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“Language planning in India: the influence of English
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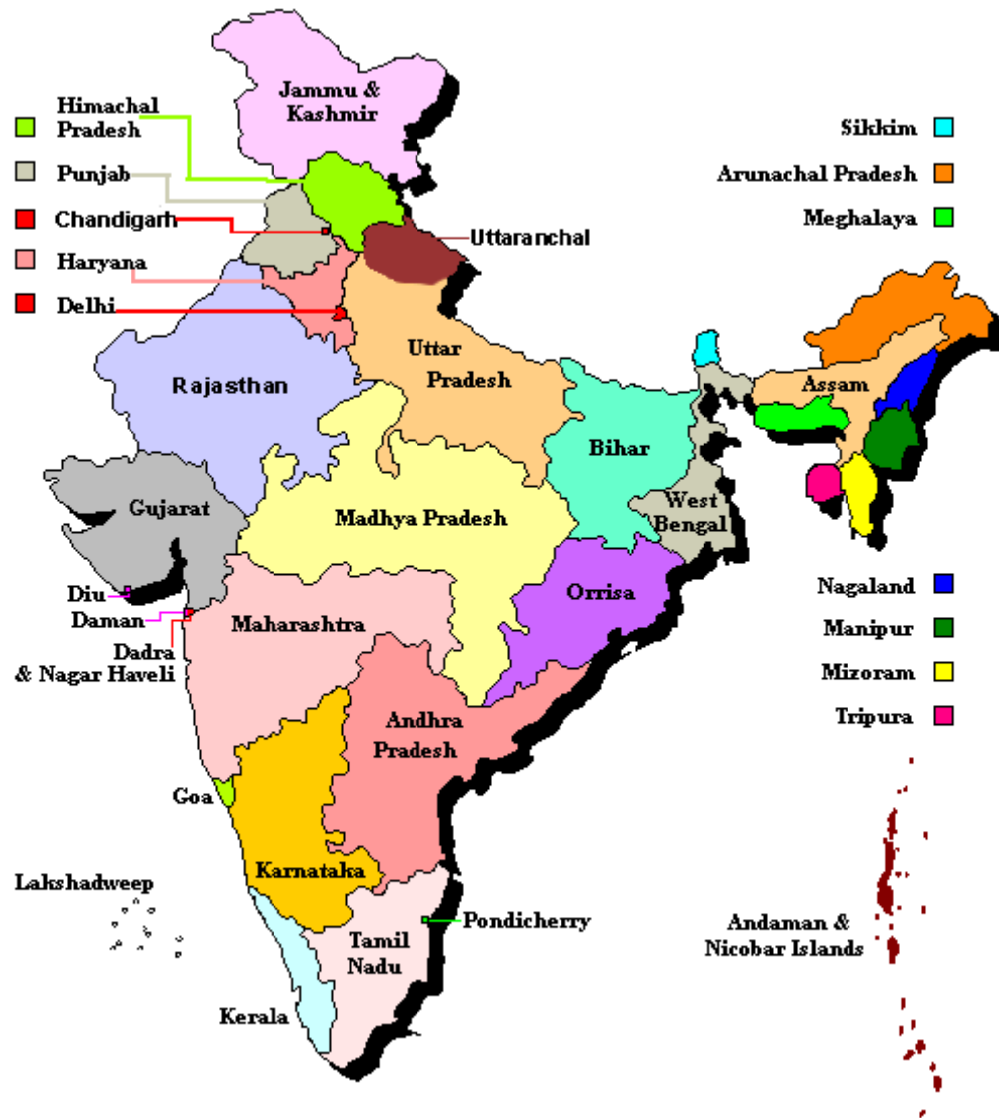
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Map of India



source: <http://bhagya.files.wordpress.com/2007/10/india-map.gif> (9 May 2009)

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1. Introduction

Language planning became relatively popular for newly emerged postcolonial countries in which the linguistic situation was not clear after the imperial power had left. India has been a particularly crucial area for language planning as it is a highly multilingual country within which the role of English has been rather ambiguous since the language came to the country under the British rule. This thesis will analyze the process of language planning in India with a particular focus on English and its influence on the educational system and the media.

The domains of education and the media have been important means for disseminating a language, or languages, as they both reach large audiences. When the British came to India, English became an integral part of the Indian educational system as well as of newspapers and radio. After the colonial power left the country, however, English has not ceased to be part of Indian education and the media. The crucial question which then arises is why English still plays a part in these two domains and for what reasons.

In order to give a profound analysis, a theoretical background of the key concepts has to be provided before turning to the case of India. Therefore, an overview of the basic principles and activities which are involved in the discipline of language planning and policy will be given. Within this context, an outline of the domains of education and the media in language planning will also be provided as they are the main focus of this thesis.

The next chapter will turn to language planning and policy in India, concentrating on the role of English in relation to Indian languages. In order to understand this relation better, the multilingual context of India will be pointed out first by looking at the various languages spoken in the country. The next part will show how and why English actually came to India by providing a historical overview. This will be followed by looking closer at language planning and policies after the British colonial power left India.

The focus of the following two chapters will be language planning in the domains of education and the media. On the one hand, the influence of English

on educational language planning will be investigated by looking at the various policies issued on subjects of study and media of instruction. In addition, information on various school types and the teaching of English in India will be given to understand the complex role of English in education better.

On the other hand, the analysis will focus on how language planning has occurred through the media. The relation of Indian and English language newspapers will be investigated in order to prove which language is preferred for which type of paper. The electronic media will then be examined as well on the preference for Indian languages or English. The focus of this analysis will determine the reasons why Indian languages or English is preferred on the basis of the input of listeners, reader- and viewership.

Since India is relatively large and the individual states and Union territories can undertake language planning according to their own needs, two states serve as case studies. The criteria for the choice of the two states were that they belonged to different areas with different linguistic backgrounds in order to prove whether these two factors had a decisive influence on the present role of English or whether other reasons were responsible. The state of Karnataka in the south of India and the state of West Bengal in the north east of India were chosen. West Bengal is part of an area where Hindi is a widespread language and where Bengali is the majority language of the state. The state of Karnataka has a Kannada speaking majority and belongs to an area where Hindi is a minor language.

The two states will be investigated on the influence of English on language planning and policies. To provide a detailed analysis, the linguistic situation of the two states will be outlined first before turning to the role of English in particular. The basis of the analysis will be past and present language policies as well as various newspaper articles. The consultation of newspaper articles will be especially useful in discovering the reasons for changes in language planning and policies as they provide good insights into public opinion.

Finally, the influence of English on the educational system and on the media in India will be evaluated. This evaluation will prove whether English plays a major role in both domains or if it is only a major language in one. The outcome is

expected to provide an answer to the question as to how big the influence of English has been on the educational system and on the media in India and for what reasons English has played a part in these two domains.

2. Language planning and policy

Language planning is an area where extensive research has been done since it first came up in the late 1950s. The aim of this chapter is therefore to present some basic aspects that might be useful for the discussion of the sociolinguistic situation of English in India rather than to give an overview of the theory of language planning.

Language planning is a relatively new discipline with the first use of the term by Haugen in 1959, who described the development of a new standard national language in Norway (Ferguson 2006: 1). In the classic language planning publications of its early years, language planning has been defined as “the organised pursuit of solutions to language problems, typically at the national level” (Fishman 1974: 79). In other words, language planning may happen wherever there is a language problem. In a rather recent publication, Ferguson (2006) still quotes Fishman’s definition and takes his reference to the ‘national level’ as an indicator of the historic importance in language planning concerning nation-building (Ferguson 2006: 1).

There exist however also other definitions of language planning, one of which is Eastman’s who defines language planning as

[T]he activity of manipulating language as a social resource in order to reach objectives set out by planning agencies which, in general, are an area’s governmental, educational, economic, and linguistic authorities. (Eastman 1983: 29 quoted in Smit, 1994: 16)

Eastman thus extends Fishman’s definition of language planning and does not reduce the discipline to some language problem solving factor anymore. It is rather presented as a means to reach certain aims of some institutional body, which might or might not be due to language problems.

2.1. Language planning vs. language policy

In many publications, the terms language planning and language policy are often used interchangeably and the majority of the authors do not seem to

attach importance to draw a line between them (Ferguson 2006; Wright 2004). From a traditional point of view, Valter (1974: 57) stated that the term language planning often included governmental linguistic policy in the widest sense or was used only in this meaning. However, he already suggested the use of the term language policy to refer to the latter meaning (Valter 1974: 57). From a more modern point of view, for some (Kaplan and Baldauf 2003) there is a clear distinction between the two terms, with language policy referring to “a body of ideas, laws, regulations, rules, procedures, and practices intended to achieve [...] objectives” (Kaplan and Baldauf 2003: 6); and language planning relating to the implementation of plans for attaining these objectives (Ferguson 2006: 16; Kaplan and Baldauf 2003: 6).

Ferguson (2006: 16) argues that this distinction seems justified considering the frequency with which policies are announced but not implemented. This is also true in the case of India. When Hindi was declared to replace English in 1951, the resistance from the non-Hindi speaking population has impeded meaningful implementation (see 3.3. and 3.5.). Nevertheless, this differentiation also tends to encourage a view of language planning as an activity undertaken after the really important decisions have already been made by politicians or administrators (ibid). Political and social considerations interfere, however, the decision making process and the formation of a language policy could thus be counted to language planning (ibid). According to Ferguson (2006: 16), the view of language planning and policy as two separate categories should therefore not be idealized. Instead, they should be regarded as two closely related processes of the same activity, being brought together for analysis, as it is an increasingly common tendency considering the phrase ‘language policy and language planning’ in the title of Wright’s (2004) recent volume (ibid).

Karam (1974: 112) even introduced the complex term of ‘language policy planning’ referring to Noss (1971), who defined three types of language policy: (a) official language policy, the recognition of the government as to which languages are to be used and for what purpose; (b) educational language policy, which concerns the media of instruction and which languages will be used as subjects of study; (c) general language policy, which refers to the unofficial approval of government concerning language use in business, mass

communication, and in contacts with foreigners (Karam 1947: 112 referring to Noss 1971).

This classification seems, however, outdated and old-fashioned. Concerning the many policies on media that have been declared, for example in India (see chapter 5.), mass communication and business cannot be counted to 'general language policy' anymore. Both, mass communication and business, just as education, merit to be treated as separate areas or domains¹ in language planning and policy.

2.2. Status, corpus and acquisition planning

Traditionally, language planning is divided into two categories, first defined by Heinz Kloss in 1969, i.e. status and corpus planning. Status planning refers to the changes of the functions of language(s) in society, and usually involves the allocation of languages to given functions, such as in the domains of government and education. When speakers of a minority language are, for example, denied the use of that language in educating their children, their language has no status (Ferguson 2006: 20-21). Status planning is usually actively implemented across a range of social domains: the workplace, local government, the family and home, the law, the media, education etc. (Ferguson 2006: 32-33). Corpus planning, on the other hand, refers to planned changes in the language form, within the linguistic system itself, such as the development of writing systems, standardisation and modernisation. The involvement of linguists is therefore greater than in status planning where mainly politicians and administrators intervene (Ferguson 2006: 20-21).

Corpus and status planning are closely linked to each other as changes in the form of a language are a pre-condition of assigning it to new functions (Ferguson 2006: 20-21). Moreover, the once generally acknowledged notion that corpus planning is dependent on status planning has recently been called into question (ibid). Corpus planning can actually help status changes to happen as well as to strengthen them (ibid). However, both can, in fact, proceed

¹ For a definition of language domain, see 2.5.

at the same time. Such interdependence can be observed, for instance, in standardization, one of the main activities of language planning (ibid).

To this traditional classification of status and corpus planning, Cooper (1989) added acquisition planning (Wright 2003: 42), which concerns language planning in the domain of education and can be seen as a part of status planning. It refers to planning that is directed at increasing the numbers of speakers of a particular language (Ferguson 2006: 34) by educating speakers to use it in both written and spoken forms (Wright 2003: 232). Wright refers to acquisition planning as the term being generally employed

to describe the policies and strategies introduced to bring citizens to competence in the languages designated as 'national', 'official' or 'medium of education'. (Wright: 61)²

2.3. The practice of language planning

From a traditional perspective, Haugen (1966) lists different types or kinds of language planning, i.e. norm selection, codification, elaboration and implementation (Haugen 1966 referred to in Fishman 1974: 80). In the more modern approach towards language planning and policy, these processes are still relevant but are now usually regarded as being part of status and corpus planning.

Concerning status planning, Wright (2004) differentiates between planning in state nations and nation states. She distinguishes the two by their different formation processes, with state nations having fixed the boundaries of the state first, and nation states having developed a national consciousness first (Ferguson 2006: 17). While in the state nations the focus was on reinforcing an official language, for nation states the question of national language was central.

Corpus planning usually involves differentiation, standardisation and codification. Kloss (1967) was the first one to employ the terms 'Ausbau' and 'Abstand' to refer to the differentiation among languages (Kloss 1967 referred to in Wright 2003: 48). 'Abstand' languages are linguistically different from all other

² For a more detailed discussion on acquisition planning see 2.6.

languages, whereas 'Ausbau' languages started out as dialects and have become separate languages for political, cultural and social reasons as well as by their linguistic characteristics (Wright 2003: 48-50). The process of 'Ausbau' thus involves the promotion of one variety of a language (Ferguson 2006: 21).

The creation of a uniform written variety is central in the process of standardization. Planning the dissemination of the national standard is most effectively achieved through codification and standardisation of orthography and grammar (Wright 2003: 52-53). The two processes are usually initiated by central bodies, such as prestigious language academies (ibid). The norm is then disseminated through institutions of the state, such as schools and its usage is continuously declared in policies (Wright 2003: 53).

Against this theoretical background, language planning might be better understood by looking at the processes and tasks involved. If a newly emerged nation, for example, wants to replace its language of the former colonial power, the language planning objective will be the dissemination of an indigenous language norm (Fishman 1974: 108-109). Regarding language planning from an operational point of view Fishman (1974: 109) points out that, ideally, a language planning agency takes charge of the major effort to achieve this aim. This agency controls the three interrelated activities of planning, implementation and evaluation (ibid).

Planning is concerned with the collection of data, linguistic and sociolinguistic surveys, and first plans regarding the selection of a language and language policy are made (Fishman 1974: 109). After this preliminary planning, a strategy is devised and a plan written (ibid). This plan may be considered as the national language-planning program (ibid). The next activity of implementation includes everything necessary for the execution of the plan, such as the codification of the norm and the dissemination of the norm by the educational institutions (ibid). Evaluation finally concerns the assessment of the planning and the implementation activities as well as providing feedback (ibid). Since the language and culture of a nation change over time, the cycle of planning, implementation and evaluation is repeated "as the norm is again identified, codified, and disseminated" (Fishman 1974: 110).

This outline of language planning and policy only presents a concise version of the processes and tasks that are actually involved in the activity and should serve to illustrate the practical side of it. The example of India will later demonstrate the complexity of the language planning and policy enterprise and show the difficulties between the theory and practice of it.

2.4. Criticism and resurgence of language planning

By the end of the 1980s and early 1990s the discipline and activity of language planning was heavily criticized so that it lost prominence and almost vanished (Ferguson 2006: 3-4). It was accused, for example, of representing itself as an ideologically neutral and objective discipline whereas it only served the interests of the dominant elite (Ferguson 2006: 3). Another major focus of criticism concerns mono- vs. multilingualism. Language planning took traditional European nations with one common standard language as models and thus implied a negative view of multilingualism in a nation (ibid). Languages were often enumerated in lists, which encouraged the view that the more languages were spoken the higher the problems were within a country (ibid).

Within the last years, there has however been a resurgence of interest in language planning and policy, which Ferguson (2006: 13) points out is primarily due to

the policy challenges of late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century global developments: globalisation, migration, resurgent ethno-nationalisms, language endangerment, the global spread of English, new states and failing states. (Ferguson 2006: 13)

Language planning has become a different discipline in several respects from the early days of the immediate post-colonial era of the 1960s and 1970s. The focus of language planning is not just on nation-building and decolonization anymore but has been widened to language revitalisation, minority languages, globalization and the spread of English (Ferguson 2006: 9). This widening of the scope has also involved a shift of the geographical focus of language planning away from the post-colonial states of Africa and Asia towards language planning and policy problems in the West (Ferguson 2006: 10).

Another change in language planning concerns the attitude of language planning towards linguistic diversity and multilingualism (Ferguson 2006: 10-11). As mentioned above, diversity in language was seen as being particularly problematic for nation-building. Today language planning however aims at maintaining multilingualism for the sake of indigenous languages and their preservation (ibid).

Moreover, there is now greater scepticism regarding the effectiveness of language planning, in particular as the preservation of threatened languages and the effort to reduce the spread of English are concerned (Ferguson 2006: 12-13). For Romaine (2002: 3 referred to in Ferguson 2006: 12), this ineffectiveness is due to the “weak linkages between policy and planning”, meaning that policies are much more often declared than implemented.

Despite the many changes within language planning, Ferguson (2006: 12) also accounts for the maintenance of its interdisciplinary character. Since the emergence of the discipline

the language problems addressed by LP are not just, or only, problems of language and communication but typically arise from, and can only be fully understood against, a background of political, economic, social and cultural struggle. And for this very reason, the study of LP cannot help but remain an interdisciplinary enterprise. (Ferguson 2006: 14).

2.5. Language domain

The concept of language domain is crucial for language planning as it allows distinguishing certain areas in which the activity can happen. Fishman (1968) defines domain as

a sociocultural construct abstracted from topics of communication, relationships and interactions between communicators, and locales of communication in accord with the institutions of a society and the spheres of activity of a culture in such a way that individual behaviour and social patterns can be distinguished from each other and yet related to each other. (Fishman 1968 quoted in Eastman 1983: 143)

A domain thus “describes a typical situation of communication differentiated by topic, participants and setting” and is “one appropriate concept of identifying specific situations of communication” (Smit 1994: 20). Considering the

classification of language domains, Dua (1989: 134) has identified the following domains of language use:

1. home
2. education
3. official
4. court of law
5. media
6. business, trade and market
7. religion

Since the classification and the number of language domains depend on the respective speech community (Dua 1989: 134), the following two domains might be added with regard to language planning and policy in India:

8. science and technology
9. cultural life

Concerning language planning, domains also identify areas of this enterprise. Language planning does however rarely affect only one specific domain. If language planning, for example, concerns the official language, it involves the domain of government and administration as well as that of the judiciary system. Although the other domains are usually not specifically mentioned in a language plan or policy they are also affected (Smit 1994: 28).

In relation to domains, four other terms are frequently employed which refer to how varieties are used and received in a domain, i.e. prestige, status, function and role. For matters of clarification, the terms will be used in this thesis according to these definitions:

- Prestige: refers to the respect and admiration that something (i.e. the variety) has because of its position in society or what it has achieved (*The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* 2005 (1948): 1193).
- Function and role: refer to the actual usage of a variety in a society, i.e. for which domains this variety is employed (Smit 1994: 23).

- Status: refers to the social or legal position of something (i.e. the variety in a society) in relation to others (*The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* 2005 (1948):1499).

The differentiation between the three concepts is also presented by Mackey (1989: 1-14) when he states that:

the essential difference between prestige, function and status is the difference between past, present and future. The prestige of a language depends on its record. [...] The function [...] is what people actually do with it. The status of a language depends on what people can do with it, its potential. (Mackey 1989: 4)

The temporal sequence outlined in this differentiation does however not mean that one concept succeeds another one. The changes or development of prestige, function and status can also happen simultaneously (Smit 1994: 23).

Concerning the use of languages in different domains it is important to consider that a language may have a low function or status in one domain but a higher function or status in another (Annamalai 2001: 137). On the one hand, this variation is due to the differences between governmental and non-governmental planning, such as that of communities and academic bodies (ibid). On the other hand, the use of languages for specific functions is the result of a competition between the aims of the government and the dictates of the market (ibid). In other words, this conflict influences the function and status of a language in a specific domain.

2.6. Language planning and policy – education

Ferguson (2006: 33) points out that of all the domains, education is probably the most crucial domain for implementing language planning. One of the reasons is that in most countries the state has control over education because of financially subsidizing it (ibid). Another major reason is that schools are a place of socialization and the presence of the audience is guaranteed since in most countries school attendance is compulsory (Ferguson 2006: 33-34). Being in control of education, the state also uses it for other purposes, such as building language solidarity, which is fostered by raising the status of the state language

and by promoting positive attitudes about it (Annamalai 2001: 158). The state has thus the opportunity to shape the attitudes of the young generation through curricula (Ferguson 2006: 34). Apart from this linguistic point of view, education is also important for constructing a collective historical and cultural heritage (Annamalai 2001: 158).

Moreover, education has more recently been a key instrument in revitalising a language (Ferguson 2006: 34). In the course of history, societies have often been dominated by some other power that has imposed on them its language, a step which has often led to the more or less death of the society's own language (Ferguson 2006: 72-73).³ In order to save the endangered languages from becoming extinct, central bodies have incorporated them in the school curricula (Ferguson 2006: 81-82). This measure should help the languages to be revitalized and should enlarge the respective speech community (ibid). Teaching the regional language is thus an essential part to encourage communication with older generations that still speak an endangered language and generally uplifts the prestige of it (Ferguson 2006: 34).⁴

Language education can also be used as a means in status planning (e.g. the distribution of a standard language) and may be treated as a separate focus of language policy (Ferguson 2006: 34). This process is then called 'acquisition planning', which refers to planning that concentrates on the expansion of the speech communities of particular languages (ibid; cf. 2.2.). The term was first introduced by Cooper (1989) and is generally now accepted as another subtype of language planning. Kaplan and Baldauf (2003) usually refer to it as 'language-in-education planning' while Ferguson (2006: 34) proposes another, more encompassing term to refer to language education in status planning, i.e. 'language planning in education', with the following policy issues:

1. The choice of medium of instruction for various levels of the education system – primary, secondary, tertiary [...]
2. The role of the home language (or 'mother tongue') in the educational process [...]

³ Such an imposition of another language and the more or less death of the own language has, for example, happened in Wales, Catalonia and the Basque country (cf. Ferguson 2006: ch.4).

⁴ The effectiveness of language revitalization through education is envisaged with mixed feelings (Ferguson 2006: 34). Language skills required at school are doubted to be retained after school or handed over to the next generation (ibid). In addition, the absence of actions in other domains increases the ineffectiveness in revitalizing a certain language (ibid).

3. The choice of second/foreign languages as curricular subjects of instruction, along with associated decisions on:
when these languages will be introduced into the curriculum
whether foreign language study will be made compulsory, for whom and for how long
what proportions of the school population will be exposed to second/foreign language instruction
4. In the case of English and a few other pluricentric languages, what variety of the language will serve as a model (or norm) for teaching purposes [...]. (Ferguson 2006: 34-35)

Ferguson (2006: 35) however adds that only few of the issues mentioned above can be regarded exclusively educational since they have much wider social and political implications and argues that the influence of political considerations on choosing a medium of instruction sometimes even overwhelms educational considerations. This view seems justified as education is an important means of disseminating a language and might thus be used to serve the interests of politicians in establishing supremacy of a certain language.

In contrast to Ferguson, Kaplan and Baldauf (2003: 217-220) are more specific and distinguish between six different kinds of 'language –in-education policies' in order to define the tasks of educational language planning⁵:

1. Access Policy: states who can study what languages. English can, for example, be a prerequisite to be allowed to access certain schools, universities, colleges or kinds of studies. Many schools in India have admission tests in which English is an integral part and which the students have to pass in order to be admitted.
2. Personnel Policy: sets the criteria for the selection of teachers. Teachers might therefore fulfil certain criteria in order to be admitted to teaching. In India, recent investigations have shown that the majority of English teachers lack English language skills. As a result, the government has stated several times the importance of training English language teachers adequately and according to the needs of the students.⁶
3. Curriculum and Community Policy: Generally, the curriculum policy is defined by a central body. The Ministry of Education of a state has

⁵ Information for the following list is taken from Kaplan and Baldauf 2003: 217-220.

⁶ The implementation of these plans has however proved to be a difficult undertaking, which is primarily due to the shortage and absence of funds (cf. chapter 4. and 6.).

control over what is taught and how it is taught as well as over the production and distribution of materials for pedagogical purposes. In addition, curriculum policy is constrained by the time of instruction, by the budget and the direction of education which is largely determined by politics. Community policy refers to situations when communities are consulted as to what language they think should be taught in their schools. The development of such a consultative community policy is however restricted wherever the curriculum policy is defined by a central body.

4. **Methods and Materials Policy:** is often closely linked to curriculum policy. Wherever the curriculum is strictly controlled, methodology is usually prescribed, such as teaching communicatively. In addition, materials are produced and approved by a central body.
5. **Resourcing Policy:** resourcing has an influence on the impact of educational programs. The funding of particular programs can undermine others. Since it is usually the state that subsidizes language planning and policy in the domain of education, it is often used for political reasons. Thus resourcing policies can, for example, increase the teaching of regional languages.
6. **Evaluation Policy:** Many programs in educational policies have certain objectives and set criteria by which the impact of a policy can be measured, such as the Educational Surveys in India⁷. Evaluation policy can however also be used for defining new objectives and goals for future language programs.

Kaplan and Baldauf's list might suggest that those activities are different kinds or types of language planning and policy as they are given names such as 'access policy' or 'curriculum policy'. It might however be more appropriate to see these activities as being related to each other and as being part of the whole process of language planning and policy within certain domains.

Moreover, some of the activities and processes mentioned above are unlikely to be undertaken in all language domains of a society. For example, a 'curriculum

⁷ The Educational Surveys in India however often give only an overview on the educational situation and do not judge whether a policy was successful or not (cf. chapter 4. and 6.).

policy' might rather not be a part of language planning and policy in the domain of the media. On the other hand, 'resourcing policy' and 'evaluation policy' are certainly also activities that are part of language planning and policy in other domains than education. Therefore, it might be preferable to see the activities and processes mentioned above not as different kinds or types of language planning and policy but as part of the whole process.

2.7. Language planning and policy – the media

Language planning and policy have been largely perceived as a function of government and have therefore usually been directed at the educational domain as the primary means of implementation (Kaplan and Baldauf 2003: 6; Karam 1974: 117). This view is however not justified considering that (a) not everyone goes to school, (b) not everyone goes to school at the same time, and (c) the domain of education does not have the authority to support the dissemination of a language in other sectors of the government (Kaplan and Baldauf 2003: 6). Therefore, it has to be recognized that the implementation of language planning and policy also happens in other domains.

In the early years of language planning and policy, Karam (1974: 116) pointed out that the media influence language planning to a much larger extent than it is usually acknowledged, especially as regards the linguistic development of a language:

[the media] exert a decisive influence not only on the spread of the national language, but also on the form in which it is ultimately accepted by the public. It is here that new coinages and usages will stand or fall and not in the academy-approved grammars and dictionaries issued by scholars. [...] The future of the academy, in fact, probably lies in acting as a recorder of developments after the fact. (Noss 1967: 64 quoted in Fishman 1974: 116)

In other words, the dissemination of the standard variety of a language is an interplay between the domains of education and the media. Noss even seems to give more importance to the media domain when it comes to linguistic dimensions as he refers to the creation of new words and the regulation of word use. The statement of Noss is very important since it acknowledged the influence of the media on language formation already in the late 1960s, at a

time when the reach of the mass media was certainly to a great extent lower than in the present days of the new millennium. Regarding the increasing use of the mass media in the last decades and years, there has certainly also been an increase in the influence of the media on the linguistic situation of a speech community.

Karam (1974: 117) raised an important question, i.e. whether the media are as effective in language planning as education because of their different areas of interest. At the same time Karam (1974: 117) however recognized that the media concern several important issues of language planning, such as:

the number of speakers of the various languages, the position of one language in relation to others, the degree of literacy in the various language communities, the availability and distribution of non-educational reading materials, and – perhaps most important – the need for expanding the lexicon and developing models of spoken and written discourse. (Karam 1974: 117)

The degree of literacy might be the most important issue for the media since an increase in literacy also means an increase in the circulation of the respective media (Kaplan and Baldauf 2003: 93). The number of speakers and the status of a language may be equally important. A newspaper will not publish in a language if there are not enough people who understand it or who do not want to read in a particular language because the paper would not sell.⁸

The media certainly bring a language to the attention of a wider audience, and being used on television or radio a language tends to be associated with modernity (Ferguson 2006: 83). The impact then, is almost entirely symbolic, however, symbolic enhancement might particularly be useful for a language whose prominence has decreased (ibid). The status of a language might thus improve as attitudes towards it will be positively changed (ibid). Moal points out that

its [the language's] acceptance by the people as part of living is crucial. This is why its representation in the audio-visual media as communicating a contemporary living culture is crucial to the act of survival. (Moal 2000: 126 quoted in Ferguson 2006: 83)

⁸ This trend can be observed in particular in the Indian media system (cf. chapter 5.).

Coming back to the linguistic situation, a big and growing readership of newspapers means that a large proportion of the population is regularly exposed to the written standard and has daily practice in it (Wright 2003: 39). The upcoming use of broadcasting had another linguistic impact on a language of a community in that it supported the variety or varieties of spoken language or at least promoted the standard pronunciation of a language and made sure that it became familiar (Wright 2003: 40). This process has finally been continued and reinforced through television (ibid).

The media can thus have a significant impact on the development of a language. Therefore, it is certainly another instrument of implementing language planning and policy. As already mentioned, the degree of the media's effectiveness in language planning deserves closer investigation. Apart from the linguistic consequences, access to the mass media can also have a major impact on the correlation between language and identity (Kaplan and Baldauf 2003: 93).⁹

⁹ The extent of this impact on languages in India will be investigated in detail in chapter 6.

3. Language planning and policy in India

3.1. Multilingualism

In the course of history India has been occupied by several great empires all of which had influence on the linguistic situation of the country (Baldrige 2002a: ch.1.4.). The last foreign language that had an impact on India was English, which came to the country under the British rule (ibid). Although English thus came relatively late to India, it has probably been the most influential foreign language and has played a major role in the development of the whole country. As Annamalai (2003: 41) put it, "Multilingualism in India is a product of its history and a reflection of its cultural value of diversity."

In order to deal with the multilingual situation of India, several categories have been defined for its languages, i.e. mother tongues, minority languages, tribal languages, regional languages, scheduled languages, official languages and national languages (Annamalai 2003: 133). The membership in a certain category can also change and a mother tongue may, for example, not be considered anymore as such and become a variety of another language (ibid). Similarly, a minority language may be an official state language and thus having two labels at the same time (ibid).

The latest census of 2001 defined mother tongue as "the language in which the mother was talking to the person in his/her childhood" (Mallikarjun 2001a).¹⁰ The 1961 census of India listed over 1,600 mother tongues and 200 languages (Annamalai 2003: 133-134). The 1991 Census gave a total of 216 mother tongues and 114 languages (Mallikarjun 2004a: ch.2.). The dramatic decrease in the number of mother tongues between 1961 and 1991 does not mean that more than a thousand mother tongues do not exist anymore. The census of 1991 actually had over 10,000 raw returns which were rationalized to a number of 1576 mother tongues, which were again rationalized to 216 (Mallikarjun 2004a: ch.2). This decrease in number happened on the basis that mother tongues which had less than 10,000 speakers or those which could not have been identified linguistically were not included in the list (ibid).

¹⁰ The notion of 'mother tongue' has caused several difficulties, in particular with regard to the successful implementation of language policies in education (cf. ch.4.1.).

The 2001 Census of India already gave a population number of slightly over one billion, but it is generally estimated to be already about 1.2 billion. Altogether, 234 mother tongues and 122 languages were listed in the 2001 Census. The literacy rate of India was estimated to be 64.8% but the rate considerably varied within the different states (Census 2001). The state of Kerala had the highest literacy rate with 90.9 %, whereas the rate was only 47% in the state of Bihar (ibid).

The Eighth Schedule of the Constitution first listed 15 languages, to which three were added in 1992 and another four in 2003, making it a total number of 22 scheduled languages (Annex to Article 344-1 and 351; D'souza 2006: 156). The Constitution identifies two categories for languages, i.e. 'scheduled' and 'non-scheduled languages'. Mallikarjun (2004a: ch.14.) points out that actually no criteria exist for this classification but indicates that the scheduled languages have clear advantages over those not included in the Schedule. In addition, he points out that all scheduled languages are considered major languages, while the non-scheduled languages are regarded as minor languages (Mallikarjun 2004b: ch.6.2.). The original fifteen languages were actually called 'literary languages' (D'souza 2006: 156). There are altogether 22 languages with a speakers' strength of 10,000 and above, which are also specified in the Eighth Schedule (see Table 1):

Table 1: Languages of India with a speakers' strength of 10,000 and above in 1991 and 2001 Census (Census of India 2001; Mallikarjun 2004a: ch.12)

| Name of language | Number of persons who returned the language as their mother tongue for 2001 Census | Number of persons who returned the language as their mother tongue for 1991 Census |
|---------------------------------|---|---|
| 1. Hindi | 422,048,642 | 337,272,114 |
| 2. Bengali | 83,369,769 | 69,595,738 |
| 3. Telugu | 74,002,856 | 66,017,615 |
| 4. Marathi | 71,936,894 | 62,481,681 |
| 5. Tamil | 60,793,814 | 53,006,368 |
| 6. Urdu | 51,536,111 | 43,406,932 |
| 7. Gujarati | 46,091,617 | 40,673,814 |
| 8. Kannada | 37,924,011 | 32,753,676 |
| 9. Malayalam | 33,066,392 | 30,377,176 |
| 10. Oriya | 33,017,446 | 28,061,313 |
| 11. Punjabi | 29,102,477 | 32,753,676 |
| 12. Assamese | 13,168,484 | 13,079,696 |
| 13. Maithili | 12,179,122 | -- ³ |
| 14. Santali | 6,469,600 | -- |
| 15. Kashmiri | 5,527,698 | 56,693 ⁴ |
| 16. Nepali¹ | 2,871,749 | 2,076,645 |
| 17. Sindhi | 2,535,485 | 2,122,848 |
| 18. Konkani | 2,489,015 | 1,760,607 |
| 19. Dogri | 2,282,589 | -- |
| 20. Manipuri² | 1,466,705 | 1,270,216 |
| 21. Bodo | 1,350,478 | -- |
| 22. Sanskrit | 14,135 | 49,736 |

1. Nepali includes Gorkhali

2. Excludes figures of Paomata, Mao-Maram and Purul sub divisions of Senapati district of Manipur for 2001 Census; Manipuri includes Meithei

3. The numbers not given in the 1991 Census list refers to the fact that those languages were not scheduled in 1991.

4. The extreme deviation to the 2001 Census might be due to the fact that census could not be held for Jammu and Kashmir in 1991.

The increase in the number of speakers of mother tongues might be explained by the fact that the population has also increased since the 1991 Census. The growth might also be ascribed to an improvement in the quality of the data processing activity, which led to more exact results.

Concerning English, it is a non-scheduled language and therefore not included in the list above. According to the 2001 Census, the number of persons who returned the language as their mother tongue was 226,449. It is important to note that the number of those who speak the languages in the list above, or English, as a second or third language is significantly higher. English is estimated to be used by four per cent of the population, a proportion which might be small, but out of the total population it comprises about 35 million speakers (Hohenthal 2003).

Annamalai (2001: 137) points out that a major aspect of multilingual development is the formal development of languages “to equip them to perform the determined functions”. The central and state governments provide resources for public domains like administration, law and education (ibid). In other domains and those involving the media, the government subsidizes only those which the market does not support (Annamalai 2001: 138).

The governmental involvement in India for formal development of languages concerns eight tasks (Annamalai 2001: 138-140)¹¹:

1. Development of materials: Monolingual and bilingual dictionaries, encyclopaedias, text books for education etc. brought out by government funded bodies.
2. Creation of technical terms: Coining new terms in administration, law, science and technology and other academic disciplines as well as the preparation of glossaries. This work principally involves finding equivalent terms to English in other official languages of India.
3. Technological application: Development of a script and a spelling system for preliterate languages. For literary languages it is the reformation and standardization of the alphabet to fit keyboards and to accelerate composing for print. Development for technology is funded by the central government and developmental institutions.
4. Information storage and dissemination: Production of books and strengthening library services. The Department of Electronics of the Government of India has recently encouraged the creation of databases

¹¹ Information for the following list is taken from Annamalai 2001: 138-140.

of texts of the modern period in the scheduled languages. The dissemination of new information is supported by the mass media and popular journals of professional subjects.

5. Book production: Popular and creative books are usually published by government aided bodies. Book production is also encouraged by schemes of the governments which give grants to subsidize publications and to purchase books which are then handed over to libraries.
6. Translation: Translation enhances the content of languages. English books are mostly translated by commercial publishers in India. Translation of literature and other materials between Indian languages only plays a minor role. The government also does translation if it involves the Constitution, laws and legal manuals in order to ensure their authenticity.
7. Manpower development: Training people in all the above areas is done through special programmes that are carried out by governmental and educational institutions.
8. Language promotion: In contrast to language development, language promotion aims at increasing the number of speakers of a particular language as well as their skills as a first or second language. The major instrument of promoting multilingualism is the teaching of many languages.

With regard to English, Annamalai (2001: 141) points out that although the state does not provide resources for its development in the first six areas listed above, it strongly supports it as to the last two areas. In addition, the market also provides resources for English in both of these areas, as well as in book production (ibid). In other areas, the position of English in India is often enhanced with the help of international input (Annamalai 2001: 141).¹²

The formal development of languages is however also a process that has to be treated with carefulness. Annamalai (2001: 143) takes India as an example, where the formal development of Indian languages has failed. Governments

¹² This global contribution can particularly be observed as regards technological application. Many companies invest in the development of technology for language, such as printing software in order to accelerate production (Annamalai 2001: 141).

have often promoted top down planning because they believed that a language had to be formally developed before it could be used for new functions, which is however against the natural development of a language (ibid). New technical terms were, for example, created on the basis of Sanskrit and other languages, which were however largely incomprehensible for most Indians because they were too unfamiliar (Baldrige 2002a: 1.6.). As a result, people rejected the use of Hindi and other regional languages for their planned functions and used English or modified terms (ibid).

Concerning the multitude of languages, language planning and policy in India has therefore been a complex and difficult task. The focus of this paper is language planning and policy concerning English in India in the domains of education and the media. The relation between English and other Indian languages in these two domains will therefore be treated in particular in the following chapters.

3.2. History of English in India

English came to India in the 16th century when Queen Elizabeth I was Queen of England (Kachru 1983: 19). On 31 December 1600 she gave merchants of the City of London a monopoly of trade with India and the East, also known as The Honourable East India Company, which enhanced the contact of Indian languages with English (ibid). The spread of English in India started in 1614 and was initiated by missionaries who wanted to spread Christianity through English (ibid). However, according to Kachru, (1983: 20) missionary activities were rather restricted and unplanned.

In the eighteenth century, Charles Grant, who came to India as an employee of the company, recommended the introduction of English as the medium of instruction and its adoption as the official language of the Company and the Government (Krishnaswamy 2006: 12). Kachru (1983: 20) refers to the House of Commons that saw it as the duty of the British to educate and cultivate the Indians. The purpose was however not ideological but to make life easier for British people who lived in India or who planned to do so (ibid): “The Communication of our light and knowledge to them, would prove the best

remedy for their disorders” (Grant 1831/32: 60-61 in Kachru 2006: 333). In other words, Grant very clearly stated that the main reasons for trouble in India were the disorders, ignorance and errors of the Indians, which the communication of Western knowledge through English should prevent. The English language was thus used as a means of conquest, with the aim being trade and political power (Krishnaswamy 2006: 13).

The second important phase for the spread of English in India was marked by the demand of a small group of Indians to study English in addition to Persian or Arabic (Kachru 1983: 21). This movement had prominent Indian supporters such as the Indian scholar Raja Rammohun Roy, who wanted to improve the ancient system of learning by joining it with modern Western knowledge (Krishnaswamy 2006: 20). Roy harshly criticized the Indian system, for example, when he wrote in 1823 in a letter to the Governor General, Lord Amherst, that the Indian system of education “could keep the country only in darkness” (Agnihotri & Khanna 1995: 17). Krishnaswamy (2006: 21-22) however emphasizes that Roy only wanted a reform of the Indian system of learning and did not prefer the introduction of English as the medium of instruction. Nevertheless, Roy’s criticism was used in promoting the English language in India (Krishnaswamy 2006:22).

The so-called Oriental-Anglicist controversy over which educational policy to use in India initiated the third phase of the Government Policy, which started after 1765 when the East India Company stabilized its authority (Kachru 1983: 68). At that time, the views about educating Indians in English were divided. On the one hand, there was the Anglicist group, represented by Macaulay, which was in favour of English. On the other hand, there was the Orientalist group that was not very strong and against English as a compulsory language but this resistance could not prevent the passing of Macaulay’s Minute (Kachru 1983: 68).

In the Minute, Macaulay, who served on the Supreme Council in India, very clearly expressed the aim of English education in India, which was to form

[...] a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in

taste, in opinion, in morals and intellect. (*Selections from Educational Records 1781-1839*: 116 in Kachru 1983: 68)

On 7 March 1835, Lord William Bentinck, the Governor General of India, had approved Macaulay's Minute and an official resolution endorsing Macaulay's policy was passed (Kachru 1983: 68). The *Minute on Indian Education* declared that the native population should be educated through the English medium (Mehrotra 1998: 4) and Macaulay's resolution formed the "cornerstone of the implementation of a language policy in India" (Kachru 1983: 68).

In the following years, English in India gradually increased and gained more weight in the educational system of India. It was made the official language of the Government and of education in 1837 (Krishnaswamy 2006: 43; 46). At that time many English schools or schools which used English beside Indian languages were established (Krishnaswamy 2006: 56). In 1857, the first universities were founded in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras and later also the Punjab and Allahabad universities (Kachru 1983: 22).

However, Krishnaswamy (2006: 45) reports that English as the medium of instruction and the Western system of education envisaged considerable resistance. The plan of Macaulay only aimed at English education for the classes in urban areas and not for the masses of rural India (Krishnaswamy 2006: 45-47). They simply followed the indigenous systems and remained untouched by English (ibid).

In the mid of the nineteenth century, many more official documents on the education of English were released, which will be treated in more detail in the section of this paper on language planning and policy in Indian education.¹³ In general, English remained an important language in education and continued to be used as the language of administration and as a link language.

Although English was the language used by educated Indians, many had a strong resentment against the imposition of English under the British rule. Shortly before India's independence, a statement by Rajo Rao, an Indian writer of English novels, described his feelings concerning the dilemma of English in India:

¹³ For example: Wood's Despatch of 1854, the Indian Universities Commission of 1902 or the Indian Universities Act of 1904 (cf. chapter 4.).

I use the word 'alien', yet English is not really an alien language to us. It is the language of our intellectual make-up – like Sanskrit or Persian was before – but not of our emotional make-up. (Rao 1938: v-vi quoted in Agnihotri & Khanna 1995: 35)

In 1947, India finally became independent and was left with the colonial language English as the language of government. After the end of the British rule, India simply continued to use English in those domains where it had been used before independence. The end of the British rule over India could also have meant the end for the English language. However, this has apparently not happened. On the contrary, the influence of English in India has almost been greater than under the British rule.

The historical outline ends with India's Independence in 1947. The aim was to show how and why English came to be an influential language in the Indian subcontinent. The following chapters will deal in particular with the influence of English in India after Independence but will also take up certain aspects that have already been discussed in this outline or even treat them in more detail. This is due to the fact that many aspects of language planning and policy before 1947 served those after independence as models.

3.3. Official language

The official language is defined as “[t]he language used in the business of government – legislative, executive and judicial” (UNESCO 1951 in Fishman 1968: 689) with the defining criterion being “the official recognition by some governmental authority” (Garvin 1974: 71). In most post-colonial countries like India the former colonial language was also the official language. After those countries had gained independence, they tried to distance themselves from the former colonial power and were also looking for an indigenous language that could be used for official purposes. Careful language planning was seen as a hopeful means of making it possible to replace the former colonial language as official language and language of unification (Ferguson 2006: 2 referring to Fishman 1968). This hope also prevailed in India.

India is a Union of States and consists of 28 states and seven Union Territories. It is a sovereign, secular, socialist, democratic republic and has a parliamentary

system of government (http://india.gov.in/knowindia/state_uts.php, 31 March 2009). India is governed in terms of the Constitution of India that was enacted on 26th January 1950 (http://india.gov.in/govt/constitutions_india.php, 31 March 2009). The Constitution also determines the official language of India.

According to the Constitution, the official language of the Union is Hindi in Devanagari script (Article 343-1). The Constitution actually declared that the use of English should continue for all the official purposes for a period of fifteen years from the commencement of the Constitution (Article 343-2). In other words, English should not have been used for official purposes anymore since 26 January 1965. The Constitution specified that after this date Hindi was to be the official language. The forthcoming change, however, caused much uproar in the non-Hindi speaking areas because Hindi was a rather foreign language there (Krishnaswamy 2006: 121). Due to the anti-Hindi riots in various parts of the country the Official Language Act was passed in 1963 and an amended version in 1967, which specified that English might continue to be used in addition to Hindi (Kachru 1983: 90; cf. chapter 3.5.). The Official Language Act thus gave English a new status (Tickoo 2006: 168). The Government then issued the Official Language Rules from 1976, which are more detailed and specified which language to be used for communication to States other than Central Government offices etc. (<http://rajbhasha.nic.in/dolruleseng.htm>, 30 March 2009).

In general, India has two important levels of government. On the one hand, the central government which is seated in New Delhi and deals with all the common interests of India (Wardhaugh 2004: 363). On the other hand, each state has a state government that looks after the interests of the state (ibid). A central aspect of this organization is that each state can decide upon its official language itself and does not have to adopt the official language of the central government. The government of a state normally accepts one state language for official purposes (Sharma 2001: ch.6.), which is usually the majority language of the state (Annamalai 2001: 153). Sharma (2001: ch.6.) points out that this preference for one language is in opposition to the multilingual situation within the states. In order to satisfy the demands from linguistic minority groups as well, many states have therefore recognized more than one language for

official purposes (ibid). The Constitution also makes provision for having more than one official language in a state (Article 345), which “may be for a specific region or for specific purposes” (Annamalai 2001: 153). The use of these languages is then, however, very often limited to a certain area within the state (Sharma 2001: ch.6.). It can also happen that the majority language is not the official language of the state, such as Urdu in Jammu and Kashmir, or that it is a language not spoken as mother tongue in the state, such as English in Nagaland (Annamalai 2001: 153).

3.4. National language

National language is defined as “[t]he language of a political, social and cultural entity” (UNESCO 1951 in Fishman 1968: 689). In other words, the national language is a sign and symbol with which a nation can identify. It is then usually different to the language of the former colonial power (Garvin 1974: 71). In addition, the national language is often the official language of a country; however, the converse is not necessarily the case (ibid).

Ferguson (2006: 2) remarks that, in an ideal world, the official language and the national language would be one and the same. This ideal clearly reflects traditional views taking European nations as models, which is especially difficult to achieve in most post-colonial countries (Ferguson 2006: 2). When the former colonial countries finally gained independence, they were usually multilingual in nature and were left with the former colonial language as the language of law, administration or education and which also served as a unifying element between the various parts of a country (Wright 1995: 356). Due to this multilingualism and the conflict between the former colonial language and the regional languages, the task of choosing an official language or a national language was a particularly difficult one.

In India, the idea of a national language as a symbol for independent India emerged during the freedom movement in the 1960s (Annamalai 2001: 152) and many thought about making the official language Hindi the national language as well. It was however argued that

to elevate one language as the national language would be counterproductive to nation formation since it would mean a shift of heritage for many linguistic communities and it would violate the heritage of linguistic diversity in India. (Annamalai 2001: 152)

In other words, the problem was that the various linguistic communities who all had a different cultural background due to their language would have had to identify with the cultural background of a language which they might not even speak. Such an imposition of cultural heritage would then of course not serve the cohesion of a nation even though the intention had been different. As a result, it was decided that no language would be declared the national language of India (Annamalai 2001: 152). The practice of the various states in India is however a different matter as they have attempted to make the official language the symbol of the state, which is likely in some states owing to the majority number of speakers of one language (Annamalai 2001: 153).¹⁴

3.5. English and Hindi

The former colonial states of Africa and Asia were regarded as a particularly crucial area for language planning and policy (Ferguson 2006: 1). On the one hand, this was due to the linguistic situation which was less settled and thus offered opportunities for language planning and policy in order to fix it (ibid). On the other hand, these nations had to face the problem of dealing with artificial colonial borders within which no ethnic or linguistic cohesion existed (Ferguson 2006: 1-2). This situation caused however intense linguistic and ethnic troubles and language planning and policy thus proved to be a rather difficult enterprise (Wardhaugh 1995: 355-6).

After independence, the hope was to find a 'neutral' language, i.e. a language which is not in favour of any group (Wardhaugh 2002: 361). In India, Hindi in Devanagari script was chosen to be such a language and after it had been declared the official language, the development of Hindi changed (Mallikarjun 2004b: ch.1. and 9.). The language became the object of language planning

¹⁴ The government of Karnataka, for example, supports the writing of literature in the majority language Kannada or promotes public signs being written in Kannada (Annamalai 2001: 157; cf. 6.1.).

with the aim to link the multilingual country (Mallikarjun 2004b: ch.8.). However, this process was hindered by many factors.

First of all, language planners failed to choose a standard variety of Hindi (Mallikarjun 2004b: ch.1.) although literary Hindi and the various regional and local spoken varieties of it differed to a great extent (Wardhaugh 1995: 357). Facing these difficulties, the Indian government then made an attempt to promote Hindi more successfully. Associations were funded which offered Hindi instruction in the non-Hindi speaking areas in the South and writers, poets and translators were encouraged to write in Hindi (Baldrige 2002a: ch.1.6.).

Moreover, corpus planning was actively undertaken by the government (Mallikarjun 2004b: ch.11.). The Constitution itself gave the directive for the development of Hindi in that Article 351 states to whom (the Union government), how (by assimilating), and why (to serve as a medium of expression) Hindi should be promoted (Mallikarjun 2004b: ch.11.). Committees were also formed to elaborate Hindi through scientific terminology, glossaries, dictionaries, and an encyclopaedia (Wardhaugh 1995: 357). The consequence was that the gap between literary Hindi and its spoken varieties has even become bigger (ibid), which caused further problems. Since the main source for new vocabulary was Sanskrit, it was to a great extent foreign and most Indians did not understand it (Baldrige 2002a: ch.1.6.). As a result, English alternative words were used or the terms were modified (ibid).

Concerning these efforts undertaken by the government, the main focus of India's language planning in relation to Hindi after independence was according to Mallikarjun (2004b: ch.6.) to

- (a) encourage and take necessary steps for the maintenance of the plurilingual nature of the country,
- (b) develop Hindi as the official language and
- (c) help in evolving Hindi as a lingua franca.

The planning of making Hindi the official language has been further complicated because Hindi has often been regarded as giving the Hindi-speaking population in the North unfair advantages over the rest of the population (Baldrige 2002a: ch.2.4.). This feeling has particularly been strong in the non-Hindi speaking areas of the South (cf. 3.3.). Many Indians therefore shifted towards English because it did not give any group advantages as being a non-Indian language.

As a consequence of the uproars and troubles in the country that were caused by the upcoming change from English to Hindi, the Official Language Act from 1963 (as amended in 1967) was announced (Kachru 1983: 90; cf. 3.3.). It declared that English should continue to be used in addition to Hindi for all the official purposes (ibid).

Concerning this development of Hindi, Mallikarjun (2004b: ch.7.) identifies four stages of language planning for Hindi: (i) getting a status – planning before independence, (ii) restriction and replacement of English – assignment of status to major Indian languages including Hindi by Constitutional Assembly Debates since 1950, (iii) promotion and spread of Hindi – the Parliamentary Resolution 1968 redefines the role of Hindi due to the anti-Hindi movements, and (iv) effort to retain the gains of the past – impact of globalization on the role of Hindi since 1992.

Hindi and English are actually the only languages, whose development is implemented in the Constitution. It is also important to note that the language planning of Hindi did not aim at developing it as a national language but as the official language of India (Mallikarjun 2004b: ch.9.). The development of Hindi can thus be regarded as being part of planned development whose fundamental changes are a result of systematic corpus and status planning undertaken by the Union and State governments (Mallikarjun 2004b: ch.1.).

Concerning English in India's language planning Kachru points out two types of questions that have to be considered in South Asian countries: (i) the place of English in relation to the regional languages and (ii) the choice of the L1 variety of English as the model for the teaching of English (Kachru 1983: 51-52). The first question has probably been the most crucial in India's language planning and policy. Since Independence the role of English in relation to Indian languages has varied, not only at the central level but also at the state level as each state can decide upon itself whether it adopts the central language policy or not. The position of English in relation to other languages in India will be investigated in detail in the following chapters, in particular as regards the domains of education and the media.

4. Education

4.1. Language planning and policy in India

English was made the language of education in 1837 (Krishnaswamy 2006: 43; cf. 3.2.). The aim of the government's policy at that time was to establish English language schools (Krishnaswamy 2006: 44). The first policy statement on education declared by the British Government and the Company is said to be Wood's Despatch of 1854 (Krishnaswamy 2006: 47-48). This document basically planned to reduce the disrespectful and imperial language of Macaulay's Minute (ibid; cf. 3.2.).

With regard to English, Wood's despatch stated that the English language should be taught wherever there was a demand for it and was not intended to replace the native languages in education (Krishnaswamy 2006: 48). The study of Indian languages should actually become an integral part of education and their development should be a major task of the government (ibid).

In the nineteenth century, English was the language of business and administration and all the universities had English as the medium of instruction (Krishnaswamy 2006: 54). As a result, the public demand for English was becoming great and English used as the medium rose around the universities and in towns (ibid). The development of Indian languages and the education of the masses were not of utmost importance as they had no market value and their teaching was more or less ignored (Krishnaswamy 2006: 54-56). The number of schools and colleges using English as the medium of instruction and the respective number of students indicate the growing demand for English and thus the importance of English in India at that time (see Table 2):

Table 2: Number of English medium schools and colleges established in India between 1860 and 1892 and the respective number of students (Krishnaswamy 2006: 56)

| Year | No. of schools & Secondary Schools | No. of students |
|-------------|---|------------------------|
| 1860-1 | 142 | 23,165 |
| 1870-1 | 3,146 | 2,06,300 |
| 1881-2 | 4,122 | 2,56,242 |
| 1891-2 | 4,872 | 4,73,294 |

| Year | Colleges | No. of students |
|-------------|-----------------|------------------------|
| 1860-1 | 17 | 3,182 |
| 1870-1 | 44 | 3,994 |
| 1881-2 | 67 | 6,037 |
| 1891-2 | 104 | 12,985 |

On the basis of the increasing number of English medium schools, colleges and universities, Krishnaswamy claims that by the end of the nineteenth century

English had become the ‘prestige’ language of India, the language of power and money, completely replacing Persian and other Indian rivals. (Krishnaswamy 2006: 54)

This view, which also Kachru (1983: 23) supports, seems justified as English provided access to universities, which guaranteed job opportunities and thus wealth, for which people in India were respected. Considering, however, the masses whose education, in particular that of English, was almost ignored, English can also be regarded as the language of the elite at that time.

In 1882, the first Indian Education Commission was appointed, which did however not come up with any new or specific recommendations and completely left out university matters (Krishnaswamy 2006 57-58). It generally restated Wood’s Despatch (ibid). In relation to English and Indian languages, the commission suggested that the media of instruction at lower levels should preferably be indigenous languages (ibid). This recommendation was due to a premature introduction of English as a subject in middle schools because English was the medium in many high schools and the language used for examinations (ibid). However, the recommendations of the Commission about the medium of instruction were rather vague and ambiguous. As a result, the focus of education was still on English since there was a great demand for it from the market (Krishnaswamy 2006: 58).

The following table highlights the prominence of English language institutions in relation to their Indian language counterparts between 1901 and 1902 (see Table 3):

Table 3: Types of institutions and the respective number of institutions and students in India between 1901 and 1902 (Krishnaswamy 2006: 71)

| Type of institution | Number of Institutions | Number of students |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>Arts colleges</i> | | |
| English | 140 | 17,048 |
| Oriental | 5 | 503 |

It has to be noted that the description of the educational system in India outlined above fits that of today comparatively well. As will be pointed out in the following chapters, the educational policies are still very vague and ambiguous in their formulations and do not make any clear recommendations. They state a preference for the regional languages as media of instruction and subjects of study at the lower levels of education. It is however again the dictates of the market which seem to decide upon which languages are actually preferred and used in schools. Many schools have even violated against the educational policies due to the great public demand for English and have introduced English earlier than it was allowed. It thus seems that within the last hundred years nothing has changed in the educational system of India with regard to the role of English. The question which has to be asked now is whether the Indians are pleased with the current state of affairs or if their needs are simply ignored by the policy makers.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Lord Curzon, the Viceroy of India, used the report of the 1902 Indian University Commission's to strengthen the control of the Government over education because of his disapproval of Indians and their opinion (Krishnaswamy 2006: 68). As a result, there was no Indian representative involved in educational language planning and policy at that time, and he even appointed a Director-General of Education to control school education (ibid).

With regard to English, the Indian University Commission from 1902 recommended that "English [should] not be introduced as a medium of instruction before a child was able to understand what was being taught in that language" (Krishnaswamy 2006: 68). This recommendation was made on the basis that secondary schools still taught English and used it as medium of

instruction too early in order to prepare their students for the final exams which were in English (Krishnaswamy 2006: 69). In 1904, the Government Resolution on Educational Policy was finally passed, which specifically formulated necessary steps with regard to languages (Krishnaswamy 2006: 68-69). It recommended, for example, that English should not be introduced as medium of instruction before the age of thirteen and that the study of the vernacular should continue until the end of school education (ibid). Krishnaswamy (2006: 69-70) points out that the recommendations of the Resolution were even implemented to a certain extent in that a number of schools followed the policy and did not introduce English prematurely but English still continued to be the medium of instruction at secondary and higher levels.

In 1913, the Government of India Resolution on Educational Policy was formulated, which did however not take up the matter of English as a subject of study or as the medium of instruction (Krishnaswamy 2006: 80-81). It basically made some recommendations on primary education, the curriculum and the mode of examinations (ibid). The suggestion of introducing Indian languages as media of instruction was dismissed on instrumental and economic grounds, such as the lack of appropriate textbooks and of technical vocabulary in Indian languages, the lack of teachers for teaching technical subjects in the vernaculars, there was no demand for education in the vernaculars and not sufficient money available to change from the English medium to Indian media of instruction (Krishnaswamy 2006: 81-82). As a result, there was no change in the governmental policy and English continued to be used as the medium of instruction and in examinations at secondary and higher levels even though other committees (the Directors of Public Instruction at Delhi in 1917; a meeting of local government representatives in 1917) had discussed the problem (Krishnaswamy 2006: 82).

The next Commission which addressed the question of language use in education was the Calcutta University Commission from 1917. The commission was very clear and specific in its formulations and strongly recommended education in the mother tongue as it was considered the basis for the effective use of English (Krishnaswamy 2006: 82-83). In addition, the commission was not in favour of either the regional languages or English but regarded the two as

complementary to each other, just as it is in bilingual education today (Krishnaswamy 2006: 83-85). Although the Calcutta University Commission made specific and pedagogically valuable recommendations for the first time, the lack of money as well as political constraints put major obstacles in the way of implementing the policy successfully (Krishnaswamy 2006: 86). The report of the Commission nevertheless had some impact and, between 1921 and 1937, a few provinces introduced modern Indian languages as the media of instruction or examination at higher levels (Krishnaswamy 2006: 88).

Due to the outbreak of the two World Wars and the military and political activities in India and the rest of the world, education was not considered a major issue anymore (Krishnaswamy 2006: 91). Between the end of the First World War and the beginning of India's independence in 1947, several Committees were set up and a number of reports were released, such as the Hartog Committee (1928-29), the Abbot-Wood Committee (1936-37), the Zakir Hussain Committee on Basic Education or The Sarbent Report (1944) (Krishnaswamy 2006: 91-96). They all basically reiterated the importance of instruction in the mother tongue but emphasized the necessity of the study of English at the same time. With regard to languages, the Committees and Reports did thus not come up with any innovations (ibid).

In the post-independence era of India, Krishnaswamy (2006: 114) points out that most of the recommendations in the reports and policies after 1947 had already been made in the reports written before 1947. The first education commission in independent India was the University Education Commission from 1948/49, which focused on the higher levels of education (Krishnaswamy 2006: 115-116). The report of the commission did not make any innovative or specific recommendations with regard to the study of languages or media of instruction (ibid). It did however give very interesting statements about the status and position of English in relation to Indian languages. Referring to English, it accounted for its unifying character for the nation but said at the same time that

English as such divides the people into two nations, the few who govern and the many who are governed, the one unable to talk the language of the other and mutually uncomprehending, which is a negation of democracy. (RUC: 316/V./39.)

Although the report suggested the substitution of English by an Indian language it recommended at the same time that

English [should] be studied in High Schools and in the universities in order that we may keep in touch with the living stream of ever-growing knowledge. (RUC 326/IX./58./7.)

Comparing these two statements, the report presented the English language as a threat to India betraying the principles of democracy, but at the same time it recognized the importance of English for the future development of India. Krishnaswamy (2006: 118) indicates that this contradictory attitude towards English was a result of showing patriotism towards Indian languages, which made a clear preference for the former colonial language in education intolerable. It has to be noted that the function of English as the language of globalization, which it still has, was already acknowledged over fifty years ago.

When India gained Independence from the British, the government made several efforts to reach the goals set out in Article 45 of the Constitution (D'souza 2006: 158):

The State shall endeavour to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of the Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years. (Article 45)

With regard to languages, India was left with the former colonial language English as the language of education. Being independent from the British, the government was eager to distance itself from the language of the former rulers and made several efforts to encourage the implementation of regional languages as media of instructions and subjects of study. As Article 350 A of the Constitution of India states:

It shall be the endeavour of every State and every local authority within the State to provide adequate facilities for the instruction in the mother tongue at the primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups; [...]. (Article 350 A)

This statement is important in as much as it refers to the multilingual situation in India. The language of the child should also be the medium of instruction. The article however ignores a major issue, i.e. the meaning of the notion of 'mother tongue'. The report of the UNESCO from 1951 defined mother tongue as

[t]he language which a person acquires in early years and which normally becomes his natural instrument of thought and communication. (quoted in Fishman 1968: 689)

The 2001 Census defined mother tongue as

[t]he language in which the mother was talking to the person in his/her childhood. In case the mother of the child had died, the enumerator should find out the language being spoken in the household [...]. If any doubt arises, the language mainly used in the family is recorded as the mother tongue. (Mallikarjun 2001a: ch.5.)

All these definitions are rather vague and totally ambiguous, which might not necessarily contribute to solve linguistic problems in a multilingual context like that of India.

A child in India usually grows up speaking two and knowing at least three languages (Tickoo 2006: 161). It might speak the language of the mother, and often the father speaks a different one, which it may also acquire. Sometimes, the mother and the father even communicate in another language, which the child might also use or at least understand. Finally, the language of the immediate environment is usually different from the home language and the child might get to know it as well. In addition, children will possibly learn some English as it is part of the living culture in urban areas (ibid).

Another complicating factor is which language the child uses. The medium of instruction, even if it is the mother tongue, may be different from the language the child predominantly uses (Tickoo 2006: 161). Although Article 350 A, and as the following chapters will show, all the educational policies, make recommendations to consider the multilingual context of India, all of them seem to fail in their successful implementation because they do not give a clear cut definition of notions like that of the mother tongue.

A major difference between language planning and policies in the domain of education before Independence is that since India became independent each state can decide upon itself whether it adopts the policies by the government or not. As a result, the role of English in relation to Indian languages in education has varied from one state to another (Kachru 1983: 89).

4.2. The Three-Language Formula

In the 1960s, after more than a decade of independence, the status of English, Hindi and other regional languages was still not clear for official as well as for educational purposes (Agnihotri and Khanna 1995: 38). In order to cope with the complex language situation the Government introduced the so-called three-language formula that was recommended for all schools by the conference of Chief Ministers in 1961:

1. [The first language should be] [t]he regional language or the mother tongue when different from the regional language
2. [The second language should be] Hindi, or any other Indian language in the Hindi speaking areas
3. [The third language should be] English, or any other modern European language (Krishnaswamy 2006: 122)

The three languages, which the formula actually intended to be learned, are thus the regional language, Hindi and English. They are called first, second and third language and the formula was thus aimed at the subjects of study and not at the media of instruction.

In the following years, the formula was modified and states that:

1. The First language to be studied must be the mother tongue or the regional language.
2. [...] I[n] Hindi speaking states the second language will be some modern Indian language or English, and [...] n non-Hindi speaking states the second language will be Hindi or English.
3. [...] In Hindi speaking states [as well as in non-Hindi speaking states], the third language will be English or a modern Indian language not studied as the second language [...]. (Mallikarjun 2001b: ch.2.)

Each of the three languages has a different teaching time, goal and marks in the curriculum (Annamalai 2001: 158). A consequence of the formula has been that the number of languages offered at school has been gradually reduced (ibid). In principle, Tickoo (2006: 170) points out that the three-language formula should help to control “the status, roles and responsibilities of languages and their teaching in schools or colleges throughout the republic of India”. The basic idea behind the formula was that (a) the mother tongue was the best means for a child to acquire literacy, (b) that Hindi would develop into the most important link language within the nation and (c) that English would link India with other nations (Tickoo 2006: 170).

A major problem of the formula is however again, the notion of 'mother tongue' and 'regional language'. As already pointed out earlier in this chapter, the definitions of these two concepts are not clear and often totally ambiguous, which has certainly contributed to an ineffective implementation of the formula. Another serious problem for implementing the formula successfully was that it has been interpreted and adopted differently by each state, even if the states had actually agreed upon the formula as a political consensus (Annamalai 2001: 158).

Krishnaswamy (2006: 122) also criticizes the ignorance of the formula with regard to the "motivation among learners in the Hindi-speaking north to learn any other Indian language and the sentiments of the people in the south." This view is certainly justified as Hindi is the majority language of the country, especially in the north. If an Indian thus successfully communicates in Hindi in his area, he or she has no reason anymore to learn any other Indian language. As a result of the different linguistic situations in India, some states have adopted a two-language formula while others have failed to teach a third language successfully (Mallikarjun 2001b: ch.8. referring to NCERT 2000). In a few states, classical languages such as Sanskrit or Arabic are studied instead of a modern Indian language, and several institutions even offer European languages like French and German instead of Hindi (ibid).

4.3. The medium of instruction issue

The first Commission which made specific recommendations on the medium of instruction for schools was the Secondary Education Commission, which submitted its report in 1953 (Krishnaswamy 2006: 119). It was however only concerned with the secondary stages and suggested the mother tongue or the regional language as the medium of instruction (Krishnaswamy 2006: 119-120). With regard to English, Krishnaswamy (2006: 120) points out that the report considered the continuation of it as a medium of instruction to be 'inevitable' as English was the only language used at the university level.

Another important Commission concerning the medium of instruction was the Education Commission from 1964, which presented its report in 1966

(Krishnaswamy 2006: 123). It stated, for example, that the substitution of English by Hindi was not realistic as Indian languages could not take over its functions and, on the other hand, Hindi was not accepted by the non-Hindi speaking population (Spitzbardt 1976: 64-65). The basic problem was that English was considered a foreign language in the Hindi speaking areas just like Hindi was in the non-Hindi speaking areas (Krishnaswamy 2006: 124). The Report of the Commission was thus again very vague and unclear with regard to the medium of instruction (Krishnaswamy 2006: 123-24). It just made general statements or recommendations but did not come up with a definite plan which could be implemented successfully.

In 1968, the National Policy on Education was formulated, which should make recommendations on the implementation of educational plans (Krishnaswamy 2006: 130). With regard to languages, the policy strongly suggested to adopt the regional languages as media of instruction for university because they were already used as such at the primary and secondary stages (NPE 1968, 39-40). The Policy also recommended the promotion of Hindi as the link language just as it was intended in the Constitution and suggested the establishment of institutions of higher education in non-Hindi states which should use Hindi as the medium of instruction (NPE 1968: 40). Concerning English, the policy stressed the need of its study, which “deserves to be specially strengthened” since “world knowledge is growing at a tremendous pace” (NPE 1968: 40). In other words, the study of English was necessary in India so that the country could keep up with the rest of the world.

The policy was thus ambiguous as it strongly recommended the adoption of regional languages as the medium of instruction even for university levels while putting at the same time emphasis on the continuation of the study of English. Similar to the preceding policies, the 1968 National Policy on Education was again very vague and did not suggest anything specific or new.

The next important documents released on education were the National Policy on Education and the Programme of Action from 1986. With regard to languages, the policy did however not make any innovations and did not even refer to the medium of instruction (Krishnaswamy and Sriraman 1995: 40). It basically reiterated what had been said in the 1968 National Policy

(Krishnaswamy 2006: 132). A couple of years later, the Ramamurti Commission was appointed to review the 1986 National Policy on Education, which submitted its report in 1990 (Krishnaswamy 2006: 133). Krishnaswamy (ibid) praises the report for analysing the problems concerning the implementation of the three-language formula. At the same time, he criticises the report as it stated that the formula had “stood the test of time” and that it was not “desirable or prudent to reopen it” despite all the problems (ibid). In relation to the former reports and policies, the formulations of the Ramamurti Commission were however more specific. The commission suggested, for example, to produce books in Indian languages for university level or that students should have the possibility to take examinations in the regional language media at all levels in order to guarantee a changeover from English to regional language media (Krishnaswamy 2006: 134). Another Committee was set up, which took into considerations the recommendations of the Ramamurti Commission and which should recommend any necessary modifications to be made in the National Policy (ibid). The Committee presented its report in 1992 and a modified version of the 1986 National Policy came out in 1992 (NPE 1986: 1).

Within the last years, the major institution for education which has released policy documents is the National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT). The NCERT assists the Indian government in formulating and implementing policies and plans in the domain of education and prepares every decade a national curriculum framework for school education with guidelines concerning various issues (<http://ncert.nic.in/html/schoolcurriculum.htm>, 6 April 2009). The states can adopt and adapt these curricular guidelines for their own curricula (ibid). The bases for the framework itself are earlier reports on education, such as the 1986 National Policy on Education and its revised version from 1992 (ibid).

Unfortunately, the latest frameworks released in 2000 and 2005 are not directly accessible anymore, at least not in English. The entire 2005 framework is, for example, available in various Indian languages on the website of the NCERT but not in English. The following excerpts from the frameworks are therefore taken from secondary sources (Mallikarjun 2001b; NCF Backgrounder 2005; Sunwani 2006; Vijayakumar 2008; TOI) as well as from an earlier published

online source of which one citation survived in written form owing to previous research (NCF 2000). Although these sources seem reliable, the authenticity of the citations cannot be guaranteed.

In 2000 and 2005, the NCERT released a National Curriculum Framework. In relation to English and other languages, the report from 2000 stated that the three-language formula was

[e]ven four decades after the formulation [...] to be effectively implemented in true spirit. Despite all the changes in the socio-economic scenario, market pressures and the behaviour pattern of the Indian youth the [...] formula still remains relevant. (NCF 2000)

The framework thus indicated the problems in implementing the formula, did however not offer any clear alternative for an effective implementation.¹⁵ This is also true with regard to the medium of instruction. The framework suggested that it should be “the mother tongue at all the stages of school education” (Mallikarjun 2001b: ch.6.) but did not offer any specific plan for implementing this recommendation successfully.

In 2004, the Education Secretary insisted on a revision of the 2000 framework and another framework was released in 2005 (NCF Backgrounder 2005: par.1-2). It basically promoted a ‘multilingual’ approach (Vijayakumar 2008: 4):

We should [...] move towards a common school system that does not make a distinction between “teaching a language” and “using a language as medium of instruction – essentially multiple languages should be applied throughout the curriculum in a complementary manner. (Vijayakumar 2008: 4 referring to the NCF 2005: 38-39)

It thus seems that the 2005 framework is the first policy document which takes into consideration the changes that have taken place in the linguistic situation of India, i.e. it acknowledges the multilingual context in which a child is growing up. It has to be noted that the ‘complementary manner’ of teaching multiple languages which the 2005 framework promoted had already been pointed out in the Calcutta University Commission at the beginning of the twentieth century (cf. 4.1.).

¹⁵ At least not in the excerpts of the 2000 National Curriculum Framework that were available when the research for this thesis was done.

The 2005 framework also reinforced that “[a] renewed attempt should be made to implement the three language formula” (Sunwani 2006: sec.15). In addition, it stated and reiterated the statements of the previous frameworks that the children’s mother tongue was the best medium of instruction since proficiency in the mother tongue was the best basis for developing multilingual proficiency (NCF Backgrounder 2005: ch.3). The frameworks from 2000 and 2005 were thus not really innovative in their ideas. A qualitative judgement on them can however not be made due to the non-availability of the full texts.¹⁶

With regard to languages it has to be noted that all the reports and curricula frameworks outlined above had initially been written in English. A recently published article in the *Times of India*, however says that more or less all states and union territories have translated the 2005 framework into the respective regional languages and adds that the framework has been widely accepted (TOI, 12 Jan 2009). The extent to which the states have in fact implemented the frameworks successfully will be investigated in detail in the discussion on educational language planning and policy in the states of Karnataka and West Bengal (cf. 6.1. and 6.2.).

Having outlined the major steps of educational language planning and policy in India, the general tendency – before and after Independence – is the persistence on the mother tongue and/or the regional language(s) as the best media of instruction for a child. At the same time, the teaching of English is considered to be a necessary and major part of a child’s education, which is always justified by viewing English as the language of globalization. In other words, English connects India with the rest of the world and gives it a chance to compete successfully at the international market. The main reason for keeping English in the curriculum is thus an economic one.

A crucial question that arises in this context is whether the issue of the instruction in the mother tongue is still relevant today. As already outlined several times above, a child in India already knows at least two languages before it starts school. D’souza (2006: 161-2) points out that the effort for a child to study in the regional or another language is not much greater than that

¹⁶ The availability of the entire 2000 and 2005 National Curriculum Frameworks in English was last checked on 30 April 2009.

involved in studying in the mother tongue. This view is based on the fact that the variety of the mother tongue used in school is usually different from that spoken at home (ibid). In addition, the mother tongue might not necessarily be the child's preferred language which it uses on a daily basis. It is only one language of the child's repertoire and due to different situations and contexts the child might prefer to use other languages, with which it will then be more acquainted. It thus seems that insisting on the instruction in the mother tongue is not relevant anymore as it does not make any difference for an Indian child whether it studies in a different variety of its mother tongue or in a different language.

With regard to English, the great demand for its education has led several schools to violate the official educational policies of the state and to introduce English as early as possible in order to satisfy children and parents.¹⁷ Although the governments had initially taken measures against this violation, the majority of them have given way in the past years and changed their policies due to pressures from various sides. The major problem now however seems to be which consequences this policy change will have in the educational system and if it will lead to supremacy of English in education.

Within the last years, the general tendency concerning languages in schools has been that the number of languages used as media of instruction has decreased the higher the level of education. According to the Fifth Educational Survey from 1990, the number was 43 at the primary stage and only 22 at the secondary stage (5th IES 1990). Overall, English used as the medium of instruction was in third place before Hindi and Marathi (ibid). Unfortunately, the last survey, i.e. the 7th All India Educational Survey conducted in 2002, did not give a detailed list of which media of instruction are used.¹⁸

Concerning the number of schools which use English as the medium of instruction, the 7th educational survey from 2002 showed that out of the schools which had different media, 11 per cent used English as the medium of

¹⁷ In 2004, government-run schools in the state of Karnataka violated the official educational policy and introduced English from Standard I (cf. chapter 6.1.).

¹⁸ At primary stage, the survey listed fifteen media of instruction but summed up other languages under 'others' (7th IES). At higher secondary stage, the survey only listed thirteen media of instruction but also summed up other languages under 'others' (ibid). A detailed analysis of the media of instruction can thus not be provided.

instruction at primary stage, whereas twenty-six per cent used it as the medium of instruction at higher secondary stage (7th IES 2002). Comparing this data with the one from the 5th educational survey conducted in 1990, only one per cent used English as the medium of instruction at primary stage and 13 per cent at higher secondary stage (5th IES 1990). The figures thus show that, on the one hand, more schools used English as the medium of instruction the higher the level. On the other hand, the data indicates that the percentage of schools having English as the medium of instruction increased. The surveys did however not provide any data whether these schools are government-run or run by private organizations. In addition, it has to be noted that the number of schools using English as the medium of instruction might even be higher but might not admit it for various reasons, such as being accused of violating against the official policies.

The cause for the increase in the use of the English medium in Indian schools has already been identified, i.e. the great public demand for it as a result of its high status. This issue will be investigated and outlined in more detail when discussing educational language planning and policy in the states of Karnataka and West Bengal (cf. 6.1. and 6.2.).

4.4. School types in India

In general, school attendance is compulsory for all children in India until the age of sixteen. There are four stages of school education: primary, upper primary, secondary and higher secondary. The number of years for these individual stages of compulsory education is not regulated and may vary. Higher secondary education usually starts at Standard XI (i.e. at the age of 16) and ends at Standard XII.

In India, two main types of schools exist, i.e. English medium schools and schools of the state or regional language. This two-tier system has its origins in the nineteenth century when, on the one hand, the first private schools were founded by the British, which were exclusively English, and on the other hand, the government established vernacular or Anglo-vernacular schools for Indians (Krishnaswamy 2006: 52). Schools in the state of Maharashtra, for example,

where the local language is Marathi are called Marathi schools. The medium of instruction is thus the dominant regional language or the mother tongue as it is stated in the official language policy. State or regional language schools are often government-aided but many of them also demand tuition fees, which are however not as high as those of private schools. The regional medium schools are therefore preferred by the lower classes because they can afford them. The majority of those schools are located in rural areas.

Schools that use minority languages as the media of instruction are usually run by the respective community (D'souza 2006: 156). In those schools, education for poor children is in general free while those who can afford to pay are charged fees (ibid). The languages that are used as the media of instruction in minority language schools have a dominant status or are listed in the Eighth Schedule (D'souza 156-57). Unscheduled or non-dominant languages are generally not found in educational institutions as the respective communities do not normally have the means to run schools (ibid).

The other type of school in India is called English-medium school, where the medium of instruction as well as the whole syllabus is in English. English medium schools are usually run by private organizations and therefore they do not have to stick to the official language policy of the government. These schools are usually located in urban areas where those people live who can afford the high tuition fees. A regular English medium school in Pune, for example, charges about Rs 17,000 (EUR 260) a year for the kindergarten only, which is rather high in comparison to the average income in India that is estimated to be about Rs 22,000 (EUR 330) a year (TOI, 24 Jan 2008).

According to Tickoo (2006: 171) English medium schools in India include:

1. the high-on-prestige Public school: modelled on the British school of the same name, its membership is restricted to high-fee-charging and often mainly residential elite institutions;
2. the fast mushrooming English-medium private school [...] that is no longer an urban or large-town phenomenon. To gain popularity such schools are often named after Christian (but latterly Hindu or even Sufi and other) saints [...];
3. the central-government-run [...] schools that are either fully or partly English medium;
4. schools being started by several state governments for exceptionally talented or specially disadvantaged categories of students.

Tickoo (2006: 171) also refers to the high quality status, which parents accord to those schools.¹⁹ As a result, parents want their children to go to those schools since their children would have better chances to make career and thus to earn more money if they enjoyed better education. Another consequence is that those parents who cannot afford the high tuition fees of English medium schools demand similar quality of English education for state-run schools (Tickoo 2006: 171). Thiyagarajan (2008: 2) however indicates that government-run schools cannot often provide their students with the required skills in English. The main reason for that seems to be that those institutions cannot afford teachers with a good graduation degree (cf. 4.5.).

4.5. Teaching English in India

Until India's independence in 1947, the method that was generally used for teaching English was 'grammar-translation', which refers to the translation of literary texts with a focus on grammar (Krishnaswamy 2006: 125). During and after the two World Wars many other methods for language teaching were developed, such as the audio-lingual method, the oral-aural method or the situation method, which were all outcomes of the Structural Approach (ibid). When these new methods were introduced in India, the need for teacher training arose (ibid). The courses in the Colleges of Education could however not offer appropriate training (Krishnaswamy 2006: 126).

The first institute for teaching English in India was the English Language Institute (ELTI), which was established in Allahabad (northern India) in 1954 with the help of the British Council (Krishnaswamy 2006: 126). Another institute which focused on teacher training, the development of teaching materials and the variety of English was the Central Institute of English (now Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages), which was established in Hyderabad (east India) in 1958 (ibid). In the following years, more institutes were set up throughout the country, which however soon faced many problems, such as the

¹⁹ Private schools usually have the means to afford teachers with good graduation degrees and to provide excellent educational facilities.

lack of money and of human resources as well as political constraints (Krishnaswamy 2006: 126-7).

The result was a so-called 'lang-lit' controversy, which was a debate about whether the exclusive teaching of literature or of language was better (Krishnaswamy 2006: 127). In the universities, the study of English literature prevailed because it was considered more prestigious than the study of English language (ibid). As a result, the majority of the students who became teachers also taught English literature in schools and the pupils generally lacked competence in English language skills (Krishnaswamy 2006: 128).²⁰

Today, Indian universities still follow the colonial system of education and consider the study of the English language and communication skills only of minor importance (Krishnaswamy 2006: 129). Future English language teachers in India thus often have a high proficiency level in literature but rather low language skills since they can only choose either literature or language as their major subject at university (Saxena and Satsangee 2008: 4). According to Krishnaswamy (2006: 129) this rather old university system is due to the lack of a redefinition of the goals of teaching English in India since independence.

The main reason for the rather low standard of English in Indian schools, at least in government-run schools, thus seems to be the poor competence of the English language teacher. Schools select their candidates for teaching English on the basis of their graduation degrees (Saxena and Satsangee 2008: 4). As a result, the quality of instruction in English across India varies from school to school and from region to region. Private schools usually have a better quality of English education as they can afford those teachers who have the best graduation degrees. Government-run schools can however usually not offer high sums to teachers and thus are only left with those teachers that do not have high graduation degrees.

A major problem is also the teacher's assessment of pupils in English. Shermila (2006: par.8) indicates that learners of English are assessed on the basis of a single examination at the end of the school year. Most of the pupils thus study

²⁰ This problem is now even more complicated as the job market demands good communication skills (Krishnaswamy 2006: 128; cf. 6.1. and 6.2.).

hard for just a few days before the examination in order to pass it and the teacher's task is restricted to prepare the students for getting through the exams (Shermila 2006: par.8-9). Many students are therefore not able to speak or write in English on their own, although they have studied the language for years (Shermila 2006: par.6). This, however, only seems to be true for schools, which have English as a subject of study and not as a medium of instruction.

It is however not only the teacher that contributes to the big differences in the quality of instruction and to the poor English skills of pupils across India. Thiagarajan (2008: 2) points out several other factors that contribute to this situation, such as "the parents' knowledge of English [...], [the] use of English outside the classroom, [or] reading and writing habits of the students and their families". The print and electronic media certainly have an influence on the English used by Indians, in particular on the variety of English. The extent to which they affect the development of English skills however varies according to the degree of exposure to such media. Reading newspapers and watching television will however hardly affect speaking skills (cf. chapter 5.).

5. The media

Owing to the multilingual character of India, language planning and policy has been a difficult task in the domain of the media. In 2001, Annamalai (2001: 35) stated that eighty-seven languages are used in press, seventy-one in radio and thirteen in cinema throughout the country. After education, the media can be regarded as the most important means of disseminating a language in India due to its reach and to the states' control over the media. A state can, for example, issue an order that the majority number of newspapers have to be in the official language of the state and thus establish supremacy of that language.

The media business in India also provides valuable insight into the attitudes towards a language. If a certain speech community, for example, has a hostile attitude towards a particular language they might simply not buy a newspaper written in that language or watch television programmes in that language. As a result, the media will certainly try to cater for the needs of the audience and publish papers or produce programmes in languages which are preferred by the masses and which will thus guarantee a growth in sales.

The choice for a language in the domain of the media is thus determined by two factors, i.e. the language policy of the state and the dictates of the market. The following sections will show which languages have dominated in the different media, and in how far language policies or the market have been responsible for the domination of a particular language in a certain type of media. For that reason, the various language policies in the domain of the media and the consumer behaviour of the people will be investigated in detail.

5.1. The print media

5.1.1. Language policies

The first newspapers published in India were in English and were produced by the English-speaking colonial power at the end of the 18th century (Kohli 2003: 16). Krishnaswamy (2006: 47) however points out that some of the newspapers and periodicals that were published at that time were already owned and

managed by Indians. With the spread of English education and an increase in the English-speaking audience, the publication of newspapers was also fast growing in the nineteenth century (ibid). Out of the 130 newspapers and periodicals at that time, the major ones are given in Table 4 (Krishnaswamy 2006: 47):

Table 4: First major English language newspapers in India and the respective year of establishment (Krishnaswamy 2006: 47)

| Name | Year of establishment |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------|
| <i>Times of India</i> , Bombay | 1838 |
| <i>Calcutta Review</i> | 1844 |
| <i>Examiner</i> , Bombay | 1850 |
| <i>Guardian</i> , Madras | 1851 |

The first Indian language paper owned by an Indian was established by social reformer and educationalist Raja Rammohun Roy in 1820 (Kohli 2003: 16).²¹ Until India's independence the number of Indian language newspapers and periodicals increased to over 120, some of which were in possession of British and some of Indians (ibid). Kohli (2003: 16) indicates that the motivation for launching newspapers was originally restricted to spreading Christianity or to protest against the British rulers rather than making money.

The amount of Indian language newspapers published at that time worried the British rulers (Jeffrey 2000: 185). Most of them did not understand the vernaculars and feared that newspapers written in Indian languages contained calls for a rebellion against them or other secrets (ibid). As a result of this fear, the first orders on the use of languages in the print media were issued to keep control over the country. The implementation of these orders was however a difficult undertaking in relation to the number of Indian languages and scripts that existed (ibid).

In 1878, the Vernacular Press Act was released, which should control newspapers written in Indian languages. Officials thus had the power to demand approval of proofs before certain articles were published (Jeffrey 2000: 185). The Act however had little effect and was repealed in 1881 by the new

²¹ Kohli (2003: 16) points out that the date sometimes varies depending on the source.

government (ibid). The major problem of keeping control over non-English newspapers was determined by two aspects, i.e. the massive amount of Indian languages and the growing number of newspapers (ibid). In the 1870s, it was estimated that about 280 newspapers circulated in India, which made it virtually impossible for the British to know exactly what they were about (Jeffrey 2000: 185). In order to have a general overview, the Government of India obliged the governments of the provinces to submit a 'Report on Native Newspapers' every fourteen days or every month, which was basically an account in English of what was going on in Indian-language newspapers (Jeffrey 2000: 186).

After the Vernacular Press Act in 1881 had been repealed, newspapers finally had to be registered and publications had to carry the names and addresses of the printers and publishers (Jeffrey 2000: 186). At the beginning of the twentieth century two more Press Acts were released (1910; 1931) in order to have some legal control over newspapers (ibid). This type of control was however abandoned as it only had little effect and the British rulers then exercised a new and more subtle type of control which consisted of rewarding and punishing individual proprietors and journalists (ibid).

In addition, the government exerted control over newspapers through the purchase of advertisements, which was dramatically increasing in the years following the First World War (Jeffrey 2000: 186). Since the newspapers were thus dependent on the government's financial support, they did not report anything offending anymore (ibid).²² Owing to the high number of Indian language newspapers, the majority of them could however not be examined so that many articles directed against the British rulers were published as well (ibid). When such articles were discovered, the newspapers which had published them were sometimes even obliged to close down, which, fortunately, did not happen very often (Jeffrey 2000 186-187).²³

After the First World War, the growing industry of the print media contributed to the spread and use of English as a second language (Krishnaswamy 2006:

²² The English *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of Calcutta, for example, argued to be "a genuine friend of the government in that it let it know what people were thinking" and was thus taken off the government's blacklist (Jeffrey 2000: 186).

²³ The *Malyala Manorama*, for example, was closed down in 1938 and only reopened after independence in 1947 (Jeffrey 2000: 187 referring to Milton Israel 1994).

105). Within ten years, the number of English dailies and weeklies increased dramatically (see Table 5):

Table 5: Number of English dailies and weeklies in 1937 and 1947 (Krishnaswamy 2006: 105)

| Year | No. of English dailies | No. of English weeklies |
|-------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1937 | 32 | 51 |
| 1947 | 32 | 258 |

After India had gained independence from the British, the control over newspapers established by the government became a different matter and the ownership of a newspaper seemed to be a secure and lucrative business again (Jeffrey 2000: 187). At that time, the newspaper industry was divided into three major categories: English newspapers owned by British; newspapers owned by former Indian nationalists; and newspapers in possession of Indian capitalists since independence (ibid). The British owners of newspapers actually remained peaceful and intended to transfer ownership to Indians (Jeffrey 2000: 188).²⁴ This situation indicates that the British control over newspapers was decreasing and that the new Indian owners of former British owned newspapers were thus not obliged by anyone to publish in English.

After independence, the newly emerged Indian government however exerted new control over the media and often used newspapers to serve their own interests (Jeffrey 2000: 181). The Constitution of India from 1951 provided for the right to freedom of speech and press, which was restricted to some extent:

[Nothing in subclause (a) of subclause (1) shall affect the operation of any existing law, or prevent the State from making any law, in so far as such law imposes reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the right conferred by the said sub-clause in the interests of [sovereignty and integrity of India,] the security of the State, friendly relations with foreign States, public order, decency, or morality, or in relation to contempt of court, defamation or incitement to an offence.] (Article 19, 2)

In other words, governments could impose a ban on material that could affect any of the above mentioned issues. This control did however not seem to be effective enough for the government and soon after the Constitution came into force the first Press Act was released in independent India in 1951. The Act

²⁴ The *Times of India* was sold to Ramakrishna Dalmia in 1945 (Jeffrey 2000: 188).

basically enabled governments to prohibit any material to be published and guaranteed the publisher's protection (Jeffrey 2000: 184). Only a year later, in 1952, the first Press Commission was appointed. The Commission principally consisted of English speaking members, which indicates the continuing dominance of English in the domain of the media (Jeffrey 2000: 188).

When Indira Gandhi became Prime Minister of India in the 1960s, she wanted to have total control over the newspapers in order to use them for her own interests (Jeffrey 2000: 189).²⁵ As a means of establishing and keeping control over the press, officials simply cut off electricity to Bahadur Shah Zafar Marg street in New Delhi, where the major publishing companies had their seats (Jeffrey 2000: 189; Kohli 2003: 22). This act was the beginning of the state of 'emergency', which lasted from 1975 to 1977 (Kohli 2003: 22). Major dailies were thus fairly easy to control and did not report anything offending the government as the publishing houses needed electricity (ibid).

In 1977, a new government was installed which repealed most of the laws, and the newspaper industry began to transform into a real business (Kohli 2003: 22). Freedom of the press was a high value again although central and state governments were still looking for ways to have some control over the press (Jeffrey 2000: 191-192). The ways of controlling were however more subtle, such as the allocation of newsprint, over which the government had control because it had to give permission to its importation (Jeffrey 2000: 192).

In general, big English newspapers had the better means to resist control and pressure than Indian newspapers as they were usually larger and had the money for lawyers and guards to defend themselves (Jeffrey 2000: 193-4). English newspapers were however not in the focus of the government anyway (Jeffrey 2000: 195). Being written in English, they only reached a minor public of three per cent of the population who belonged to the upper classes (Jeffrey 2000: 195-6). Indian newspapers, on the other hand, reached a much wider public, most of which came from rural areas and were poor (Jeffrey 2000: 196). Readers or listeners to newspaper readings were thus more likely to start a rebellion on the basis of a story, and also posed a greater threat as they were

²⁵ At that time there was a lot of political, social and economic instability, for which the press was held responsible (Kohli 2003: 22).

often dissatisfied with their situation and larger in number (ibid). The governments could however not easily retain control over Indian language newspapers because of their huge quantity and the diversity of Indian languages in which they were published (Jeffrey 2000: 196-7).

5.1.2. Current language issues

After India's independence, there was an enormous increase in the number of English publications. At that time, about one fifth of all periodicals were published in English, but the majority of English newspapers centred around urban areas, where most of the English speaking people lived (Krishnaswamy 2006: 139). In the years after the Emergency, it was the Indian language press, which experienced a dramatic increase as a result of "the growth of literacy, the rise of capitalism and the spread of technology" (Kohli 2003: 23 referring to Jeffrey 2000). In other words, Indian language newspapers managed to catch up with English language papers as they gained a larger audience, mobilized resources and improved their technology and quality of publication.

Today, the Indian language press enjoys total supremacy over English language newspapers and magazines. In order to collect readership data, India has two bodies of research – the National Readership Survey (NRS) conducted by the National Readership Studies Council (NRSC), and the Indian Readership Survey (IRS) conducted by Media Research User's Council (MRUC) (Warsia 2009: par.5-6). NRS has not released any data since 2006 and both research bodies have been questioned the authenticity of their data for various reasons. As a result, IRS 2008 was delayed (ibid). The figures in Table 6 on the following page take both research bodies as point of reference – those from 2006 refer to NRS, those from 2007 to IRS:

Table 6: Top Indian and English language dailies in 2006 and 2007 and the respective numbers of readers (NRS 2006 and IRS 2007)

| | Dailies | 2006 | | Dailies | 2007 |
|------|----------------------------------|-------------------------|------|----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Rank | Title | Number (in millions) | Rank | Title | Number (in millions) |
| 1 | Dainik Jagran (Hindi) | 21.1 | 1 | Dainik Jagran (Hindi) | 17.1 |
| 2 | Dainik Bhaskar (Hindi) | 20.9 | 2 | Dainik Bhaskar (Hindi) | 12.5 |
| 3 | Eenadu (Telugu) | 13.8 | 3 | Hindustan (Hindi) | 9.05 |
| 4 | Lokmat (Marathi) | 10.85 | 4 | Malayala Manorama (Malayalam) | 8.8 |
| 5 | Amar Ujala (Hindi) | 10.84 | 5 | Daily Thanthi (Tamil) | 8.3 |
| 6 | Hindustan (Hindi) | 10.4 | 6 | Amar Ujala (Hindi) | 8.2 |
| 7 | Daily Thanthi (Tamil) | 10.3 | 7 | Eenadu (Telugu) | 7.2 |
| 8 | Dinakaran (Tamil) | 9.6 | 8 | Mathrubhumi (Malayalam) | 6.96 |
| 9 | Rajasthan Patrika (Hindi) | 9.3 | 9 | Rajasthan Patrika (Hindi) | 6.94 |
| 10 | Malayala Manorama (Malayalam) | 8.4 | 10 | Lokmat (Marathi) | 6.8 |
| 11 | Times of India (English) | 7.5 | 11 | Times of India (English) | 6.7 |

The figures show a general decrease in readership of all dailies combined. The Hindi newspaper *Dainik Jagran* retained its top position, while English dailies still did not make it into the top ten. According to IRS 2007, the Hindi dailies, *Dainik Jagran* and *Dainik Bhaskar*, have the highest readership with 17.1 million and 12.5 million readers. The top English newspaper, the *Times of India* took eleventh place with a readership having decreased from 7.5 million in 2006 to 6.7 million in 2007. In comparison to the data from IRS 2002, the *Times of India* still made it into the top ten dailies (TOI, 25 Sep 2002). It is actually the largest selling English newspaper in the world (Bayer and Gupta 2006: 12).

With regard to English language dailies, the *Times of India* was the most widely read newspaper in India beating the *Hindu* and the *Hindustan Times* into third and second place. The *Hindu* and *Hindustan Times* changed position with the *Hindu* having experienced a sharp decrease in the number of readers (see Table 7):

Table 7: Top English Dailies in 2006 and 2007 and the respective numbers of readers (NRS 2006 and IRS 2007)

| | English Dailies | 2006 | | English Dailies | 2007 |
|------|---------------------|-------------------------|------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| Rank | Title | Number (in millions) | Rank | Title | Number (in millions) |
| 1 | Times of India | 7.5 | 1 | Times of India | 6.7 |
| 2 | The Hindu | 4.05 | 2 | The Hindustan Times | 3.3 |
| 3 | The Hindustan Times | 3.8 | 3 | The Hindu | 2.2 |

As regards Indian and English language magazines, they experienced an overall decline in the number of readers. The Hindi magazine *Saras Salil* kept its top position with a readership of 4.7 million in 2007, even though this was a sharp decrease of 24 per cent. The most read English language magazine is *India Today* with a readership of 2.7 million in 2007 and thus taking third place (see Table 8):

Table 8: Top Indian and English language magazines in 2006 and 2007 and the respective numbers of readers (NRS 2006 and IRS 2007)

| | Magazines | 2006 | | Magazines | 2007 |
|------|-----------------------|-------------------------|------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| Rank | Title | Number (in millions) | Rank | Title | Number (in millions) |
| 1 | Saras Salil (Hindi) | 10.5 | 1 | Saras Salil (Hindi) | 4.7 |
| 2 | India Today (English) | 6.2 | 2 | Vanitha (Malayalam) | 3.06 |
| 3 | Kungumum (Tamil) | 5.6 | 3 | India Today (English) | 2.7 |

It has to be noted that the top three business publications, both newspapers and magazines, are all English language. According to IRS 2007, the *Economic Times* is the top business newspaper with a readership of 774,000, and *Business Today* is the top business magazine with a readership of 535,000. These figures clearly reflect supremacy of English over the economic domain and confirm that English is predominantly used in this domain as English newspapers and magazines beat their Indian counterparts into minor positions (see Table 9):

Table 9: Top English Business Publications in India (IRS 2007)

| | Business Newspapers | 2007 | | Business Magazines | 2007 |
|-------------|----------------------------|---------------|-------------|---------------------------|---------------|
| Rank | Title | Number | Rank | Title | Number |
| 1 | Economic Times | 774,000 | 1 | Business Today | 535,000 |
| 2 | Business Line | 107,000 | 2 | Business India | 357,000 |
| 3 | Financial Express | 38,000 | 3 | Businessworld | 239,000 |

Business papers, like the *Economic Times* and the *Financial Express* only began to be published in India in 1961 (Halan 2006: 67). Before that time, industrialism and technology was not a major issue in the country (ibid). When the development in the economic domain however increased, the major leading newspapers started their own business publications, such as the *Hindu Business Line* by the *Hindu* (Halan 2006: 67-68). The *Economic Times* is still the unchallenged top business magazine, which is due to the fact that it is the only magazine in that field that has adjusted its paper to the changing economic scenario in India (Halan 2006: 68-69).²⁶

It is however important to handle the figures outlined above with care. India still has a very low literacy rate of 64.8% (Census 2001) and therefore it is a custom among Indians that those who can read, read out the news to those who cannot. Indian language newspapers are often read aloud to a small audience at the bazaar or are simply shared with others at home (Jeffrey 2000: 185; Sanjay 2006: 17). In addition, Jeffrey (2000: 47) refers to studies in which a copy of an Indian language newspaper was found to have sometimes as many as five to seven readers. The actual number of readers of Indian language newspapers might therefore be significantly higher.

With regard to these figures and the recent surge of interest in English education, the question arises why Indian language newspapers have experienced such a huge increase and have gained supremacy over the English language press since independence. Apart from the language, Indian and English language newspapers do not actually differ to a great extent. On the one hand, the major English newspapers have Indian language dailies as

²⁶ The reports of the *Economic Times* are now more diversified and the paper includes new colour supplements on glossy paper as well as a corporate dossier (Halan 2006: 69).

well and imitate their English counterparts in focusing on regional news (Sanjay 2006: 17). Major Indian language newspapers like the *Malayala Manorama* and the *Eenadu*, on the other hand, are yet more specified and concentrate on local issues and sometimes even publish individual editions for certain districts (ibid). This choice of news has also contributed to an increase in the readership (Jeffrey 2000: 222). According to Pande (2006: 62), many people in India have turned to Indian language papers because they want to read about what is going on in the country.

Regarding the use of language, most of the Indian language newspapers have simplified and colloquial language, such as *Dina Thanthi*, a major Tamil newspaper, in order to meet the language of their readers (ibid). The major advantage of Indian language newspapers is then that they can report what people have said in their own languages, whereas the English language press is dependent on translations, which usually lack quality and are often inaccurate (Sanjay 2006: 22 quoting Ammu, Joseph and Kalpana Sharma). In addition, Indian languages used in articles are typically more expressive and emotive in comparison to English (ibid). Reporters have even started to use sarcasm and cynicism as the readers of those papers are usually cynical about politics (Manjulakshi 2003: ch.3). Articles written in Indian languages thus seem to be more attractive for Indians because of their use of language that reflects their attitudes and feelings.

In order to adopt a more modern style in language many Indian language papers now tend to coin new expressions by combining native and English words (Manjulakshi 2003: ch.3).²⁷ While many papers used to translate words into Indian languages, translation is now almost totally abandoned and foreign words are simply transcribed into the native script (ibid). Similarly, leading English newspapers use native Indian words, in particular where no equivalents in English exist and which have a wide occurrence (Warsi 2004: ch.8). In addition, English language papers in India usually employ a much simpler language, which they justify by claiming that English is mainly used as a second

²⁷ This tendency can also be observed in the electronic media, i.e. television, cinema and radio (Manjulakshi 2003).

language in India and should thus be simplified in order to be understood (TOI, 13 Feb 2009).²⁸

With regard to the choice of language, the use of English in newspapers is usually restricted to business, economy and the job market. On the one hand, this restriction is indicated by the top three business magazines, which are exclusively English. On the other hand, studies investigating the choice of language in 'Indian language' papers also support this image. A study showed that advertisements for international products such as *Honda* or *Ford* were exclusively in English even if the newspaper was Indian language (Ramamoorthy 2003: ch.4). The use of English in such advertisements was justified on the basis that they should address the English speaking elite who had the money to buy the products advertised (ibid). This view is also confirmed by the Chief Editor of the *Hindu*, Mrinal Pande (2006: 62), who points out that English in India "is related to caste and class", and also proves the restriction of English to specific domains. If the paper, for example, reports something in relation to science the writers often have to rely on statistics or news in English as only little would be available in Hindi in this field (Pande 2006: 65). Similarly, Hindi articles on economics often lack quality so that they usually use English ones and translate them (ibid).

Annamalai (2000: 136) points out that the "print media [...] and their language use reflects commercial viability and community support". In other words, newspapers publish in those languages from which they benefit most and people buy newspapers in those languages with which they identify. This view seems justified as it has just been outlined above that newspapers and magazines, or parts of them, use English when they refer to the job market, business or the economic domain, where the English speaking elite has the power, while newspapers dealing with regional and local issues are mainly in Indian languages as they address Indian culture.

Although Indian language newspapers have unchallenged supremacy over English language newspapers, Indians are not likely to show their preference

²⁸ In 2008, the *Times of India* was, for example, given Britain's Plain English Campaign International Media Award 2008 "for simple and effective use of the English language" (TOI, 13 Feb 2009).

for Indian language papers. Sanjay (2006: 24) reflects this position in an interesting statement by saying that “[t]he prominence given to the English press is disproportionate to its actual readership”. This prominence basically has its origins in the attitudes of the socially weaker people towards English. Pande (2006: 63-64) reports that the children of such families are often very ambitious and strive for a better life, to which they think the knowledge of English provides access. Pande (2006: 64) points out that the majority of those people read Indian language newspapers but feel ashamed of admitting it, and if they have such newspapers at home, they usually cover them up with English language papers. Newspapers in English are thus a symbol of being educated. This view is also justified by Manjulakshi (2003: ch.3), who indicates that people in the south of India often stressed that they were reading the *Hindu* as part of their English education, which might however not necessarily mean that they actually read them.

5.2. The electronic media

5.2.1. Language policies

With regard to the electronic media, i.e. television, cinema, radio and the internet, there were not any regulations or rules for a very long time (Kohli 2003: 94). In particular, as far as language planning and policies are concerned, no orders or laws were issued until recently. Radio started in India in 1924 as an amateur radio club and in 1927 as a private operator (Sahay 2006: xviii), and television only made it to the country relatively late in 1959 (Kohli 2006: 270).

The institutional body that issues rules, regulations or laws for broadcasting, film and television in India is the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting (MIB). Until the 1970s, the only Acts that regulated radio and television broadcasting were the Indian Telegraph Act of 1885 and The Wireless Telegraphy Act of 1933 (Thomas 2005: 82). The ‘telegraph’ was then “interpreted to cover the generating of signals for telecasting”, from which the government later derived its control over radio and television broadcasting (Kohli 2003: 95).

It was only in 1975 with the advent of the Emergency and the manipulation of radio and television by Indira Gandhi, when the demand for autonomy of the

electronic media rose (Price 2000: 6). After the Emergency had ended, the first step to reform India's broadcasting policies was taken and a committee was appointed (Kohli 2003: 95). The Committee suggested autonomy within a government framework in the so-called 'Akash Bharati Bill' of 1978, which was however not approved because the government had fallen (Kohli 2003: 95; Price 2005: 6). In 1989, the Bill was reviewed and one year later it passed as the 'Prasar Bharati Bill' but could actually only be notified in 1997 (Kohli 2003: 95). Today, the Prasar Bharati Corporation is India's largest television broadcaster and comprises All India Radio and Doordarshan, a television broadcast (ibid). It is part of the MIB and thus of the Government of India but has statutory autonomous authority (ibid).

In 1997, another major document was introduced in Parliament, i.e. the Broadcast Bill, which basically included and referred to the different committees, statements and policies mentioned above (Price 2000: 17). Before the Bill could however be passed, the government had fallen (Kumar 2006: 162) and its draft was still a major issue within the last years.²⁹ The only guidelines which are still followed today are the 'News Policy for Broadcast', which were released in 1982, and primarily comprise news selection and presentation (Price 2000: 7).

5.2.2. Radio

Radio was taken over by the British government in 1930 and was named All India Radio (AIR) (Sahay 2006: xiii). The government kept control over AIR until 1997 when Prasar Bharati, a public broadcaster, took charge of it (ibid). After India's independence in 1947, AIR was primarily used for political purposes (Sahay 2006: xix). It is still the primary source of information in the country (ibid) covering 99 per cent of Indians (Kohli 2003: 183). In comparison to newspapers, radio has the advantage of reaching a larger audience as it is an audio medium, which can cater for both the literate and the illiterate (Manjulakshi 2003: ch.4).

²⁹ In July 2006, the government decided to introduce the Broadcast Bill but due to opposition from various sides, its introduction was again delayed (TOI, 22 Jul 2006).

When radio broadcasting started in India, it was closely modelled on the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and was almost exclusively in English (Kumar 2006: 158). At the outbreak of the Second World War, first steps were taken to launch news bulletins in Indian languages in order to reach a larger audience and to inform it about what was going on in the country (ibid). With the advent of Independence in 1947, news bulletins were not only available in English and Hindi but also in regional languages (Kumar 2006: 159).³⁰ Indian language news bulletins were however often plain translations from their English language counterparts (Kumar 2006: 161).

Today, AIR broadcasts in 24 languages and 146 dialects (Kohli 2003: 201).³¹ When radio emerged, it was an important means for disseminating the standard variety of a language (Wright 2004: 40). Nowadays, there are two types of language varieties used on radio, i.e. formal and non-formal language (Manjulakshi 2003: ch.4). News broadcasts usually remain close to the written standard while entertainment broadcasts also use dialect and informal language (ibid).³²

In general, AIR has a three-tier broadcasting system, meaning that it has national, regional and local channels (<http://www.allindiaradio.org/candp.html>, 24 April 2009). While the national channels focus on nationwide issues, the regional and local channels provide programmes in regional languages and local dialects, which provide specific information on the respective area (ibid). Unfortunately, there is no data available on the share of Indian and English languages in the various radio programmes.

All the channels of AIR are usually multilingual, i.e. they broadcast in at least two languages or dialects, which almost always include English. The north-eastern zone of AIR, for example, provides twenty-six channels, of which twenty-four also broadcast in English (AIR report 2007: 189-90). Within this zone, the so-called Guwahati station in the state of Assam, for instance, covers

³⁰ The use of Indian languages on AIR actually already started in the 1930s with broadcasts in Hindustani (<http://www.allindiaradio.org/airnews.html>, 24 April 2009).

³¹ The use of the term 'dialect' in this context is however not clarified. It seems that it refers to everything else which is not designated as 'language'.

³² Almost all AIR stations provide programmes for rural listeners in local dialects and offer information on agriculture and rural issues (<http://www.allindiaradio.org/prog-com.html>, 24 April 2009).

the languages/dialects Assamese, Nepali, English, Hindi, Sanskrit, Bodo, Karbi, Tiwa and Rava (ibid).

With regard to languages for news bulletins, radio relies on a so-called 'pool system', meaning that a basic news script is provided in English, from which editors can choose relevant issues, which they then adapt for national, regional and external³³ bulletins (Parameswaran 2008: 65-66). The problem of this system is however that the news in Indian languages is usually a translation from the English text, which often makes the Indian languages sound artificial (ibid). In particular, the syntax of the Indian language news does not sound natural as the syntactic structure remains close to the English source (Parameswaran 2008: 81).

Institutional bodies and schools have also realized the importance of radio for disseminating a language. The civic body of Nagpur, a city in the state of Maharashtra, was planning in 2008 to launch its own radio station in order to equip students with spoken English (TOI, 11 Jan 2008). Radio was used as a means of education, especially for students who lack practice in English communication (ibid). AIR also has its own educational programmes, which cover almost all educational levels, such as primary and secondary levels and even university levels (<http://www.allindiaradio.org/prog-com.html>, 24 April 2009).

In general, the influence of English on radio is thus certainly not as big as it used to be when radio emerged in India. The various channels are multilingual and usually provide programmes in English, in particular as regards news bulletins. In addition, radio has realized that people living in India like to hear regional and local issues, which are presented in the respective languages and dialects.

Within the last years, radio has experienced a great loss in listeners due to the emergence of television. In 1990, radio still had a reach of forty-nine per cent, while television reached sixty-seven per cent in urban areas (Kohli 2003: 185). In 2002, radio however only had a reach of twenty-two per cent, while television

³³ External Services also aim at listeners from neighbouring countries (Parameswaran 2008: 64).

increased its reach to eighty-three per cent in those areas (ibid). The extent to which English influences television and film will be investigated in the following chapter.

5.2.3. Television

Television only made it to India in 1959 and “its use as a medium for news remained unremarkable for decades” (Kohli 2006: 270). The first news on television was screened by Doordarshan, the national television broadcaster, in 1968 and was basically an imitation of the news on radio with the exception of watching still photographs while listening (Kumar 2006: 201). The national radio, AIR, even wrote the news that was used for television (ibid). When visuals from real scenes were finally introduced, Doordarshan screened three news bulletins every day (Kumar 2006: 201-202). Two of them were in Hindi, one of which reported on local news, and the other bulletin was in English (ibid). The television broadcast also used different Indian newsreaders for English and Hindi language news (Kumar 2006: 202).

At that time, the news was however rather simple without debates or discussions going on, which only changed with the advent of the international English language channels BBC and CCN in 1991 (Kohli 2006: 270-1). A few years later, the first 24-hour Indian news channel, Star News, started, which was entirely in English, and in 2000 the first 24-hour Hindi news channel, Aaj Tak, was launched (Kohli 2006: 271). The rather late emergence of Indian language news channels was simply due to economic reasons in that the costs of launching a news channel had significantly decreased within some years (ibid).

In general, India has two types of television channels, i.e. (i) national (Doordarshan and its regional links) and (ii) private and regional channels (Bayer 2005: sec.6). The languages used on Doordarshan are the official and associate official languages, those used on its regional channels are the dominant state languages as well as dominant minority languages (Bayer 2005: sec.7). With regard to private channels, the languages used are typically the dominant state languages. In Mysore, in the state of Karnataka, for example,

programmes are screened in Kannada, Hindi, Malayalam, Telugu, Tamil and also English (ibid).

Apart from national, private and regional channels there are also a number of international channels in India, of which the major ones are: BBC, CNN, CNBC, Star Plus, News, Sports, World, National Geographic, MTV and Channel V (Bayer 2005: sec.8). All these international channels exclusively use English and usually aim at the rich English speaking elite, a trend which can be observed on the basis of their advertisements for typically high cost products (ibid).

With regard to language choice, there is a general tendency towards Indian languages, as the viewership of such channels is continually increasing. In 2005, Hindi entertainment channels made up forty per cent of the country's viewership, while their English counterparts only made up two per cent of the viewership (TOI, 20 Jan 2005). The prominence of Indian language channels has also caused English language channels to switch over to regional languages and become bilingual. The former exclusively English channel, Star TV, now partly screens in Hindi (Chauhan 2006: 3-4) and the music channel MTV, which was a symbol of Western culture, currently devotes seventy per cent of its content to Indian culture (Ninan 2003: 121). The two international channels, Channel V and MTV, for example, "heavily promote respectable, mainstream Indian singers like Asha Bhonsle" (Ninan 2003: 115). Even the entertainment channel, Sony Entertainment Television, which is eighty per cent in foreign possession, broadcasts in Hindi today (Ninan 2003: 121).

As a result, the majority of the channels in India are usually bilingual nowadays, with the Indian languages dominating over English. When, for example, the language used to announce the news is Hindi, the news in brief is scripted on the screen in English (Bayer 2005: sec.10). If something is said in relation to business or economy on Star Plus, for instance, it is usually exclusively in English (ibid). Since the big commercial industries in India have its seats in urban centres, TV channels in English or with English language programmes are predominantly screened in these areas. In 2003, a new English channel was launched with four major cities being the primary target (TOI, 1 Jan 2003).

It has to be noted that the restricted use of English to certain domains has also been pointed out in relation to the language choice for newspapers (cf. 5.1.).

Similar to radio, people have recognized the use of television as a means of education, in particular as regards language teaching. Bayer (2005: sec.4), for example, refers to a serial which teaches Hindi by representing its major linguistic backgrounds. As already mentioned above, the media are the most important means after education for disseminating a language because it reaches a large audience. In 2006, television reached the homes of 112 million Indians (NRS 2006). Like radio, the advantage of television is that, on the one hand, it also covers those people who have already left school, and, on the other hand, television is an audio-visual medium and addresses also non-literate people (Manjulakshi 2003: ch.5).

On account of these characteristics, television influences the spoken variety of a language (Manjulakshi 2003: ch.5). News broadcasts, on the one hand, usually follow the standard variety of a language (Bayer 2005: sec.10). Television serials and films, on the other hand, often screen every-day situations with many dialogues, in which informal popular speech is more appropriate and closer to real life than the standard variety (Manjulakshi 2003: ch.6).

In the Indian version of 'Who Wants to Be a Millionaire', catch phrases used by its host, immediately became part of the language repertoire of Hindi speaking people (Chauhan 2006: 4). One of the phrases was the English 'fifty-fifty' while the other ones were exclusively Hindi (ibid). Since the English phrase is a rather fixed term, referring to the 'fifty-fifty joker', the use of English is restricted to a phrase which has no Indian language equivalent. In addition, television serials often reflect the multilingual situation of India by providing a mix of different languages and cultures (Bayer 2005: sec.10). Bayer (ibid) refers, for example, to a family related serial, where the father was a Hindi speaker, his wife a Tamil speaker and their three sons had wives from the Punjab and Bengal. The dialog was in Hindi, emotions were however usually expressed in the respective home languages with Indianized English words (ibid).

With regard to language preference on television, Ninan (2003: 115) assumes that it is not English language films which pose a serious threat to Indian

languages but soap operas. This assumption is justified on the basis that even before the first English language channel was launched in 1991, Hollywood films circulated in India but Indians simply had no interest in them (ibid). Soap operas, on the contrary, which were modelled on their Western counterparts and screened every day, enjoyed a huge success among Indians and thus had a bigger influence (Ninan 2003: 115-6).

In the 1980s, the government commissioned the creation of a soap opera to serve its own interests. At that time, the high birth rate was a serious problem and a soap opera should help the government to convey the message that large families were not good (Kohli 2003: 63). As a result, India's first soap opera, *Hum Log*, was launched in 1984, in order to lower the birth rate (ibid). The show screened a family having all the problems occurring in India, such as poverty, alcoholism and illiteracy, which were presented to be due to the large size of the family (Kohli 2003: 64). The message was however lost as the serial became incredibly popular with Indians (ibid).

With regard to language preference of Indians, Ninan (2003: 122) made an interesting statement by saying that

[g]ive the majority of viewers a choice between programmes in their mother tongue and those in either English or Hindi and they will without hesitation patronise the former [...] because people prefer programmes in their own language.

This view seems totally justified looking at a study investigating the different genre preferences of the viewership in the three major cities of Delhi, Mumbai and Calcutta carried out by TAM Media Research between 2003 and 2004. The study showed that in the course of a whole day, English Entertainment, Movies or News only had a share of one to four per cent in those cities (TAM 1 2004: 3-6). The difference in the share of the viewership between English and regional language channels might become clearer looking at the state of Andhra Pradesh. In Andhra Pradesh, where the dominant state language is Telugu, the average time spent watching English channels was only three minutes, whereas it was up to 115 minutes for regional Telugu channels (TAM 2 2003/04: sec.5).

With this low share of English language channels, they will certainly not pose a serious threat to Indian language channels. The market dictates which language

will be screened on television – the language which is the most profitable. The television groups will thus certainly not shift towards English if there is no preference for English language channels. Instead, television groups in India, even those which are foreign owned, have realized that the key to larger audiences is to localise their content (Ninan 2003: 123; Thomas 2005: 212).³⁴

The current share of English viewership thus indicates that English is still the language of the rich elite in India. Otherwise the English language channels would be able to attract larger audiences. The figures also confirm that English is not part of private life to which television belongs. Although English is given quite a strong prominence in education and the job market, private life remains untouched by the language. English is the language of the workplace but not the language with which Indians identify. The preference for Indian language channels proves that Indians identify with Indian cultural values, which they will not abandon to become English language speaking imitations of the rich elite, at least not at home within their families.

5.2.4. Film

The languages which dominate in films are Hindi, Bengali, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada (Annamalai 2001: 137). In the non-Hindi speaking areas of the south, Hindi films are rather uncommon and usually dubbed (ibid). Films in other languages often prevail in areas where those languages are in the majority even though they might be minority languages in the rest of the country (ibid). English movies are usually imported and screened in the major towns of India (ibid).

With regard to language use, it has to be noted that Hindi language films actually have dialogues in which the characters switch over to English. The Indian produced movie *Laaga Chunari Mein Daag – Journey of a Woman* from 2007 is predominantly in Hindi but in some situations there is a mix between Hindi and English. The terms which are used in English generally relate to the

³⁴ International media mogul, Rupert Murdoch, had invested in four or five regional language channels which were launched in India at the beginning of the new millennium (Ninan 2003: 123).

domain of business, economy and technology. In a scene where a product is presented, the participants, for example, talk in Hindi but use the following English terms: 'this agency', 'target audience', 'project', 'statistics'. The switch over to English thus happens when specific terms, which probably do not have any Indian equivalents, are used.

In India, movies which are exclusively in English have actually become rare as they did not attract large audiences and were thus not profitable for theatres anymore. The president of Kanpur Cinema Association explained "that it is the classes and not the masses which are interested in watching English flick" (TOI, 26 Aug 2005). Even in the big cities, like Kanpur, where the majority of English speaking people live, people prefer watching movies in Hindi language (ibid).

Concerning language choice, the Indian film industry is however to change for economic reasons. The Indian film industry, in particular cinema, has been declining. This tendency can especially be observed among teenagers. While thirty per cent of them still went to the cinema in 1997, only twenty-three per cent did in 2002 (Kohli 2003: 111). In India, it is television that has the largest viewership and which has experienced a dramatic increase within the last years. In 2002, the reach of television in urban areas was 81 per, whereas it was only 29 per cent for cinema in the same year (Kohli 2003: 110).

The viewership of cinema in India has been decreasing and in order to survive, Indian film making companies have aimed at increasing their audiences by producing films not exclusively for Indian audiences anymore but for a global audience, like Hollywood does (Kohli 2003: 136). Enlarging the target group however implied a shift towards English as non-Indian language speaking audiences would not understand a film entirely screened in Hindi. As a result, the new films are often co-productions between Indian, British and American film-makers whose dialogues are in two or three different languages with English dominating over Indian languages. The Indian/British/American production *Bride and Prejudice* of 2004, for example, starred an American actor and an Indian actress and was primarily screened in English with some dialogues in Hindi and Punjabi. The market is thus the decisive factor for the film industry as regards the choice of language. Although it might seem that the film industry in India, i.e. Bollywood, clearly favours a shift towards English

language films it is has to be noted that it is not due to a prominence of English in India but to economic reasons.

In addition, state governments have realized that they can use television and film to serve their own interests and establish supremacy of a particular language by simply prohibiting the screening of films in a certain language (cf. 6.1.6.). Language planning through the media is however more problematic than through education. The audience in schools is guaranteed as school is compulsory. If people do however not want to watch a programme or a film in a certain language because they have a hostile attitude towards it, they can simply switch off or change the programme. Language choice for television and film is thus heavily dependent on the market because only programmes which guarantee a high viewership will actually be produced.

5.2.5. Internet

Until 1998, Internet had actually been under the control of the government but was then privatized (Sahay 2006: xx). In India, the Internet is a fast increasing medium. In 2006, the number of those who had access to the World Wide Web increased from 10.8 to 13 million within three months (NRS 2006). The location from which Indians have Internet access also changed from the office to other places (ibid). While twenty per cent accessed the Internet from the work place, thirty-three per cent accessed it from cybercafés and thirty per cent from home (ibid). The fast growth of internet users in India is primarily a result of the reduced access fees and of the emergence of cyber cafes even in small towns (Sahay 2006: xx).

Within the last years, many newspapers in India have realized the potential market of the Internet and have gone online, such as the English newspapers the *Times of India*, *Hindustan Times*, the *Hindu* and even the Hindi newspapers like the *Dainik Jagran* and the *Dainik Bhaskar*, or the Telugu newspaper *Eenadu*. With regard to language, the websites of the Indian language newspapers are all in Hindi or Telugu language and script. The English language newspaper, the *Times of India*, actually offers an entire version in Hindi language and script as well.

This availability of Indian language and scripts confirms the increasing development of Indian language software. When the Internet was becoming popular in India, governments considered the new type of the media as a big threat for Indian languages because the language of computer was English (LII Feb 2004: sec.1). When this domination of English was realized, the governments quickly reacted to it. In 2004, the Minister of Human Resource Development expressed his concerns about the current linguistic situation on the Internet and attacked the big software companies for not showing any interest in developing Indian languages even though they were making incredible sums of money with their companies in India (ibid).

In 2008, new software was introduced on the market which enabled Indians to search in Indian languages and scripts on the internet (TOI, 5 Jul 2008). In addition, Microsoft developed an Indian version of Office XP, which contains five hundred Hindi templates and is available in nine Indian languages including Hindi, Marathi, Sanskrit, Konkani, Tamil, Kannada, Gujarati and Gurumukhi (TOI, 13 Aug 2001).

With the internet access shifting from the work-place to the home and thus to the private sphere, English is not the dominant language of the internet in India anymore. The Internet is becoming a means for the masses and an entertainment medium. In 2008, various surveys already reported that 34 per cent of the internet users preferred surfing in regional languages (TOI, 6 Oct 2008).

Companies thus have to cater for the needs of the masses, of which the majority has not sufficient knowledge of English in order to discover the World Wide Web. Even InfoTech minister, Pramod Mahajan, demanded in 2001 “*indianisation* of computer technology to suit the huge Indian population” as “companies cannot expect to tap the Indian market by ignoring the non-English population of India” (TOI, 13 Aug 2001). As a result, the development of Indian language software is fast increasing and English will not pose a threat anymore to Indian languages on the web.

6. Case study of language planning in India

6.1. Karnataka – a state in the South

6.1.1. Linguistic situation

Karnataka is a state in the southern part of India (see Map of India). It was formed on 1 November 1956 and is now part of the 28 states of India. After India's independence the borders of the whole country were redrawn and defined in terms of language so that the Kannada-speaking regions were united in the new state of Karnataka (Mallikarjun 2002: ch.4.; Vijayakumar 2008: 3). At that time, Kannada was the majority language with 66 per cent speaking it as their mother tongue (Annamalai 2001: 154). In 1963, the Karnataka Official Language Act finally declared Kannada as the official language of the state (Mallikarjun 2002: ch.4.).

As per the 2001 census of India, Karnataka had a total population of approximately 52 million people, out of which 34 per cent lived in urban areas. The literacy rate was 67 per cent. The official language, Kannada, was spoken by about 65 per cent of the population as their mother tongue, which are around 34 million people. With 37 million people speaking Kannada as their mother tongue across India, which is only 3.69 per cent of the total population, the majority of them live in the state of Karnataka. Other major languages spoken as mother tongue include Hindi, Marathi, Urdu, Gujarati, Telugu, Tamil, Konkani and Malayalam. English as a mother tongue is only a minor language in Karnataka and spoken by 17,700 people.³⁵ It has to be noted that the number of those people who have English or other Indian languages as their second or third language might be increasingly higher.

6.1.2. Language planning and policy

As the linguistic outline above might suggest, Karnataka is, like the other Indian states, a multilingual state. A result of multilingualism in Karnataka is that the majority languages have become dominant languages, which means that their acquisition is necessary for being politically, socially and economically

³⁵ All numbers in this paragraph refer to the Census of 2001.

successful in the state (Annamalai 2001: 155). Annamalai (ibid) points out that having a local language as the dominant language is also a new development in India since “[t]he dominant languages in the past were non-local languages of the ruling minority like English during the British period”.

Annamalai (2001: 155) indicates that this change in the scenario has also led to the emergence of a certain feeling of ‘sovereignty’ and ‘national solidarity’ within the language community, which is expressed through the language policy of the state. This view seems justified as a language policy can improve the status of a language, for example, by making it the official language of the state or the language of education. The state can however also use various other means to promote a language. The Department of Kannada and Culture in the Government of Karnataka, for example, sponsors and awards prizes for cultural performances in Kannada, and another governmental institution supports the creation of literary works written in Kannada (Annamalai 2001: 156).

Supremacy of a language can also be expressed through visual means (Annamalai 2001: 156). The state of Karnataka supports, for example, signboards in public places that are written in Kannada language and script (ibid). In reality, the names and signboards are however usually written in three languages, i.e. Kannada, Hindi and English (ibid). The pride of citizens in their language can, for example, be seen in their rejection of English number plates. In 2001, the rule of the central government that the registration marks should be in English and Arabic numerals was implemented in Karnataka (TOI, 19 Dec 2001). In this case, English was used as a link language. The justification for the choice of English was that in a multilingual country like India, English was the language that was familiar to almost everybody as a second or third language (ibid). The majority of cars and motorcycles, however, had their number plates only in Kannada and as a sign of protest people had even gone off the roads when vehicles with number plates in Kannada were in the focus of the police (ibid).

6.1.3. Subjects of study

Mallikarjun (2002: ch.2) points out that the policies on education are well-defined in the state of Karnataka but indicates at the same time that intense debates are going on about the medium of instruction, some of which are in favour of Kannada as the medium of instruction while others want to retain English as an alternative medium. Within the last seven years, the debates have even become more heated and educationalists are far away from finding a compromise.

After the state of Karnataka had emerged in 1956, it was the task of the new government, committees and other institutional bodies to choose a language for education (Mallikarjun 2002: ch.8). As Kannada was the majority language in the state it was only natural to make it the language of education. The linguistic minority groups however protested against an imposition of the dominant language Kannada because they saw it as a danger to their languages (ibid).

In the years after the state of Karnataka had emerged, a uniform curriculum and syllabus for all its regions was adopted by the government and by 1963 all the schools were following it (Mallikarjun 2002: ch.9). When the central government of India introduced the three-language formula in 1963, Karnataka also agreed upon it (Annamalai 2001: 158). The formula was adopted in that students could still choose the languages offered in the old curriculum (ibid). Students had to choose one language from a list at each level so that they finally had a total of three languages at the secondary level since the language chosen at a lower level had to be studied in higher levels as well (Annamalai 2001: 158). If the language was however not offered at higher levels or if a student had already chosen the language at a lower level, he had to make a different choice (Annamalai 2001: 157-8):

Primary level (Standard I-IV)

Kannada, Urdu, Telugu, Tamil, Marathi, Hindi, Sanskrit, English

Lower secondary level (Standard V-VII)

Malayalam, Gujarati, Sindhi, Hindi, English

Secondary level (grades VIII-X)

First language: Kannada, Urdu, Telugu, Tamil, Marathi, Hindi, Sanskrit, English

Second language:

a) English, if not opted as first language

- b) Kannada, Urdu, Telugu, Tamil, Marathi, Hindi if English is opted for as first language

Third language:

- a) Hindi or Sanskrit, if Kannada is opted for as first or second language
- b) Kannada, if Kannada is not opted for as first or second language

(Annamalai 2001: 159)

The basic idea behind this principle was that Kannada and English had to be learnt at some level (Annamalai 2001: 159). The same was true for Hindi, but students could also opt for Sanskrit instead (ibid). According to this scheme, students could choose whatever language as their first, second or third language, which meant that students might study the majority language, Kannada, for only three years (ibid). Annamalai (2001: 160) points out that, in general, English was the preferred first language among middle and upper class students from the urban areas, while Sanskrit was the favourite first language chosen by upper caste students since it was the language of religious texts and allowed students to gain higher marks.

In the seventies, a fierce controversy arose on account of this model of language choice and several steps were taken by the government to undermine supremacy of Sanskrit and to promote Kannada (Annamalai 2001: 160-1).³⁶ As a result of the debates going on, a committee was constituted that should revise the language model in education (Mallikarjun 2002: ch.10). On the basis of the report, the government implemented the following language pattern at the secondary level (Annamalai 2001: 161; Mallikarjun 2002: ch.10):

- (a) first language: Kannada or mother tongue including English and Hindi
- (b) second and third languages: including Kannada, English and Hindi

In order to guarantee that every student would study Kannada at some time, those students who did not chose it as their second or third language had to study it as an additional language from Class III (Annamalai 2001: 161). With regard to English, Annamalai (2001: 162) points out that, along with Hindi, it

³⁶ In 1979, the government decided to take Sanskrit off the list of languages but the government fell before implementing the decision (Annamalai 2001: 160-1). In 1981, a new scheme was developed which intended to make Kannada a compulsory first language (ibid). This step however led to protests from linguistic minorities and from parents who wanted their children to have English as their first language (ibid).

was granted the status of mother tongue. The idea behind was that students from other linguistic areas living in Karnataka and whose mother tongue was not any of the five languages included in the list might opt either for English or Hindi (ibid). Both languages would then however not be their mother tongue and the notion of the term used in this context does not seem justified.

New controversies broke out since other languages than Kannada could be chosen as the first language (Annamalai 2001: 162). The government thus modified the order, making Kannada the only first language (ibid). English and Hindi were included in the list for second and third languages (ibid). Linguistic minority groups however strongly protested against the modified order (Annamalai 2001: 163). On the one hand, they were deprived of studying in their mother tongue at primary stage, which is provided for in the Constitution (ibid). On the other hand, Kannada speaking students would naturally be given an advantage (ibid). As a result, the High Court of Karnataka finally repealed the order (ibid).

In 1989, the government issued a new order according to the directives of the High Court (Annamalai 2001: 163). Under this scheme, the second language had to be different from the first language and if Kannada was not chosen as first language, it had to be taken as second language (Annamalai 2001: 163-4). This meant that non-Kannada students who, for example, chose their mother tongue as first language could take English only as their third language because they had to study Kannada as a second language (ibid).

At that time, there was a great demand for English and in order to satisfy it, the difference between the number of years for the second language (six years) and the third language (three years) was abolished (Annamalai 2001: 164). The demand for English did however not only rise from the rich elite (Annamalai 2001: 164-5). It was also an outcome of the conflict between the Kannada speaking majority and the linguistic minorities (ibid). Since the aim of the minority groups was to undermine the dominance of Kannada in the state, they opted in favour of English (ibid).

Annamalai (2001: 165) points out that the majority of the students chose Kannada as the first language, English as the second and Hindi as the third

language – a pattern that was initially intended by the three-language formula. Students from the upper classes usually opted for English as their first language, Kannada as their second and Hindi as their third language (ibid).

Another order was issued by the Karnataka state government in 1992 to implement the new Education Policy from the central government (Mallikarjun 2002: ch.11). The major difference in the choice of language was that the second language had to be English for students having Kannada as their mother tongue and Kannada for all other students (ibid).

The orders issued by the government have however affected only government-run or aided schools (Annamalai 2001: 165). Private schools and other non-governmental schools do not, of course, have to stick to the government policies on education. Students who attend such schools are in general from the social upper classes since their parents can afford the usually high tuition fees (ibid). In addition, it has to be noted that the orders outlined above only concern the subjects of study and not the media of instruction.

6.1.4. Medium of instruction

As in other Indian states, the choice of the medium of instruction in Karnataka was based on Article 350A of the Constitution which provides for instruction in the mother tongue at the primary stage of education (Mallikarjun 2002: ch.12; cf. 4.1.). Since the emergence of the state in 1956, vigorous debates have however been going on about the medium of instruction. These debates have usually had two camps: on the one hand, there have been those who fought for the children's right of being instructed in the mother tongue; on the other hand, there were those who were in favour of instruction through English for various reasons.

The second group was usually supported by linguistic minority groups because they fought against the supremacy of Kannada (Annamalai 2001: 165). The Director of Public instruction finally even permitted English medium schools and English medium sections of primary schools to satisfy the demands of migratory

and minority groups (Mallikarjun 2002: ch.12). Such schools were however only allowed in areas with a high number of migrants and minorities (ibid).

An Education Trust soon contested this policy in 1987 as it was considered discriminatory because some groups were granted more rights than others (Mallikarjun 2002: ch.12). As a result, and in order to give no group an advantage, instruction through English was permitted in all primary schools (ibid). This decision was however again challenged on the basis of encouraging English medium schools (ibid). In addition, minority groups were still fighting for the right of children to study in their mother tongue at primary stage (ibid).

In 1989, the government finally issued an order which provided for the instruction in the mother tongue of the child during its first four years of education (Mallikarjun 2002: ch.12). An innovation of this order was that it had to be followed by all schools, i.e. government-run and private institutions (ibid). A major step to implement the language policy successfully was undertaken by the government in 1994 when it formulated a detailed policy relating to the choice of subjects of study and media of instruction (Mallikarjun 2002: ch.12). The policy stated that the medium of instruction had to be Kannada or the mother tongue from Standard I to Standard IV, and Kannada was made an additional subject from Standard III for students who did not have it as their mother tongue (ibid). With regard to English, students could opt for it as the medium of instruction from Standard V onwards (ibid).

As the policy affects public and private schools, Vijayakumar (2008: 4) points out that many private institutions have tried to circumvent the adoption of it from the very beginning. In 2007, government schools however introduced English from Standard I in order to meet the public demand for it (ibid). Vijayakumar (2008: 4) indicates that this means that linguistic minority groups who attend schools opened before 1994 might sometimes have to study Kannada and English in addition to their mother tongue.

6.1.5. Language policies in education vs. public demand

Within the last years, the state of Karnataka has issued more orders and policies on the medium of instruction and choice of languages in schools. Many of these documents and decisions have however created general confusion among the schools and citizens as they do not seem justified and badly planned. A major problem within this context is that the order from 1994, which has been modified several times, only concerns schools which were established after that year. As a result, the majority of the schools protest and violate the official policy by not following the rules.

In 2002, the government modified the order from 1994 in that all schools should use Kannada or the mother tongue as the medium of instruction for one more year, i.e. from Standard I to V (TOI, 14 Jun 2002). This order should have been implemented during the academic year 2002/2003 and only affected schools established after 1994 (ibid). As the order however seemed unjustified and unplanned, the majority of the state and private schools opened after 1994 did not implement it and taught in English even if they had to use Kannada or the mother tongue (ibid).

The violation of rules can also be ascribed to the status of English in India. Many commentators (Krishnaswamy 2006; Vijayakumar 2008) indicate that the majority of the Indian population associate positive things with the knowledge of English, in particular good job opportunities. Vijayakumar refers to a study by Tooley and Dixon, in which 90 per cent of 315 parents with a low income said that instruction through English was 'very important' to them, and six per cent stated that it was 'quite important' (Vijayakumar 2008: 4 referring to Tooley and Dixon 2003: 14). At the same time, Vijayakumar (2008: 4) mentions another study where parents were did not know the difference between learning a language by studying it and using it as medium of instruction. The parents simply wanted their children to know English, which did not imply its use as medium of instruction (Vikayakumar 2008: 4). This is however contradictory to Mallikarjun (2001b: ch.7) who points out that parents favour English medium schools since they think that the best English education for their children is provided through the English medium.

The government has tried to prevent the setting up of new English medium schools and sections because English and English medium education is perceived as a threat to Kannada (Mallikarjun 2002: ch.12). The fatal consequence of this step has however been a boom of private English medium schools as they have not had any competition from schools run by the government. In order to compete with private English medium schools, the state schools have also used English as the medium of instruction, whose quality is however very poor since the teachers usually lack competence (cf. 4.5.).

The state of Karnataka has however realized that public demand for English cannot be neglected anymore. In 2005, there was a discussion going on whether Karnataka should follow the educational model of the state of Maharashtra, where the government had introduced English as a subject from Standard I (TOI, 27 Sep 2005). In a comment on this debate, the speaker expressed his favour of English because India was part of the globalization process for him or her (TOI, 2 Oct 2005, Readers Opinions). Mentalities such as “no English”, “only local dialect” or viewing English as a foreign language and as a threat to the Indian society were “primitive thinking” according to him or her (ibid).³⁷

In September 2006, the state of Karnataka reacted to the violation against the official language policy and ordered 600 English medium schools in Bangalore to shut down (TOI, 15 Sep 2006). An inspection team had discovered that the classes and exams were conducted in English and other languages instead of using Kannada or the mother tongue (ibid). The president of the Karnataka Unaided Schools’ Management Association, Sharman, described the state’s language policy in terms of being ‘discriminatory’ since it allowed schools which started before 1994 English-medium education (ibid).

As a result, the Federation of Unaided Schools in Karnataka insisted on having a uniform language policy for all schools in the state as students who attended schools opened after 1994 would be deprived of studying the “universal language – English” (TOI, 22 Sep 2006). It has to be noted that the role of

³⁷ The Education Minister of Karnataka had already announced in 2001 that English would be introduced from Standard III in order “to prepare the children to face the economic world effectively” (Mallikarjun 2002: ch.15).

English as the language of globalization is given as justification for this move. Most of the schools that violate the official language policy are usually attended by economically weaker students, whose parents put enormous pressure on the schools (TOI, 21 Sep 2006). A headmistress explained that parents would insist on teaching English “so that their children can aspire to hold better positions in life” (ibid). The preference for English was again justified on economic grounds.

Only a month later, in October 2006, the cabinet gave way and changed the course of the policy. It stated that English would be taught as a subject in all government aided and unaided primary schools from the academic year 2007 onwards (TOI, 7 Oct 2006). Under the new formula, Kannada would be a compulsory subject from Standard I in all English-medium schools and similarly, English would be in Kannada-medium schools (ibid). In linguistic minority institutions English would be compulsory from Standard I and Kannada from Standard III (ibid). The modification of the order basically meant that students at the primary stage would have to study an additional language from Standard I but without having an examination on it (ibid).

The modification of the policy was due to public demand for English education. It has to be noted that the government justified its decision by ensuring that it was not at the expense of Kannada (TOI, 7 Oct 2006). The primary and secondary education minister Horatti said that this decision showed that they were not against English education but would promote Kannada at the same time (ibid). This stance somehow points towards the conflict in which the government finds itself. On the one hand, the state wants to promote the regional languages from a cultural point of view. On the other hand, it can however not neglect public demand for English anymore.

The decision of the government has however other implications. As already pointed out, the majority of English language teachers lack teaching competence in English. If English is however introduced earlier in schools, the teachers would also need to be trained better. Education minister Horatti thus announced the recruitment of English language teachers and the training of six thousand teachers in 2006 (TOI, 7 Oct 2006).

The government could however not satisfy the demand for English medium schools. Between 2006 and 2009 no English medium school was set up so that the majority of the schools established received two thousand applications for only forty seats (TOI, 24 Jan 2009). In order to get a seat for their children in an English medium school, parents even queued up for application forms six months before the school year started (ibid).

The demand for English can thus be ascribed to the parents' belief that the better the knowledge of English, the better the chances are for their children to get a well-paid job. In fact, Annamalai (2001: 166) points out that English dominates in professions, higher education, high level business management and administration in government. As a reaction towards this prominence of English, the government decided to reserve five per cent of jobs in the government for candidates who had studied in Kannada medium from Standard I to X (TOI, 5 Sep 2001). The primary and secondary education Minister said that this step should increase the number of students in Kannada medium (ibid).

Information Technology is probably the most crucial sector with regard to English. Students who opt for IT major need good English skills in order to be chosen. In 2006, out of 822 curricula vitae only six were selected not because of their lack of technical skills but because of the lack of competence in English, in particular in communication skills (TOI, 6 May 2006). Traditional industries in India have been vanishing as machines have taken over the tasks, and knowledge has become the new capital (Krishnaswamy 2006: 149). In Karnataka, the success in the field of information technology is ascribed to the knowledge of English (TOI, 23 Feb 2002). IT companies will therefore not abandon the demand for an excellent knowledge of English in order to compete at the international market. In 2002, for example, a competence assessment company was conducting a state-wide BPO (Business Processing Outsourcing) talent assessment, in which the candidates were also evaluated on spoken English (TOI, 31 Oct 2002).

The demand for English education thus has its origins in the advantages of English in jobs, i.e. the socio-economic domain. The various policies issued in the last years seem to have failed because the policy makers only took measures against English in the education domain by punishing schools for

imparting education through English. In order to challenge supremacy of English in education, the policy makers need however to fight against English in the socio-economic domain. A starting point might therefore be to improve the status of Kannada in jobs by granting certain advantages to it.

6.1.6. Language planning and the media

The state government of Karnataka has used television and film to serve its own interests in establishing supremacy of the state language, Kannada. In the beginning of the new millennium, the government issued an order that movie theatres had to show Kannada films for the majority number of days in a year (Annamali 2001: 156).

In 2004, there was a big controversy going on in Karnataka over the state government's decision of delaying films which were not in Kannada. Non-Kannada movies were only allowed to be screened in Karnataka seven weeks after they had been released somewhere else in India (TOI, 16 Oct 2004). Theatre movies vehemently protested against this order because they feared to have to close down as non-Kannada films made up the majority (TOI, 25 Oct 2004).

In 2008, the state government of Karnataka made another effort to promote Kannada language and culture through the means of the electronic media. The Karnataka Film Chamber of Commerce decided to take action against films having English or offensive titles and to register only films with Kannada language titles (TOI, 2 Nov 2008). The decision was based on the assumption that people would not be able to identify Kannada movies anymore if their titles were in English (ibid).

Considering these policies, the state of Karnataka seems to perceive some threat of the English language in the electronic media. Although the overall tendency among Indians is a clear preference for Indian languages in television and film (cf. 5.2.3. and 5.2.4.), the government of Karnataka wants to make sure that English does not gain a foothold by issuing orders against English and by promoting Kannada movies and films at the same.

6.2. West Bengal – a state in the north-east

6.2.1. Linguistic situation

West Bengal is a state in the north-east of India and was a very important region during the British period because the city of Kolkata, then Calcutta, served for many years as the capital of British India (AWB 2009: sec.1-2). It was then part of Bengal but in 1947, Bengal was divided into East and West Bengal with East Bengal becoming what is now Bangladesh, and West Bengal becoming a part of independent India (ibid; see Map of India).

As per the 2001 Census, West Bengal had a total population of approximately 80 million people. The state language is Bengali with about 68 million people speaking it as their mother tongue, which are 85 per cent of the total population and thus making Bengali the majority language of the state. In relation to the whole country of India, Bengali was spoken by only 8 per cent as their mother tongue, which are still 83 million people, making the language the second most spoken language after Hindi across India.³⁸ Bengali is also the national language of Bangladesh with 150 million speakers (Vijayanand, Subramanian & Anand 2005: ch.2.2.). With regard to north-east India, Bengali is the most common language of the region as Bengali speaking communities have migrated to this part of India (ibid).

Other major languages spoken as mother tongues in West Bengal include Hindi, Nepali, Santali, Urdu, Telugu, Gujarati, Tamil, Oriya, Punjabi, Malayalam, Marathi, Bodo, Assamese and Sindhi (Census 2001). The non-scheduled language English was only spoken by 15,000 people as their mother tongue in the state (ibid). The number of people speaking English and other Indian languages as their second or third language might be significantly higher.

6.2.2. Education and language choice

As in other states, schools in West Bengal are run by the state government or private organizations, including religious institutions. The syllabus and curriculum as well as final evaluation are administered by the West Bengal

³⁸ All numbers so far in this paragraph refer to the 2001 Census of India.

Board of Primary and Secondary education, WB Council for Higher Secondary Education in their respective areas (OWB 2009: par.1). West Bengal also has one of the oldest universities of India: the University of Calcutta, which was established in 1857 (Krishnaswamy 2006: 52).

When the three-language formula was introduced in the National Policy on Education in 1968, it was agreed upon by all states and, like other Indian states, West Bengal also adopted the formula according to its needs (Annamalai 2001: 158; cf. 4.2.). As the language formula provided for the teaching of the regional language, Hindi and English, Baldrige (2002a: 1.8.) points out that there should actually have been no problems to implement it in the north of India as it was a Hindi-speaking area. Some areas in the north-east did however not require Hindi or opposed the study of it (Baldrige 2002a: ch.1.8. referring to Nayar 1969: 223). In West Bengal, the majority of the people were not pleased with the idea of teaching Hindi and had a very hostile attitude towards it (Baldrige 2002a: ch.1.8.). Although the predominant languages in West Bengal are closely related to Hindi, speakers of Bengali were very proud of their language and its rich literary tradition (ibid). Baldrige (2002a: ch.1.8.) points out that

[t]hey did not see why they should have to let Hindi, which they saw as less developed and less refined as Bengali, have precedence over Bengali. Rather than spend time learning Hindi, they felt that their children should be allowed to study classical languages- in particular, Sanskrit.

It has to be noted that the information to which Baldrige (2002a: ch.1.8.) refers was collected in 1969. The following paragraphs will show whether the linguistic situation in the domain of education has changed or not.

Since West Bengal adopted the three-language formula, the state offered a different choice of language than, for example, the state of Karnataka. Students could choose among the following languages:

1. First language – any one
Assamese, Bengali, English, Gujarati, Hindi, Lushai, Malayalam, Marathi, Modern Tibetan, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Gurmukhi, Santali, Sadani, Telugu, Tamil and Urdu.
2. Second language – any one

English, if any language other than English is offered as the first language or Bengali, if English is offered as first language.

3. Third language – any one

A classical language, a modern foreign language other than English, a modern Indian language other than the first language.

(Annamalai 2001: 45 referring to the Government of India 1984a)

This language pattern has certainly changed in the meanwhile because the source is from 1984. Sharma pointed out in 2001 that students in West Bengal could choose from fourteen languages in secondary schools, which made the educational system “truly multilingual” (Sharma 2001: ch.7). Unfortunately, there is no data available about these languages and at which Standard students can choose them. There is also hardly any information on past educational language planning and policy in West Bengal. Considering newspapers, there has however been much heated debate going on within the last years about the medium of instruction and subjects of study. An analysis of articles will show which languages were in the centre of the discussions and which reasons have caused the debate.

6.2.3. Language policies in education vs. public demand

The lack of information on educational policies in West Bengal might simply be due to the fact that there have not been any innovations in its educational system. In 2002, the West Bengal Primary Education Board announced to reform the education system after twenty-two years by considering whether English should be studied from Class I in government-run and aided schools (TOI, 26 Oct 2002). The question then arises why the Board decided to change the system after not having done anything for over two decades and why the reform was in favour of English.

Taking a closer look at the context of the situation, the decision of the Board was based on socio-economic reasons, i.e. the job market. The global consultancy giant McKinsey actually suggested to “vigorously” encourage the teaching of English in order to give the people of West Bengal the chance to find a job in the IT sector (TOI, 26 Oct 2002).

The introduction of English from Class I would have meant a fundamental change of the educational system in West Bengal. In fact, the Left Front government had forbidden the teaching of English from Class I in the 1980s since the mother tongue should be the only language for students at the primary level (TOI, 26 Oct 2002). The increasing demand for English however caused the government already in 1999 to modify the system and English was introduced from Class II onwards (ibid). Until this year, English had been taught only from Class VI onwards (TOI, 13 Jun 2003).

With the growing demand for English education the need for properly trained English teachers arouse. In comparison to Karnataka, the state of West Bengal actually developed a detailed plan for the training of teachers. In 2003, primary board president Ghosh announced that the British Council would send experts from England to India in order to train a core group of primary teachers (TOI, 13 Jun 2003). The training would primarily affect speaking skills as teachers often could not even complete a sentence in English, and on how to teach English according to the needs of children at the primary level (ibid). The concept of the training was that the core group of teachers that had been taught by the British experts for fourteen days should subsequently convey their knowledge to other teachers in India (ibid). In order to finance this project, the state school education department would receive financial support from the Prime Minister's Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan project (ibid).³⁹

In addition, the Primary Education Board was thinking of abandoning the model of teaching English through the mother tongue of the students, which was actually not a model but an outcome of the lack of competence of English teachers (TOI, 13 Jun 2003). Such decisions have however to be made carefully and should not be based on attitudes that prevail in old saying like "if you want to learn [E]nglish, think in [E]nglish, speak in [E]nglish, dream in [E]nglish" (TOI, 5 Sep 2001).

The lack of competence of English teachers is actually a very crucial issue for the education of students in English. In 2002, the results of the students'

³⁹ The Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan project is a collaboration between the Central, State and Local government (SSA 2009: 1.1.). The program aims at improving the quality of basic education in India for all children between the age group of six to fourteen until 2010 (SSA 2009: 1.1.-1.2.).

English skills were disastrous because the teachers did not correct the tests properly (TOI, 21 Sep 2002). Thousands of students complained that they were marked inappropriately as their exams written in the English scripts were corrected by Bengali professors (ibid). In September 2002, over four thousand students who had failed in their exams were actually told to have passed after it had been reviewed, and the three thousand students who had already passed it got better grades afterwards (ibid). The *Times of India* even referred to the education system in West Bengal as being “in a state of confusion [...] and coma” (TOI, 21 Sep 2002). This view seems justified as the teachers correcting the exams did not have a choice but were entrusted with the task, meaning that exams written in the English script were sent to Bengali teachers for unknown reasons (ibid).

In 2005, the West Bengal University of Technology (WBUT) decided to train their students in English communication skills from the very first year after its students had been identified to lack English communication skills (TOI, 4 Mar 2005). The reason for the WBUT’s decision was based on economic grounds as its students should perform better in job interviews (ibid). In order to meet with the needs of the students at the job market, the University chose the ‘Cambridge Business English Certificate Programme’, which was designed by the Cambridge University (ibid).

In 2007, the government reinforced its decision of teaching through the English medium in state schools (TOI, 17 Dec 2007). Traditional lessons that used to be based on translation should completely be abandoned (ibid). The government also announced the training of about hundred teachers in teaching English not through Bengali anymore (ibid). The decision of abandoning the bilingual teaching method seems justified as children who enter school already know basic English vocabulary (TOI, 5 Sep 2001). It would thus be unreasonable to read to children poems in Bengali, which only contain a few English words or to use the Bengali script as the children already know the English alphabet and the popular nursery rhymes in English from their parents at home (ibid).

The reforms and changes in the educational system in West Bengal are, like in Karnataka, based on socio-economic reasons. English skills are necessary in order to find a good and well-paid job, and the better the knowledge of English

is, the better the chances for such job opportunities are. As a result, education ministers and boards have introduced English as early as possible even if this step disrespects the children's right of being taught only in the mother tongue at the primary level. An innovation is also the shift in the focus of language skills. The traditional English lessons in which nothing but translation was done have been abandoned in favour of teaching communication skills. This change is also a result of the current situation at the job market which demands good English communication skills in job interviews. A basic requirement for candidates for call centres is, for example, a neutral accent (TOI, 16 Sep, 2003). In Kolkata, only ten per cent passed 'the neutral accent test' as most of them had a heavy Bengali accent (ibid).

In contrast to Karnataka, language planning and policy in the domain of education in West Bengal seems well-structured. When the government issued orders they also involved the necessary steps to implement the orders successfully. While Karnataka only called for reforms and indicated necessary steps, West Bengal developed detailed plans and programmes which ensured an effective implementation of the orders.

6.2.4. Language planning and the media

Similar to the state of Karnataka, the government of West Bengal has used the media, in particular the film industry, to promote the state language, Bengali. Within the last years, the government of West Bengal has taken several steps to encourage the production of films in Bengali and other regional languages as Hindi films posed a serious threat to Bengali films (Hindu, 24 Jun 2003).

The government therefore developed a scheme to subsidize films in Bengali as well as in other regional languages (ibid). The dubbing of English language films is thus not supported by the state in order to undermine its dominance over films in regional languages produced in West Bengal (TOI, 12 Nov 2007). In particular, films which are meant for the rural audiences do not include any English dialogues (TOI, 21 Mar 2009). In 2009, the main character of a film thus translated the dialogues which were in English into Bengali (ibid).

In contrast to Karnataka, the state of West Bengal does however not seem to be worried about supremacy of English language films, which might be due to the fact that English does not pose a threat to Indian languages within the electronic media. This view seems justified considering a study about preferences of movies and serials in the city's capital, Kolkata. According to the figures, the most favourite ten movies and serials were in Indian languages (TAM 1, 2004: 7). A similar trend can be observed in a study about genre preferences as the share of English movies and English news in Kolkata only made up a minor part, ranging from one to four per cent (TAM 1, 2004: 3-5). The studies thus confirm that English languages do not prevail in the domain of the media in the state of Karnataka.

6.3. English vs. Indian languages

The analysis of the educational policies of Karnataka and West Bengal has indicated that both states have realized that the teaching of English has to be increased in order to give their children a chance for good job opportunities and to make India not only competitive at the international market but also to increase the competitiveness of the states within India. As West Bengal State School Education Minister said in 2004 when they decided to introduce English from Class I onwards:

Knowledge of English is a must to make a career in today's competitive world and we don't want our students to lag behind their counterparts in other states. (LII Feb 2004: sec.2)

The knowledge of English is essential for job opportunities for all Indian classes. English is not the language of the elite anymore but has become the desired language of the masses. This is basically due to the growing IT sector and to the emergence of call centres in India. In 2003, over six thousand fresh graduates and undergraduates were, for example, taken by call centres, and the software industry *Nasscom* plans to offer employment for 30 million professionals by 2010 (TOI, 16 Sep 2003). While the IT sector looks for English speaking experts, call centres aim at employing cheap human resources to keep their costs low. Yet, for an Indian the amount of money earned in a call centre is still high compared to his standard of living. As employment

opportunities in West Bengal are few, people even apply for a Rs 6000 (EUR 90) job (TOI 16 Sep 2003).

It has however to be noted that Indians are not giving up their languages in favour of English and, even more importantly, that they do not identify with it. The use of English is rather restricted to the economic domain, which is not part of Indian culture and identity but an effect of globalization. This attitude towards English is in correspondence with a study carried out with 64 female students from Grade XII, in which English was associated with the workplace, while Hindi was linked to identity, i.e. religious and cultural traditions (cf. Vaish 2008: 198-215).⁴⁰ In the study, the informants said that English was an indicator for an attractive and successful personality (Vaish 2008: 211-212). As a result, the children did not generally use English outside school to communicate with each other (ibid). English was however used for SMS writing as there were no mobile phones available in Devanagari script⁴¹, and to write pieces of texts which should not be read by anyone else (ibid).

Indians are certainly proud of their languages, which is indicated by the restricted use of English to domains like economy, business and the job market. In 2001, the capital of Kolkata was even officially renamed because it was usually referred to in its English version 'Calcutta' (TOI, 16 Sep 2001). Companies, such as *Calcutta Telephones*, however kept their names as they are part of the economic and business domain and use the English version of the city's name in order to compete at the international market (ibid). If domains other than business, economy and the market are concerned, governments try to undermine the supremacy of English. The police of West Bengal, for example, replaced over 400 typewriters with Bengali ones and installed Bengali software in computers (TOI, 16 Sep 2001).

⁴⁰ The 64 informants were all female and attended Grade XII of the commerce section of the State Sarvodaya Girls School in East Vinod Nagar, close to Delhi. They were nearly all Hindus and had the same socio-economic background in terms of family income (Rs 5000/month – EUR 75/month) and lived in the rural areas close to Delhi. The interviews were conducted in oral and written form in December 2006. The students had learned English for 12-14 years as one of the media of instruction. (cf. Vaish 2008: 198-215)

⁴¹ The manufacturer of mobile phones, *Nokia*, has however recently developed handsets and software which allow the sending and receiving of text messages (SMS) in Hindi (Chauhan 2006: 7).

English is thus not the language with which people in India associate Indian culture and with which they identify. The use of English is a question of domain. Baldrige (2002b: ch.11.), for example, reports that Indians usually respect a person for knowing English but they feel offended if a person uses the language to communicate with other Indians in private. This is due to the habit of many upper class people who use English to show off their social status (ibid). Knowing how to speak English is thus not enough in India, people also need to know when the use of English is appropriate (ibid).

7. Conclusion

This thesis has analyzed language planning in India with regard to the influence of English on the educational system and the media. The results of the analysis confirm that these two domains are the most important means for disseminating a language as they address a large number of people. Language planning has therefore been energetically undertaken within these two areas but the findings suggest that it has not always been successful.

Considering language planning in the domain of education, the analysis has indicated that various policies have failed because they were vague and ambiguous, and lacked clear definitions. Another difficulty for implementing the majority of the policies successfully is that the public demand for English was ignored. Many schools in Karnataka have even violated official policies and illegally increased English education in order to meet the growing public need for English. However, within the past decade the state of Karnataka and the state of West Bengal have given way as they have recognized that English education is crucial for the future development of India and have changed their official policies in favour of English.

The findings on the present role of English in India have indicated that English has become a basic requirement for good job opportunities and thus enables socially upward mobility. English has become the dominant language of economy, business and the job market. In particular, international companies and call centres demand good English communication skills. Since these companies offer a large number of job opportunities and look for cheap human resources, it is the masses that demand English education. The language has thus shifted from being the language spoken by the rich elite towards the language of the masses who strive for a better life.

A consequence of the radical change of educational language policies in favour of English has, however, led to other problems, such as the lack of quality in English education in state schools. The findings have shown that some schools do not have the means to employ teachers with a high diploma degree. While the state of West Bengal has made detailed suggestions and has taken

necessary steps to counter the problem of quality in English teaching, the state of Karnataka remained unclear in its formulations. As a result, the policies of West Bengal have proven to be successfully implemented whereas those of Karnataka have created confusion and caused a wave of protest from the side of the schools.

A major factor playing a role in the ineffectiveness of India's language planning and policy might thus be the vagueness in the formulations as well as the divergence between the various policies within the states. Mandavilli (2008: 6) even sees India's language policies in education as being responsible for the inexorable use of English "by not promoting a healthy atmosphere where Indians could learn each other's language". This view is certainly true to some extent concerning the high number of educational language policies that have been issued, changed or repealed.

While English has played a major role in the educational system of India, the findings show that it is only of minor importance in the media. The results suggest a clear preference for Indian languages in the print and electronic media, which can be explained by the fact that the use of English in the media is restricted to business, economy and jobs, which only comprise a small part of newspapers, radio and television broadcasts.

The media have realized that Indians like to read and hear about regional and local issues, which are preferred in Indian languages as they encourage group and cultural identity. Newspapers and the electronic media have thus adopted their reports and programmes in order to guarantee large audiences, which bring in more money. It is thus the market which is the decisive factor for which language will be used in the media – the language which is the most profitable.

The newspaper and television groups will therefore not shift towards English considering the low share of English language papers and radio and television programmes. Instead, the majority of the entertainment companies in India, even those which are foreign owned, have realized that the key to larger audiences is to report about regional and local issues in Indian languages. The preference for Indian languages in the media proves that they play an important role for cultural identity.

The use of English is thus restricted to the domain of business, economy and the job market. It is the language which everybody in India strives to learn because it is associated with socially upward mobility. It is, however, not the language with which people identify. As soon as Indians have entered private life, English has lost its prominence and Indian languages are almost exclusively used.

Language planning in India has thus undergone a change in that it has been realized that neglecting the needs of the public leads to many difficulties, such as the violation of official language policies. The findings suggest that the dictates of the market are a decisive factor for language planning. While the public demands English in the domain of education, it is not the preferred language in newspapers, radio or television broadcasts. In order to implement language policies successfully, the various governments of India must therefore consider public demand as well as remaining clear in their formulations in order to avoid confusion.

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Appendix

Abstract (English)

Language planning became relatively popular for newly emerged postcolonial countries, in which the use of language(s) was not clear. India was a particularly crucial area for language planning as it is a highly multilingual country within which the role of English has been rather ambiguous after the former colonial British power left. This paper has thus attempted to analyze the process of language planning in India with a particular focus on English and its influence on the educational system and the media.

In order to give a profound analysis, a theoretical background of language planning and policy had been provided before turning to the case of India. The role of English was investigated on the basis of past and present language policies, various newspaper articles, as well as the input of listeners, reader- and viewership of the respective media. Since India is relatively large and the individual states and Union territories can undertake language planning according to their own needs, two states serve as case studies.

The results of this thesis show that the domains of the educational system and the media are the two most important means for disseminating a language as they both reach large audiences. Language planning has therefore been energetically undertaken within these two areas but the findings suggest that it has not always been successful. The domain of education in particular suffered from vague and unclear policies, especially from those which ignored the public demand for English. The language has become a basic requirement for good job opportunities and thus enables socially upward mobility. Many schools have even violated official policies in order to meet the public need of English. However, within the past decade various states have given way and recognized that English education is crucial for the future development of India and have changed their official policies in favour of English.

While English has had a major role in the educational system of India, the findings indicate that it is only of minor importance in the media. The results

show a clear preference for Indian languages, which can be explained by the fact that the use of English in the media is restricted to business, economic development and jobs, which only comprise a small part of newspapers, radio and television broadcasts. The media focus rather on regional and local issues which guarantee large audiences, and which are preferred in Indian languages as they encourage group and cultural identity. English in India is not the language with which Indians identify, and has therefore no place outside education, business and the job market.

Abstract (German)

Die Wissenschaft der Sprachplanung kam zu relativem Ruhm in Zusammenhang mit ehemaligen Kolonialländern, in denen die neue Sprachsituation häufig ein Problem darstellte nachdem sie die Unabhängigkeit erlangt hatten. Indien war für Sprachplanung von besonderem Interesse, da es ein in hohem Maße multilinguales Land ist, in dem die Rolle des Englischen ungeklärt blieb, nachdem sich die einstige Britische Kolonialmacht zurückgezogen hatte. Das Ziel dieser Diplomarbeit besteht darin den Prozess der Sprachplanung in Indien zu analysieren, insbesondere in Bezug auf das Englische und seinen Einfluss auf das Bildungssystem und die Medien.

Den Grundstein für eine ausführliche Analyse bildet ein theoretischer Hintergrund über die Wissenschaft der Sprachplanung und –politik. Erst dann wird Indien im Speziellen behandelt und die Rolle des Englischen untersucht. Die Grundlage dafür sind vergangene und aktuelle Gesetze und Verordnungen, sowie Zeitungsartikel, als auch Publikumsanalysen der jeweiligen Medien. Da Indien ein relativ großes Land ist und die einzelnen Staaten und Unionsterritorien Sprachplanung eigenständig unternehmen können, dienen zwei indische Staaten als Beispiele.

Die Resultate der Arbeit zeigen, dass die Bereiche des Bildungssystems und der Medien die zwei wichtigsten Mittel sind um eine Sprache zu verbreiten, da sie ein breites Publikum ansprechen. Aus diesem Grund wurde in diesen zwei Domänen Sprachplanung besonders intensiv betrieben. Einzelne Analysepunkte weisen jedoch darauf hin, dass dies nicht immer mit Erfolg geschah. Insbesondere das Bildungssystem in Indien litt unter unklaren und missverständlichen Gesetzen, speziell unter solchen, die die Öffentlichkeit und deren Forderung nach einem erhöhten Englischunterricht missachteten. Dieses Bedürfnis basierte darauf, dass die Sprache mittlerweile eine Grundvoraussetzung für gute Arbeitsmöglichkeiten ist und somit auch ein wesentlicher Faktor für soziale Aufstiegsmöglichkeiten. Viele Schulen haben sogar gegen offizielle Gesetze verstoßen, um den Forderungen der Öffentlichkeit nachzugehen und haben widerrechtlich die Anzahl der

Englischstunden erhöht. Innerhalb der letzten Jahre haben allerdings die einzelnen indischen Staaten eingelenkt, da sie erkannt haben, dass das Englische ein wichtiges Element für die zukünftige Entwicklung des Landes ist und dementsprechend haben sie auch ihre Sprachpolitik zugunsten des Englischen geändert.

Während Englisch eine immens wichtige Rolle im indischen Bildungssystem spielt, hat die Sprache nur eine geringe Bedeutung in den Medien. In diesem Bereich herrscht eine eindeutige Präferenz für indische Sprachen, die aufgrund dessen erklärt werden kann, dass der Gebrauch des Englischen auf bestimmte Bereiche begrenzt ist. Diese Bereiche betreffen die Wirtschaft, den Arbeitsmarkt sowie die internationale Entwicklung, die nur einen kleinen Teil von Zeitungen, Radio und Fernsehen ausmachen. Die Medien spezialisieren sich vielmehr auf regionale und lokale Themen, da diese ein großes Publikum versprechen, und die in indischen Sprachen bevorzugt werden – aufgrund von Gruppensolidarität und Gemeinschaftssinn. Englisch ist demnach nicht die Sprache, mit der sich die Inder identifizieren, und findet daher auch keinen Platz in anderen Bereichen als Bildung, Wirtschaft und dem Arbeitsmarkt.

Curriculum Vitae

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Sprachkenntnisse:

Deutsch (Muttersprache), Englisch (C2), Französisch (C2), Latein (B2),
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