are not sending them with love ... they are compelled ... and anything that is done under compulsion is never done rightly ... 2) The dialect, the script cannot be understood by our children ... they find it difficult and the dialect is the major thing which creates problems for our children ... so for them teaching Marathi and modified Marathi as Konkani is more or less the same ...the way it is going on ... 3) The teachers ...were not trained for Konkani ...because they were English teachers ...with 15 days training they became Konkani teachers ... such teachers cannot give their best and ... when the change was made ... again no proper planning was there and that is the reason the child ... right from standard I to V, VI, VII and as it goes up by taking Konkani was always at a disadvantage because his foundation itself was not right ... therefore it has failed ...

Verenkar evaluating the education policy followed in Goa since liberation till date spoke thus:

Personally I feel ... there is no education policy as such ... there is a hotchpotch because I find that the government has had no vision right from the beginning (liberation) ... we started schools, higher secondary schools, colleges in Goa ... and mostly ... English medium schools ...hardly thought of any other medium ... should have realised ... state language should be the main language for instruction right from primary till at least SSC. Later on we have to learn all the other languages ...of course English being one of the important languages ... you have to introduce...at what level the educationist must decide ... as a subject ... not as

a medium ... I feel there should not be English medium schools ... should be Konkani ... other states have their education in the mother tongue ... why not in Goa ... they can teach through the mother tongue ... there is no problem ... on the contrary ... better understanding is there ... When I look at education ... I see the child ... the development of the child ... it should be natural and the child should grow as a Goan with all the cultural background, with all the other faculties to be developed accordingly and should shine throughout the world...

Mr. Kelekar stated: 'the education policy should not be changed according to the whims and fancies of the Ministers'. Referring to the education policy followed soon after liberation he said it was a mistake since the universal law is to teach the children in the mother tongue. Commenting further he said that 'no where in the world children are taught in different languages ... pre-primary and primary'. He strongly advocated the language, which the children speak amongst themselves.

Mr. Dias also considers the policy as a failure. He feels at least about 60 percent of the Goan parents have the minimum level of literacy required to support the child in his/her education at home. He feels that complimenting a child's education at home by a parent is different from her being tutored by some tutor at some tuition class. The parents who are otherwise educated are forced to send their children for tuition as they find Devanagari difficult to teach or are diffident about their knowledge of the Devanagari script.

Mr. Angle, while stating that 'Marathi has become a success' stated that the education policy followed by our government till today 'has become most un-educational'. In support of his argument he added:

Children coming from remotest areas ... they have local atmosphere ...not exposed to city life ... so when they are taught Marathi or Konkani there, their world is limited ...now up to the Fourth standard they know Marathi very well ... suddenly you switch them to English medium ... and which English medium books are given ... those (given to children) coming from the English medium right from First standard ... those same books are given to them ... Is this education? ... You should have diluted those books and given to this lot ... coming from the remotest areas ... villages. Government has not taken this very important aspect into consideration and you say there is a dropout in Fifth standard ... why should there be no dropout when you are giving them a language which is not at all ... read, listened to ... you will say they started at Third (standard) ... Fourth (standard) ... who is teaching there? ... One who has passed SSC ... can they write at least? ... Especially D. Ed? ...I have written several times ... Have good teachers of English ... club 3 to 4 schools together ... and send ...(good) teachers to teach English in Third and Fourth standard ... then you would have realised ... the change..

To Prof. Joe, the policy introduced by the government in 1990 is a total failure.

He recalls that he wrote articles in 1990 that the policy would be a disaster. He says:

We could have avoided the mistake ... see Gujarat ... they tried to impose Gujarati and found themselves lost in Bombay market ... the pseudo, self-styled patriotism ... centre around keeping the people down to form vote banks ... not out of love for language ... to control them ... the Brahmin community ... they would not say my son has picked up English through tuitions ... this is an eye

wash ... many of our people ... Goans would consider English as their mother tongue ... because for practical purposes ... at home many of the families speak in English ... mother tongue concept is confusing ... Goa is becoming more and more cosmopolitan ...

Adv. Radharao states that he had no opportunity to evaluate the language policy, but he does comment on the misconceptions that surround the promotion of the mother tongue policy. He said:

My daughters themselves ... I sent them to Konkani medium school ... but then because of our background they have had no difficulty in picking up English ... because we teach them ... they have absolutely no difficulty ... but I think still ... these problems arise with people and families who do not have this background ... that is why you will see that the dropout rate ... the failure rate is the highest among the lower income group ... among the poorer sections ... among those who did not have the opportunity to learn English at the earlier stage ... And I don't see any purpose why the student should be forced to change from Fifth standard ... let it be Marathi or Konkani throughout. Why are we shifting the student to English medium from Fifth standard onwards ... Moreover ... there is a wrong perception here ... All the time we are being told that the language has to develop ... these are two different (things) ... we don't send our children to develop languages ... we send our children to school to develop themselves so that they become useful citizens, they qualify in whatever they want to ... so you can't force children to study a language because the language has to develop ... that's a very absurd notion ... I hear everyone talking ... people do not study

Konkani ... how will the language develop ... and if you study from First to Fourth standard do you develop a language? ... you get only basic knowledge of the language ... to develop at all ... you must have post graduation in the language.

The respondents have argued in different ways but are clear about one aspect and that is the failure of the policy. Some have argued that there is absolutely no educational policy in Goa, only a hotchpotch with no vision about the children's educational development. Others have said that the policy has led to a compulsion of parents to send their children to Konkani schools where the dialect and the script are not understood by the children placing them at a disadvantage educationally. Children have to go to school to learn their mother tongue as a result of standardisation. While condemning the policy as a failure and stating that such education policies are not to be found anywhere in the world, instruction in the state language from the pre-primary to at least SSC has been advocated. The policy has also been criticised as it has been considered to be the cause of tuitions centres cropping up everywhere to coach even the primary children. Again it has been attacked for not taking due measures in reducing the difficulties faced by children during their transition period from regional languages to the English medium. The policy has also failed, according to some, in using the mother tongue concept and not accepting English as the mother tongue of many Goan families. Again in the enforcement of the policy the development of the language and the intellectual development of the child have been collapsed into one, in the bargain, making the education policy more language-development-centred than child-development-centred.

PERSPECTIVES ON MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION POLICY

The interviewees were also asked about their preferences concerning the language of instruction at the primary level in Goa. According to Fr. Pratap:

The child does better ... if the child studies in a language which it understands ... in Goa if the child learns in Konkani ... it is the ideal situation ... but now the situation has changed ... what is ideal and what is practical ... you have to make a distinction ... if it has to be a serious Konkani education ... then it has to be from Kindergarten ... what is done now ... Kindergarten is running in English ... First to Fourth standard in Konkani or Marathi ... then English ... the child gets all confused ... and this is not a healthy trend for education ... Either you have totally in Konkani or you better have in English and teach Konkani as a compulsory subject so the child knows its own language, the language of the place ... the state language is compulsory ... and English education ... this will help everybody intellectually ... and job point of view also will help them ... the mix sort of thing ... is not a child-centred approach ... the whole approach of education right now is teacher-oriented ... because teachers have to be paid ... to get grants we do all this sort of circus.

Adv. Bhembre said his perspective on elementary education till the end of the primary was, even in 1990, and still, is the same. According to him, 'the child gets best expression in the mother tongue... the child can understand better in the mother tongue than in any other language ... therefore mother tongue is the best medium during this phase ... till (the end of) primary education'. Prof. Verenkar also argued similarly. He said: 'Konkani is the language of children in Goa ... they are trained in that language

...understand only that language ... and accordingly when they come to school ...that homeliness is possible only if there is Konkani language ...'. Ravindra Kelekar also opted for Konkani saying 'the environmental language ... the language which is being spoken by the children on daily basis ...Konkani'. Mr. Angle differed in his perspective on the medium of instruction at the elementary level. To him the medium of instruction should be 'totally vernacular... first is Marathi ... then Konkani'.

Mr. P. P. Shirodkar stated:

Children learn better in their own language, whichever it is ... Marathi, Konkani or Konkani of Catholics, whatever it is ...they should be taught in that language and one subject of English may be given to them ...so that gradually ... by the time they reach fifth standard ... they can pick up ...Now some people say that suddenly when you reach fifth standard and you are taught English ... you don't grasp ... we had also done that ... we didn't find any difficulty in grasping.

Ms. Sardesai felt that the language of instruction 'should be Konkani ... that's the language of the environment ... all the time we speak of environment ... but when it comes to language we happily ignore the environment ... the social environment'

Mr. Tomazinho describing the language in education scenario at the primary level in Goa proposes English medium of instruction. He argues thus:

If you ask my candid opinion... it is that all these three stages (Nursery, Kindergarten and Primary) should be taught in the mother tongue and the mother tongue is Konkani. Unfortunately, the Konkani that is spoken by the Catholics is different from the Konkani spoken by the Brahmins of Goa ...basically the Hindu Brahmins ... the language that they have imposed on Goans in the name of

Konkani is the dialect of 3 percent of the Hindus of Goa. Now we have a totally different dialect. Our dialect is well developed by our people as you see in the church ... so that is our dialect ... now if that dialect is given ... Roman script is given ... I think ... Nursery, Kindergarten and primary will be really meaningful, otherwise today when Konkani is given in Devanagari and a dialect which is totally foreign to them, not only foreign ... we hate that dialect ... Christians never say '*choli*' and '*cholo*', '*axil'lo*', '*naxil'lo*', whereas they never say '*cheddum*', '*cheddo*', '*dhuv*', '*aslolo*', '*naslolo*' ... so these are the major differences ... if it is given in the Roman script ... definitely ... I feel ... the real concept of pedagogy will be implemented. Otherwise it is just like having any other language and if that is the case, I would prefer English. If you are going to compel the people, against their wishes, to continue in that dialect and in that script when people do not like it, then let them go to the script and language which they like that is English ...

Prof. Joe argued forcibly for English medium instruction at the primary level in Goa. He said:

In 1990 I wrote articles ... In Goa whether in 1990 ... or now ... Goans are finding it difficult to find jobs ... we are getting marginalised and Goans have been always ... if you look at the structure ... sociology of Goa ... from time immemorial they have been going to Bombay ... Karachi ... Africa ... later England ... now to New Zealand, Australia ... migrating ... specially because Goa has not been under good rulers ... with vision ... who would improve the quality of life ... Goa has been forced to be a migration-oriented society ... that's

why English ... it (Goa) has prospered and come up through English medium ... if Goa would provide ample opportunities ... then it was a different issue ... if Konkani had that power, strength ... you write medicine in Konkani, you write computer science in Konkani ... have books ... what do you have in Konkani ... story books in Goan settings ... like 'Chandamama' ... there is nothing substantial ... and they want to sell their books you have to create a market ... market is through schools, colleges ... English at the moment ...till Konkani comes with books in sciences, arts, literature, commerce ... computer science ... till that time ... give incentive to write books in science ... Konkani is like a 'Koito' (Chopper) and English is like a 'Leite' (a more sophisticated tool) ... 'Koito' and 'Leite' are two different things ...don't give me sentimental value ... that you have to use 'Koito' because it is Goa's instrument ... you try to make a Goan 'Leite'.

Adv. Radharao spoke at length on what he thinks is the best medium of instruction during early schooling in Goa. He said:

I would think the language of instruction should be the language in which the child is going to continue her/his career. If the child is going to do her further education in English ... should be English ... I see no reason why the child should be forced to shift ... studying first standard to fourth standard in Konkani and Marathi and then shift to English in fifth standard ... I myself studied in English in primary school ... and I remember that in my school days in standard fifth ... many students who had studied in Marathi would join our school ... and there were basically two separate divisions so that the students who had come from

Marathi medium would acclimatise themselves to English ... and it is also my experience that most of the students who studied in Marathi gave up school by the time they were in eight standard ... and these were mostly from the lower Hindu castes ... it is only the goldsmith and the Brahmins who managed to complete ... because they had their home background ...you know ... and those coming from Bhandari Samaj and ...all other Samaj did not have the logistics of support at home ... and therefore they gave up at standard eight and most of my classmates who were in Marathi medium ...you can see them now as motorcycle pilots or 'matka' bookies ... this is the reality because they could not complete their education ... (those who completed) those are coming from upper classes ... you see ...once you are well-to-do, once your home background is good ... the parents push them ... the parents themselves teach them languages ...so there is no problem ... I am concerned with ordinary public ...whose parents may be illiterate or semi-literate ...now children of these parents are the losers ...

Commenting on what the language of instruction should be during early schooling in Goa, Mr. Dias spoke in detail:

Actually ... ideal language ... the child can understand comfortably is the mother tongue but considering the difficulties and drawbacks our local language has, as not having school education till tenth standard in the mother tongue ... its not feasible nor plausible ... 1) people look at what can provide ... an economic advantage and they feel that economic advantage can be provided by the English language ... because even in Goa those who are working ... they have to know some other language other than Konkani ... it may be English or Hindi because

tourism is one of the ... best industries in Goa ... 2) Many of them ... their plan is to go out of Goa and out of Goa only knowledge of Konkani is not advantageous... 3) Fifth standard onwards there has to be a total shift and that is the reason ...considering that the children would be comfortable with the language that they understand ... (we felt) they should start their learning in two languages ...they are comfortable with the language they talk ...help their knowledge of this language to teach them the English language and allow the child to answer in any language of their choice ... (In our experiment at Ambora) the children were allowed to answer in any language of their choice ...oral answers ... basically the school was started as an English medium instruction school because of the need people felt and there was an exodus of children trying to go to the cities because there they could provide them English medium... (In) the experiment the teacher would purposely talk to children in both languages (English and Konkani) so that they knew ... they would also respond in two languages ...in this way ... the instant response of the child is encouraged ... otherwise ... that instant response ... is sort of controlled because the child immediately checks himself ... a conscious effort was made to include both languages ...

Almost all respondents consider mother tongue to be the ideal language for early schooling but there are some who make a distinction between what is ideal and what is practical. Those who do not make such a distinction feel that the mother tongue should be the medium of instruction, as the child will understand better in the mother tongue and experience a homely atmosphere in school. Others, who would otherwise support the

mother tongue education, question the use of a particular dialect and script in the name of mother tongue and, therefore, due to the lack of proper implementation of the pedagogical principle of teaching in mother tongue, support the use of English during early schooling. Still some others advocate the regional language. Others who introduce a distinction between ideal and practical, consider that English should be the medium of instruction as that is the language of secondary, higher secondary and tertiary schooling and later life. They are not 'befogged with sentimentalism' emphasising the psychological, emotional and cultural benefits of mother tongue education and ignoring the economic interests of the parents regarding their children's future. Thus, according to them, Konkani or mother tongue should be studied as a compulsory subject so as to consolidate the cultural roots of students. There are also those who feel that the shift from mother tongue to English medium is difficult for the children, especially from the lower classes of people who generally do not have any academic support at home as the parents are illiterate or semi-literate. Finally, one also finds dual medium education or, bilingual education of a limited extent, being advocated to facilitate the children to pick up English.

BY WAY OF CONCLUSION

One of the manifest intentions of the introduction of new education policy was to encourage mother tongue medium of instruction. One step undertaken in this regard was the denial of grants-in-aid to English medium schools in Goa. The Diocesan Society of Education (DSE) was one non-governmental body that was affected the most by this decision. The DSE changed its medium to Konkani drastically reducing, for some time, the enrolment in English medium schools. Soon, however, English schools began

multiplying and the enrolment within them, despite exorbitant fees, also increased phenomenally. The intake of students in English medium schools, however, is largely confined to the upper and middle classes as the lower class parents find it financially constraining to send their children to these schools. The policy led to an escalation in the number of students enrolled in the Konkani medium schools and arrested the fast declining strength in Marathi enrolment at the primary level. Mother tongue and regional language education were encouraged as the government gave them the necessary support, but English medium schools turned more and more exclusive.

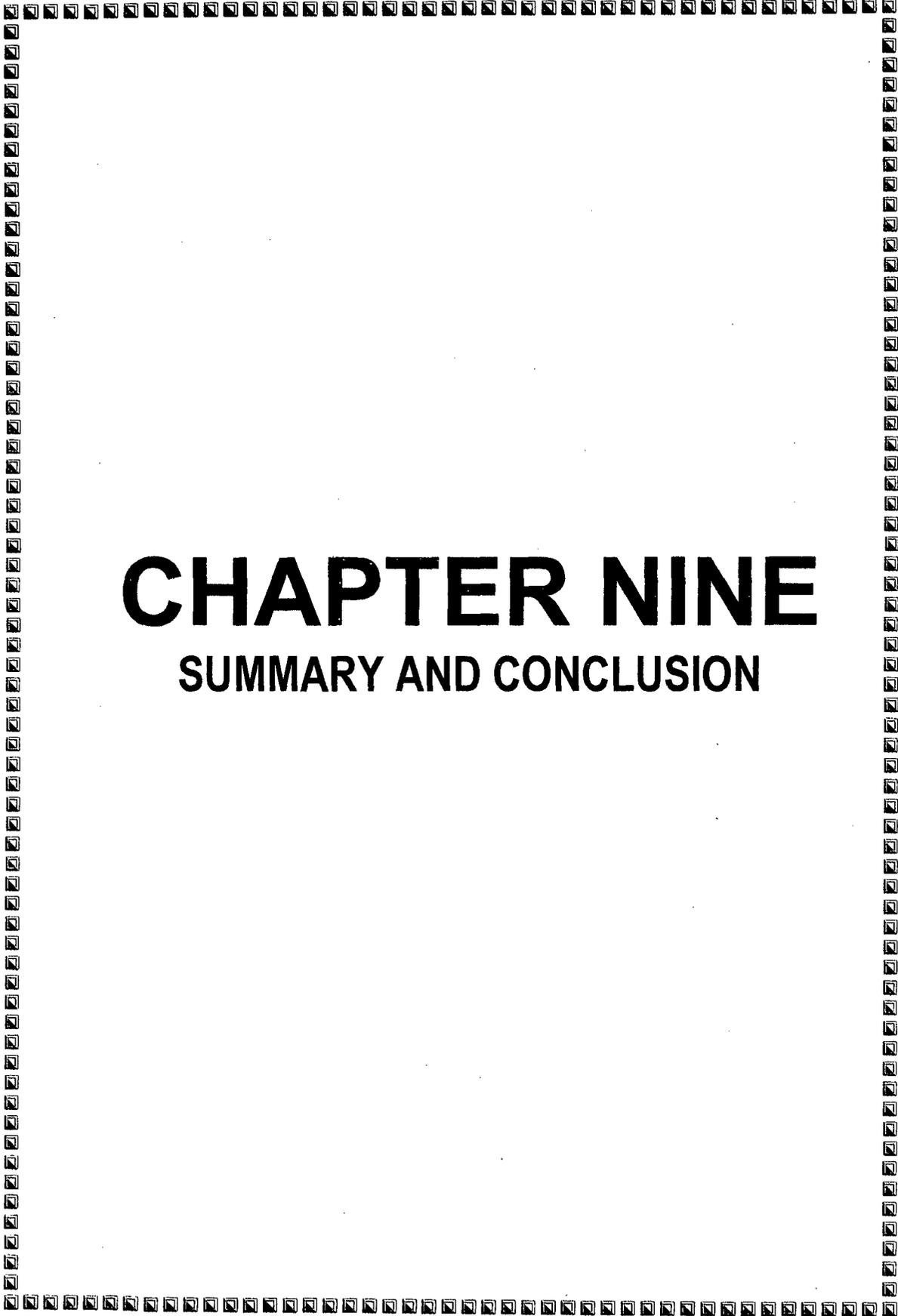
The question that confronts us, today, is whether the mother tongue and regional language are equally efficacious in the education of children granted that both the mother tongue and the regional language were treated on par, and English being discarded. While linguists and educationists encourage education in the mother tongue, many considering it as the best medium of education, regional language has never been recommended as the appropriate medium of education though it has been forced upon the linguistic minority communities by governments who pay only 'lip service to the 'narrow definition' of mother tongue' and 'directing' ... 'their resources towards education in mother tongue qualifying according to the 'broad' definition, i.e., regional languages' (Khubchandani 1997a: 298-299). In Goa, the 1990 education policy consolidated the position of primary education in the regional language, Marathi. Again, the adoption of the official language Konkani in Devanagari script as the medium of education has not facilitated literacy acquisition and smooth development of the child, as the standardised Devanagari script is a dialect of a small dominant section of Goans. The adoption of this Konkani and the Devanagari script has meant that the other dialects, specially the Roman

dialect, are grammatically incorrect, thereby creating in the parents an inferiority complex, being the speakers of the 'deficient' dialect.

Added to these limitations is the fact that early schooling in almost all Konkani schools begins with English at the earlier levels. While mother tongue education, both in the narrow and the broad sense of the term, is being promoted, English is an unavoidable interference at early schooling, especially when it will be followed by mother tongue education. Such practice is contrary to the ideal of mother tongue education followed by the same institutions.

On the other hand mother tongue education during early schooling cannot be considered to be a magic formula, a panacea for all societies, especially when the secondary, higher education and employment opportunities require proficiency in English. This requirement has resulted into a marked preference for English medium during early schooling, which, however, is not available to children of low income groups. This inaccessibility creates and sustains various forms of social inequality.

The language-in-education policy needs further consideration, especially since a majority of parents prefer English medium of instruction at early schooling. Though mother tongue education is ideally the best for early schooling, the complexity of the socio-linguistic context in Goa needs to be taken into consideration. The government has encouraged a high level of proficiency in English since the liberation of Goa. In this context the challenge for the educationists is to critique the education policy. Education policies need to be formulated based on the linguistic situation prevailing in the field not on ideological discourses trying to conform reality to them, rather than they being based on reality.



CHAPTER NINE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Having realised the 'public good' nature of elementary education, the state resolved, more than half a century ago, to provide free and compulsory education to children till the age of fourteen. Today, it is the state's responsibility to provide for elementary education to every Indian child, for elementary education is no more only a constitutional directive but a fundamental right. Elementary education has expanded phenomenally since India's Independence. However, despite the many programmes and schemes launched to further primary education, there are concerns raised regarding the issues of equity and excellence. The enrolment and retention has become the goal of universalisation of elementary education rather than being only the means to universal achievement.

One of the reasons for the poor performance of elementary education, as far as equity and excellence is concerned, is the insufficient allocation of financial resources to elementary education, 'despite the hymns sung in praise of education in every Plan document'. The changes in the global economy and post war decline of the welfare state settlement has also contributed to this state of affairs due to a shift in the role of the state in education from 'state control' to 'decentralisation' and 'privatisation'. The contraction of the state's involvement and the expansion of the role of market in education have led to the phenomena of the mushrooming private schools, which are increasingly becoming substitutes for government schools. This is a direct consequence of the withdrawal of the state from some of the activities of funding, regulation or control and provision or delivery, of education, involved in the governance of education. Privatisation in the form

of aided schools has led to decline of government schools and has contributed to elitism and class inequalities in India. The private schools, both aided and unaided, also conduct entrance tests to admit children into their primary sections. These entrance tests and interviews have led to an increase in pre-primary Nursery and Kindergarten schools, which, generally, are managed by untrained personnel. On the other hand, children in government primary schools lack the pre-school preparatory programmes which could have prepared them for primary school. Few ICDS centres, which contribute towards early childhood care, do not primarily focus on formal education per se. The outcome is that the children in government schools are deprived of the preparedness necessary to compete with those coming from the pre-primary Nurseries and Kindergartens.

Early schooling in Goa is similar to its counterpart in the Indian subcontinent in many ways but it does manifest many unique features. In colonial Goa, universalisation of education was never the goal. Again education, particularly primary education, was conducted primarily in Portuguese, Marathi and English, with hardly any Konkani schools. After liberation too, for more than twenty five years Marathi and English were the main media of instruction at the primary level with Konkani, the mother tongue of the majority of Goans, being taught only in a couple of schools, that too very sporadically. It was only after the state changed its education policy allocating grants to only those schools that conduct their primary schooling in the regional languages that enrolment in Konkani medium schools gradually increased.

The change in the education policy led to a number of interrelated sociological problems in the Goan society. Today, both primordial as well as instrumental identifications seem to pull the parents in diagonally opposite ways influencing the

language choice at early schooling. Language choice seems to be determined also by many other factors, viz. the dual system of schooling, inequality of educational opportunity, inaccessibility of schools desired, the perception of relationship between medium and academic achievement and the religio-linguistic divide in the Goan society. To obtain some insights into the processual aspects of the contemporary Goan society, this research focused on understanding language and early schooling in Goa from a transdisciplinary perspective containing historical, sociolinguistic, sociology of language and educational dimensions. For the same purpose, this research observed and interviewed parents, teachers, principals, language protagonists and activists involved in language and early schooling.

LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION IN GOA

At the outset, an attempt was made to reach a historically objective understanding of the phenomena of language and education in pre- and post-Portuguese Goa. Examining the language-in-education scenario before the advent of the Portuguese it was discovered that there did exist a formal educational system of *pathshalas* or *parishads* wherein schoolmasters taught in the local language. The higher education was imparted through *agraharas*, *brahmapuris* and *maths*. Among the Muslims, there were *maktabs* and *madrasas*. The Portuguese conquest destroyed the erstwhile *parishads*, *agraharas*, *brahmapuris*, *maths*, etc., and replaced them by parish schools conducted in Portuguese medium, though Konkani was also used as teachers themselves were not so conversant with the Portuguese language. The parish schools, however, were restricted to Catholics and preference was given to Brahmins among them. The Hindus could learn at home or go to British India if they wanted to study. Later on public schools, which the Hindus also

could attend, were also established. However, the enrolment at primary schools was very low.

The Portuguese, at different times, introduced a number of policies and legislations to force natives to learn the Portuguese language. They forced the natives to learn the Portuguese language by banning the locals from speaking in the local language, admonishing the parish priests to teach children in Portuguese, making the knowledge of Portuguese language the prerequisite for marriage as well as ordination to priesthood, preventing children from talking in Konkani in the school premises, making it mandatory for English schools to admit only those children who had done their *Primeiro Grau* in Portuguese, etc. These policies notwithstanding, the Portuguese language lost all its appeal as a medium soon after liberation and within a few years almost all educational institutions switched on to English medium of instruction.

Controversies abound regarding the existence of pre-Portuguese Konkani literature. However, not many seem to disagree with the fact that Konkani was the spoken language of the Goans and Marathi the literary language, when the Portuguese landed in Goa. Missionaries, conscious of the use of Konkani in the process of evangelisation, learnt, wrote and taught the local language, Konkani, in their colleges and parish schools till the *alvara* of 1684. Also, the persistent desire of the Portuguese to make Catholics like their counterparts in Portugal gradually led to Konkani being discriminated and neglected more and more by the Goan themselves. Konkani did not find any place in the educational institutions, neither when the first state schools were instituted nor when a decade later Marathi and some other Indian languages were introduced in the curriculum of the government aided schools. Konkani was considered a crude dialect and given no

importance. All this led to the demoralisation of Konkani speakers, especially among some Goan Christian families, who began to call Portuguese their mother tongue and speak that language even at home.

Further, even when the government seems to have allowed mixed schools, i.e., Portuguese-Marathi and Portuguese-Konkani schools, there were no Konkani books available. However, much later, there were efforts done by some individuals to publish primers in Konkani. Whether these were ever followed in some school is not clear. In the first half of the twentieth century, Konkani Bhasha Mandal was founded with the twin objectives of the study of Konkani and its development. There is also an instance, in 1940s, of the establishment of a Montessori school meant for girls with Konkani as the medium, but details are not available. Further, it is also stated that in the 1950s Konkani was used as a medium of instruction in the initial stages of Portuguese primary schools. The English medium schools also made use of Konkani in their primary classes.

After liberation, there were about six schools which started primary sections in Konkani but the enthusiasm seem to have lasted only till the end of the opinion poll. For the next twenty-three years, enrolment in Konkani medium primary level schools went on decreasing and the trend was only reversed by the introduction of the new education policy in 1990. Today there are more than 200 primary level schools conducting instruction in Konkani medium and an enrolment of almost 30000 students. However, it seems that it is sheer compulsion that has led management, to introduce Konkani in their schools, and parents to admit their children in those schools.

Thus, it seems that the Portuguese and the Church had no consistent policy towards Konkani, but oscillated between active encouragement of Konkani, a part of the

initial colonial project of control and command, and crushing and transforming the Konkani speakers, especially Christians, into a lusitanised Portuguese-speaking community. They did succeed to a certain extent, in the sense that Christians began sending their children to Portuguese schools only and they did not make any efforts to establish Konkani schools nor did they feel it necessary to study Konkani. The Hindus, however, seemed to have been more practical and learnt both Portuguese, the language of the administration and Marathi, the language of their religion. Only towards the end of the Portuguese rule and the early years after liberation, that is, till the Opinion poll, could one hear of some sporadic efforts to establish Konkani medium schools. However, Konkani schools never picked up until 1990 education policy, which forced management and parents to opt for Konkani.

When the Portuguese conquered Goa, the Hindus of Goa were conversant with Marathi religious literature. Soon after the establishment of the Portuguese reign, the process of conversions and rigours of inquisition, forced many of the Hindus of Goa to flee from the Portuguese territory, the Old Conquest areas, to the New Conquest areas, which was outside the jurisdiction of the Portuguese. There, they came in contact with the devotional works of the Marathi Saints and gradually came to consider Marathi, the language with written literature, as superior to their spoken language, Konkani. In the same confused moment in history they also erroneously accepted Marathi as their religious language.

While it is believed that Marathi schools did exist in Goa prior to the advent of the Portuguese, the modern Marathi schools emerged only in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Along with the government aided mixed Portuguese-Marathi schools in 1871,

private initiatives in establishing Marathi schools began from 1885 and continued for a long time. These took a leap forward with the establishment of the Republic. Some of the Private Educational Societies established that time to cater to the educational needs of the children are still carrying on yeoman services in the field of education. By the time of liberation there were, apart from the many unregistered ones, 167 registered non-government private primary schools run in Marathi. With liberation and the MGP - with an anti-Konkani, caste and religion based mergerist position - in power, the number of Marathi schools increased manifold. In the 1980s, however, Marathi enrolment began declining till the 1990 education policy, which arrested the fast decline in Marathi enrolment.

While the inquisition (1560) forced Christians to give up their language and speak Portuguese, the Hindus did not come under the purview of this policy. While, in 1843, it was decided to have chairs in Marathi and other Indian languages in the Goan educational institutions, Konkani was left out. When mixed schools were introduced in the New Conquests, Portuguese-Konkani schools could not be established due to want of Konkani books. Even when Portuguese schooling became compulsory, the Hindus, perhaps because they considered Marathi as the language of their religion, would learn Marathi first and then Portuguese and English. All these, and especially the fact that the Hindus considered Marathi as their religious language, helped the cause of Marathi education in Goa.

English education probably began in the form of private classes provided by migrants to prospective migrants. It is only in 1841 that there were classes taught in English in Panjim. Much later, an English school was started in Mapusa. Subsequently,

more schools were established in different parts of Goa to meet the increasing demand for English education required for migration and jobs in British India and other colonies of Britain. Emigration led to remittances back home in Goa, contributing to Goa's economy as well as improved standards of life. The migrant became a pace setter with his periodic visits, marked by an ostentatious display of wealth. The migrants served as reference groups to be imitated. There was a 'reproduction of international migration'. With all this, western education, prerequisite to internationally marketable, linguistic and literary skills, was seen as an investment well done. The consequence was an even higher demand for English education and an increase in English schools, so much so that at the time of liberation there were about 120 English schools in Goa.

Liberation only furthered the cause of English education. Not only primary schools were set up and conducted in English medium but also within a decade of liberation there were many English medium Colleges in Goa. At the Mumbai Universities' Centre for Post-graduate Instruction and Research and later at the Goa University also, it is the English language that has always been the medium of instruction.

English education in early schooling suffered a setback only from 1990 education policy not because the parents did not want their children to learn English but because of regional identity politics. There is a pronounced preference for English medium primary education and this same English medium primary education has to be paid for. The rich and the powerful can opt for English but the poor and the marginalised have to be content with other media. The 1990 education policy, thus, has resulted in the creation of an educational divide reflecting the rich/poor dichotomy among the people.

SOCIAL ANALYSIS OF LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION

This thesis examined language and early schooling from the perspective of sociology of language and socio-linguistics. Education policy, as far as its relationship with language is concerned, is a subset of the language policy of a nation. Language policies can be instrumental in creating language hierarchy and reinforce or counter social and economic inequalities. Unlike language planning, they are not restricted to macro-sociological activity but include micro-sociological activities at the level of institutions also. They may be incorporated in the country's constitution or may exist in the form of official documents, or a language law, or a cabinet document, etc.

Due to the complexities of the issues involved in language in society, there is no single overarching theory of language policy. However, three components of language policy were identified: language practices, language beliefs or ideology and language management. Initially language policy formulation followed the footsteps of the successful western nations. Language policy makers followed the colonizer's model of the world, which assumed the nation to be a linguistically homogeneous nation state. They identified one (usually the colonial language) or more languages as official or national languages as a means to forge national unity. Linguistic homogenisation and language standardisation were prescribed as panaceas for the socio-economic ills of 'modernising' nations, but they only perpetuated social and economic stratification prevalent during the colonial times. Scholars from within the critical as well as the post modern tradition began questioning many of the concepts, central to the linguistic theories, and assumptions informing language policy in the 1950s and 1960s. They argued that the language policies of the developing nations furthered the interests of the

elite, camouflaged in hegemonic ideologies, at the expense of the minority. Even policies favouring mother tongue education were seen as strategies to maintain the social, economic and political advantages of the dominant groups.

The questioning of the grand narratives of linguistic imperialism and language rights was also discussed. The conspiratorial theory of linguistic imperialism explaining the spread of English was refuted by the fact that indigenous forces with no connection with the west are responsible for the diffusion of English in the ex-colonies today. The theory stood refuted as English has spread also in countries with no colonial past. The idea of language rights¹ is associated with the growth of 'killer' languages that contribute to linguistic genocide. However, linguists have also refuted the concept of genocide, as loss of linguistic diversity is more a result of linguistic suicide than genocide. In fact both the linguistic imperialism and language rights discourses are attacked with the same criticism levelled at the grand modernist projects. The way forward is to move beyond linguistic imperialism and language rights and understand how, in more fluid and contextual ways, language resources are mobilised for different ends. In this way the spread of English, instead of being seen as a result of linguistic imperialism leading to linguistic genocides, was seen as the result of local and individual language acquisition decisions done in response to changes in the ecology of the world's language system. It was also pointed out that while the worth or Q-value of the language could explain the spread of English, other values of national, regional, local or religious accounted for the resistance to language shifts.

Further, the perspective of ethnography showed that researchers have critiqued language policies as ideological discourses attempting to conform reality to them, rather

than the other way round. At the same time, scholars from this perspective have argued that different local level agencies resist established policies and construct alternative practices thereby negotiating policy decisions in their favour. This perspective has shown that language policy, instead of being formulated to influence the language behaviour of the community and implemented in top-down fashion according to the imperatives of the policy makers, could be developed from language practised in localised contexts (language planning from the bottom up). A similar contribution of the concept of linguistic culture, also manifested how language policies are often formulated only in terms of the explicit and the overt ignoring the covert aspects of the linguistic culture, thereby rendering the policy ineffective, in terms of its being beneficial to the community.

The school is an important space where the language policy is implemented. While language-in-education policy is a species of language policy, the medium of instruction policy is a species of language-in-education policy. UNESCO, way back in 1953, considered mother tongue to be the best medium for teaching a child. Many scholars have since cited a number of studies in favour of mother tongue education. But there are also scholars agreeing with what UNESCO report added at the end of the same paragraph in which it considered mother tongue teaching as axiomatic. One qualifying statement that UNESCO had added was that it was not always possible to use mother tongue in school, and even when it were possible there could be some factors that could impede or condition its use. There are studies that have contested the claim of mother tongue education as the only approach to children's education and also those that have questioned the viability of teaching in the mother tongue. In fact research has shown that

the linguistic effects of teaching in mother tongue or second language are either not known or inconclusive. Often language maintenance is at the root of the promotion of mother tongue education, when in fact empowerment of individuals should have primacy over the development of an individual's mother tongue or over the preservation of a language.

Illustrating the undesirability of mother tongue education in Singapore and Malaysia, a study has shown that children do not suffer emotionally or educationally by not receiving education in the mother tongue. Again, as the UNESCO report had said there are difficulties in implementing mother tongue education. A crucial difficulty, especially in multilingual societies, is that of identifying the mother tongue. Mother tongue has proved to be an elusive concept difficult to be defined precisely, also because it has many popular connotations. In the Indian context, the principle of mother tongue education has been subtly altered in the three-language formula wherein mother tongue and the regional language have become alternatives, and therefore mother tongue education refers to the dominant variety of the regional language that is adopted as a medium in the field of education. Another major difficulty that has emerged in the context of mother tongue education is the standardisation of the mother tongue. The standardised mother tongue introduces a wide gap or hiatus between the spoken variety and the school variety making acquisition of literacy in these languages akin to learning a second language.

Mother tongue education is also befogged with sentimentalism, to the extent that those preferring English are branded as anti national and pro colonial. However, apart from primary education, mother tongue ideology has still not penetrated other spheres of

public life. Especially, it is far from becoming the necessary gateway for careers and jobs. Mother tongue enthusiasts have limited themselves to the psychological, emotional and cultural benefits of mother tongue education and have forgotten the economic interests of the mother tongue speakers, who prefer English medium to benefit economically. In fact English medium education has become a social value, which every parent aspires to attain. This tendency has latently contributed to perpetuate the elitist tradition in the Indian educational system.

Language and early schooling was discussed also from the perspective of sociology of education. A more moral-philosophical analysis of education preceded the theoretical nature of analysis of education prior to the 1950s and 1960s. The functionalist perspective, assuming that the educational system is aimed at developing skills required for functioning in an ever-increasing technological world, was put forth in the 1950s. However, while the functionalist perspective saw a correspondence between the technical skills taught in schools and those required for efficient production, the question whether high investment in education was worthwhile remained unanswered.

The theory of human capital emerged as a response to the unanswered question and considered the process of acquiring skills and knowledge through education as a productive investment. The theory contributed enormously to the development of the educational systems throughout the world. Economic success lay in the development of the doctrine of economic nationalism, according to which social progress for workers and their families was to be achieved through the pursuit of national economic growth. The state was aware of the fact that economic growth and profits could be achieved most effectively only by providing 'economic security through full employment and

opportunity through education, social welfare and occupational mobility'. However, by the early 1970s, research had sufficiently demonstrated that the state, through the education system, could not compensate for 'the systematic class inequalities rooted in the structure of the society'. Neo-Marxists, therefore, considered the state as a 'servant' of capitalism and education as designed to reproduce skills and attitudes required to maintain the capitalist economy.

Economic nationalism also suffered a breakdown. The removal of border controls in relation to capital, the rise of powerful transnational corporations, the electronic revolution enhancing communication, etc., led nations to embrace competitive individualism and market competition. The welfare state was seen as undermining the culture of enterprise so crucial for competition in the global economy. A fundamental restructuring of education began, guided by the New Right or Neo-Conservative ideology, which combined the neo-liberal virtues of individual freedom and free market with a conservative view of a need of a strong state to preserve moral and political order. It meant the introduction of market system in education and a reversal of the role of the state as responsible to provide full employment, security and opportunity to its citizens, envisaged during the era of economic nationalism. It also meant that schools and other educational institutions got themselves transformed into small to medium sized business enterprises. The proponents of the market reforms in education claimed that competitive market system would produce the best of educational institutions and services. However, their views were idealistic, as private education cannot guarantee equality of opportunity to everybody, as quality education is available only as a commodity to those with paying capacity. The proponents of the market system also claimed that irrespective of the

schools' intake, they compete successfully and achieve equally. However, research has shown that the market system in education has succeeded in polarising schools as well as employment opportunities by social class as never before.

The political project of the right avoided recognition, even of limited successes of democratic educational reforms and put on hold the notion of education as a humanising, liberalising, egalitarian and democratic force. An important argument put forth for the marketisation and privatisation of education was that it gave parents a wide choice to choose the type of education they want for their children. They treated the parental choice as unproblematic assuming that all parents are able to make informed decisions and choose the school they desired. Research has showed, however, that school choice involves social and cultural capital, which is differentiated across class lines and which enable parents to make real informed choices. At the same time commentators, highlighting the complexity of decision making, have warned against an over-emphasis on class differentials and over-generalisations in terms of a simple social class-choice equation. According to research, the choice of school for the working class is more of a pragmatic accommodation, wherein school choice is subordinated to the constraints of work roles and family organisation. Parental aspirations for children's education and employment being vague, and add to it the fear of the unfamiliar in sending the child to a distant school, make proximity of the school the major reason for school choice. On the other hand, among the middle class parents, the choice of school takes priority over family roles and household organisation. Their school choice is the first of the several strategic decisions they would take to build their child's future career. In fact the choice

the middle and upper classes make, involve the reinvestment of cultural capital for a return of educational capital, which eventually will translate into economic capital.

Thus, there is a polarisation of schools by social class. However, marketisation of education also polarises schools by languages, wherein schools conducted through a prestigious medium of instruction, like English, are preferred to schools in indigenous language as medium of instruction. Today, English has acquired an aura of unparalleled universal language and whether one considers it a 'killer' language or not, one has to accept that 'its expansive reach is undeniable, and for the time being, unstoppable'. The theory of linguistic imperialism, introduced especially to explain the linguistic hierarchisation in different parts of the world, in terms of indigenous languages being dominated by English, makes people, who deliberately and freely choose English, look like ideological stooges or unenlightened victims of ideological and cultural hegemony. An alternative and more apposite concept put forward was that of linguistic capital, which seems to explain the linguistic behaviour of parents in different countries of the world. Parents possessing linguistic capital choose the school that offers access to the prestigious language, thereby enhancing their life chances, as the initial choices of school determine future education irreversibly. Linguistic capital gradually transforms itself into education capital, cultural capital and eventually into economic capital, perpetuating social inequality.

In India, while linguistic imperialism may explain the spread of English during the colonial times, it must be accepted that the seeds of linguistic capital were already sown among the elite of the country even prior to independence. Today, in the post-Independence India there is a scramble for English medium schools. Regional politics

and the regional language policies aimed at shedding the dominance of English in the states and its schools and replacing it with regional languages have only led to the emergence of the dual system of schooling: private fee charging schools and government schools, which are free. The dual system prevails unchallenged, all the time the value of equality being compromised to the value of liberalism. Research in India has shown that those who gain admission in higher and prestigious educational institutions come from private English medium schools. It has also indicated that an important feature of the Indian education system is 'early selection' allowing for 'sponsored' mobility rather than 'contest' mobility. Thus, 'early selection', a reproductionist force in Indian education, leads to education being a mechanism stabilising the status quo rather than being an agent of social change.

More recently there has been shift from grand theorising to context-specific form of theorising. The radical theories of social reproduction were found to be too structural, too deterministic and too mechanical neglecting agency and the processes of resistance and contestations. The reproduction theories were attacked for their lack of, faith in the subordinate classes and, hope in their willingness to reinvent and reconstruct the conditions under which they live and learn. In contrast to the reproduction theories, Structuration theory agents have power and they can make a difference in their worlds. The theory emphasised, much more than any other agency/structure analyst, the centrality of agency in the production and reproduction of society.

PARENTAL CHOICE AND TEACHERS' RESPONSES

The insights from sociology of language, socio-linguistics and sociology of education were made use of in the analysis of the parental choice of school for their children. At the

outset, demographic characteristics of Goa were obtained from secondary data: the population figures, Taluka and religion-wise composition of population, distribution of population by mother tongue, etc. The primary data was collected using an interview schedule, which included a) questions seeking general information about the parents such as their religion, native state, mother tongue, medium of instruction at primary and secondary school, qualification, income, occupation as well as b) questions in relation to their children such as reasons determining the choice of school, characteristics of language determining the choice of school, characteristics of schools determining the choice of schools, reasons for preference of English or Konkani or Marathi medium, reasons for studying in the village/town of residence or for not studying in the village /town of residence, parental aspirations for children's education, parental aspirations for children's employment, etc.

The secondary data on population revealed that almost 50 percent of the population of Goa is non-native. Taluka-wise population indicated that Salcete has the largest Christian population and Bicholim has the largest Hindu population in terms of percentages. Distribution of population by mother tongue according to different censuses, from 1961 to 1991, indicated an enormous increase in the percentage of Marathi mother tongue speakers and a substantial decrease in the Konkani mother tongue speakers. The secondary sources provided information on the schools: the type of schools, viz. government or private, aided or unaided, location of school, viz. urban or rural, the medium in the school, viz. Marathi, Konkani or English, the enrolment figures and the number of schools in different media, etc. The secondary sources also revealed that private schools, both aided and unaided, makes up for about 22 percent of the total

number of schools at the primary level in the state and caters to about 55 percent of the total enrolment in all schools at the primary level in Goa.

Besides the urban areas, the private sector in the rural areas manages almost 15 percent of the total number of schools, with 5 percent of the schools being controlled by the private unaided sector. While in rural India, as a whole, the share of private unaided sector is insignificant and the private aided sector has only a limited presence, in Goa the private aided and unaided sector has a much larger presence in rural compared to urban areas. In fact, in Goa, the number of schools managed by the private sector in rural areas is twice the number of schools managed by it in the urban areas.

This background data provided the necessary framework for the selection of the sample, which was primarily based on the percentage of Marathi, Konkani and English students to the overall enrolment in the three media in the two purposively selected talukas of Salcete and Bicholim. Urban, rural, government, private-aided and unaided schools were all represented in the sample as it was selected from the two talukas on the basis of a stratified, systematic random sampling method.

In Salcete the number of non-native Goans in government schools was more than in Bicholim. Most of the non-native population was also found in government schools. The percentages of Konkani and Marathi mother tongue speakers in the sample selected by the researcher differed greatly from the percentages of mother tongue speakers provided in the 1991 census. It must be noted that censuses are 'technologies of truth production', which the political groups use to project their numerical weight in the political space. The reasons for divergence in percentages of mother tongue speakers in the sample and the census as well as reasons for the actual linguistic reality being

probably closer to the percentages found in the sample collected by the researcher have been discussed in sufficient detail.

It was also observed that the number of respondents, who sent their children both to English and Marathi medium schools, far exceeded the number of English and Marathi mother tongue speakers (respondents) in the sample. However, the number of Konkani mother tongue speakers was much more than the number of respondents who had admitted their children in Konkani medium schools. The language shift for education proved that Konkani still is not accepted as a medium of instruction, neither by Catholics, who otherwise espouse her cause with motherly devotion calling it '*Amchi Mai*' (Our Mother), nor by Hindus, majority of whom, prefer Marathi, probably due to its linkage with religion or the force of tradition.

Similarly, it was observed that the medium of instruction of the parents at the primary level did influence the choice of school for their child. Most of the parents who had their primary education in Marathi enrolled their children in Marathi but a substantial number sent them either to English or Konkani medium schools. The parents, who had their primary education in English, however, sent their children to English and Konkani, with only an exception of one child who was sent to Marathi medium school. Most of the parents who chose English school for their children did so because of the language of instruction in the school, while the parents who chose Konkani schools did so because of the reputation/standard of the school. As far as the medium at the secondary education was concerned, a majority of the parents had their secondary schooling in English and preferred that their children go to English medium schools. Based on the stated comfort with English and the fear of Devanagari script expressed by a number of parents it can be

concluded that they prefer English medium schools for their children, even though circumstances have forced them to admit their children in schools with Konkani medium.

Using the data on parental occupation, education and income, a composite social status index was derived. This index divided the parents into four strata: High, Moderately High, Medium and Low. The data revealed that there is shift from the private schools to government schools as one moved from the High to the Low strata. The fact that the children of the lower strata were overwhelmingly found in government schools reflected the commodification of education, which has become inaccessible for the parents of lower strata. Though not all private-unaided schools are equally expensive², one could observe polarisation of schools not only by status but also by languages. Again, it was observed that a higher percentage of Christians, within each social status, opt for Konkani medium schools in comparison with Marathi schools, both in Salcete and Bicholim. It was also observed that, in Salcete, majority of Hindus opted for Konkani than Marathi schools while in Bicholim more Hindus opted for Marathi schools. This is an outcome of the historical circumstances and also the politicisation of languages in the post-liberation period.

As far as parental aspirations for children's education and employment was concerned, it was observed that the parental aspirations were directly proportional to the social status: The higher social status parents aspiring for higher degrees and high status employment opportunities and the lower status content with lower qualifications and jobs. A number of parents from the lower statuses responded very vaguely, but there were others in the lower status groups who were willing to resist the structural determination of their situation and reconstruct the learning and working conditions of their children.

The data revealed that the choice of school among the higher status parents was determined more by the language of instruction in, and characteristics of, the schools. A number of other reasons too determined the choice of schools by the lower status parents. The characteristics of language that determined the choice of school were the academic and employment potential of the language, the similarity of language in school and home and the relationship of medium of instruction to identity. From among these reasons, data indicated that the academic and employment potential of the language has been most significant in the choice of the medium of instruction. The characteristics of the school that determined the choice of schools were the standard/reputation of the schools, the discipline and values imparted in the school, and the need for admission in the same school for the secondary education, in the above order. The other reasons that have prompted parents to choose a school for their children's early schooling are: proximity/accessibility of school, financial difficulties in admitting to English schools, teachers' persuasion, etc. The findings only corroborated research which has identified proximity as a key factor in school choice especially among the lower statuses. Also, a number of parents admitted their children in regional medium schools due to the financial difficulties in admitting them to private English schools. The promotion of regional languages in Goa has been prejudicial to the lower statuses, though overtly it is a measure to uplift them.

It can be concluded that the availability of English government schools in the vicinity would have led to a different picture as far as enrolment in different media in Goa was concerned. Drawing such a conclusion is possible as the data indicated a prevalence of the preference for English medium among those parents whose children are

presently studying in Konkani and Marathi medium schools in both talukas. Only parents from the Moderately High and Medium status in Bicholim taluka, whose children were in Marathi medium, preferred Marathi. The glorification of the regional language Marathi and its elevation to the status of being the language of Hindu religion, at the same time relegating the Konkani language to being its dialect, is responsible for this state of affairs. Preference for English is based on aspirations for social mobility. However, a number of parents have also admitted their children in private aided schools in Konkani and Marathi because of the standard/reputation of the school. These parents consider the primary schooling in the regional language as a transitional period forced upon them which has to be tolerated.

One of the most important reasons for the pronounced preference for English, as data indicated, is the 'unparalleled universal language' status of English. From the High status to the Low status almost all parents spoke of the predominant phenomenon of 'Englishisation' of Goa. For them English is associated with progress, development and modernity and, at the same time, a passport to careers in government and private sectors. In choosing English they also wanted to avoid any difficulties for their children in the secondary and higher education.

In this connection, the government's recent efforts to introduce English, at the first standard, as a subject in schools with the regional language as medium, and to amend the distance ban allowing for the setting up of English schools within one kilometre from each other, as well as the opposition to the move, were also discussed. In the debate that ensued, the opponents to the introduction of English manifested concern for language maintenance, and promotion of languages took priority over educational and

pedagogical issues. On the other hand, the supporters cited reasons such as the favourable results of a household survey, avoidance of difficulties in the secondary and prevention of possible drop outs, avoidance of limiting the knowledge of English to the elite, migration of families from the hinterland Goa to cities to educate their children in English, etc.

A few parents preferred Konkani and Marathi medium. Some parents with preference for Konkani cited the pedagogical argument that children are best taught in the mother tongue. Others identified Goa with Konkani and Konkani with Goa, reflecting the 'ideal' organisation of society as comprising of 'one language-one culture-one territory'. Those who preferred Marathi did it either because they spoke it at home or because they considered it easier than learning English as the children are familiar with Konkani. Still others identified themselves with Marathi and felt their children must learn in Marathi medium as only in Marathi schools, they believed, their children would be familiarised with the '*samskaras*' or ethos of the Hindu religion.

Further, a number of reasons were cited by respondents for not studying in their own village/town but almost 30 percent of those studying outside their village mentioned the absence of English medium schools as responsible for their behaviour. Parents, both possessing the linguistic capital of English and those who do not, desire English medium schools perceived in the society as the better schools. They want their children to acquire English, the cultural capital that would facilitate upward vertical social mobility.

Data also revealed that it is not only the High and Moderately High status parents who seek English medium schools, but that parents from Medium and Low status also have admitted their children in English medium schools. They have high aspirations about their children's education and employment and they seek upward mobility of their

children despite their poor social, economic and educational conditions. The data tabulated in the form of different tables as well as access to the discursive consciousness of the parents gained during the interviews, thus, indicated that the agency of parental educational and employment aspirations, resist the structural elements of the culture and school system and admit their children in English medium schools to reproduce and restructure society.

Apart from the interviews with the parents, the early school teachers were also interviewed to examine the teachers' linguistic behaviour vis-à-vis the students in the classroom and thereby to know the Goan society better. The interviews indicated that the teachers resisted and circumvented the medium of instruction policy and defied monolingual policy in the classroom. The agency of the teachers negotiated the policy decisions and perceptively used their own codes to facilitate the learning process.

The interview with teachers revealed that the Nurseries and Kindergartens are all conducted, with few exceptions, in English and the primary sections in Marathi, Konkani and English. An overwhelming number of teachers responded saying they need to use additional language/s in the classroom other than the designated language of instruction. The languages used in the classrooms defy the medium of instruction policy, which is largely monolingual and purist, followed in the concerned institution. The teachers and the students use the official and authorised language for the 'on-task' purposes and the unauthorised, local or known language in 'off-task' contexts. The teachers exercising their agency resist the unfavourable policies of the institution. The covert resistance to the medium of instruction policy at the level of the institution illustrates how the teachers negotiate between the different languages to facilitate the learning process of the

students. Teachers, thus, acting on behalf of the marginalised students, resist established practices and construct alternative practices towards language-acquisition with power to transform the unequal relationships in the society. This linguistic behaviour of the teachers brings out the subtle tension between policy and practice. It also suggests the need to be attentive to the policy formulation and institutionalisation of linguistic practices at the other end of the spectrum, that is, local communities and contexts, in whose name policies are formulated.

The data have also suggested that teachers are in favour of English medium education and they liberally use English in their classes. This use of English language in the classroom is engendered by the fact that all secondary and tertiary education in Goa is in English. Thus, there exists a hiatus between the language policies professed and the languages actually used in the classroom: the teacher teaches the pupils in one language and interacts with them in another. The thesis concludes that the teachers indulge in language planning from below while exercising their agency in bringing about the changes they deem fit.

EVALUATION OF EDUCATION POLICY

Besides the parents and teachers, interviews were also conducted with language protagonists, principals, educationists and activists to examine the educational policy in the context of the Goan society. The respondents spoke on various aspects relating to the medium of instruction policy: the reasons for the change in education policy in 1990, the efficacy of mother tongue and regional language, the script controversy, the language mix-up during early schooling, the relationship of the medium of instruction during early schooling and academic achievement, the pronounced preference for English during early

schooling, the denial of grants-in-aid to English medium schools and its linkages with the reproduction of inequality in the Goan society, their evaluation of the language-in-education policy and their perspectives on the medium of instruction policy.

A critical analysis of the responses of these agents interested in the medium of instruction policy, leads to certain conclusions. The conflicting reasons attributed for the change in the education policy are: Selfish political motives, conspiracy to protect the interests of Marathi, promotion of mother tongue education, discouraging education through a foreign language.

The ostensible reason for the introduction of the policy was the promotion of the mother tongue education, but in India mother tongue is associated with regional language and therefore the regional language is also covertly promoted. The students with Konkani mother tongue and studying in Marathi medium suffer academically. The claim that Konkani mother tongue children studying in Marathi medium schools do not suffer as Konkani is after all a dialect of Marathi is untenable especially because the Konkani language is already incorporated into the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution as an independent language. It was also rightly stated that education received by children studying in Konkani medium schools but speaking English at home cannot be called mother tongue education, and that such children suffer pedagogically. The argument that mother tongue education is not (in) the language that the mother speaks but (in) the environmental language and therefore it cannot be an artificial medium, disadvantageous to the child is not plausible. Teaching in the medium of the environmental language and the language spoken by the child within the four walls of his/her home is not the same.

The script of the mother tongue, Konkani, which apparently seemed standardised in favour of Devanagari till recently, has been hotly debated for some time now. It has been argued that the introduction into schools of the Devanagari script, which is highly 'Marathicised' and alien to a large section of the Goan community, has created major hurdles for parents, who have never willfully accepted it. It was not only seen as one of the causes of the mushrooming English schools but it was also argued that the rush to English schools would be arrested if Roman script is introduced in schools and the option to choose the script was left to the parents. On the other hand the proponents of the Devanagari script argued that Devanagari script was the natural script of Konkani, used in education at least since 1962, and imperative for the development and standardisation of the language. Some of the language protagonists favouring the Devanagari script have also condemned the use of Roman script for Konkani as a symbol of deculturalisation and denationalisation. Such labeling of those with different views only smacks of the 'one language, one script, one nation' ideology. The 'naturalness' of the Devanagari script has been questioned by many a linguist, at the same time it is hard to understand how so many Konkani speaking parents find it difficult to teach the children in Devanagari if that is the 'natural' script of Konkani.. While Devanagari is in use in the education field, at least since the liberation, the Roman script Konkani has been traditionally used for a couple of centuries in literature, cultural and religious activities of the Catholics³ in Goa. Thus, while the Devanagari protagonists claimed their views as non-political and non-ideological, they themselves are also perpetuating hegemonic ideologies camouflaged in commonsensical ideas, furthering the interests of the dominant social group of the society.

Notwithstanding the mother tongue and script controversies, the parents seem to admit their children into the mushrooming Nurseries and Kindergartens conducted in English. The overriding factor for many educational institutions to conduct pre-primary education in English is the need of the survival of the institution. The management wants to attract children into their schools and retain them. Secondly, Nurseries and Kindergartens in English are needed, for the survival of the teachers in the primary sections, who otherwise would be surplus, and not for the intellectual growth of the child. The thesis also argues that the pre-primary sections have become business shops.

The question that naturally emerged when confronted by the hotchpotch at early schooling was the relationship between the medium of instruction at early schooling and academic achievement later. While it may be argued that mother tongue primary education is not at the cost of children's education in Goa, it is rightly believed that the medium of education at the primary level is only one of the many factors affecting academic achievement. One can also identify oneself with the claim that English education is needed for the masses and not the 'classes'.

The respondents prefer English medium schools during early schooling. People want their children to be proficient in English and believe that the earlier they start with English the better it is. Hindus also prefer English, but their devotion to or their religious association with Marathi still pulls many of them to study Marathi during their early schooling. The rush to English schools, it can be argued, is also due to the faulty policy of the government machinery functioning almost entirely in English and giving importance to English for jobs in government and other sectors.

The denial of grants to English schools has resulted in these schools becoming inaccessible to children from poorer families, thereby perpetuating inequalities. In a way, denial of grants to English medium schools and promotion of mother tongue education can be conceived as a strategy devised and encouraged by the dominant classes, to sustain their privileges.

In conclusion, it may be stated that while the government is promoting education in regional languages, people generally are aspiring for English medium education for their children from the beginning. However, English medium schools are available for a price and are beyond the reach of many parents, who have to be satisfied with the government schools. The dual schooling system that has emerged in Goa will only intensify the existing divide between the haves and have-nots, perpetuating societal inequality.

The findings of the committee, recently set up by the Goa government to study the problem of the closure of the primary schools in regional medium in Goa, suggested among others the following causes as responsible for the decline in government schools: 'poor image of the government primary schools, poor infrastructure of government primary schools, single teacher schools,.... imposing private schools, competition from aided schools' (*Navhind Times*, Panjim, 2 November 2006: 2). It is surprising, however, that the committee failed to even mention English medium as one of the probable causes, among the multiplicity of causes attributed for the shrinking of government schools in Goa. The report further said that during the current year (2006-2007), 'out of 947 schools as many as 103 schools have an enrolment of below ten; and enrolment in 300 schools is below twenty (Marathi 267, Konkani thirty, Kannada, Urdu and Malayalam one each)'.

This thesis strongly suggests that one of the important reasons for the declining enrolment in government schools is the unavailability of English medium in these schools. In fact the Education Minister, Shri Luizinho Faleiro, attributes the increase in the enrolment in the government schools in the current academic year, i.e. 2006-07, to the introduction of English as a subject at the first standard in all government schools. According to him, 'this (introduction of English at the first standard in government schools) has helped retain students in government schools' [*Herald*, Panjim, 30 September 2006: 1]. Unavailability/inaccessibility of English schools due to financial difficulties and physical distance from the residence to the English schools force many parents to grudgingly admit their children in government and government aided schools. If not for the financial and other constraints, the preference for English medium schools would probably have left the government schools completely abandoned and deserted.

The language-in-education scenario in Goa is multilingual. At least three major languages are involved in early schooling: Marathi, Konkani and English. Though Marathi has the highest enrolment, followed by Konkani and English, it is the English medium that is most preferred. Besides, the language of governance, science and technology, business, industry, trade and commerce, secondary and tertiary education is English. Since liberation governments' language-in-education policy encouraged a high level of proficiency in English. Though, probably there were problems of transition from Marathi to English in many of the remote talukas and villages, it was only after the introduction of 1990 education policy promoting the regional languages that the early education scene became very chaotic. Nurseries, Kindergartens and Primaries began

mushrooming in different languages. Within a couple of years, they were transformed into commercial enterprises, leaving education at the mercy of the market forces.

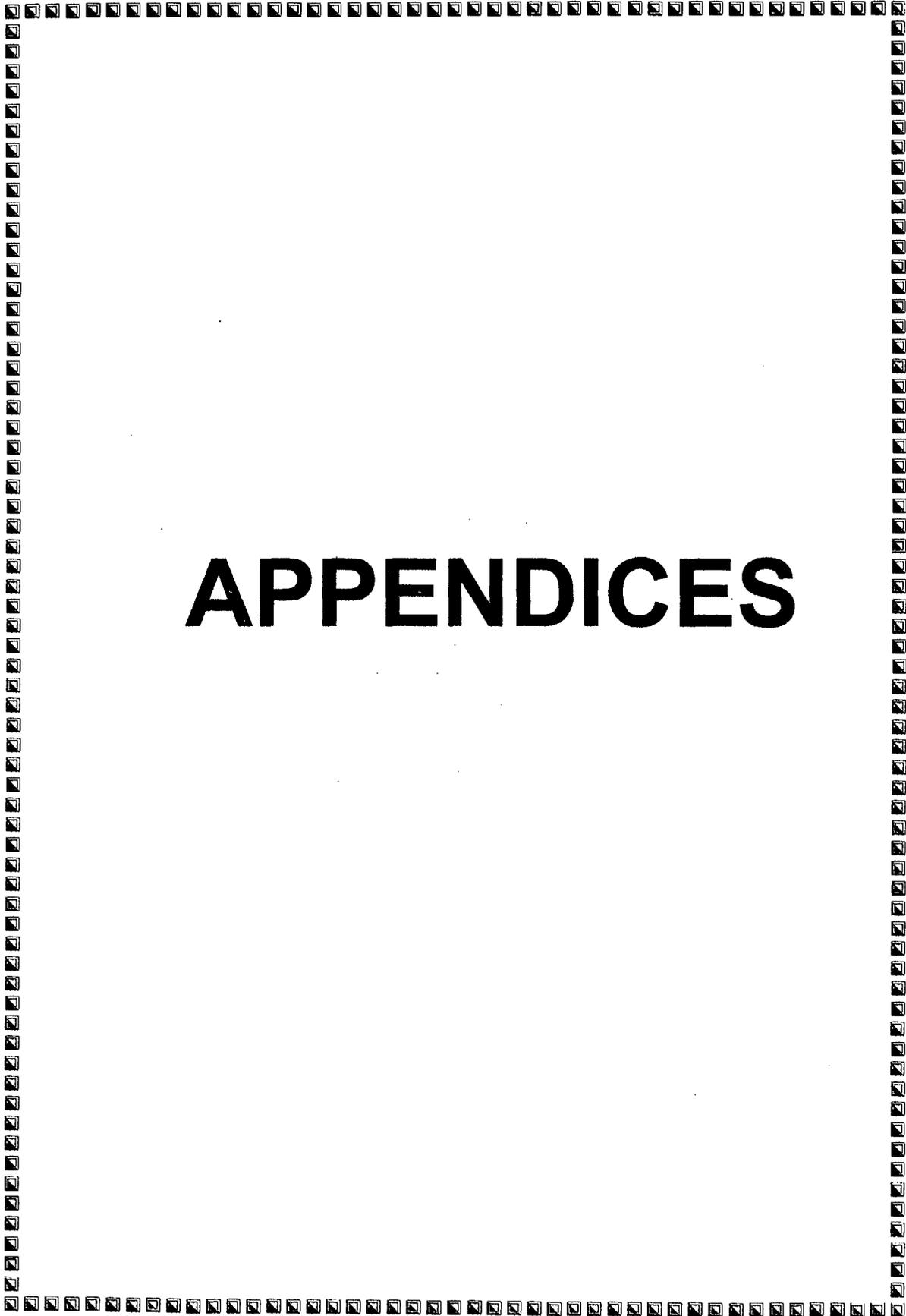
The thesis has found out that a vast majority of Goan parents prefer English medium early schooling for their children. Their preference, however, is not reflected in the actual enrolment in English medium primary level schools. This is because English medium schools comprise less than 7 percent of the total number of primary level schools in Goa. Most of these schools are inaccessible to the poor parents as often they are located far away from their residence and invariably charge donations, admission and tuition fees unaffordable by them. Consequently, it has been observed that the promotion of regional languages in Goa is prejudicial to the poor parents. Further, it argues that the language-in-education policy in Goa has resulted in the promotion of the regional language and the standardized mother tongue in schools rather than the actual language spoken at home. The study also found that, in regional language medium schools, a number of teachers liberally use English language, thereby exercising their agency in facilitating the learning of English by children. Also, there are a number of indications in the thesis that the availability of English medium in government and private-aided schools will drastically change the enrolment ratio in favour of English medium.

Since this research is limited to language and early schooling in Goa, and also because of time constraints, a study to investigate the ratio of Goan students from government, private-aided and private-unaided schools⁴, later on in professional and non-professional institutions of higher education could not be undertaken. Similarly, a study to investigate the proportion of Goan students from government, private-aided and private-unaided schools, in high status employment positions was also not attempted.

Extensive studies in the above areas will shed light on the appropriateness of the present language-in-education policy in Goa. The findings of such studies will either justify the present policy or suggest remodeling the present language-in-education policy which makes English medium schools inaccessible to children belonging to the lower socio-economic strata of the Goan society.

NOTES

1. There are scholars who claim that arguments in favour of language rights are essentially normative, subjective and moral.
2. Private schools are heterogeneous in the amount to be given in compulsory donations, their fee structure, etc.
3. The script divide seems to reflect the religious divide in the Goan society even though there are a few Catholic Goans who have been mobilising people in favour of the Devanagari script.
4. It must be noted that government primary level schools generally do not include pre-primary sections. Even if a pre-primary section is attached to such a school the medium of instruction is some regional language. Almost all the private-aided and private-unaided primary level schools have at least two, if not three, years of pre-primary classes conducted in English medium. These classes are usually held within the premises of the school or in its vicinity, and run also by the same management.



APPENDICES

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR PARENTS

1. Name of the school:

2. Medium of instruction of the child:

a. Marathi b. Konkani c. English

d. Other

3. Relationship with the child:

a. Father b. Mother c. Guardian

4. Native State:

a. Father's b. Mother's c. Guardian's

5. Mother tongue:

a. Father's b. Mother's c. Guardian's

6. Language used at home with the child is:

a. Konkani

i. All the time ii. Mostly iii. Sometimes

iv. Rarely

b. Marathi

i. All the time ii. Mostly iii. Sometimes

iv. Rarely

c. English

i. All the time

ii. Mostly

iii. Sometimes

iv. Rarely

d. Other:

i. All the time

ii. Mostly

iii. Sometimes

iv. Rarely

7. Place of residence:

8. Religion:

a. Hindu

b. Christian

c. Muslim

d. Other:

9. Qualification:

a. Father's education

i. I to IV

ii. V to VII

iii. VIII to X

iv. SSC

v. HSSC

vi. Dipl. post SSC

vii. Dipl. post HSSC

viii. Graduate (NP)

ix. Graduate (P)

x. Postgraduate (NP)

xi. Postgraduate(P)

xii. Doctorate

xiii. Other

b. Mother's education

i. I to IV

ii. V to VII

iii. VIII to X

iv. SSC

v. HSSC

vi. Dipl. post SSC

vii. Dipl. post HSSC viii. Graduate (NP) ix. Graduate (P)

x. Postgraduate (NP) xi. Postgraduate(P) xii. Doctorate

xiii. Other:

10. Occupation:

a. Father's occupation

i. Doctor ii. Manager iii. Salesman

iv. Servant v. Lawyer vi. Sweeper

vii. Carpenter viii. Mechanic ix. Nurse

x. Seaman xi. Lecturer xii. Engineer

xiii. Driver xiv. Tailor xv. Fisherman

xvi. Businessman xvii. Cook xviii. Teacher

xix. Mason xx. Wage labourer xxi. Clerk

xxii. Peon xxiii. Welder xxiv. Farmer

xv. Other:

b. Mother's occupation

i. Doctor ii. Manager iii. Saleswoman

iv. Servant v. Lawyer vi. Sweeper

vii. Peon viii. Wage labourer ix. Nurse

x. Clerk xi. Lecturer xii. Engineer

xiii. Accountant xiv. Tailor xv. Fisherwoman

xvi Businesswoman xvii. Cook xviii. Teacher

xix. Other:

11. Total monthly income (husband and wife)

a. Less than 1000 b. 1000 to 2500 c. 2501 to 5000

d. 5001 to 10000 e. 10001 to 15000 f. 15001 to 20000

g. 20001 to 25000 h. 25001 to 30000 i. 30001 to 40000

j. 40001 to 50000 k. 50001 to 100000 l. More than 100000

12. Medium of instruction of the parents:

a. Father's:

i. Primary: ii. Secondary:

b. Mother's:

i. Primary: ii. Secondary:

13. Are children studying in the same village/town where you stay?

a. Yes b. No

14. Reasons for not studying in the same village/town:

a. Standard in government school is not good b. No English medium schools in the village c. Standard in the village school is not good

d. Other:

15. Parental aspirations for children's education

a. Primary b. Middle school c. SSC

d. Dipl. post SSC e. HSSC f. Dipl post HSSC

g. Graduation h. Post graduation i. Prof. Degree

j. Other:

16. Parental aspiration for children's employment

a. Businessman b. Manager c. Lawyer

d. Doctor e. Carpenter f. Teacher

g. Clerk h. Nurse i. Seaman

j. Driver k. Tailor l. Salesman

m. Engineer n. Technician o. Pharmacist

p. Other:

17. Reasons determining choice of school by parents:

a. The characteristics of the school b. The language of instruction in school c. Other reasons

18. Characteristics of the school determining the choice of school

a. The standard/reputation of school b. The discipline/values imparted in school c. Need for admission for fifth standard in same school

d. Others:

19. Characteristics of the medium of instruction that determine the choice of school

a. The language has better academic and employment potential b. The medium's relationship with identity c. Similarity of medium of instruction with language used at home

d. Other:

20. Other reasons determining choice of school

a. Financial difficulties
in admitting to
English schools

b. The proximity
and accessibility
of school to
residence

c. Parents/siblings
have studied/
studying in the
same school

d. Other:

21. Would have opted for English medium schools if they were closer/free

a. Yes

b. No

22. Reasons for preference of English medium schools:

23: Reasons for preference of Konkani medium schools:

24: Reasons For preference of Marathi medium schools:

APPENDIX 2

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR TEACHERS

1. Name of the school:

2. Type of institution

a. Government primary

b. Pre-primary
unaided and
primary aided

c. Both pre-primary
and primary
unaided

d. Primary aided

e. Government pre-
primary and
primary

3. Medium of instruction in the school

a. Marathi

b. Konkani

c. English

d. Pre-primary in
English/ primary in
Konkani

e. Marathi/Konkani

4. Sex of the teacher

a. Male

b. Female

5. Religion of the teacher

a. Hindu

b. Christian

c. Muslim

6. Mother tongue of the teacher

a. Konkani

b. Marathi

c. English

d. Other:

7. Qualification of the teacher

- a. SSC b. HSSC c. Graduation
 d. Post graduation

8. Teacher training course

- a. D. Ed b. B. Ed c. PTC
 d. STC e. Montessori f. TTC
 g. Others:

9. Medium of instruction preferred by teachers

- a. Marathi b. Konkani c. English
 d. Others:

10. Understanding of the medium of instruction by the children

- a. Fully able b. Partially able c. Not at all able
 d. Other remarks:

11. Use of home language by students in the class

- a. Yes b. No

12. Teacher's reaction to use of home language in class by students

- a. Encourage them to speak English b. Encourage them to speak Konkani c. Encourage them to speak Marathi
 d. Fine them d. Punish them e. Ask them to translate
 f. Other reactions:

**INTERVIEW WITH LANGUAGE
PROTAGONISTS/EDUCATIONISTS/ACTIVISTS**

1. Name:
2. Religion:
3. Place of residence:
4. Mother tongue:
5. Qualification:
6. Occupation:
7. Why do you think the government changed the education policy and denied grants to English medium primary schools in 1990?
8. What do you think should the language of instruction be at early schooling, that is, at Nursery, Kindergarten and at the Primary levels in Goa? Why? Was your perspective towards language and early schooling the same when Goa Government introduced the new education policy in 1990?
9. How do you evaluate the last 15 years of primary education in Konkani/Marathi? Has it been a success or failure?
10. In Bicholim, the highest enrollment is in Marathi, followed by Konkani and English, while in the Salcete taluka the highest enrolment is in Konkani, followed by English and last Marathi. What do you think is the reason for language-wise difference in the two talukas during early schooling in Goa?
11. Despite the higher enrolment in Marathi do you think there is a pronounced preference for English at early schooling in Goa? Why?

12. If the Goa Government gives grants to English medium primary schools also, do you think the enrolment in Marathi as well as Konkani schools will decrease? Why?
13. Why do you think some schools teach Nursery and Kindergarten in English, Primary in Konkani and Secondary again in English? (Your School?)
14. Do you think that schools should teach Konkani in the Roman script? Why?
15. When most parents prefer English medium, the policy of not giving grants to English medium schools seems to be an imposition forced on to the parents by politicians and interested parties? How would you react to such a statement?
16. Do you think that regional languages are taught at the cost of education of children in Goa? Since almost all secondary schools in Goa are in English would it be better to have English education from the very beginning?
17. Do you think that children with mother tongue primary education perform better in secondary and later, than children with English education from the beginning?
18. Do you think denial of grants makes English schools inaccessible to a large section of people in Goa, thereby perpetuating inequality?
19. Would you categorise education received by many Goan children, speaking English at home and studying in Konkani medium schools, mother tongue education? If not are they suffering academically or pedagogically?
20. Would you categorise education received by many Goan children, speaking Konkani at home and studying in Marathi medium schools, mother tongue education? If not are they suffering academically or pedagogically?

APPENDIX 4

PRIMARY LEVEL SCHOOLS IN SALCETE AND BICHOLIM

SALCETE

LOCATION OF SCHOOLS	MEDIUM	ENROLMENT
Cuncolim Municipality: Government Schools		
1. G. P. S Cotamol, Cuncolim	M	29
2. G. P. S Cuncolim, Talebhat	M	19
3. G. P. S Demani Cuncolim	M	20
4. G. P. S Gothan, Cuncolim	M	12
5. G. P. S Madikatta, Cuncolim	M	21
6. G. P. S Murida Cuncolim	M	5
7. G. P. S Panzarcan, Cuncolim	M	43
8. G. P. S Sanvorcatta, Cuncolim	M	36
9. G. P. S Simpler Veroda, Cuncolim	M	32
10. G. P. S Takaband, Cuncolim	M	27
11. G. P. S Talwada, Cuncolim	M	15
12. G. P. S Veroda, Cuncolim	M	~
Cuncolim Municipality: Non-Government Aided Schools		
13. Hutatma R. Kenkre Memorial HS, Veroda, Cuncolim	K	30
14. Infant Jesus High School, Cuncolim	M	56
15. Maria Bambina Convent High School, Cuncolim	K	316
16. Our Lady of Health High School, Cuncolim	K	246
17. Shri Sharda Bal Mandir, Cuncolim	M	159
Cuncolim Municipality: Non-Government Unaided Schools		
18. Janavikas Manch, Biusa, Cuncolim	E	~
19. Shri Shantadurga Vidya Mandir, Bhivsa	M	~
Margao Municipality: Government Schools		
20. G. M. S Ambaji	K/M	76
21. G. M. S Khareband No.1	M	165
22. G. P. S A. V. Lourenco	M/K	69
23. G. P. S Adarsh V. V.	M	115

24. G. P. S Agalli	K	12
25. G. P. S Aquem Alto	M	76
26. G. P. S Borda	M	97
27. G. P. S Damodar Vidya Mandir	M	40
28. G. P. S Damodar Vidyalaya No. 2	M	~
29. G. P. S Fatora	M/K	163
30. G. P. S Housing Board Gogol	M	112
31. G. P. S Khareband II	M	23
32. G. P. S Mahila and Nutan Vidyalaya	M	28
33. G. P. S. Motidongor Aquem Alto	H	~
34. G. P. S Mugul	M/K	30
35. G. P. S Pajifond	K	17
36. G. P. S Vidyanagar	K/M	151

Margao Municipality: Non-Government Aided Schools

37. Fatima Convent High School, Margao	K	471
38. Loyola High School, Margao	K	387
39. Our Lady of Rosary High School, Fatora	K	260
40. Presentation Convent High School	K	441
41. Shree Gujarati Samaj Deaf and Dumb School, Aquem	K	56
42. Shri Damodar Vidyalaya High School	M	149
43. St. Joseph High School, Aquem Alto	K	380
44. Urdu/Madrasah Tanzimul Musalman, Malbhat	U	~
45. Vidya Bhuvan Konkanni Shala, Old Chowgule College	K	107
46. Vidya Bharati	M	403

Margao Municipality: Non-Government Unaided Schools

47. Bhatikar Model Primary School, Housing Board, Gogol	E	186
48. Child Care Primary School, Pajifond	E	259
49. Daisy Duck Primary School, Housing Board, Gogol	E	174
50. Grace Primary School, Behind Grace Church	E	107
51. Les Anges Academy, Fatora	E	80
52. Madonna Primary School, Fatora	E	202
53. Manovikas English Medium School	E	458
54. Shishukunj Primary School, Housing Board, Gogol	E	208

55. St. Anne's Primary School, Borda	E	1181
56. St. Anthony's Middle School, Opp. Metropole	E	340
57. Vidya Vikas Academy, Old Market	E	316

Panchayats: Government Schools

58. G. M. S Baradi, Velim	M	25
59. G. M. S Bhati-Curtorim, Curtorim	K	42
60. G. M. S Colva, Colva	K	86
61. G. M. S Dramapur, Dramapur/Sirli	K	49
62. G. M. S Loutolim, Loutolim	K	13
63. G. M. S Oilemol, Sao Jose de Areal	K	99
64. G. M. S Sao Jose de Areal	K	75
65. G. P. S Agramorod, Paroda	K	9
66. G. P. S Assolna, Assolna	K	13
67. G. P. S Baida Chinchinim, Chinchinim	K	13
68. G. P. S Benaulim, Benaulim	M	16
69. G. P. S Betalbatim, Betalbatim	K	21
70. G. P. S Cana Benaulim, Cana Benaulim	K	16
71. G. P. S Carmona, Carmona	K	10
72. G. P. S Chandor, Chandor, Cavorim	M/K	102
73. G. P. S Chinchinim, Chinchinim	M	55
74. G. P. S Cumbeabhat, Velim	K	7
75. G. P. S Curtorim, Curtorim	M/K	8
76. G. P. S Davorlim, Davorlim	M/K	115
77. G. P. S Dicapale, Davorlim, Dicapale	K/M	63
78. G. P. S Francisco Luis Gomes, Navelim	K/M	141
79. G. P. S Ghanta-Morod, Aquem Baixo	K/M	142
80. G. P. S Gudi, Paroda	M	114
81. G. P. S Housing Board, Davorlim	M	94
82. G. P. S Karali, Paroda	K	7
83. G. P. S Kirbhat, Nuvem	K	7
84. G. P. S Macasana, Macasana	K	~
85. G. P. S Magilwada, Benaulim, Benaulim	K	16
86. G. P. S Maina-Curtorim, Curtorim	K	11
87. G. P. S Mandopa, Navelim	K	78

88. G. P. S Manora, Raia	K	20
89. G. P. S Mugali, Sao Jose de Areal	K/M	67
90. G. P. S Mullas, Paroda	M	27
91. G. P. S Padribhat, Sao Jose de Areal	K	45
92. G. P. S Raia, Raia	M/K	61
93. G. P. S Rassaim, Loutolim	M	16
94. G. P. S Seraulim, Seraulim	K	25
95. G. P. S Sernabatim, Colva	K	20
96. G. P. S Telaulim, Telaulim	K	66
97. G. P. S Uzro, Raia	M	14
98. G. P. S Varca, Varca	K/M	35
99. G. P. S Virbhat	K	13

Panchayats: Non-Government Aided Schools

100. Assumpta Convent High School, Sarzora	K	170
101. Auxilium Convent School, Benaulim	K	183
102. Bethany Convent High School, Sao Jose de Areal	K	342
103. Holy Cross Institute, Cavlossim	K	64
104. Holy Rosary Convent High School, Nuvem	K	222
105. Infant Jesus High School, Colva	K	295
106. Mae dos Pobres High School, Nuvem	K	192
107. Mount Mary's High School, Chinchinim	K	135
108. Our Lady of Carmel High School, Curtorim	K	108
109. Our Lady of Gloria School, Ilha de Rachol	K	9
110. Our Lady of Livramento School, Arlem, Raia	K	60
111. Our Lady of Lourdes High School, Utorda	K	105
112. Our Lady of Snow 's High School, Raia	K	167
113. Perpetual Succour Convent High school, Navelim	K	463
114. Regina Martyrum High School, Assolna	K	103
115. Rosary High School, Navelim	K	497
116. Sacred Heart of Jesus High School, Carmona	K	104
117. Saviour of the World High School, Loutolim	K	154
118. St. Francis Xavier High School, Macasana	K	39
119. St. Joseph's Educational Institute	K	302
120. St. Jude's High School, Betalbatim	K	121

121. St. Mary's High School, Varca	K	173
122. St. Mary's of the Angels Convent H.School, Chinchinim	K	336
123. St. Pius X High School, Orlim	K	200
124. St. Rita's High School, Maina, Curtorim	K	133
125. St. Rock's High School, Tolecanto, Velim	K	153
126. St. Tereza's Convent High School, Raia	K	85
127. St. Xavier's High School, Velim	K	122
128. St. Xavier's Institute	K	96

Panchayats: Non-Government Unaided Schools

129. Angel's English Primary School, Ambora, Loutolim	E	124
130. Cambridge Primary School, Reprovaddo, Varca	E	326
131. Little Finger's Primary School, Maina, Curtorim	E	263
132. Posh Primary School, Colmorod, Navelim	E	225
133. Shishu Vikas Aquem Baixo, Ravalphond, Navelim	E	156
134. Shri. Datta Vidya Mandir, Chinchinim, Deussua	M	~
135. Shri Sateri Vidya Mandir, Santemol, Raia	M	3
136. St. Joseph's Primary School, Sao Jose De Areal	E	279
137. Trinity Primary School, Tembi, Curtorim	E	226

Schools not figuring in Sample Population as not included in List of Recognised Educational Institutions in Goa (2002-03 and 2003-04) under Salcete Taluka

1. G. P. S Calata, Majorda, Majorda Panchayat	K/M	3
2. G. P. S St. Aloysius, Majorda Panchayat	K	6
3. G. P. S Majorda, Majorda Panchayat	K	9
4. G. P. S Nagoa, Verna, Verna Panchayat	K	22
5. G. P. S Senaulim, Verna, Verna Panchayat	K	19
6. G. P. S Verna, Verna Panchayat	K	21
7. Fr. Agnel Multipurpose H.School, Verna, Verna Panchayat	K	342
8. Our Lady of Succour H. School, Nagoa Verna Panchayat	K	228
9. St Anthony's High School, Majorda, Majorda Panchayat	K	~
10. St. Joseph's Convent H. School, Nagoa, Verna Panchayat	K	116
11. Marina English High School Verna, Verna Panchayat	E	378

BICHOLIM

LOCATION OF SCHOOLS	MEDIUM	ENROLMENT
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Bicholim Municipality: Government Schools

1. G. P. S Bicholim	M	249
2. G. P. S Bordem	M	159
3. G. P. S Kantar Dabdaba	M	21
4. G. P. S Lamgao	M	64
5. G. P. S Valshi	M	12

Bicholim Municipality: Non-Government Aided Schools

6. Shree Shantadurga High School, Bicholim	M	272
7. Our Lady of Grace High School, Bicholim	K	412

Bicholim Panchayats: Government Schools

8. G. M. S Advalpal, Advalpal Panchayat	M	71
9. G. M. S Ambegal Pale, Pale Cottombi Panchayat	M	71
10. G. M. S Cudchirem, Ona-Maulinguem Panchayat	M	92
11. G. M. S Gaonkarwada, Naroa Panchayat	M	32
12. G. M. S Ladfe, Latambarcem Panchayat	M	24
13. G. M. S Nanoda, Latambarcem Panchayat	M	49
14. G. M. S Shirodwadi, Mulgao Panchayat	M	44
15. G. M. S Velguem /Velguem Panchayat	M	19
16. G. P. S Ambeshi-Pale, Pale Kothambi Panchayat	M	23
17. G. P. S Amona, Amona Panchayat	M	96
18. G. P. S Amthane, Mencurem Panchayat	M	10
19. G. P. S Arvalem L., Sanquelim-Arvalem Viridi Panchayat	M	39
20. G. P. S Arvalem U., Sanquelim, Arvalem-Virdi Panchayat	M	90
21. G. P. S Aturli, Maem, Maem Vaiguini Panchayat	M	57
22. G. P. S Bagwada, Pilgao Panchayat	M	23
23. G. P. S Bandarwada-Amona, Amona Panchayat	M	40
24. G. P. S Bayem-Surla, Surla Panchayat	M	29
25. G. P. S Bhamai, Pale, Pale Kottombi Panchayat	M	16
26. G. P. S Bhavkai, Maem, Maem Vaiguini Panchayat	M	15
27. G. P. S Bholwada-Carapur, Sarvan Carapur Panchayat	M	19
28. G. P. S Chich Bhatwadi, Maem Vaiguini Panchayat	M	21

29. G. P. S Chinchwada, Pale, Velguem Panchayat	M	51
30. G. P. S Cottombi, Surla, Pale Kothambi Panchayat	M	41
31. G. P. S Cudnem, Cudnem Panchayat	M	109
32. G. P. S Deulwada, Naroa, Naro Panchayat	M	20
33. G. P. S Deulwada-Vadaval, Latambarcem Panchayat	M	31
34. G. P. S Deus Bhatwadi, Maem, Maem Panchayat	M	14
35. G. P. S Dhangarwada-Advalpal, Advalpal Panchayat	M	
36. G. P. S Dhangarwada-Vadaval, Latambarcem Panchayat	M	23
37. G. P. S Digne, Surla, Surla Panchayat	M	33
38. G. P. S Dodamarg, Latambarcem Panchayat	M	22
39. G. P. S Dumacem, Mencurem Panchayat	M	10
40. G. P. S Falwadi, Cudnem, Cudnem Panchayat	M	33
41. G. P. S Fanaswadi-Navelim, Navelim Panchayat	M	28
42. G. P. S Gaokarwada Mulgao, Mulgao Panchayat	M	27
43. G. P. S Gaothan, Sanquelim ArvalemViridi Panchayat	M	25
44. G. P. S Ghadiwada Surla, Surla Panchayat	M	45
45. G. P. S Ghodakhatad Surla, Surla Panchayat	M	14
46. G. P. S Haldonwadi, Maem, Maem Vaiguini Panchayat	M	26
47. G. P. S Jambulhat, Maem, Maem Vaiguini Panchayat	M	36
48. G. P. S Karekhajan, Maem, Maem Vaiguini Panchayat	M	19
49. G. P. S Karmale, Cudnem, Cudnem Panchayat	M	8
50. G. P. S Kasarpal, Latambarcem Panchayat	M	45
51. G. P. S Kelbaiwada, Maem, Maem Vaiguini	M	64
52. G. P. S Khaitwada, Kasarpal, Latambarcem Panchayat	M	10
53. G. P. S Khajan, Surla, Pale Kothambi Panchayat	M	17
54. G. P. S Kharpal, Latambarcem Panchayat	M	76
55. G. P. S Kharwada, Amona, Amona Panchayat	M	21
56. G. P. S Khodchal-Surla, Surla Panchayat	M	20
57. G. P. S Khodgini- Surla, Surla Panchayat	M	16
58. G. P. S Kholpewadi-Sal, Sal Panchayat	M	36
59. G. P. S Kothi, Carapur, Sarvan, Carapur Panchayat	M	62
60. G. P. S Cudapwada-Carapur, Sarvan Carapur Panchayat	M	18
61. G. P. S Kumbharwada, Maem, Maem Vaiguini Panchayat	M	11
62. G. P. S Kumyamala-Sal, Sal Panchayat	M	7
63. G. P. S Maini-Navelim, Navelim Panchayat	M	31

64. G. P. S Manasbag, Mulgao, Mulgao Panchayat	M	15
65. G. P. S Mathwada, Pilgao, Pilgao Panchayat	M	27
66. G. P. S Maulinguem, Maulinguem Panchayat	M	97
67. G. P. S Mencurem, Mencurem Panchayat	M	60
68. G. P. S Mulgao, Mulgao Panchayat	M	26
69. G. P. S Maem, Gaokarwada, Maem, Vaiguini Panchayat	M	34
70. G. P. S Naigin, Curchirem, Maulinguem, Panchayat	M	21
71. G. P. S Navarwada-Pale, Pale Kothambi Panchayat	M	34
72. G. P. S Navelim, Navelim Panchayat	M	72
73. G. P. S Paltadwada-Kudchire, Maulinguem, Panchayat	M	26
74. G. P. S Pilgao, Pilgao Panchayat	M	76
75. G. P. S Pratap Nagar, Sanquelim Arvale-Virdi Panchayat	M	38
76. G. P. S Rumod Surla, Pale, Kothambe Panchayat	M	11
77. G. P. S Sal, Sal Panchayat	M	89
78. G. P. S Sanquelim, Sanquelim Arvalem Virdi Panchayat	M	35
79. G. P. S Sarmanas-Pilgao, Pilgao Panchayat	M	11
80. G. P. S Sarvana, Sarvan Carapur Panchayat	M	33
81. G. P. S Siquerim, Maem, Maem Vaiguini Panchayat	M	11
82. G. P. S Sirigao, Sirigao Panchayat	M	52
83. G. P. S Tale, Pale, Pale Kothambi Panchayat	M	26
84. G. P. S Tarwada-Surla, Surla Panchayat	M	20
85. G. P. S, Tishe, Surla, Pale Kothambi Panchayat	M	2
86. G. P. S Ussap, Latambarcem Panchayat	M	86
87. G. P. S Vaiguinim, Maem, Maem Vaiguini Panchayat	M	25
88. G. P. S Van, Maulinguem, Panchayat	M	31
89. G. P. S Vasantnagar, Sanquelim Arvale-Virdi Panchayat	M	29
90. G. P. S Vathadev, Sarvan, Sarvan Carapur Panchayat	M	71
91. G. P. S Vhavati, Vathadev, Sarvan Carapur Panchayat	M	10
92. G. P. S Virdi, Sanquelim Arvalem Virdi Panchayat	M	41
93. G. P. S Vithalpur, Sarvan Carapur Panchayat	M	202

Bicholim Panchayats; Non-Government Aided Schools

94. Balkrishna Bandodkar Primary School, Velguem	M	122
95. Shree Navadurga High School, Ambegal, Pale, Bicholim	M	38
96. St. Ann's Girls High School, Sanquelim, Bicholim	K	164

97. St. John of the Cross, Sanquelim, Bicholim	K	183
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Bicholim Panchayats: Non-Government Unaided Schools

98. Chowgule Pale Mines School Pale, Bicholim	E	22
99. Progress High School, Sanquelim, Bicholim	E	364
100. Shivaji Raje High School, Kholpewadi, Sal Bicholim	E	164
101. Sirigao Mines School, Poirra, Bicholim	M	22
102. Sriram Vidya Mandir, Murdiwada, Narve	M	14

APPENDIX 5

SELECTED SCHOOLS FROM SALCETE AND BICHOLIM

(See Map 1.2 and 1.3)

SALCETE

Sr. No.	Name of the School	Village/ Town	Medium
1	Presentation Convent High School	Margao	Konkani
2	Maria Bambina High School	Cuncolim	Konkani
3	Assumpta High School	Sarzora	Konkani
4	Rosary High School	Navelim	Konkani
5	St. Rocks High School	Velim	Konkani
6	Infant Jesus High School	Colva	Konkani
7	St. Jude's High School	Betalbatim	Konkani
8	G. P. S. Aquem Alto	Margao	Marathi
9	Housing Board Gogol	Margao	Marathi
10	G. P. S. Pajifond	Margao	Konkani
11	G. P. S. Madikatta	Cuncolim	Marathi
12	G. P. S. Takaband	Cuncolim	Marathi
13	G. P. S. Majilwada	Benaulim	Konkani
14	G. P. S. Cana, Benaulim	Benaulim	Konkani
15	G. P. S. Sernabatim	Sernabatim	Konkani
16	G. P. S. Curtorim	Curtorim	Konkani
17	G. P. S. Agramorod	Paroda	Konkani
18	G. P. S. Guddi	Paroda	Marathi
19	G. P. S. Mullas	Paroda	Marathi
20	G. M.S. Ambaji	Ambaji	Konk/Mar
21	Vidya Bhuvan Konkani Shalla	Margao	Konkani
22	G. M.S. Colva	Colva	Konkani
23	Our Lady of Livrament School	Arlem	Konkani
24	Les Anges Academy	Fatorda	English
25	St. Anne's Primary School	Borda	English
26	Cambridge Primary School	Varca	English
27	St Joseph's Primary School	St J. De Areal	English

BICHOLIM

Sr. No.	Name of the School	Village/ Town	Medium
1	G. P. S. Valshi	Bicholim	Marathi
2	G. P. S. Kasarpal	Latambarcem	Marathi
3	G. P. S. Ussap	Latambarcem	Marathi
4	G. P. S. Vadaval. Dhangarwada	Latambarcem	Marathi
5	G. P. S. Naigin	Curchirem	Marathi
6	G. P. S. Mathwada	Pilgao	Marathi
7	G. P. S. Arvalem Upper	Arvalem	Marathi
8	G. P. S. Pratap Nagar	Arvalem	Marathi
9	G. P. S. Falwadi	Cudnem	Marathi
10	G. P. S. Kharwada	Amona	Marathi
11	G. P. S. Cotombi	Pale-Kottombi	Marathi
12	G. P. S. Ghodakatad	Surla	Marathi
13	G. P. S. Kudapwada	Sarvan Carapur	Marathi
14	G. P. S. Sarvana	Sarvan Carapur	Marathi
15	G. P. S. Vathadev	Sarvan Carapur	Marathi
16	Our Lady of Grace High School	Bicholim	Konkani
17	Progress High School	Sankali	English
18	St. John Of Cross High School	Sankali	Konkani
19	Shivaji Raje High School	Sal, Bicholim	English
20	Chowgule Pale Mines School	Pale	English
21	G. P. S. Bhamai	Pale Kottombi	Marathi
22	G. M. S. Velguem	Velguem	Marathi
23	G. M. S. Cudchirem	Maulinguem	Marathi
24	Shree Navadurga High School	Ambegal, Pale	Marathi
25	St. Ann's Girls High School	Sanquelim	Konkani

APPENDIX 6

GRADING OF OCCUPATIONS INTO STATUS GROUPS

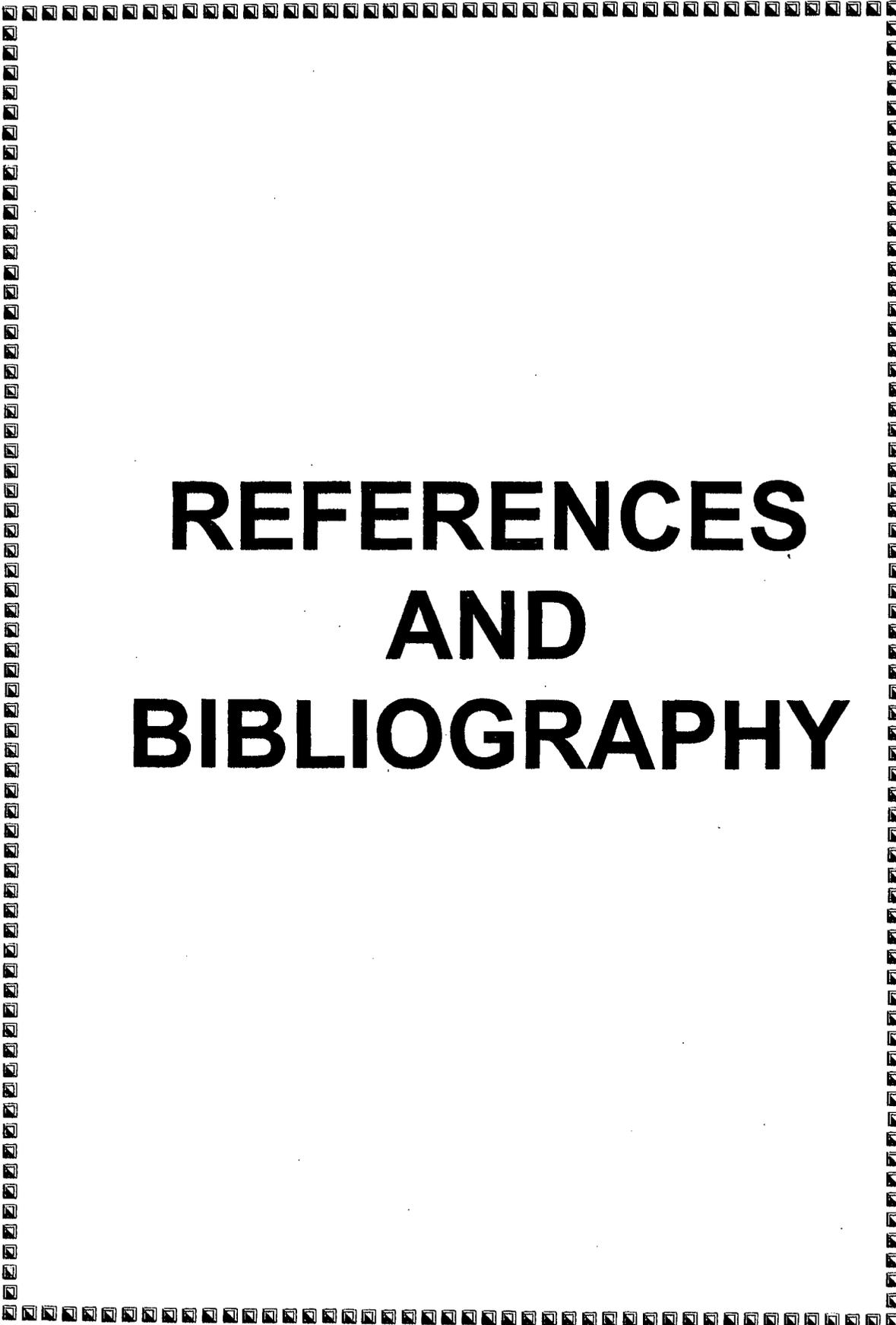
Dear Respondent, kindly grade or rank the following major occupations found in Goa into the five Social Status groups: High, Moderately High, Medium, Somewhat Low and Low prestige by ticking in the appropriate boxes provided for the purpose. Your cooperation is solicited for the purpose of research leading to the PhD degree on the topic 'Language and Early Schooling in Goa'.

Respondents' Perception of the Social Status of the Major Occupations in Goa

Sr.No.	Occupation	Social Status				
		High	Mod. High	Medium	Somewhat Low	Low
1	Accountant					
2	Administrator					
3	Artist/Painter					
4	Bank Officer					
5	Barber					
6	Barge Employee					
7	Basket Maker					
8	Beautician					
9	Bus Owner					
10	Businesswoman					
11	Carpenter					
12	Chemist					
13	Clerk					
14	Cobbler					
15	Collect/Sell Scrap					
16	Contractor					
17	Cook					
18	Decorator					
19	Doctor					
20	Draftsman					
21	Driver					
22	Officer					
23	Electrician					
24	Engineer					
25	Excise Inspector					
26	Factory Worker					

27	Farmer					
28	Fisherman\woman					
29	Fruit Vendor					
30	Goldsmith					
31	Golf Coach					
32	Hamali (Coolie)					
33	Head Constable					
34	Hires Jeep/ Van					
35	Housewife					
36	Insurance Agent					
37	Jailor					
38	Landlord					
39	Landscaping					
40	Lawyer					
41	Lecturer					
42	Loader					
43	Mali-Gardener					
44	Manager					
45	Mason					
46	Masseur					
47	Matka 'taker'					
48	Mechanic					
49	Milkman					
50	Motorcycle Pilot					
51	Musician					
52	Nurse					
53	Milkman					
54	Nurse					
55	Owens Bakery					
56	Owens Rickshaw					
57	Packaging Job					
58	Peon					
59	Photographer					
60	Plucker					
61	Plumber					

62	Police (Havaldar)					
63	Professional Actor					
64	Real Estate					
65	Receptionist					
66	Rice Mill Owner					
67	Room Boy					
68	Salesman/woman					
69	Seaman					
70	Self-Employed					
71	Sells Bananas					
72	Sells Bhelpuri					
73	Sells Broken Glasses					
74	Sells Vessels					
75	Servant/Maid					
76	Supervisor					
77	Tailor					
78	Teacher					
79	Technician					
80	Toddy Tapper					
81	Translator					
82	Wage Labourer					
83	Waiter					
84	Watchman					
85	Welder					
86	Working Abroad					



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