

**ATTITUDES OF DALIT STUDENTS AND TEACHERS
TOWARDS ENGLISH IN TAMIL NADU: AN HISTORICAL
AND EXPLORATORY STUDY**

*A Thesis Submitted to the University of Hyderabad
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of*

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN
ENGLISH LANGUAGE STUDIES**

BY

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DECLARATION

I S. Ramamoorthy, (Reg. No. 5HGPH05), hereby declare that the work embodied in this thesis titled “Attitudes of Dalit Students and Teachers towards English in Tamil Nadu: An Historical and Exploratory Study” is carried out by me under the supervision of Prof. Sunita Mishra, Centre for English Language Studies, University of Hyderabad, Hyderabad, and has not been submitted for any degree in part or in full to this University or any other University.

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This is to certify that Mr. S. Ramamoorthy (Reg. No. 15HGPH05) has carried out the work embodied in the present thesis titled “Attitudes of Dalit Students and Teachers towards English in Tamil Nadu: An Historical and Exploratory Study” is carried out by him under the supervision of Prof. Sunita Mishra, Centre for English Language Studies, University of Hyderabad, Hyderabad, and has not been submitted for any degree in part or in full to this University or any other University.

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The Researcher has also carried out the following publications and conference presentations in his Ph.D. interim.

A. Published in the following publications:

1. “Teachers’ Attitude towards the Use of L1 in the L2 Classroom at the Higher Educational Institutes in Tamil Nadu”. FORTELL Publication, Issue No. 40, January 2020, ISSN Print: 2229-6557, Online: 2394-9244. URL: <https://www.fortell.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/40-issue-January-2020-64-76.pdf>

B. Presented in the following conferences:

- 1 “Teachers’ Attitude towards the Use of L1 in the L2 Classroom at the Higher Educational Institutes in Tamil Nadu”, *National Conference on Innovation in Teaching ESL and Literature: The Present and the Future (ITESLLPF)*, NIT, Warangal, September 30 & October 1, 2019.
- 2 “Anti-caste Intellectuals’ Attitude towards English in the Tamil-Speaking Madras Presidency”, *International Conference on Multidisciplinary Socio-Economic and Cultural studies*, jointly organized by Shillong Law College, Shillong, India in Collaboration with Cape Comorin Trust, India, July 01-3, 2021.

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DEDICATION

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Abstract

In India, studies on English education have always been diverse and varied. Most studies recognise that English language/ literature and western science education was not entirely a colonial imposition. They acknowledge the complex and contradictory ways colonial and anti-colonial discourses were carried out and, in turn, impacted English education in British India. This is not to deny the arguments of Viswanathan (1989), Thiongo (1986), and others that the agenda of colonial education was to establish the superiority of western knowledge and culture. Considering English education as a cultural imposition to articulate Western supremacy fails to account for the differences in groups, classes, and communities' motivation and struggle to access knowledge and power differently. This study is an attempt to explore Dalits' attitude towards English within the socio-historic context of Tamil Nadu. This study focuses on Dalit communities' motivation and struggles to learn English in the past and present. Hence, it has two dimensions: i) examining Dalit students' and teachers' attitudes towards English, and ii) exploring the past attitudes of anti-caste intellectuals towards English in the history of Tamil-speaking Madras Presidency.

Considering the methodological strength of combining quantitative and qualitative methods, this study adopts a concurrent mixed-methods design (both qualitative and quantitative data are treated equally). It investigates attitudes towards English at multiple levels—Dalits' attitude towards English at teachers' level using interviews, students' level using questionnaires, and anti-caste intellectuals' level using document analysis. The questionnaire was individually administered to 130 students pursuing PhD or MPhil at public universities in Tamil Nadu, and 114 were finally considered because they were complete. From the 114, 59 (52%) questionnaires completed by students who belong to SC and ST categories were selected for analyses. In addition, this study also included 25

teacher interviews and selected writings and speeches of the three anti-caste intellectuals. Thematic Analysis (TA) was used to analyse the interview data and responses collected through open-ended questions in the survey questionnaire. Responses collected through closed questions were analysed using descriptive statistical analysis (frequency analysis). Results of each data set were triangulated for discussion and interpretation.

Findings suggest that anti-caste intellectuals had a more favourable attitude towards English because they considered English a language of liberty, equality and social justice. They also considered it essential as a language of knowledge and wisdom to advance faster in the world. In addition, English was recognised as a common lingua franca, to be used as a link language within the nation and across the world. Interestingly, these findings were found in the present attitudes of Dalit students and teachers too. Most teachers and students believed that English is more important for practical and instrumental purposes, such as gaining more educational and employment opportunities, getting prestigious jobs and career development, accessing world knowledge, establishing a positive identity, etc. Furthermore, they mentioned that they wanted to learn English for integrative purposes such as associating with the English-speaking population within the country and across the world. In this regard, some reported that learning English enables them to become global citizens and communicate internationally.

Results of this study show that despite the positive attitude towards English, and their belief that they need English for educational, economic, and social empowerment. Anti-caste intellectuals, Dalit students and teachers considered the Tamil language and culture as their object of pride. They are aware of the role of English in their lives and careers but also acknowledge the importance of Tamil as their mother tongue.

CHAPTER - 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

In India, studies on English education have always been diverse and varied. Most studies recognise that English language/ literature and western science education in India was not entirely a colonial imposition. They acknowledge the complex and contradictory ways colonial and anti-colonial discourses were carried out and, in turn, impacted English education in British India. This is not to deny the arguments of Viswanathan (1989), Thiongo (1986), and others that the agenda of colonial education was to establish the superiority of western knowledge and culture¹. Considering English education as a cultural imposition to articulate Western supremacy fails to account for the differences in groups, classes, and communities' motivation and struggle to access knowledge and power differently. There has been considerable research to investigate the manner in which various groups—caste or class-specific—negotiated English education and western hegemony. Naregal (1998 & 1999), for instance, illustrates how vernacular intelligentsia resisted the dominance of the English language by disseminating modern and rational ideas through a vernacular print medium in Western India (Bombay-Pune region). Her work also points out how the vernacular sphere was gradually impregnated with upper-caste ideology and developed anti-lower caste discourse to consolidate their hegemonic claim on the provincial administration.

Mukherjee (2009) sees the field of English language/literary education itself as "a site of a contest of power" (p. 52). He argues that despite the colonial intentions to use

¹Viswanathan (1989) argues that English education was institutionalised for extending and stabilising the cultural and political domination of the British rule in India. Thiongo (1986), a Kenyan post-colonial writer, calls English a '*cultural bomb*' because he believes that English will erase the memory of the pre-colonial history and culture.

English education to civilise natives and perpetuate colonial rule, natives found it useful for anti-colonial discourse in the national movement. In fact, many High caste Hindus deployed it as scientific and rational knowledge for Hindu revival. Furthermore, he points out that colonial education gave the educated Indians social and cultural capital, which helped them sustain a dominant position over those who did not study English through educational and institutional practice in independent India. According to Mukherjee, with Dalits demanding English education, there emerged a contest for power or ‘alternative hegemony’ in postcolonial India.

It is essential to remember that although English education gave educated Indians economic, social, and cultural capital, one had to have all these to access English (education) in colonial and postcolonial India. For instance, due to their more significant social contact with the British, higher caste Hindus who were highly ranked servants in the household and factory works of the East India Company (EIC) had more opportunity to hear and use English than the lower caste Hindus who heard little English and spoke less (Chaudhary, 2009). As a result, except a few, the vast majority of people had/have restricted or limited access to English, and now it has become a mark of another social divide in institutional and educational practices in postcolonial India. For Ramanathan (2005), this social divide remains as an English-vernacular divide and has been constructed through colonial and postcolonial language politics in India. She critically examines this phenomenon to explain how powerful macro-structures, such as national/state and institutional policies and pedagogical materials, “perpetuate power/knowledge inequalities between those who have access to English and those who do not” (p. 2). Equally important is how teachers and students resist, mitigate, and bridge this English-vernacular divide (Canagarajah, 1999; Ramanathan, 2005).

This study is an attempt to explore Dalits' attitude towards English within the socio-historic context of Tamil Nadu. Drawing insights from Ramanathan (2005) and Mukherjee (2009), this study seeks to understand Dalits' motivation to learn and use English in colonial and postcolonial India. Second, this study also investigates Dalit teachers' attitudes towards teaching English to the students from the marginalised and oppressed sections and looks at their efforts to empower their students through pedagogical practices. Finally, the study tries to interpret the present attitudes of Dalit students' and teachers' towards English in the historical background of 19th and 20th century anti-caste intellectuals'² English attitudes.

1.2 English in India

English was introduced in India approximately 300 years ago around 1780. Eventually, it has become one of the primary languages of the nation. Now, it is used in many domains such as education, administration, mass media, trade and commerce. It remains the most widely spoken language with 256,000 mother-tongue speakers, 83 million second-language speakers, and 46 million third language speakers (Census of India, 2011). This shows that India has the highest number of English users in the world.

In India, there are 22 Scheduled Languages and 99 Non-Scheduled Languages widely spoken in specific regions. For instance, Tamil is a dominant regional language in Tamil Nadu. English is extensively used in many states and union territories in India, and given the official language status in some like: Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Sikkim, Tripura, Chandigarh, and Lakshadweep. English is one of the official languages

²Writing and speeches of anti-caste intellectuals, whose 'ultimate desire' was to ameliorate the marginalized and oppressed, have insisted a counter stake on caste in order to subvert it and "create a religion and culture against caste" (Leonard, 2017, p. 23). Leonard argues that anti-caste interest was formulated through re-imagining a history of the Tamil language "that rationalises a caste-less society" (p. 23).

in Andaman Nicobar Islands, Mizoram, Pondicherry, and Tripura. Furthermore, some states, including Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Manipur, Rajasthan, and Tamil Nadu, use English as an additional official language (52nd Report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities in India, 2016).

Another important function of the English language is its use as the *lingua franca*. Since regions and states in India speak different languages, it is not possible for all to learn all these languages for internal communication. Therefore, they need a common link language that can be used to communicate between the states and across the world. English is used for both internal and external communication in India.

English is an important part of education in India. As part of the Three Language Formula (TLF), children learn English as a second or third language. In the Hindi-speaking regions, either one of the modern Indian languages or English is studied as the second language, whereas, in other regions, the second language is Hindi or English. The third language in the Hindi-speaking region is any modern Indian language or English. Similarly, the other regions use Hindi or English (not studied as the second language) as the third language (MHRD, G., 2016, p. 97). Although TLF was formulated after widespread consultation with state governments, it has not been uniformly implemented in many states due to individual states' political reasons.

Seventh All India School Education survey (The National Council of Educational Research and Training (India) & National Informatics Centre of India, 2005) reports that 12.98% of schools at the primary stage, 18.25% of schools at the upper primary stage, 25.84% of schools at the secondary stage, and 33.59% of schools at the higher secondary stage follow English medium instruction. In vernacular medium schools, students study English as a subject. And generally, English is the medium of instruction in higher education in most institutions in India.

In India, people use different languages for different purposes. Census (2011) reports that English is used for (higher) education, formal meetings, intellectual discussions, and business, whereas other vernacular languages are used for communication at home and medium of school education. However, the so-called educated class uses English for communication.

1.3 Socio-historical background

Like others, Dalits also have been interested in learning English since colonial times. Lower caste and class Indians, who were involved in various works in the factories and households of the EIC, learned some English due to the social contact with the British (Chaudhary, 2009). Dalits got access to English in the 1780s when Christian missionaries started teaching English in their schools. The upper-caste Hindus and High-class Muslims, however, did not send their children to such schools mainly because of their prejudice against English and the presence of other castes in schools. Lower caste/class Indians desired to learn English because working with the British assured them of a regular income and good treatment. Also, it was a way for them to gain access to power under the politically powerful EIC (Chaudhary, 2009).

English thus has been seen as an instrument of empowerment in India. The use of powerful rhetoric for English such as “the milk of a tigress” by Chiplunkar and “Goddess Saraswathi’s gift to India” by C. Rajagopalachari assigns a powerful character to the English language (Chaudhary, 2009; Naregal, 1999). Similar espousal of English can be found among Dalit thinkers such as Savitribai Phule, B.R.Ambedkar, Chandrabhan Prasad, etc. Chandrabhan Prasad calls English the “liberty Goddess of Dalit,” Savitribai Phule welcomed “mother English,” and Ambedkar called it “milk of lioness” (Pandey, 2016, p. 57). These Dalit thinkers believed that English could be used to emancipate and empower Dalits by breaking the backbone of caste and subverting its “twin principle of

occupational purity and blood purity” (Mukherjee, 2009, p. 295). Furthermore, they considered English more important than mother tongues because Indian languages “carry the legacy of caste” (Mukherjee, 2009, p. 295).

1.4 English education and Dalit Empowerment in the Madras Presidency

Until the mid-1860s, educating Dalits was not a serious concern of the EIC; instead, it encouraged the education of the learned natives of India. Macaulay's Minute (1835) also advocated this 'class education' by imparting European literature and science in the English language exclusively for the higher-class natives (Venkateswaran, 2007). There was a considerable difference, however, in how the English language was accepted and taught in different parts of India.

In the Madras Presidency, in schools established by the local government, education of all classes was encouraged. Arbuthnot (1855) noted that Munro considered education "an empowering tool, a protection for the lower classes from oppression"(p. 13) and established schools, which were open to all classes indiscriminately. In most Tahsildari and Collectorate schools, Brahmin, non-Brahmin, and Dalits studied in the same classroom. In these schools, students were taught English, the vernacular language, arithmetic, and science. Rowlandson, the secretary of the Board of the College and Public Instruction, reported in 1826 that many were receiving instruction in English, and some of them had made sufficient advancement to be hired as teachers. He noted that, “they can speak and read English fluently but their translation into English or into the vernacular are not altogether free from grammatical errors” (Rao, 2020, p. 130). Rowlandson and Frederick Adam (Governor of Madras in 1834) observed that hoping to pursue a better livelihood, the natives had a strong desire for instruction in English.

In 1836, Munros' schools were abolished and aids rendered to these institutions was withdrawn. This was done because education imparted in the Tahsildar and

Collectorate schools was considered as elementary. However, with the support of natives, missionaries, and local British officials, some of Munro's schools continued to run.

After the demise of Munro, education of the marginalised and oppressed section was not a serious concern of the government. For instance, a proposal, brought up by George Norton, to educate all classes was strongly criticised by George Hay (the new governor) because he thought it would involve a lot of expenditure (about 15,120 rupees per year) and natives would not consider it a real advantage. Although Woods' Despatch (1854) devised special measures for dissemination of education among all classes of people in India (Krishnaswamy & Krishnaswamy, 2006), education among the depressed class had not been as successful as among Muslims, Hindus, Christians, and Eurasians, who were successful in both school and college education. J.H.A. Tremenheere, the district collector of Chingleput, observed that there had not been any substantial efforts to improve the educational standards of the depressed classes in Madras Presidency. Individuals belonging to depressed classes “had fared miserably in the public examination, more so because they had little access to primary education” (Basu, 2011, p. 169). Reports on the Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency—1880-81 (Government of Madras, 1882) also recorded that “education has as yet made very little progress among the lower classes” (p. 12).

For a more extended period, Dalits were kept outside schools due to the prevalence of caste and untouchability. They were considered “polluted and were traditionally prohibited from access to learning” (Nambissan, 2020, p.127). However, the recommendation of the Indian Education Commission-1882 re-affirmed the principles already established in the Court of Directors' letter, dated 5th May 1854: "no boy be refused admission to a government college or school merely on the ground of caste" (GOI,

1883, p. 516). The commission also recommended special schools for 'low castes' and exemption of fees for 'poorer classes.'

1.5 Christian Missionaries' Education for Dalits

Christian missionaries wanted to draw the government's attention towards the 'outcastes' and contributed significantly to the education of the depressed class. They strongly felt that education alone could be a vehicle for the depressed classes' social emancipation (Basu, 2011). Their educational contribution, in general, had been more significant in the Madras Presidency than anywhere else in India (Pillay, 1957). Early efforts were made by Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg and Heinrich Pluetschau, who were German missionaries. Subsequent to their arrival at Tranquebar in 1706, they established schools for the poor. In their schools, children from all caste and religion learnt together (Frykenberg, 1986). Within the broad school curriculum, they learnt practical science and trade skills. In the 1780s, English schools were established at Tanjore, Ramanathapuram, and Sivagangai by Christian Friedrich Schwartz to educate young Indians (Christians and non-Christians). Following this, the other European missionaries, such as Rhenius, Schmid, John Anderson, etc., worked extensively among the depressed class. In 1854, the number of schools run by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and Church Missionary Society in this presidency alone amounted to above 1371 with 43,000 students. Many other missionary societies, including the Society for Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) and London Missionary Society (LMS), also started educational projects at various places in Tamil-speaking Madras Presidency.³ In many

³ The Madras Presidency was a composite of most parts of the southern India (24 districts). It included the present states of Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh, and some parts of Kerala and Karnataka. When linguistic based states were desired, Andhra Pradesh was formed as an independent Telugu-speaking state out of Madras Province in 1953, and in 1956, Malayalam-speaking regions and Kannada-speaking regions of the state were further divided and attached to Kerala and Karnataka respectively. What remained with the Madras province was Tamil-speaking region, which was renamed as Tamil Nadu in 1968.

ways, one can say that the Christian missionaries were the pioneers in setting up schools and establishing English education in the Madras presidency.

1.6 Dalits' Struggle for Education

Dalits in post-colonial India were economically and academically disadvantaged, and they looked upon English as a means to access a better livelihood. Many, despite missionary efforts, had to struggle to get access to education because of caste discrimination. In 1833, a pariah student was refused admission to the College of St. George Ford (Rao, 2020). High caste and high-class people also expressed their repugnance to send their children to these institutions because they did not want their children to be taught with Pariahs in the same class (Arbuthnot, 1855). Christian missionaries also faced opposition from upper caste Hindus. For instance, in 1838, three pariah boys entered Anderson's General Assembly School in Madras, "well-dressed and wearing Hindu marks" (Neill, 2002, p. 320). When they were exposed eventually as outcastes, upper-caste pupils protested, and their parents sent a petition to Anderson to expel those Pariah boys. However, Anderson refused to concede and continued to admit competent boys irrespective of castes (Neill, 2002, p. 320; Kalapati, 1998).

1.7 My Motivation

As mentioned above, many learned Indians talked about the importance of English, and some Dalit thinkers considered it more valuable than their mother tongues. However, there is a contradiction and ambivalence in anti-caste intellectuals' writings regarding English. They also considered English important, but were not willing to compromise their love for Tamil. Even today, this ambivalence is prominent. The need for English continues to grow, but socio-historical forces have only reinforced the love for Tamil. I feel this ambivalence is interesting and important, and it forms an important aspect of this study.

My interest to study attitude towards English comes from my observation of how people treat languages differently. During my under graduation, both my teachers and classmates insisted that English is the language of power and can be used for education, employment and self-empowerment. Furthermore, some considered speaking English itself as a symbol of prestige because English-speaking people could draw others' attention and respect. However, around me I found that people were proud of the Tamil language and culture and considered their mother tongue as more important than any other language. They had great reverence for Tamil also because the language has a great tradition since ancient times. Within the state, Tamil has considerable influence in domains, such as education, employment, media, art, literature, etc. Additionally, it is widely used for day-to-day communication.

Although I did my schooling in Tamil medium, I decided to study English literature because it would help me get more employment opportunities. Many of my classmates in BA and MA came from the Tamil medium and rural background, and many of them were members of the backward communities. All of us opted to study English Literature with great diffidence. Many of us found it hard to understand English and mostly remained silent, not articulating our views in English. We were also not motivated or allowed to use Tamil within the class. Teachers used only English inside the class, even for cracking jokes. Despite these difficulties, some of us continued our education and worked hard to improve our language and communication skills. With this background, I developed an interest in my MPhil to study Dalits' need for English. Subsequently, I have continued with my interest in studying the attitudes of Dalit students and teachers towards English within the socio-historical and cultural context of Tamil Nadu.

1.8 Current Study

The current study investigates both the historical and present attitudes of Dalits towards English in Tamil Nadu. First, it examines the present attitudes of Dalit students and teachers towards English. Second, for a better understanding of the present attitude, it also examines the historical attitudes of anti-caste intellectuals towards English in Tamil-speaking Madras presidency (Tamil Nadu). Finally, it attempts to interpret the present attitude in the context of the historical attitude. Based on these research aims, the following research questions have been formulated:

- 1) What is the present attitude of the Dalit students and teachers towards English in Tamil Nadu?
- 2) What was the attitude of anti-caste intellectuals towards English in the Madras Presidency in the period 1890-1970?
- 3) How can the present attitude be interpreted in the background of the history of anti-caste intellectuals' attitude towards English?

I consider this period (1890-1970) very important to study anti-caste intellectuals' attitude towards English because, in the 1890s, anti-caste intellectuals started working collectively as an organisation to represent the needs of the marginalised and depressed classes in British India. For instance, Pandit Iyothethass started *Casteless Dravida Mahajana Sabha* (association) in 1891 and organised its first conference on 1st December 1891. Ten resolutions were taken in the conference and most of them addressed the need for the formation of schools, reductions of school fees, need for scholarships, and employments for the marginalised and oppressed sections (Ayyathurai, 2011; Aloysius, 2015).

1.9 Thesis Outline

In the Thesis, Chapter One provides the setting of the current study, aims and objectives, research questions, and the researchers' justification for carrying out this research. Chapter Two presents a literature review and offers a theoretical understanding of language attitudes, including issues related to language choice, language identity, language motivation, etc. Chapter Three provides a detailed account of methodological choices made, discussing the rationale for the selection of methods and tools for the current study. This chapter also discusses the research settings, instrument design, data collection procedure, and data analysis. Chapter Four presents the results related to Dalit students and teachers' present attitudes towards English, and Chapter Five presents the results of the historical attitudes of anti-caste intellectuals towards English in Tamil-speaking Madras Presidency (Tamil Nadu). Finally, Chapter Six discusses and summarises the current study's important findings, implications, limitations, and areas for further research.

CHAPTER - 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the relevant literature in language attitudes in teaching and learning English as a second/foreign language. First, this chapter offers definitions of the term 'attitude' and its importance in second/foreign language acquisition. Then, it discusses important concepts related to **attitudes**, such as **motivation** and **identity**; the three interrelated concepts considered the important affective variables in second language learning (Flynn, 2020). Finally, it presents a review of relevant literature available in the field.

2.2 Definitions of Attitude

Early works in this field suggest that despite attitude being an essential concept in social psychology (Allport, 1935) and sociolinguistics (Labov, 1966), the concept—attitude—is not defined accurately (Garrett, 2010; Garrett et al., 2003). Definitions of attitude differ depending on theoretical and research interests of individual studies in the field (Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970). However, they can be broadly classified into cognitive and behavioural aspects. Mentalists define attitude as a "mental and neural state of readiness" (Allport, 1935, p. 810) and "a learned disposition to think, feel, and behave toward a person or object in a particular way" (Allport, 1954; Garrett, 2010, p. 19). These definitions imply that attitudes are organised through experiences and have a more direct and dynamic influence upon individuals' reactions to a person or object or situation. Oppenheim (1982) defines attitude as "a construct" and "an inner component of mental life" which cannot be observed directly but expressed as stereotypes, beliefs, opinions, emotions, and behaviour through verbal statements or reactions (p. 39). Also, attitude is

defined as “a disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects” (Sarnoff, 1970, p. 279) and “a psychological tendency” as expressed through an evaluation of an entity “with some degree of favour or disfavour” (Eagly and Chaiken, 1993, p. 1). According to mentalists’ perspective, attitudes cannot be observed/apprehended directly but inferred from emotional reactions, (verbal) statements, etc.

On the contrary, behaviourists place attitude in individuals’ actual overt behaviour (Bain, 1928). Bain remarks that attitudes can be inferred only by “observation and statistical treatment of behaviour” in particular social conditions (p. 957). In these traditional (positivist) definitions, attitude has been viewed as a favourable or unfavourable reaction to a stimulus and a psychological construct in people’s minds that can be inferred through external behaviour or responses to questionnaires.

In this positivist paradigm, attitudes are seen as individual cognitive representations acquired and possessed by individuals and are considered a component of human individuality (Crano & Prislin, 2008).

In recent times, social constructionism—a new paradigm—is emerging in attitude research that considers attitudes as social, context-dependent and evaluative practices that are used to justify ones’ arguments or criticise opposing views (Hyrkstedt & Kalaja, 1998). Therefore, Kalaja suggests that research on language attitude should focus on how views (attitudes) are constructed through talk or writing within a given context, rather than locating attitudes as stable entities in individuals’ mind (Hyrkstedt & Kalaja, 1998).

Furthermore, attempts have been made to redefine attitude as inherently social and entwined in a social context. Recent studies (Crano, 2001; Prislin et al., 2000) have suggested that attitudes are socially formed and “fundamentally grounded in social consensus, group memberships, and social identities” (Crano & Prislin, 2008, p. 341).

Drawing on and integrating social identity theories, the social identity perspective on attitude focuses on people's cognitive representation of a social group or prototype that describes and prescribes how people think, feel, and behave when faced with objects, events, etc. These prototype-related attitudes are 'normative' and 'they are shared within a group'. This perspective also explains how people embody “in-group normative attitudes as their own” (p. 341).

In this present study, drawing on insights from these definitions, attitudes are defined as individuals' cognitive representations of their social world with which they are related and socially constructed through interactions (talk or writing).

2.2.1 Motivation

The concept—motivation—is widely used in social sciences, especially in applied linguistic and educational studies (Dörnyei et al., 2006). In language studies, attitude and other motivational characters are considered important determinants of successful second language acquisition (SLA) (Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015). Gardner (1985) defines motivation in SLA as: “the combination of effort plus desire to achieve the goal of learning the language plus favourable attitudes toward learning the language” (p. 10). This definition implies that motivation and attitude are interrelated: motivation has components of attitude, and attitudes include motivational implications (Gardner, 2006).

Gardner and Lambert (1959) argue that while learning a second language, learners adopt behaviour patterns of the other language community and that learners' attitude towards that group determines their success in second language learning. Individual learners' interest in or positive attitude towards that L2 language community is referred to as *integrative* motivation (*interpersonal/affective* dimension). However, motivation is labelled as *instrumental* when learners' attitude towards SLA associates with the *practical/utilitarian* dimension (Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015). Some again see these concepts

as a continuum. According to Deci et al. (1991), self-internalisation happens through a continuum from 'amotivation' to 'extrinsic' motivation to 'intrinsic' motivation (Ryan and Deci, 2000). Amotivation means lack of 'an intention to act'. Extrinsic motivation is largely divided into four categories: a) external regulation—the least self-determined form of extrinsic motivation—performance determined by reward or threat/punishment, b) introjection—behaviours formulated in relation to others, especially to impress others or pressurise or create guilt, c) identification—behaviours rooted in individual belief about usefulness (memorising vocabularies is useful for reading), and d) integrated relation—behaviours that are not determined by enjoyment or interest. On the contrary, in intrinsic motivation, learners not only have inherent interest but enjoy doing activities.

As one of the important affective variables in SLA, motivation may positively affect second language learning. It is believed that higher motivation leads to successful second language learning. However, Norton finds that high motivation does not necessarily result in successful language learning because of the unequal power relations between language learners and target language communities (Norton, 2013; Norton & Toohey, 2011). Therefore, another concept, 'investment', is developed to complement motivation. This construct, investment, is found useful to "understand learners' variable desires to engage in social interaction and community practice" (Norton, 2013, p. 6). Norton observed that learners invest in the target language, believing that it will help them acquire an extensive array of symbolic resources such as language, education, etc., and material resources such as money, property, etc. This results in an increase in cultural capital which, in turn, makes learners reassess their feelings about themselves and desires for their future (Norton, 2013; Norton & Toohey, 2011). According to this definition, motivation, like attitude, is related to social and community practice and is not stable.

2.2.2 Identity

As already mentioned above, identity is one of the three important constructs or affective variables in second language learning (Flynn, 2020). Oyserman et al. (2012) define identity as: “the traits and characteristics, social relations, roles and social group memberships that define who one is” and “together, identities makeup one's self-concept” (p. 69). According to this definition, there can be “multiple selves” in one’s self-concept.

In second language learning, identity has been studied in terms of identification (Singleton & Ryan, 2004) and social and psychological distance (Schumann, 1976). Drawing insights from the psychoanalytical perspective, Singleton & Ryan (2004) argue that learners' desire to identify themselves with the target community determines successful second language learning. Schumann (1976) illustrates the relationship between second language learning and identity from a social and psychological perspective: second language learners' social and psychological distance from the target speech community result in restricted speech. When this social and psychological distance reduces, learners may adopt the target language culture and values without losing their own. This concept is closely linked to Lambert's (1974) *additive* and *subtractive* bilingualism. In additive bilingual practice, learners maintain their own ethnic and cultural identity while learning the additional language, whereas, in subtractive bilingualism, learners may lose their identity due to social or educational policies. Identity, in this paradigm, is explained through binary terms such as motivated or amotivated, introvert or extrovert, etc. (Norton & Toohey, 2011). These definitions imply that identity is single and stable or fixed. However, drawing on post structural theories, recent identity theorists define identity as “fluid, context-dependent and context producing” (Norton & Toohey, 2011, p. 414), in particular social and historical contexts. It sometimes coexists within an individual in contradictory ways. Here, “identity is

theorised as multiple, changing, and a site of struggle” (Norton & Toohey, 2011, p. 414). It implies that learners have complex or multiple identities (the socially given and their struggle for), and their identities change throughout time and space.

The following section presents the review of relevant literature available in the area of language attitude.

2.3 Attitude towards the English Language

2.3.1 Language Attitude and Language Use

Studies on language attitude and language use highlight the fact that people’s language attitude changes due to socioeconomic and socio-political changes in a country. Dörnyei et al. (2006) investigated language attitude and motivation in Hungary, involving 13,391 young teenage language learners, 642 teachers and 25 tourism experts. This study conducted its survey historically on three successive occasions (1993, 1999, and 2004) to know the long-term impact of the socio-political changes after the breakdown of Communism in Soviet Russia. This study involved many participants on multiple levels (teenage language learners, teachers and tourist experts) and used multiple instruments (Student Questionnaire, Test Administration Record, and Tourist Exposure questionnaire) for collecting data. Multiple statistical analyses (standard scores (z scores), T-test and ANOVA) were used to compare the scores of subsamples. This study reveals that significant socio-political changes in the country affected the attitudes of the Hungarians and their motivation to learn different languages: English, German, French, Italian, and Russian. Findings also indicate that gender and geographical differences make an impact in terms of second language learning. Regarding gender differences in foreign language learning, girls consistently score higher than boys, whereas, in terms of language choice, more boys than girls prefer English, German and Russian. In 1993, everybody (both boys and girls) favoured English, but in 1999, more boys favoured English than

girls because of the increased use of computer games and the internet by boys. However, this gender difference was reduced in 2004 because of the impact of globalisation. The next important finding of the study is that the geopolitical context too shapes attitudes and motivation in language learning in Hungary. In West Hungary, German is preferred because the region's western neighbour is German-speaking Austria; German-speaking visitors are high in Western Hungary. On the contrary, Russian is endorsed in the east region of the country because Hungary's eastern neighbour is Ukraine (which was the Soviet Union). Other findings state that due to the Englishisation and globalisation, the English language has gained more popularity and other foreign languages, including German, have lost their popularity in Hungary.

Kroon & Kurvers's (2020) study investigated language attitudes, language use, and identity of the East Timorese community in the Netherlands. An open questionnaire without closed items was used to collect data from 8 members of the East Timorese community. Based on participants' willingness, interviews were also conducted with two participants. Most of them had university (6) or college (1) education. Findings illustrate how social and geopolitical context determines language attitude and language use. Before migration to Netherlands, all participants had spoken and written proficiency in Tatum and Indonesian, and six mentioned oral use of Portuguese. Tatum was the most used and most liked language in East Timor by all. Although participants claimed oral and written proficiency in Indonesian (as a result of their schooling during the Indonesian era and learnt Indonesian in school), the language was hardly used and liked because it was considered a language of the enemy. After migrating to Netherlands, nearly all participants claim oral and written proficiency in Tatum, Dutch, Indonesian and English. Dutch and Tatum are mentioned as the most used languages in the Netherlands, but the most liked language is still Tatum. Although participants' children use more than one

language at home, Dutch has become their most liked and most used language. Findings also indicate that all participants subscribe to multiple identities—East Timorese, Asian, Dutch and Catholic identities—coexisting in their lives. All participants opt for Tatum as their language identity. The study explains these findings as there is a shift towards Tatum in East Timorese, and a similar shift is observed in other East Timorese diasporas. These shifts contribute to the growth of a common East Timorese identity.

Caruana (2004, cited in Huguet & Herrarte, 2007) examined Maltese students' language attitude towards Maltese, English, and Italy at the Faculty of Education and Arts at the University of Malta. A questionnaire was administered to 365 students in the Faculty of Education and Arts at the University of Malta. Only 189 (52%) questionnaires were collected back, which included 141 (75%) female and 48 (25%) male respondents. Out of the 189, 157 participants selected Maltese as their mother tongue. Only eight respondents (4.5%) referred to English as their mother tongue. Twenty-three respondents (12%) had learned Maltese and English simultaneously as their first languages. The study results show that 81% of the respondents have an excellent knowledge of Maltese, whereas this drops to 41% for English and 30% for Italian. This study indicates that most respondents' attitudes towards Maltese are more favourable than their attitudes towards English and Italian. Interestingly, the findings of this study reveal that language attitude differs significantly in terms of gender, socioeconomic status, L1, and language proficiency. Male respondents have a more favourable attitude towards Maltese than female participants, but no significant gender differences are noted in relation to their attitude towards English and Italian. Participants with low socioeconomic status (78.5%) express a more favourable attitude towards Maltese than the participants with higher socioeconomic background (27%). In contrast, participants with higher socioeconomic status have more favourable attitudes towards English than the others. Only 34% of

participants from the lower socioeconomic status express a favourable attitude towards English. Another important finding is that there is a strong correlation between language attitudes and self-perceived proficiency. Respondents who rate themselves highly competent in Maltese, English and Italian have a more positive attitude towards the respective languages. Respondents who rate their proficiency high in Maltese and Italian express a less positive attitude towards English. This means that only respondents who rate their proficiency high in English have a more positive attitude towards English.

2.3.2 Attitude towards English

This section includes studies, which investigated attitudes towards English. The findings of these studies illustrate that participants in different contexts have different attitudes towards English, ranging from positive to neutral to negative.

Vennela & Kandharaja (2020) investigated public university students' attitudes towards English and its use in India. In this study, students were treated as agents to see language policy implementation at the micro-level. Twenty students majoring in different fields of study in three public universities, aged 20-30, participated. The participants had different L1s and had an average of 10 years of English medium instruction. They were at different levels of self-perceived English competence. First, participants completed a questionnaire and were asked to express their interest in participating in a focus group interview (FGI). Three FGIs were conducted for three groups of randomly selected participants at three public universities. In FGIs, participants were allowed to speak in English or their preferred language. Their responses were recorded, transcribed, and translated to English. Students' responses were analysed to explain how agency⁴ is disclosed in their language attitudes. Findings indicate that multiple agentive responses

⁴Agency in this study is defined as “agents actively construct and constrain—rather than passively receive” (Ahearn, 2001, p. 112), and individuals' ability to act with their language ecology (Ricento, 2000)

operate in this regard. The first set of agentive responses indicates that English is an essential tool for communicating with the rest of the world. As a result of globalisation and its impact in India, English is considered essential for education and employment. This shows that English is seen as a symbol of upward socioeconomic mobility in India. The second set of agentive responses indicates that English is important, but it is not essential for education and employment. The final set of responses reveals that English is not required in education and employment in India. Many of these students have come with Hindi-medium education at school. They deny the importance of English in education and employment. Findings of this study reveal that Indian university students have various attitudes towards English—from uncritical acceptance to functional (passive) acceptance to resistance.

Hyrkstedt & Kalaja (1998) examined college students' attitudes towards English and its use in Finland. In this study, a new social constructivist paradigm⁵ was used to analyse Finns' attitudes towards English. A copy of the letter (titled 'Is English our second mother tongue?') was given to 80 college students to express their responses. Of 80, 57 volunteers produced write-ups of about 30 to 400 words. The letter had three arguments: a) Finnish had lost its vitality due to the use of more English phrases, b) purity of the Finnish language must be protected, and c) Finns' competence in English was not satisfactory. The collected responses were analysed against these three arguments. A two-stage analysis was carried out. In the first stage, patterns were drawn from the data in terms of consistency or variability in students' responses to the letter, whereas the second

⁵ In the social constructivist paradigm, language is seen as "a direct reflection of what goes on in a person's mind to a means of constructing the social world, or versions of it, in the course of everyday interactions. At the same time, these constructions are constructed out of the linguistic resources available in a society..." (Hyrkstedt & Kalaja, 1998, p. 347). In this paradigm, attitudes and other mental entities are considered properties of discourse. Therefore, it is possible to study directly "how these are constructed by individuals jointly in their talk or writing" (p. 347).

stage focused on reflexivity in their attitudes (their arguments about the use of English). Results indicate that Finnish students express complex and contradictory attitudes towards English. Many college students exhibit a negative attitude towards English in order to preserve the purity of the Finnish language and Finnish national identity. However, believing that language change is natural and universal, some of them accept and appreciate the non-standard colloquial use of English because in doing so, Finnish speak English better than the other northern European countries. Moreover, they consider the colloquial use of English a useful reward.

Galloway (2011) investigated university students' attitudes towards English in Japan. This study examined the impact of teaching Global Englishes on their attitude. Sequential mixed methods⁶ was employed, using questionnaires, interviews and focus groups. Furthermore, considering the importance of social factors in attitude formation, this study included ethnographic elements such as field observation, field notes, etc. One hundred sixteen undergraduate students with an intermediate level of proficiency from Kanda University of International Studies participated. Of 116, 58 students were from the Global English (GE) course and 58 from the non-global English (NGE) course. A questionnaire was piloted before using it to collect data. Twenty-six interviews and four focus groups (FG) interactions were conducted. The interview question was piloted with one student. Of 4 FG interactions, FG1 & FG3 were conducted with GE students and FG2 & FG4 with NGE students. Each FG interaction had six students. NVivo software was used to analyse the responses obtained through open-ended questions. Using PASW (Predicting Analytics Software—another name for SPSS), descriptive analysis was carried out to analyse quantitative data. While analysing the responses obtained through

⁶A sequential mixed methods design is "a two-space mixed-methods design" in which "qualitative data helps explain or build upon initial quantitative results" (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007, p. 71)

open-ended questions, six steps of thematic analysis were followed. Thematic analysis was used to analyse interview and FG data. Findings indicate that students have a more favourable attitude towards Native English (NE) and Native English speakers (NES) of English. NE and NS are found helpful in learning English, and hence, they express a strong desire to have ELT materials and teachers from inner-circle countries. The study shows that students want to obtain NE proficiency because they consider NE authentic and very attractive. However, students are aware of non-native English (NNE) and GE and feel comfortable using them with non-native speakers (NNS), although their attitudes towards NNE are largely negative because they think that NNE is imperfect. Also, they believe that NE is widely used for international communication. Findings also indicate that the GE course influences students' attitudes towards English in many ways. GE students are aware of the spread of NE and its negative consequences. They have a more favourable attitude towards EFL and ESL varieties, including Japanese English, Singapore English, and Malay English. On the contrary, NGE students consider NE more authentic.

2.3.3 Attitude towards Englishes

This section includes studies that investigated attitudes towards Englishes (English language varieties).

Bernaisch (2012) investigated Sri Lankan's attitude towards English language varieties such as Sri Lankan English (SLE), Indian English (IE), British English (BE) and American English (AE). Findings suggest that although participants express a positive attitude towards all the four varieties, BE is valued higher, which is followed by SLE. Next, AE and IE are rated third and fourth, respectively. The study also shows that British English is perceived as a language of social hegemony that the ruling elites use to maintain their privileges over the majority who do not speak it. At the same time,

acquiring skills in English is considered important to challenge the privileges monopolised by some. In addition, the ruling elites are even suspected of disseminating less privileged local English variety to others. However, the study also shows that a tiny proportion of society acknowledges Sri Lankan English as a standard variety. This study used a survey questionnaire on 13 semantic differential scales. 169 informants (60.1 % female & 39.9% male) participated in the study. Some of them were students (35.5%), businessmen (31.1%), employees at university (18.7%), and teachers at private and public institutions (11.4%). Out of 169 informants, 77.7% had Sinhalese as their first language. Next, 16.4% and 5.6% spoke English and Tamil as their first language, respectively.

On the other hand, slightly different results were produced when a similar study (Bernaisch & Koch, 2016) was conducted in India to explore Indians' attitudes towards the local variety (Indian English), British English (BE), American English (AE), and Sri Lankan English (SLE). In this study, participants express a more positive attitude towards Indian English. However, they attach higher values to BE. Moreover, findings indicate gender differences in the informants' attitudes. The female informants express a more favourable attitude towards Indian English than the male informants. This study included 94 informants (64.89 % female & 35.11% male). 59.57% of the samples were from the English and Foreign Language University (EFLU), Hyderabad, and 37.23% were from schools and colleges in Nashik. Marathi (22.34%) was the most recurrent first language in the sample, followed by Hindi (17.2%) and Telugu (12.77%).

2.3.4 Attitude towards Target Language /Culture/Communities

This section includes studies (Jabeen & Shah, 2011; Rostami, 2016) which investigated students' attitudes towards target culture and target language communities.

Jabeen & Shah (2011) investigated Pakistani EFL learners' attitudes towards the use of target language culture in English language classrooms. This study included 94

EFL learners at the postgraduate level at Government College University, Faisalabad. Thirty-seven students from commerce, 31 from economics, and 26 from management sciences participated. A questionnaire was administered to collect data. The data consisted of 62 male and 32 female students, and 97% of the thirty-seven belonged to the 19-25 age group. A representative sampling method was used to select the target population and generalise results. Using SPSS software, the correlation between the participants' responses to the use of target language culture, educational and socioeconomic status was studied. Results indicate that 87% of the students at Government College University have a negative attitude towards the use of target language culture in the English language classroom because they prefer Islamic culture in English language teaching materials. The study shows that participants with lower income status have a favourable attitude towards the target language culture, and as the socioeconomic status increases, participants' express negative attitudes. However, even those participants who express a positive attitude view some aspects of the target language culture negatively. Likewise, the participants who exhibit a negative attitude towards the target culture have no objections to learning some aspects of it. Results also showed that 52% of the participants' motivation to learn English is to get higher education, whereas this figure drops to 21% for research purposes. Nearly 10% of the respondents learn English to improve their socioeconomic status. Less than 10% of the participants' motivation to learn English is to visit English-speaking countries and learn American culture. The participants' negative attitude towards the target language culture can be understood in relation to their motivation to learn English. The study explains these findings in the present context of Pakistan, where little or no tolerance is expressed towards conflicting perspectives and beliefs.

On the contrary, Rostami (2016) finds that both teachers and students have a more positive attitude towards foreign language culture in their classrooms in Iran. This study investigated attitudes of English teachers and students towards the role of culture in their language classrooms. In this study, eight teachers and 32 students participated from 4 language institutes. Students were found to be at the intermediate level in terms of their English competence. All students who participated in this study were women and represented the age group of 16-22. Teachers' and students' questionnaires were developed. After administering questionnaires, semi-structured interviews were conducted with teachers, and each session lasted 30 minutes. Exploratory content analysis was used to analyse the interview data. Interviews were also conducted with each student, but the study did not offer any details in this regard. Findings indicate that most teachers (62%) consider teaching target language culture important because teaching foreign culture can motivate students and help them understand linguistic and cultural differences. Results of teachers' interview analysis also highlight that all teachers consider culture and language as interrelated, and think that speaking a foreign language appropriately requires adherence to the cultural practices of its speakers. However, they also show concern for preserving Iranian culture. The study also shows that students also have a more favourable attitude towards learning culture in their English language classes, and they are highly enthusiastic about learning the lifestyle of other people. Both teachers' and students' attitudes are positive in this regard, and there is no significant difference between teachers' and students' attitudes. This study explains that Iranians still believe in world English. Therefore, their attitudes show a strong inclination towards the target language culture.

2.3.5 Attitude towards Learning English

This section includes studies (Zulfikar et al., 2019; Khatoon, 2020; Senturk, 2019; and Zulkefly & Razali, 2019) which investigated students' attitudes towards learning English.

Zulfikar et al. (2019) investigated attitudes of English department students towards learning English in Indonesia. This study used a mixed-methods design utilising questionnaires and semi-structured interviews. Based on students' highest and lowest scores in every aspect of the questionnaire, six students were selected out of 55 students in the department using the purposive sampling technique. Only results of interview analysis were reported in this article. Interviews were transcribed and analysed through open, axial and selected coding. Results indicate that students have positive attitudes towards learning English. They think that learning English is essential for their academic requirements, better future, and enjoyment (watching English movies and listening to English songs). They find learning English easy, but their interest decreases as a result of their teachers' instructional strategies. For instance, one student states that understanding an English lesson depends on the lecturers' ability to explain it clearly. Two others reported experiencing a lot of anxiety while speaking in English. Results of this study show that students' English learning is influenced by teachers' ability to transfer English language skills.

Khatoon (2020) investigated higher secondary students' attitudes towards learning English in Hyderabad, India. 200 higher secondary students from 2 rural and two urban schools were randomly selected. These schools also were randomly selected from the list of public and private schools in Hyderabad. This study used a questionnaire to collect data from 100 male and 100 female students. Descriptive statistical analysis was carried out. Results indicate that there is not any difference in male and female students' attitudes

towards learning. However, there are significant differences in rural and urban students' attitudes towards learning English.

Senturk (2019) investigated attitudes of undergraduate students towards learning English at Bartın University, Turkey. A questionnaire was developed to focus on attitude and motivation towards learning English, target language community, and learning Turkish. This study included 60 A2-level students at the beginning of their undergraduate education at Bartın University, Turkey. Participants represented various disciplines such as engineering, management and philosophy. SPSS software was used to analyse the data obtained through the questionnaire. Findings indicate that most students want to learn the target language culture and be a part of it because they have a strong desire to work abroad and have a better livelihood. Their attitude towards the target community also suggests that they are more willing to meet members of English-speaking communities. Results also indicate that students want to learn and speak English fluently and accurately for their own sake. Besides, students' responses show that family members may have influenced them to choose English. These results are interpreted in the background of the Turkish university context where although English is not a compulsory subject in the preparatory school at Bartın University, these students voluntarily choose to study English. This also suggests that they are highly enthusiastic about learning English.

Zulkefly & Razali (2019) investigated rural students' attitudes towards learning English as a second language (ESL) in Malaysia and explored factors that affect their attitudes. This study used a case study approach to explore four purposively selected students' attitudes towards learning English. Criteria for selecting the study participants included students' gender, race, and level of English proficiency. At least one sample represented Malay, Indian, and Chinese ethnicity, as these are the three important ethnic groups in Malaysia. Of 4, 2 students were from grade 1 class and two students from grade

2. Semi-structured interviews, observation, and field notes were used for the study purpose. First, each student was observed three times in her school environment, and relevant documents were collected and analysed to understand their perspectives on English and exposure to the language. Field notes were taken during English lessons and in other formal and informal learning situations to record their attitude towards learning English. Then, interviews were conducted with each student. Thematic analysis was carried out to identify themes emerging with the whole data set. First, all data (interviews, observation, and field notes) were compiled together, then disassembled into parts, and finally reassembled into the identified themes. Also, similar procedures were followed to analyse each data set separately to triangulate findings. Findings indicate that Devi and Fahim (from the form or grade 1) have a positive attitude towards learning English. Devi uses English to talk to her cousin, who speaks English as a first language and does not speak Tamil (Devi's mother tongue). She has an opportunity to practice English at home. Also, her parents provide her with sufficient English material (including videos and movies) to develop her interest. Fahim, on the other hand, hardly has any opportunity to speak English at home or in his social environment. The classroom is the only place where he could use English. Although he considers English essential to get a job, he has little interest in learning/using English because he finds it challenging. He does not make much effort to improve his English, and he rarely watches English movies and listens to English music. Furthermore, he does not pay attention to his teacher and discussing with friends. This study explains that although he claims English to be essential because the society around him thinks so, he does not have a strong desire to learn and use English. In Jason's and Jonathan's case (from the form or grade 2), they are not motivated by their parents. However, they believe that English is essential for securing a good job and a better future. English is not used for communication at Jason's home, but he creates an English-

speaking environment with great effort by using English with his cousins whose English proficiency is high. He is very passionate about learning English, and hence he reads English books in the school library but rarely watches English movies. On the one hand, Jonathan prefers to use Tamil at home because people generally speak Tamil around his house. Moreover, he never reads books in the school library and does not make an effort to learn English by watching English movies or listening to English songs. These findings indicate that although all the participants have a more positive attitude towards English, their effort to learn and improve English differs, which, in turn, has an impact on their English proficiency. These findings were explained in the background of classroom teaching, as these students would be more enthusiastic and interested in learning English if their teachers used different teaching approaches. Some of these students had lost interest in learning English because of their past experiences when exposed to humiliation by their teachers and friends.

2.3.6 Attitude and motivation towards Learning English

This section includes studies (Nazari, 2015 and Öztürk, 2014) that investigated the relationships between attitude and motivation in learning English. These studies find that there is a positive correlation between attitude and motivation in learning English. Students' gender and levels of education are found to be affective variables in one study, and those become insignificant in the other.

Nazari (2015) investigated university students' motivation and attitude towards learning English at Rasht Islamic Azad University, Iran. This study examined undergraduate and postgraduate students' motivation and attitude towards learning English. 100 undergraduate and 45 postgraduate students majoring in English at Rasht Islamic Azad University were randomly selected to participate in this study. This included 35 male and 110 female participants. A questionnaire was adapted from Gardner's (1985)

Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (AMTB). Some items were modified or removed from the questionnaire to suit the study participants. The questionnaire contained closed items on a 6 point Likert scale (1= strongly disagree and 6= strongly agree). Descriptive statistical analysis was carried out to calculate means (M) and standard deviations (SD). Mann Whitney U test was used to examine differences in participants' attitudes and motivations in terms of gender and levels of education. Findings indicate that the relationships between motivation and attitude are evident. Students who have a higher level of motivation have a more positive attitude towards learning English. The Mann Whitney U test results indicate that the differences in male and female students' motivation and attitude towards learning English are not statistically significant. Similarly, there is no difference between undergraduate and postgraduate students' motivation and attitude towards learning English.

Öztürk (2014) investigated attitudes and motivation of preparatory students towards learning English at DokuzEylul University (DEU), Turkey. This study also explored the factors that affect their attitudes and motivation. Five hundred eleven preparatory students from the School of Foreign Languages at DEU participated. This included 193 female and 318 male students belonging to three groups in terms of their levels of English proficiency: elementary (N = 74), pre-intermediate (N = 334) and intermediate students (N = 74). An attitude questionnaire and motivation scales for learning English were used to collect data. SPSS software was used to analyse the data: Frequency, Mean, Multiple Comparisons, T-test, Pearson Correlation and Coefficient, and one-way ANOVA were run during analysis. Findings indicate a statistically significant positive correlation between attitudes and motivation of preparatory students towards learning English. This implies that students with a more favourable attitude towards learning English are the ones that are highly motivated to learn it. Findings also

indicate that students' attitudes and motivations to learn English vary in terms of age, level of English proficiency and parents' level of education. The youngest (17 years) and the oldest (24 years) age groups have a less favourable attitude towards learning English than the other age groups in the data. Pre-intermediate learners have a more positive attitude towards learning English than elementary and intermediate learners. Students, whose fathers have postgraduate degrees, have a more positive attitude towards English than the others whose fathers have a primary and high school education. In addition, similar results are obtained while analysing the relations between all these factors (including gender) and students' motivation.

2.3.7 Anxiety and Attitude towards Learning English

This section includes studies (Hussain et al., 2011 and Santos et al., 2018) that investigated the relations between anxiety and attitude to learning English. These studies find that the correlation between anxiety and attitude to learning English as a foreign language is significant, and their correlation is negative. Moreover, gender differences are significant because female students have more positive attitude and experience a higher level of anxiety than their counterparts.

Hussain et al. (2011) investigated secondary (10th grade) students' anxiety and attitude towards foreign language learning in Punjab Province, Pakistan. In this study, 720 students (360 males and 360 females), who studied English as a compulsory subject, participated from 6 districts of the Punjab Province. Language anxiety and language attitude scales were used to collect data. The questionnaire's validity was obtained through experts' opinions. Responses to the questionnaire were received on a 5-point Likert scale (strongly agree to strongly disagree). Using SPSS, the percentage was calculated to determine students' anxiety and attitude towards learning English, and Pearson coefficient analysis was used to examine the relations between anxieties and attitude. In addition, the

t-test and Post-hoc test (Tukey's Honest Significant Difference) was carried out to determine gender differences and points of differences, respectively. Results indicate that a significant difference is found in boys' and girls' foreign language anxiety. Likewise, a significant difference is evident in participants' attitudes towards learning English. The results also indicated that correlations between these two variables (anxiety and attitude) are significant. Moreover, the nature of their correlations is negative, which means that when one variable increases, the other decreases. This indicates that when students have high foreign language anxiety, their attitude towards learning English is negative. This study explains that students feel anxious because they are not confident while communicating or taking a test in their English language classrooms.

Santos et al. (2018) investigated undergraduate students' attitudes and anxieties towards English in the Basque Country in Spain. This study included 360 undergraduate students majoring in Business (N=180) and Education (N=180) at the University of Basque Country. Of 360, 214 (59.4%) were female and 146 (40.6%) male students. Participants' average age was 20.3 years (SD = 2.7). Attitude questionnaire⁷ and Anxiety scales⁸ were used to collect data. The questionnaire consisted of 19 items, and of 19, the first 12 items were categorised as 'Positive Attitude' (factor 1), and the last eight items were 'Personal commitment and motivation to learn English' (factor 2). SPSS software was used to analyse the data. First, factor analysis was carried out for factor 1 and factor 2. Then, a one-way ANOVA was carried out to examine the differences in Business management and Education students' attitudes towards English. Results indicate that overall, students have a favourable attitude towards English. However, there are also differences in terms of course and gender. Business students have more positive attitudes

⁷ The attitude questionnaire was adopted from Gardner's (2004) Attitude/Motivation Test Battery.

⁸ Anxiety scales were drawn from Horwitz (1986) and Horwitz et al. (1986)

and a higher level of motivation than education students. In addition, Business management students are more anxious about their communicative competence than Education students. However, the differences between business and education students' communicative anxiety are not significant. Results also indicate the gender differences in attitudes, anxieties, and motivation of business and education students: female students have a more favourable attitude and a higher level of motivation towards English than male students. Female business students are more concerned about their communicative competence than male business and female education students. Male education students' concern about their communicative competence is low.

2.3.8 Attitude, Motivation and Anxiety towards Learning English

This section includes a study (Jain & Sidhu, 2013) that investigated the relationships between three variables: anxiety, attitude and motivation. This study's findings indicate a positive correlation between attitude and motivation, whereas the correlation between anxiety and attitude is significant, but the nature of correlation is negative. Similarly, anxiety and motivation are negatively correlated. This study also finds that students' levels of anxiety, attitude, and motivation differ in terms of their English proficiency level.

Jain & Sidhu (2013) investigated the relationship between anxiety, attitude and motivation of undergraduate students towards learning English as a second language (ESL). This study used a questionnaire to collect data from randomly selected participants from the Faculty of Education in a local university. Seventy questionnaires were distributed, and 60 were collected back. The data consisted of 30 students majoring in science and 30 students in non-science education, and 16 (26.6%) males and 44 (73.3%) females. 48 (80%) of the total participants had low proficiency in English, 8 (13.3%) had average proficiency, and 4 (6.67%) high proficiency. Interviews were conducted with five

randomly selected participants from each major. The mean score was calculated for the three variables. The mean score of Anxiety [3.52 (SD = 0.41)] indicate that the participants' anxiety level is high while learning English. The mean score of attitude [4.06 (SD = 0.51)] and motivation [3.83, SD = 0.52)] indicate that participants have positive attitudes and high-level motivation towards learning ESL. Pearson correlation coefficients analysis was employed to examine the relationships between the three variables. The correlation analysis score ($r = -0.676$, $p = 0.000$) of anxiety and attitude indicates a significant and negative correlation between these two variables. This means that an increase in students' level of anxiety negatively affects their attitude towards learning ESL. Similarly, the correlation between anxiety and motivation ($r = -0.618$, $p = 0.000$) is significant and negative. This implies that an increase in students' anxiety levels decreases their motivation level in learning ESL. However, results indicate a strong and positive correlation between attitude and motivation. The correlation between these two variables ($r = 0.799$, $p = 0.000$) indicates that an increase in students' motivation results in a more positive attitude towards learning ESL. Similar patterns are identified among science & non-science students and males & females. However, the correlation between anxiety and attitude is not significant among the high and average proficiency students, but it is significant and negative among the low proficiency students. The correlation between attitude and motivation is significant among high and low proficiency students, but it is not significant among the average proficiency students. The correlation between anxiety and motivation was negative and insignificant among high proficiency students, low and insignificant among the average proficiency students, and significant and negative relations among the low proficiency students.

2.3.9 Attitude towards learning English and Academic Achievement

This section includes studies (Anuradha & Rengaraj, 2017; Rukh, 2014; Dehbozorgi, 2012) that investigated the relations between students' attitudes to learning English and academic achievement/ language proficiency. The findings of the studies [Anuradha & Rengaraj (2017) and Ruk (2014)] indicate a strong and positive correlation between attitude and academic achievement. In contrast, Dehbozorgi (2012) finds that the relations between students' attitudes and proficiency levels are not significant.

Anuradha & Rengaraj (2017) investigated undergraduate students' attitudes towards learning English. The relation between students' attitudes towards learning English and academic achievement was also investigated. This study adopted a questionnaire developed by Rukh (2014), which contained ten items on a 3-point Likert scale. It was administered to 40 first-year Engineering students (B.Tech) at Dr. M.G.R. Educational and Research Institute, Chennai. Data consisted of 10 boys and 30 girls, and all belonged to the age group of 18-20. The study reports that more than 80% of the participants are proud of learning English and are excited while communicating in English. These respondents think that learning English will help them get a job, increase their confidence, and study other subjects. Moreover, English is seen as a sign of education. Overall, participants' attitude towards learning English is positive. Findings also indicate that attitudes of students towards learning English correlate with their academic achievement.

Rukh (2014) examined business students' attitude towards learning English and academic achievement. This study used a questionnaire that consisted of 10 closed items. Out of 10, the first five items were used to measure attitude towards learning English and the last five to explore the relations between their attitude towards English and academic achievement. A convenient sampling technique was used to select 200 final-year MBA

students from four districts in Punjab, Pakistan. The data consisted of 50 participants (25 from private and 25 from the government sector) from each district. SPSS software was used to analyse the data, and frequency was counted. The study reports that nearly 80% of the students feel proud and excited about learning English. Learning English is seen as a sign of education and an instrument to study other subjects, get a new job and build confidence by most participants (around 90% and above). Nearly 70% of the students find it helpful to study other subjects. This study concluded that business students have a positive attitude towards learning English, and there is a strong correlation between their attitudes and academic achievement.

Dehbozorgi (2012) investigated EFL learners' attitudes towards learning English and risk-taking.⁹ The study also investigated the relationship between risk-taking and proficiency. Attitude questionnaire, risk-taking (Venturesomeness) questionnaire¹⁰, and Oxford Quick Placement Test (2005) were used to collect data. As the test consisted of two sections—section 1 (question 1 to 40) and section 2 (question 41-60)—all students attended the first section and only students who scored more than 90% were allowed to take the second section. 120 EFL learners (41 males and 79 females) pursuing English Translation as a field of study at Marvdasht Azad University, Iran, participated in this study. They belonged to the age group of 18-30 years. SPSS software was used to analyse the data, and one-way ANOVA was used to study the impact of attitude and risk-taking on proficiency. According to their proficiency level, students were divided into three: elementary, intermediate, and advanced. Results indicate that respondents express a more favourable attitude towards learning English. Moreover, results of one way ANOVA [the

⁹Risk-taking was defined as not being afraid of committing mistakes; is seen as essential to learning (Dehbozorgi, 2012).

¹⁰ Venturesomeness, one of the three subscales in the Eysenck IVE questionnaire (Eysenck & Eysenck, 1978), was adapted to measure students' risk-taking.

p-value: 0.17 ($p > 0.05$)] indicate that the relations between students' attitude and their proficiency levels are not statistically significant. However, p-value: 0.009 ($P < 0.05$) reveals significant differences in risk-taking across students' proficiency levels. A post hoc test carried out reveals differences in risk-taking across the three proficiency levels. It shows that intermediate level students take more risks than elementary and advanced proficiency levels. This study explains that the relation between language attitude, risk-taking and language proficiency is not significant because various other factors such as societal views, exposure to the target language and target community are also essential to improving language proficiency.

2.3.10 Attitude towards English Medium Instruction

This section includes studies (Flowerdew et al., 1998; Dearden & Macaro, 2016; Ramanathan, 2005) that investigated teachers' attitudes towards English medium instruction. The findings of these studies indicate that teachers have a more favourable attitude towards English medium instruction. However, students' and teachers' levels of English proficiency and institutional infrastructure are considered as affective variables of teachers' attitudes towards English medium instruction. Interestingly, Flowerdew et al. (1998) find that the use of Cantonese during English medium instruction helps teachers establish solidarity with their students and make their students understand concepts well. Moreover, Ramanathan (2005) finds that the use of vernacular language in English classrooms reduces students' anxiety levels.

Flowerdew et al. (1998) investigated lecturers' attitudes towards the English medium policy at a Hong Kong University. During data collection, 37 lecturers were contacted using the telephone directory of the City University of Hong Kong to take part in this study. Twenty-seven lecturers agreed to participate, but only 20 of them were selected, considering their Cantonese L1, age, gender, and discipline. The data included

14 male and six female lecturers from humanities and sciences with their experience ranging from 1 to 30 years. A questionnaire, in-depth interviews, and follow up contacts with lecturers were the data collection instruments. A questionnaire was used to collect factual data of respondents and their attitude towards teaching at the City University. Then the questionnaire data were used to set up in-depth and semi-structured interviews. Interviews were transcribed and translated into English. First, researchers analysed the data independently, and then, together. The data were coded into categories developed out of the analysis. The study reports that although many participants agree to the English medium policy of the university, they emphasise flexibility in practice. According to these lecturers, English is vital for maintaining the country's economy and its international competitiveness. In addition, students need to develop communication skills in English for their professional career after their graduation. However, the study reports some problems in applying the English medium policy: students' poor English competency, unwillingness to participate in the classroom discussion and difficulty in understanding the subjects are mentioned as problems. Moreover, students also put some pressure on teachers to use Cantonese. Although Cantonese is seen as an obstacle to instruct efficiently in English, it increases the amount of classroom interaction and materials covered. It is found useful to compensate students' poor English competency, ensure their comprehension, make difficult concepts easy, and minimise the discrimination against the students who have poor English competency. Above all, the use of Cantonese while instructing in English is seen as natural by lecturers. This also helps them ascertain ethnic solidarity with students.

Dearden & Macaro, (2016) investigated teachers' attitudes towards English medium instruction in their universities. This study was carried out in three countries: Austria, Italy and Poland. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 25 teachers in

English under the impression that conducting interviews in English did not cause any problems. During analysis, interview recordings were transcribed, and themes and patterns were identified in the participants' responses. Findings reveal that English medium instruction is increasing in all three countries because of the internationalisation of higher education. At the same time, the infrastructure of higher educational institutes itself is seen as a problem in implementing English medium instruction. However, most teachers were found to have a favourable attitude towards English medium instruction.

Ramanathan (2005) in 'The English-vernacular divide: Postcolonial Language Politics and Practice' investigated English and vernacular divide as gender, caste and class divide in postcolonial India. The work examined how the state and national policies and institutional practices are linked with empowering the high and the middle class. This critical ethnography study used anthropology/sociology theories to look into social groups' school and cultural practices. This project was conducted at Ahmadabad and Gujarat. During the study, Jesuit College (pro-Vernacular college), a women's college (vernacular medium), and a private English college (which allows vernacular medium students based on their proficiency) were the research sites for collecting data. The study conducted 21 interviews with faculty and more than 80 interviews with Gujarati and English medium students. In addition, classroom observation (more than 100 hours) and written documents, including university syllabus, textbooks, students' responses, sample exam questions, notices and circulars, advertisements, and opinions on educational issues in newspaper articles, were also collected. The study's finding indicates that divergent pedagogical practices (e.g. the use of different textbooks in EM and VM) produce English versus vernacular knowledge which, in turn, creates many challenges to VM students in tertiary education. Compared to EM students, VM students struggle to understand concepts if they are taught in English. However, some English teachers, with their effort,

could help VM students understand concepts, using vernacular languages in their L2 classrooms. This is one of the ways by which English teachers can bridge the gap between EM and VM students. The study also points out that the teachers who were trained in literature fail to improve the communicative skills of the vernacular medium students. However, extra English classes and extracurricular activities conducted by the Jesuit College improved the English of the VM students, which also led to bridging the gap between English and vernacular medium students.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed important concepts related to language attitudes, such as motivation and identity. In addition, the discussion highlights many factors that affect students' anxiety, attitude, and motivation to learn English. Many studies discussed in this chapter focus either on students' or teachers' attitudes towards English. This discussion shows that according to most studies, understanding students' attitudes towards the target language is important in the understanding of teaching and learning English as a second or foreign language. It helps teachers create a more inclusive classroom atmosphere, reduce students' anxiety levels and encourage students' autonomous learning. To see the impact they have on one another, the present study focuses on teachers' and students' attitudes towards English. Review of literature also shows that study of language attitude with focus on one particular class or community has not been attempted before. Since class and community have a very important role in moulding attitudes in India, the researcher decided to focus on attitudes of Dalits towards English in the present study.

CHAPTER - 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a discussion of the research methodology employed in the study to investigate the research questions outlined in Chapter 1. In short, this study adopts a mixed-method approach to investigate the present and the historical attitudes of Dalits towards English.

In this chapter, first, research questions have been outlined. Next, a discussion of research methodology and research design follows. Then, this chapter discusses the methods adopted in this study: a) self-reported questionnaire surveys, b) semi-structured personal interviews, and c) documents and records. Subsequently, justifications for the choice of methodology made for this study are presented. In addition, ethical matters considering the research process are reported.

3.2 Research Questions

As discussed in the previous chapter, the aims of this study are a) to explore the present attitudes of Dalit students and teachers towards English in Tamil Nadu and b) to investigate the historical attitudes of anti-caste intellectuals towards English in the Tamil-speaking Madras Presidency. In order to examine attitudes of Dalit students, teachers and thinkers towards English, the following research questions were designed:

- 1) What are the present attitudes of Dalit students and teachers towards English in Tamil Nadu?
- 2) What were the attitudes of anti-caste intellectuals towards English in the Madras Presidency in the period 1890-1970?

- 3) How can these attitudes be interpreted in the background of the history of English teaching/ learning in India?

3.3 Mixed methods design

As stated before, this research adopts a mixed-methods design. In mixed-method studies, “the researcher mixes research techniques, methods, approaches, concepts or language into a single study or set of related studies” (Johnson et al., 2007, p. 120). In this approach, mixing can occur at all the stages of research (for instance, data collection, analysis, and interpretations). Given these viewpoints, mixed methods research can be defined as:

the type of research in which a researcher or team of researchers combines elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches (e.g., use of qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, data collection, analysis, inference techniques) for the broad purposes of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration (Johnson et al., 2007, p. 123).

An important assumption implied in this definition is that the combination of both quantitative data (statistical trends) and qualitative data (individual experiences) provides a better or fuller understanding of the phenomenon being investigated than either one of them alone. Also, this would allow us to draw on the strengths and minimise the weakness of both qualitative and quantitative approach in a single study.

Moreover, some believe that the distinctions between qualitative and quantitative research are not strictly exclusive. They are “overstated binaries” (Duff, 2006, p. 66). For instance, Richards (2014) points out that all qualitative research collects some numerical information (such as age) and similarly, all quantitative research collects some non-numeric information, (such as gender). She further mentions that both qualitative and quantitative studies “do not inhabit different worlds but they are different ways of...

creating and recording observations of the same world” (p. 42). Likewise, Miles and Huberman (1994) affirm that “all data are qualitative” in some ways because “they refer to the essence of people, objects, and situations” (p. 9). Furthermore, they state that sometimes our raw experience is converted into words and at other times, into numbers. Hence, qualitative and quantitative research forms “a continuum” (Dörnyei, 2007). This perspective informs the emergence of the third research paradigm, the mixed methods research, “that can help bridge the schism between quantitative and qualitative research” (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004, p. 14).

In this study, the mixed methods design was used to investigate attitudes towards English. It was felt useful to gain a more comprehensive understanding, to ensure internal consistency, and to validate findings from each approach (qualitative and quantitative). The mixed-methods design has been adopted here with the combination of interviews, questionnaire, and historical documents.

3.4 Research design

Previous studies in this field, especially the studies which investigated attitude towards language learning and language varieties, frequently used a quantitative approach and included a large number of participants in order to generalise the results (Soomro, 2016). However, Soomro points out that in such studies, the significance of cultural context is not taken into consideration (ibid). In order to overcome such issues, a mixed-methods design was preferred. This study collected both quantitative and qualitative data in order to gain a better understanding of Dalit attitudes towards English.

This study used a mixed-methods design considering the methodological strength of combining quantitative and qualitative methods in a single study, thus, it helped us gain ‘a fuller understanding of a target phenomenon’ (Dörnyei, 2007, p.164). Furthermore, this study followed the following order: Qual + Quan (Dörnyei, 2007). In the Qual +

Quant order, the capital letters indicate “equal status” (p. 169). This study is neither qualitative nor quantitative dominant. The plus symbol (+) indicates concurrent design—qualitative and quantitative data were collected simultaneously (Creswell & Clark, 2017; Dörnyei, 2007; Mackey & Bryfonski, 2018). The concurrent designs are generally considered “invaluable” when the investigated phenomenon has several levels (Dörnyei, 2007). For instance, this study examines Dalits’ attitude towards English at teachers’ level using interviews, students’ level using questionnaires, and anti-caste intellectuals’ level using document analysis. Also, concurrent designs are useful for integrating micro and macro perspectives. For instance, quantitative research provides “large-scale trends in social life”, whereas qualitative research offers a micro analysis of how the individuals perceive the broader trends (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 173).

The following section describes the selection of the study participants.

3.5 Selection of Participants

3.5.1 Selection of the Student Participants

Research students who were pursuing MPhil or PhD in the state or central universities in Tamil Nadu participated in this study. The questionnaire was individually administered to 130 students. Out of 130, 124 (95%) students returned the filled-in questionnaires. Out of 124, 114 were complete and 10 were incomplete. From 114, 59 (52%) students who belong to SC and ST categories were selected based on categories mentioned in the questionnaire. Surprisingly, only two ST participants were found in the whole data (Table 2.1).

The current study focused on research students from the selected state and central universities in Tamil Nadu, assuming that these universities have centres for research programmes. In order to administer the questionnaire for research students (MPhil and PhD), the researcher visited the following universities: a) Annamalai University,

Chidambaram, b) Bharathiar University, Coimbatore, c) Bharathidasan University, Tiruchirappalli, d) University of Madras, Chennai, e) Madurai Kamaraj University, Madurai, f) Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, Tirunelveli, and g) Pondicherry University, Pondicherry. Table 2.1 presents the details of the participants' category, institution/ university, and information about whether they are first-generation learners or not.

Table 2.1 Details of the Student Participants' Category, Generation, and Institution/University

Generation	Category	Institution/University							
		AU	BU	BDU	UOM	MKU	MSU	PU	Total
First-generation English learner	SC	7	8	2	7	9	2	10	45
	ST	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	MBC	2	0	1	1	3	3	1	11
	BC	1	3	0	1	3	2	5	15
	OC	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	4
Total		11	12	4	11	15	7	16	76
Second generation English learner	SC	0	0	3	1	1	3	4	12
	ST	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
	MBC	0	0	4	0	1	2	0	7
	BC	2	4	1	1	2	1	0	11
	OC	1	1	0	2	0	1	2	7
Total		3	5	8	5	4	7	6	38
	SC	7	8	5	8	10	5	14	57
	ST	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2
	MBC	2	0	5	1	4	5	1	18
	BC	3	7	1	2	5	3	5	26
	OC	2	1	1	4	0	1	2	11
Total		14	17	12	16	19	14	22	114

*SC = Schedule Caste	*ST = Schedule Tribe	*MBC = Most Backward Castes
*BC = Backward Caste	*OC = Other Caste	
* AU = Annamalai University, Chidambaram	* BU = Bharathiar University, Coimbatore	* BDU = Bharathidasan University, Tiruchirappalli
* UOM = University of Madras, Chennai		
* MKU = Madurai Kamaraj University, Madurai		
* MSU = Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, Tirunelveli		
* PU = Pondicherry University, Kalapet, Pondicherry		

Table 2.2 presents the details of the participants' gender, course and category.

Course			Category					Total
			SC	ST	MBC	BC	OC	
PhD	Gender	Female	8	0	6	7	4	25
		Male	46	1	9	16	4	76
	Total		54	1	15	23	8	101
MPhil	Gender	Female	0	0	1	2	2	5
		Male	3	1	2	1	1	8
	Total		3	1	3	3	3	13
Total	Gender	Female	8	0	7	9	6	30
		Male	49	2	11	17	5	84
	Total		57	2	18	26	11	114
* SC = Schedule Castes			*ST = Schedule Tribes			*MBC = Most Backward		
Castes			*BC = Backward Castes			*OC = Other Castes		

Table 2.3 Details of the Student Participants' medium of Instruction, learning generation and Category

Medium of Instruction	Generation	Category					
		SC	ST	MBC	BC	OC	Total
Tamil	First-generation English learners	34	1	7	9	1	52
	Second or more generation English learners	6	0	1	2	0	9
Total		40	1	8	11	1	61
English	First-generation English learners	11	0	4	6	3	24
	Second or more generation English learners	6	1	6	9	7	29
Total		17	1	10	15	10	53
Total	First-generation English learners	45	1	11	15	4	76
	Second or more generation English learners	12	1	7	11	7	38
Total		57	2	18	26	11	114
*SC = Schedule Caste Castes		*ST = Schedule Tribe		*MBC = Most Backward			
*BC = Backward Caste		*OC = Other Caste					

Table 2.4 Details of the students' discipline/subject				
<i>Subject</i>	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	4	3.5	3.5	3.5
Biotechnology	4	3.5	3.5	7.0
Botany	4	3.5	3.5	10.5
Chemistry	9	7.9	7.9	18.4
Commerce	1	.9	.9	19.3
Communication	2	1.8	1.8	21.1
Computer Science	2	1.8	1.8	22.8
Cultural Studies	1	.9	.9	23.7
Earth Science	3	2.6	2.6	26.3
Economics	10	8.8	8.8	35.1
Education	4	3.5	3.5	38.6
English	25	21.9	21.9	60.5
English Language Teaching	2	1.8	1.8	62.3
History	4	3.5	3.5	65.8
International Relations	1	.9	.9	66.7
Library Science	2	1.8	1.8	68.4
Linguistics	5	4.4	4.4	72.8
Mass communication	1	.9	.9	73.7
Material Science	1	.9	.9	74.6
Mathematics	6	5.3	5.3	79.8
Mechanical Engineer	1	.9	.9	80.7
Micropaleontology	1	.9	.9	81.6
Minority Rights	1	.9	.9	82.5
Marine Ecology	1	.9	.9	83.3

Nanoscience& Technology	4	3.5	3.5	86.8
Philosophy	1	.9	.9	87.7
Physical Education	1	.9	.9	88.6
Physics	2	1.8	1.8	90.4
Political Science	2	1.8	1.8	92.1
Psychology	2	1.8	1.8	93.9
Social Work	1	.9	.9	94.7
Sociology	1	.9	.9	95.6
Tamil	2	1.8	1.8	97.4
Textile and Clothing	1	.9	.9	98.2
Translation Studies	1	.9	.9	99.1
Zoology	1	.9	.9	100.0
Total	114	100.0	100.0	

Table 2.1 presents the details of students' category, information about whether they are first-generation learners or not, and university. Of 114, 57 SC and 2 ST students found in the table are the study samples. Only these SC & ST students' responses were selected for the analysis because they belong to the marginalised and the oppressed sections of society.

3.5.2 Selection of the Teacher participants

40 Dalit teachers who teach English in different colleges affiliated with state universities and central universities were invited to participate in this study. Initially, when research objectives were discussed with teachers over the phone, 39 teachers expressed their willingness to give interviews for this study. However, some teachers frequently postponed their meetings mostly due to their busy schedule. There were other

reasons too. For instance, one teacher, who was initially interested in participating in this study, did not want to give interviews because she was apprehensive that her students might get to know her Dalit identity. In addition, the researcher could not conduct interviews with two more teachers due to health and financial constraints. Finally, 29 teachers were individually interviewed (one-to-one) and their responses were recorded using a video recording device (Sony Handycam). The interview data consists of 7 female and 22 male teachers with their teaching experiences ranging from 5-27 years.

3.6 Research Instruments

3.6.1 Questionnaire

3.6.1.1 Questionnaire construction

In survey research, questionnaires have to be constructed or adapted and tried out several times in order to be validated and this is generally done during the pilot study meant for “designing and trying out questions and procedures” (Oppenheim, 1992, p. 47).

A questionnaire was constructed based on the research questions of this study. Before proceeding for data collection, it was piloted two times (Pilot work 1 & 2), specifically, to see whether it could serve the intended purposes.

Based on the researcher’s knowledge in the field and his own experience of learning English, the questionnaire was created using closed items with rating scales such as the five-point Likert scale and yes/no questions. Some closed-item questions required the respondents to select their choices out of the given options and some closed items to be ranked according to the respondents’ preferences or perspectives.

Initially, the questionnaire consisted of two major sections: a) profile items and b) attitude items. In the first section, profile items were used to obtain demographic details such as age, gender etc. The second section consisted of attitude items pertaining to the

following: a) language learning experience, b) self-perception of language ability, c) language choice for learning, d) language status, e) the domains of language use, f) language and anxiety, g) language and motivation, h) language and identity, and i) language and empowerment.

3.6.1.2 Pilot study 1

Pilot study 1 was tried out in the University of Hyderabad, India, to see whether the questionnaire was adequate to study Dalit students' attitudes towards English. 26 research students pursuing MPhil and PhD in various disciplines (sciences and arts) filled out questionnaires and offered their feedback. 14 out of 26 were students from Dalit communities and since the researcher knew some of them personally through Tamil students' gatherings within the campus, it was quite easy for him to obtain their data and valuable feedback. The students took 20 to 25 minutes to complete the questionnaire. Based on their responses and feedback, some questions were modified and some words were rephrased in order to emphasise clarity. Finally, a few comment boxes were added where the students could explain reasons for making a particular choice. These, it was expected, would give the participants more space to express their views and perspectives.

3.6.1.3 Pilot study2

After Pilot study 1, the questionnaire with some modification was administered to the undergraduate and postgraduate students (including research students) in the American college, Madurai. 29 students filled out the questionnaires and of 29, 14 students were from Dalit communities. Again, collecting data from these students was quite easy because the researcher had finished his (post)graduation and MPhil in the college and knew some of these students already. These students took 30-40 minutes to complete the questionnaire. Some of these students were not able to complete the questionnaires because they had a busy work schedule. In order to avoid this problem in

future, the researcher decided to collect data from research students who might be able to give some time and fill out the questionnaire.

The data and feedback obtained from these students were quite satisfactory and their response showed that the questionnaire was adequate to study Dalit students' attitudes towards English. But then, it was realised that Dalit attitudes would be studied within the multilingual context of Tamil Nadu, where the two-language policy is in practice. Therefore, 9 more questions and comment boxes were added to explore students' perceptions about a) language status, b) language use, c) language interference, and d) code-mixing. Eventually, these items were found useful to study conflicting, ambiguous, and multiple attitudes of the students towards Tamil and English. The questionnaire was then discussed with other doctoral research committee members to get their opinions. Finally, it was administered during the final study.

3.6.2 Interviews

A semi-structured interview was conducted with 29 teachers. Bailey (2007) defines a semi-structured interview as:

an interview with specific questions that are organised by topics but are not necessarily asked in a specific order. The flow of the interview, rather than order, determines when and how a question is asked (p. 100; cited from Soomro, 2016).

The semi-structured interview method was chosen because it could help the researcher to overcome challenges that come up in other interview formats such as *structured* and *open* interviews. In Structured interviews, interview responses are restricted to a fixed design; hence it sometimes affects interview flexibility. In addition, the design of the structured interview does not allow any changes/modification to the questionnaire on the spot. On the contrary, in open interviews, the researcher can

formulate or modify questions “in response to what the interviewee says” (Rubin & Rubin, 2012, p. 31; cited from Phakiti et al., 2018) to get in-depth responses.

The semi-structured interview method was chosen for this study because it is flexible and allows the researcher to elicit spontaneous responses to the interview questions.

Prior to collecting interview data from the teacher participants, twenty interview questions were prepared and discussed with an expert in the field. However, the order of these questions was not strictly followed due to the circumstantial requirements. When an interviewee answered any of the questions in advance, the order of these questions was changed to avoid repetitions. The researcher used prompts and follow up questions at times to elicit answers on desired or relevant points.

A strong criticism against semi-structured interviews is that not all participants are asked the same follow-up questions (Phakiti et al., 2018). However, care was taken to overcome this issue, and prompts and follow up questions were used to control interview direction, bring an interviewee’s attention to interview questions, and ensure clarity in interviewees’ responses.

3.7 Data collection procedures

Eliciting data through attitude survey questionnaires and interviews were the data collection methods used in this study.

3.7.1 Eliciting survey questionnaires

This study used convenient sampling and snowballing techniques for eliciting responses through questionnaires from students. With the teacher participants’ help, the researcher met research students (MPhil and PhD) in their research scholars’ room/ department/ hostels within their college or university campus. The data was collected from the participants who were readily available and were easily accessible in the selected

higher educational institutes in Tamil Nadu. First, the research aims were discussed with a few students. Then, the students, who were willing to participate in this study, completed the survey questionnaires and recruited other students. Finally, 130 attitude survey questionnaires were distributed but out of 130, 124 (95%) students returned the filled-in questionnaires.

3.7.2 Interviewing

The exponential Non-Discriminative Snowball Sampling technique was used to conduct interviews with teachers. Since caste is a very sensitive issue in India, asking someone's caste identity straightaway is problematic. Therefore, the process of collecting interview data began with people the researcher knew and then expanded from known to unknown. Interviews were conducted individually (one-to-one) for teachers. Finally, 29 interviews were recorded using a video recording device.

The experience of conducting interviews was completely different from what the researcher expected. Initially, the researcher thought that the use of a video recording device for recording interviews would be difficult because teachers might hesitate. But all participating teachers were quite comfortable giving interviews in front of the camera. However, there were one or two instance(s) in which the participant(s) hesitated on seeing the camera and were a bit apprehensive. But overall, the participants were quite comfortable answering interview questions.

Duration of interviews ranged from 50 minutes to 1 hour 48 minutes depending on individuals and availability of time. In most cases, considerable care was taken to avoid time constraints.

3.8 Ethical consideration

This study took care to ensure that the ethical guidelines were appropriately met. First, following the guidelines set for humanities, social and health sciences, formal

approval was obtained from the Institutional Ethics Committee, University of Hyderabad. When the study was briefly discussed, the participants (both teachers and students) were assured that their participation in this study was completely voluntary and their identity would be kept confidential. Subsequently, when they decided to participate in this study, their informed consent was obtained using a consent form (see Appendix). However, the participants were informed that they could withdraw their consent anytime, before and during the time of the data collection. In fact, there was also an instance where a participant had to withdraw halfway but came back to finish it later. Finally, anonymity was maintained while analysing the data and reporting the results of this study. While reporting the results in the dissertation, the participants were given numbers or code names to protect their identities.

3.9 Data Analysis

To analyse the questionnaire data, descriptive statistical analysis was used for closed items and thematic analysis was used for open-ended questions. In addition, thematic analysis was used to analyse the interview data.

3.9.1 Questionnaire data analysis

SPSS software was used to compile and analyse the quantitative data obtained for the closed items in the questionnaire. As “all data in SPSS should be entered as numbers” (Greasley, P., 2008, p. 20), numerical values were assigned to variables, such as gender, by using value labels. For instance, numerical value 1 was assigned for male and 2 for female.

As mentioned earlier, the questionnaire comprised two sections: the first section consisted of 19 items used to collect the participants’ demographic details, such as age, gender, residence, family income, parents’ education, the medium of instruction, learning generation, etc. In addition, information such as category, nativity and first language were

collected to filter the study samples. Finally, out of 114, only 59 participants satisfied all the conditions—they belonged to SC and ST categories, were natives of Tamil Nadu, and spoke Tamil as their mother tongue. Hence, they were selected for analysis.

The second section consisted of 56 attitude items classified into different themes such as language choice, language learning experience, learner self-perception, language use, language anxiety, language motivation, language and empowerment. Responses to these themes were sought through closed and open-ended questions in the questionnaire. This was done to ensure that the results could be analysed both qualitatively and quantitatively for better validity.

3.9.2 Interview Data Analysis

In this study, thematic analysis (TA) was used as a qualitative analytic method. According to Clarke & Braun (2017), TA is useful to “identify patterns within and *across* data in relation to participants’ lived experience, views and perspectives, and behaviour and practices” (p. 297). In other words, it attempts “to understand what participants think, feel, and do” (p. 297). In order to identify themes or patterns within interview data, this study followed six phases of thematic analysis suggested by Braun & Clarke (2006). The following are the six phases of thematic analysis: a) familiarizing yourself with your data, b) generating initial codes, c) searching for themes, d) reviewing themes, e) defining and naming themes, and f) producing the report (p. 87).

To carry out thematic analysis, the interview (verbal) data was transcribed into written form. Out of 29 one-to-one interviews, only 25 interviews were transcribed into written form and the remaining four interviews were not transcribed due to background noise and unclear responses. Following this, the researcher read the transcripts several times and the initial codes were generated systematically by assembling the data pertaining to each code. Next, the initial codes were organised into themes and the

responses pertaining to each theme were grouped. Subsequently, the researcher matched the identified themes and the excerpts or responses. Before producing the report, themes were given names and these names were changed when needed to produce clear definitions for each theme. Finally, only the selected excerpts, pertaining the research questions and literature, were included.

The various themes identified within the interview data and the empirical evidence supporting those themes have been reported under each interview question in the following chapter. To avoid repetitions, recurrent items have been dropped during thematic mapping. To make the analysis more systematic, similar questions have been treated as clusters. For instance, Q7 and Q14 are clubbed with Q3, and likewise, Q11 with Q9.

3.9.3 Discourse analysis

For the analysis of historical documents, this study uses the discourse historical approach (DHA). DHA is one of the important approaches in the field of Critical Discourse Studies. Like other critical discourse analysts, proponents of DHA focus on practice-oriented and context-dependent discourse and study the constructed and constructive element of discourse. They also pay attention to problem-related authentic data and prefer to apply multiple methods of analysis (Reisigl, 2017; Reisigl & Wodak, 2009).

Although the label (historical) in DHA gives more importance to historically oriented research interest, DHA's theory, methods and methodology extend to include insights from social sciences, transcending its strong "historical alignment". Research interests in this area include: discourse and discrimination, discourse and history, discourse and identity, discourse in print and social media, discourse and ecology, etc. DHA is a multidimensional approach that incorporates "theory, methods, methodology

and empirically based research practices that yield concrete social application” (Reisigl, 2017, p. 48).

Some of the distinctive features of DHA as specified by Reisigl (2017) are:

- strong historical alignment.
- use of the principle of triangulation for argumentation and analysis.
- practical applications based on analytical insights.
- establishment and analysis of multiple perspectives on discourse (Reisigl, 2017, p. 49).

This study uses Wodak’s framework that was used to study anti-Semitic perspectives emerging in Austrian public discourse during Kurt Waldheim’s election campaign in 1986 (Wodak, 2001). In this study, oral and written data were analysed to understand linguistic manifestation of prejudice on discourse within the linguistic and socio-historical context. The study also included “Historical facts about Waldheim’s atrocities and the deportation of Jews from Greece” (p. 70). In this and other studies, the discourse analytical framework used was three-dimensional: a) identifying the specific discourse *content* or *topic*, b) investigating *discursive strategies* and c) investigating the specific and contextually dependent *linguistic realization*. In addition, discursive strategies such as nomination, prediction, argumentation, perspectivation and intensification/mitigation were used as analytical tools.

This study used DHA to analyse three anti-caste intellectuals’ writings and speeches and to examine their attitudes towards English. To analyse the texts, this study followed the three-dimensional principles of DHA: a) identifying the specific discourse *content* or *topic*, b) investigating *discursive strategies* and c) investigating the specific and contextually dependent *linguistic realization*.

Although there are several discursive strategies used in the framework of Wodak (2001), this study takes up the study of a) *prediction* and b) *argumentation*. The objective of prediction strategy is to label social actors/events/objects with more or less positive or negative attributions, whereas argumentation discursive strategy focuses on “justification and questioning of claims of truth and normative rightness” (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009, p. 94).

This study uses the following questions from Reisigl & Wodak (2009) to elaborate on these strategies:

- a) What are the characters and qualities attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena/events and processes? (*prediction function*)
- b) What arguments are employed in the discourse in question? (*argumentation function*) (p. 93)

As discussed above, the DHA analysis was considered appropriate to study these questions because they allowed the mapping of *content or topic*, *discursive strategies* (prediction or attribution and argumentation) and *linguistic realization* (excerpts from the anti-caste intellectuals’ texts). And all the three together enabled the researcher to uncover the attitude towards English in these historical documents.

3.10 Conclusion

This chapter illustrated the research methodology of this study. Considerations for employing a mixed-methods design and research instruments (questionnaire, interviews, and documents) for collecting data were discussed. This chapter also explained the methods of analysis used in this study. Furthermore, the chapter discussed ethical considerations followed to collect data in this study.

CHAPTER - 4

TEACHERS' INTERVIEW AND STUDENTS' QUESTIONNAIRE ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter gives an account of the methods chosen here to empirically investigate attitudes of both Dalit teachers and students towards the English language at present as well as in the history of the Tamil-speaking Madras Presidency. This chapter presents both teachers' interview and students' questionnaire analysis. This data will provide a better understanding of teachers' and their students' attitudes towards English and highlight factors that determine their attitudes.

The data analysed and findings reported in this chapter are mainly related to the research question: *What is the present attitude of the Dalit students and teachers towards English in Tamil Nadu?* To investigate this question, data was primarily collected from students and teachers by conducting surveys and interviews. An attitude survey questionnaire was devised to examine the attitudes of Dalit students towards English, whereas interviews were conducted with teachers teaching English at selected universities and colleges in Tamil Nadu. During the interviews, the teachers were asked to report their personal experiences of teaching and learning English. They were also asked to reflect on their students' challenges while learning English as a second language and whether the language empowers students with marginalized and oppressed social backgrounds. Whether the current curriculum has motivated these students by creating more inclusive learning environments and whether their home language and culture supports L2 learning is another topic the teachers were asked to reflect on.

The next section presents the teachers' interview analysis and notes the major findings.

4.2 Results of the Teachers' Interview Analysis

This study utilized Thematic Analysis (TA)—the most frequently used qualitative data analysis method—to analyse teachers' interview data. As part of this, teachers' responses have been analysed to identify themes and patterns. The various themes identified within the interview data and the empirical evidence supporting those themes have been provided under each interview question. However, in cases where the questions are repetitive, we have treated them as a cluster. For instance, Q7 and Q14 are clubbed with Q3, and likewise, Q11 with Q9.

Q1: What is your opinion about Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education (MTB-MLE)?

In answering this question, the participants expressed a variety of opinions. After analysing their responses, two different types of patterns emerge: a) themes related to mother-tongue education and b) themes associated with English in higher education. The majority of the participants (twenty) find MTB-MLE useful. Half of the participants (twelve) reported that MTB-MLE helps students understand concepts. Similarly, some (seven) believed that it is very important considering the needs of the rural/ regional medium/ marginalized students. However, more than half of the total respondents (fourteen) felt that English should be a medium of instruction at the tertiary level. Nine of them referred to English as the language of opportunity and five as the global language.

Table 1: Teachers' opinion on MTB-MLE

Theme	Sub-theme	Interview Excerpts
Mother-tongue is important	It helps in understanding concepts well	IN.3... Mother Tongue based multilingual education is good....most of the students come from a rural background. If I keep on lecturing in English, how will the students be able to get what I want to convey in the class? IN.7...because usually, it will be comfortable thinking in your mother tongue rather than in a foreign language... Starting with the mother tongue will help to understand the concepts better. IN.21. As a teacher, when I use the MBME system within my classroom situations, there is a kind of fear that students are not homogenous.... Moreover, their orientation towards English is different.
English must be the medium of instruction at the tertiary level	English as a global language creates more opportunities	IN.6...especially at the tertiary level, Education has to be in global language primarily because of the availability of resources... a student who studies Economics in Tamil, he may never get an opportunity to do his Post Graduation/ research or cannot take up the career outside the linguistic region. IN.8... Now, this English education has become something very important: something which fetches you or makes you a very important person in the job market. IN.18...So it is English that will give us enormous circumstances or situations. Whether we like English or not, we have to accept it.

Q2: What is your opinion about students' learning English today? Does it help students study their other subjects well? Can you substantiate your view?

This question was asked to elicit teachers' general beliefs about their students' learning English as well as the role of English in studying other subjects. While answering the first part of the question, almost half of the total interviewees (eleven) insisted that students are interested in learning English. Of these, four teachers guaranteed that

speaking English gives students a positive identity as socially respected or educated people.

In their responses to the second part of the question, the majority (fifteen) of the participants except two acknowledged that the language is very helpful in studying other subjects as well.

Table 2: Teachers' opinion about Students' learning English and the role of English in studying other subjects

Theme	Interview Transcripts
Students are interested in learning the English language	IN.1...the bilingual students and students who come from rural...also make a lot of mistakes because they are afraid of the English language. And, they pick up, and they manage to correct. You can see drastic differences. When they reach the end semester, definitely you can see them write in better English. IN.16...I think they are eager to learn English. They see the English language as a tool for success. That is the idea they have about the English language. IN.19... They have that interest, especially Tamil medium students. The problem-spoken English is not thrust upon them. It is not given importance when they study in schools.
English gives positive identity and social advantage	IN.3...they are speaking English...It is very prestigious for them.... I took my students to participate in the intercollegiate events. A student who does not speak English...tries to speak English in front of the girls... IN.6....that gives them a lot of confidence...I think it gives them a more positive outlook on their life.... IN.24...if you speak your mother tongue mixing with some English words, you are considered to be an educated person. We see people around who mix English with Tamil.
It cannot be assured that learning English is helpful in studying other subjects.	IN.13...I don't know that would help them, especially in the context of Tamil Nadu. If they prefer to stay inside the state, I wouldn't know learning English would help them. IN.21...Studying other subjects, I may not say much because I am particularly an English teacher...

Q3: What did you think of English as a learner? Can you describe some important aspects of your English learning experience and strategies to learn English?

This question attempts to investigate teachers' experience of learning English as a second language learner. In addition to that, it seeks to understand their learning conditions, strategies and outcomes, motivation and achievement.

After analysing the teachers' answers to this question, it is found that almost half of the total participants described themselves as first-generation English learners. They found learning English very hard. They also mentioned that their struggle, in particular, was to improve speaking and writing skills. Besides, a few of them (four) admitted that they were primarily motivated by their teachers to learn English because they had no one at home to support their studies. On the contrary, the second-generation English learners (ten) felt that learning English was easy. Most of these learners were motivated by educated parents or any other person in their home. Their L2 learning skills, too, were primarily augmented at home. It is clear that these differences between the first and second-generation students are apparent and reflected in their performances too.

When it comes to L2 learning strategies, the first-generation students seem to use specific strategies, while the strategies of second-generation students are unpredictable. The following were the strategies used by the first-generation learners to learn English: a) talking to friends and classmates; b) reading dictionaries and newspapers; and c) constructing imaginary dialogues in mind. In other words, they rarely use the language outside the classroom and primarily rely on their classmates, friends, and teachers.

Table 3: Description of English learning experience and issues related to it

Theme	Sub-theme	Interview Excerpts
First-generation learners feel that English is difficult to learn.		IN.1... Even after the completion of my post-graduation, I was not able to speak or write one complete sentence in English—proper errorless English.
		IN.4... When I entered into my UG, I had a lot of problems speaking English... to communicate with others. The first problem that I faced is inferiority complex, and then hesitation and nervousness like that.
		IN.18... Since I studied in Tamil medium school... I was struggling to speak...I hardly spoke in English. ...I couldn't understand what the English people have written.
The second-generation feel that English is easy to learn.		IN.3...I used to speak in English even in my childhood days. My father used to communicate with me in English...I didn't find any difficulty.
		IN.15... I had my parents to support me. I have my family background that there were my grandparents to teach me proper English.
		IN.16...I learnt English at a very early age. Through my aunt and parents, I was introduced to reading English books... So, there is no difficulty...to learn English.
First-generation learners' learning strategies	Talking to friends	IN.1... my roommate was an Oriya. So I was forced to communicate with him in English. By the way of writing letters and...talking to my roommate, I picked up my English. IN.20... my learning English comes from there, me talking to my classmates, my hostel mates, my friends...The campus helped me to meet a lot of people and talk in English...
	Reading and talking to friends	IN.18... My friend and I...never find a platform to speak in English. We made up our decision to speak in English for three months. That was my learning process. Plus, reading helps me a lot.
	Referring to dictionaries	IN.21...I used...to read the dictionary like it's a book.... and my interest in trying to get more words... that is one strategy.

Constructing
imaginary
dialogues
and reading

IN.19...Some students get very good friends, and they are able to speak fluently. There are some students who don't find...feel difficult to speak. When I travel to places, I use to talk to myself in English.

IN.24... Whenever I travel on a bus and sit quietly, I use to construct an imaginary dialogue...That is how I learn English even today.

The themes mentioned above are also prominent in the participants' responses to other questions such as 7 and 14. Particularly in their answers to the 7th question (Have you noticed any difference between students who are 1st generation English learners and students who have more than one generation of English education behind them?), some teachers (eight) mentioned that compared to the first-generation students, the second-generation students are more confident about their communication skills. However, more than half (fourteen) mentioned that the struggle faced by first-generation students is generally overcome when they reach the final years of their graduation. For instance, Teacher 11 explained that "the first generation learners have a big struggle but...MCC (Madras Christian College, Chennai) is a melting point. By the time they come to the final semester, they pick up the accent, and they are as good as the second-generation English learners."

Table 4: Difference between the first-generation and second-generation English learners

Theme	Sub-theme	Interview Excerpts
1 st generation English learners	Struggle but Succeed	IN.1...The first generation of English learners normally seems to be suffering. It is true, but they shine... So there they achieved. IN.2... students from the first generation are struggling a lot...They can also take a lot of effort, come up and compete with the other students... Some of the students coming from the rural area, whose parents are not educated, have done extremely well in their written performances. IN.11...the first-generation learners have a big struggle, but MCC (Madras Christian College) is a melting point. By the time they come to the final semester, they pick up the accent, and they are as good as persons like the second-generation English learner.
	Lack of exposure to English	IN.7...learning the language does not just involve the classroom situation and even at home...English words used by the parents are picked up by the children. So that is lacking in first-generation learners. IN.8...pupils whose parents got educated have more support at home, their learning is augmented at home whereas the first generation English learners are not so. IN.13... A student from the first generation background may not have a person...to make sure that the person reads at their home.
	Lack of confidence	IN.7... IN.7.... definitely, the first generation learners are a bit hesitant. IN.9.... We come across students. It is there. For instance, students coming from Tamil medium speak silently in a low voice. IN.23... First-generation students lack confidence. There are differences even in their behaviour, in their dress, and the way they present themselves. You may easily find these differences.

Difference- in terms of speaking	IN.4... The people, who are second-generation English learners, in my opinion, are rich in their pronunciation. First-generation learners, there is a lot of difference in their pronunciation...
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IN.5.... The third generation or fourth generation English learners have their competence in English whereas the first-generation students technically knowing English is good but how to use that technically knowing is also important.

IN.20...I have seen a large gap between first-generation learners and second-generation learners, particularly with English speaking abilities.

In their responses to Question 14 (Which are the areas in which Dalit students face difficulties while learning English?), more than half of the participants (fourteen) further explained that regardless of caste difference, all first-generation students have difficulty improving their pronunciation and vocabulary. In addition, their lack of confidence seems to be another important problem.

Table 5: Difficulties faced by first-generation students

Theme	Sub-theme	Interview Excerpts
Problem with articulation		IN.8... It is not only for Dalit students ... Students come from all, even from an urban background, they face this kind of problem. Articulation is very difficult for them. Moreover, the mother tongue influence is also there...
		IN.11.... Basically, with regard to articulation, they haven't been given a platform to express themselves.
		IN.22... basically, they are coming from the Tamil medium. Underprivileged, I'm talking about the first generation learners... especially something to do with their pronunciation and ... fluency.
Lack of vocabulary		IN.7...Language areas, basically vocabularies, they are not aware of these words...
		IN.18... You take any first-generation learner or any Dalit boy or a girl; the first thing is that they don't have enough words to speak in English.
		IN.24... They are not comfortable with new words. So they lack vocabulary, they lack grammar, they fear pronouncing certain words in the class.
Lack of confidence		IN.3...Difficulties in the sense, they lack confidence in themselves. Even though they know the answer, they are hesitant to answer in front of other classmates.
		IN.7... they lack confidence while speaking. And, lack of confidence is not a Dalit oriented issue. It is a general issue among all students.
		IN.19...They know the language. The only thing that is hindrance...we call it inferiority complex or lack of confidence or boldness. If we speak English, others may find fault with it....that is the main problem.

Q4: What do you think about the role of English in bringing success to your life?

Results show that English is considered a key factor in the success of many teachers. Almost half (twelve) of the total respondents said that speaking English gives

them a very positive outlook. Similarly, some (nine), including three for whom English is a positive sign, responded that English proficiency is very effective in negotiating the social and professional ladder. And, some (ten), including three respondents who think English provides a positive identity, mentioned that English is their source of employment. It clearly shows that English is perceived as a tool for professional and social mobility.

Table 6: Teachers' responses to the importance of English for success

Theme	Interview Excerpts
English gives a positive identity	IN.1. Definitely, if you speak in English, you can create an impression that you are speaking the truth. IN. 15. I gradually gained that because people respect me when I'm good at English. IN.19. When I learnt English, I became confident, which gave me the strength to face officials. When I introduce myself as an English teacher, then immediately I get real respect.
English is an agent of social and professional promotion.	IN.7. English is a passport to social gatherings and a passport to education and even for any job for that matter... IN.8. It is not only me, but all my ancestors were successful because they could get very good professions as well. All of them very easily climbed their social as well as their professional ladder. IN.18. I intended my Tamil for a living but English for living well. I visited the US in 2014; I had been to Naipaul and conducted a workshop. Whatever happened in my life, and whatever I'm today, is 100% because of English.
English is a source of employment.	IN.3.... Before starting working here, I attended interviews in many colleges and got selected because I have a good flow of English... It brought success to my life. IN. 11. It is my bread and butter. To be precise, that is what helps me to get a salary every month. I would attribute everything to the knowledge of the English language. IN.15. Now my students love me for the language I speak. So, the language had its place, but if you ask, my success is English? Yes, of course, the language helped, and being an English teacher, it is really helpful.

Q5: What is your opinion about the role of English in bringing success in the lives of students?

In the previous question, the teachers indicated that proficiency in English creates educational and employment opportunities and upward socio-economic mobility. This question also deals with how the participants feel about the role of English in bringing success to their students' lives.

In response to this question, almost all the teachers (twenty-three) strongly believed that English certainly empowers their students. In their view, English is a language of employment and the resource of education/ knowledge. Only two teachers doubted whether English really bestows qualities needed to succeed.

Table 7: Teachers' perspectives about how important English is for their students' success

Theme	Sub-theme	Interview Excerpts
English is a language of empowerment	A source of Employment	IN.1...Definitely, English will empower students. I have seen in my own life, and that's what I have seen in my students' careers also. IN.2...all these students how they are well placed in the society- government and private sector only through the seer command and fluency in English. IN.7. All the countries, even China, wanted teachers to teach English. If students are in a position to speak and write in English, they can plan any job.
	A source of Knowledge	In.7.... If a science student wants to update his knowledge, he has to use the English language...So English...is a gateway for better knowledge. IN.9... Students must make use of the English language...for updating their academic information ...translation is another medium. IN.23....they bring world experience into it....but in English literature, it is a mixture of world knowledge.
English is not necessarily an agent of success.		IN.12.... still you have that colonial conceptualization in you as the language as the window of the world, language of learning, library language, academic language. It is not so. IN.13...I don't want to be very optimistic, especially after ...four-five years teaching English to the students from urban slums and rural locality...I don't know whether English helps them develop in terms of their career.

Q6: Do you think that education has created a huge gap between the English knowing population and otherwise?

This question was designed to investigate whether the participants think that English education functions as another social marker.

It was observed from the responses to this question that most participants (twenty-two) seem to have understood the existing gap between English knowing populations and otherwise.

Furthermore, they seem to be aware that those who know English will receive the following: a) social respect and positive identity (as mentioned by six teachers), b) quality education and knowledge (as reported by seven participants); and c) more employment opportunities (as highlighted by five respondents). However, some (eight) of them felt that the gap is psychological in their classrooms, in which problems such as diffidence and inferiority complex are experienced by their students, especially by those from the regional medium, rural and marginalized background.

Table 8: Teachers' perspectives about how English functions as a social marker

Theme	Sub-theme	Interview Excerpts
Advantages of knowing English	People who speak English get social respect.	IN.2... So, even in Madurai, you can see a marked difference If you have a good command over English, people listen to you. Even when you talk some nonsense, they listen to you.
		IN.15... I think that the English language is one major tool that will bring students up on the social ladder...
		IN.24... now if you go on speak in English at the railway ticket counter, you will be respected. You are seen with some admiration...And, whereas the person who does not have it will not get the same respect...
	English-knowing people can access knowledge.	IN.6... Yes, this has become more with the advent of technology because almost all content available online is in English. This puts those who do not know English at a great disadvantage. IN.13...when we think of a kind of knowledge that is being limited because not everything is written or translated into Tamil... we consider that learning English definitely opens a vast resource. IN.23...there is also a thirst for knowledge...for information....if the English language is taught in such a way, that should give them wisdom.
	Speaking English creates more employment opportunities.	IN.6... right now recruitment is ...based on...how well they communicate in the job interview....So, definitely, English knowing students are at a great advantage...
		IN.13 ...I would, unfortunately, say that a person who has more communication skill, she would be given the job. IN.14... Those who are well versed in English, they march on in their life. They get a job and even those who have a very good command of the English language are getting promotions...

Speaking English gives a positive identity to the marginalised.	IN.2... in some cases, I believe that students from the marginalized sections have realized the need to empower themselves through language education so that they can articulate their viewpoint...in an effective and convincing manner.
	IN.19... If I speak in Tamil, I can be identified ...as a Dalit or OBC or MBC. For example, I come from a place called Tirunelveli. If I speak in Tamil, immediately I'm identified that I'm from that region. That subject is not at all there.
	IN.21...There is a possibility that if you learn English and speak like others, ...you mask who you are probably...I think much of our language is being tinted by caste.
The divide has psychological impact.	IN.2...In a classroom setting, they may have developed a kind of an inferiority complex, so naturally, the dominant section try to impose their ideology/ thinking on the lower sections
	IN.15... when they get Tamil/ regional dominant medium education, they are treated by the society a bit inferior.... I think it is an inferiority complex that has been created in a student because of their regional language medium...

Q8: What do you feel about the statement—English medium instruction has to be for the poor too?

Answers to this question show that English medium education is not affordable for poor people. More than half (thirteen) of the total participants pointed out that due to the exorbitant fees charged in private English medium schools, the poor and marginalized sections do not benefit from the system. A few (four) said that poor people also possess abilities to acquire language skills. Similarly, some (ten) opined that English medium education should be affordable for all.

Table 9: Teachers' opinions about the statement—English medium instruction is not meant for the poor

Theme	Interview Excerpts
Due to commercialisation, the poor cannot afford to pay for English medium education.	IN.2... 'English medium education is not meant for the poor.... Probably, in terms of money, if students have to pay the extra money, they may not afford to pay it. IN.6... To some extent, that is true because English medium education is expensive due to commercialization and privatization. IN.11....I think it is because education has become a business, and affordability becomes a question. With regard to English medium schools, the fee structure is very high.
Poor people can learn the English language.	IN.2... but if your question is that they don't have the inherent abilities, talents, or fit for studying English, I would not agree with that. IN.11....Anyone can excel provided in the right environment. So, they should be given that, and the exorbitant fee that they collect should be cut off. IN.16... This statement also imagines that poor people cannot speak English. You determine their capacity or competence, not based on their skill but on extraneous factors like caste or economy.
English medium education should be affordable for all	IN.2... the government should take some efforts too that English education is also affordable to the poor. If the government is interested in the poor, the conditions of the poor, and bringing them up, they must also introduce English medium schools. IN.16.... One of the assumptions is that when you are saying English medium instruction is not meant for the poor, you are trying to exclude them from this type of education IN.22... in due course, this stereotype may get erased because...in and around Tamil Nadu...are introducing...English medium in government schools. When it picks up in a full year, then definitely this stereotype will go away.

Q9: What do you think of English in education? How far does it help the people, especially those in the marginalized sections and oppressed classes?

This question aimed to examine whether and how English helps the marginalized people to improve their socio-economic conditions.

In response to this question, the majority of the participants (eighteen) reported that English is an important tool for Dalit empowerment. Moreover, they found it helpful in establishing a positive identity and egalitarian society.

Table 10: Teachers' views about how important English is for education and empowerment of the marginalised and oppressed people

Theme	Sub-theme	Interview Excerpts
English is a language of empowerment.		IN.2... there are so many things to empower the marginalized and oppressed sections...but this linguistic empowerment will help them a lot, significantly. IN.8...English...gives you empowerment... English is a language of empowerment, particularly when it comes to caste/ Dalit oppression. IN.9... but students, particularly oppressed and marginalized, speak English; he feels very happy and very much satisfied...definitely, it will empower the students...
English brings egalitarianism.		IN.2... But, as the poet says, 'death as a great leveller' and I would say English will be the greatest leveller. It will level the inequalities... IN.11... The role of English is to bring up an egalitarian setup and an equitable setup, where only the privileges have access, I don't believe in that. Everyone should have equal access. IN.16...people from marginalized communities believe that it is one way to go incognito....that they are trying to use English as a language of success, social mobility, and as a language that makes caste disappear.
English is a language of positive identity.		IN.4... Even I'm marginalized. I come from the agricultural community...but I studied English...I speak English better than others...So it gives me self-confidence...I'm educated. So society has respect for me.

IN.20... I definitely feel that it gives them a lot of confidence...it gives you a lot of respect.

IN.22...English is forming part and parcel of our identity... everywhere when you talk in English, people take a single minute break, and they turn and look at you.

These themes are also salient in other interview questions. For instance, in Q11 (What do you think of Dalits demand for English education? Do you think that Dalit students are interested in learning English? Why?), the majority of the participants (eighteen) emphasized that English is the language of socio-economic and linguistic empowerment. Besides, the responses show that Dalit students are interested in learning English, especially for establishing a positive identity.

Table 11: Teachers' views on Dalits' demand for English and Dalit students' learning English

Theme	Interview Excerpts
English can be used for socio-economic, educational and linguistic empowerment.	IN.2... Dalit students... at least through English education they can have better employment and come up well in life. And, that would give them an identity. IN.16... It is prestigious to go incognito; they can make this caste thing disappear if they speak English. It can be used for social mobility in the case of Narendra Jadhav and Ambedkar. IN.21... not only in terms of economic growth, not only in terms of climbing the social ladder.... but still English is probably one way of hope. A hope that we can use.
Dalit students are interested in learning English for establishing a positive identity.	IN.2...But, Dalit students are learning English not only for Employability but for good identity and acceptability in society. IN.3... It is not only the Dalit students are interested in learning English, but the students who are marginalized and who have poor background are interested in learning English...every people, who are oppressed, wanted to learn English. IN.4... They are interested in learning English because they want to change their identity. English is a key to improve their identity/ to change their identity.

Q10: Do you think English makes it possible for Dalits to get prestigious jobs? Can you elaborate on your view?

Answers to this question show that the English language has the power to empower the poor. The majority (twenty) of the total participants asserted that proficiency in English helps Dalit students get valuable jobs. However, some of them (nine) further mentioned that even after getting jobs when their caste is known to others, Dalits are subjected to a new form of oppression, especially because the English language cannot

completely eliminate caste in the minds of others. However, others (five) did not accept that English helps them find valuable jobs.

Table 12: Teachers' views about whether English helps Dalits get prestigious jobs

Theme	Sub-theme	Interview Excerpts
English makes it possible for Dalits to get prestigious jobs		IN.2...Dalits are well placed because of their seer command of English... they may keep climbing the ladder of success in society... English played a positive role in helping them get prestigious jobs...
		IN.9... Any person, who communicates properly in English, there are chances of getting a good job.... that we have to make this language as a weapon or as a channel for self-empowerment...
		IN.16... It will help them face certain tests and interviews with confidence, which will earn them good jobs. English is very important for Dalits to get into good jobs.
After learning English, there will be other forms of discrimination.		IN.1... In urban, you will not see the same kind of discrimination as you have seen in the rural. In urban, sitting in an office, the mainstream invents new forms of discrimination. Sometimes it is invisible.
		IN.9... Of course, the issue of caste is always there. Even though a person speaks very good English, his caste is known to the board members in the interview, and then I cannot say that the English language fetches you prestigious jobs. If caste is not known, if his language is so good, there are chances for this person to get prestigious jobs.
		IN.21...just because we learnt English doesn't guarantee a good position in society. You might still be discriminated... It is only means through which try and continue to struggle against the caste situation, but it is not the end.

Q12) Do you think English helps Dalit students to create a positive identity? How?

This question was designed to investigate whether learning English helps Dalits establish a unique identity. Having accepted that English gives a unique identity to Dalits, almost all participants (twenty-four) opined that as English educated people, they feel self-confident. Moreover, the language enables them to become global citizens, overcome all social barriers.

Table 13: Teachers' perceptions of how English helps Dalits create a positive identity

Theme	Sub-theme	Interview Excerpts
Learning English gives confidence to Dalits		IN.11...I think everyone should have a positive identity. There should be an amount of self-confidence...Dalits...have to go with their heads held high. English definitely helps them to gain a positive attitude.
		IN.13... I would say learning English for him as an SC and a Dalit student will help him as much as anyone else (BC, MBC) because they are equally poor.
		IN.16... English education gives you the confidence to sabotage the given in society. If you are English educated, you can really dismantle the propositions from within. Self-improve from within; you don't have to deny that you are a Dalit. You can say, 'Yes, I'm a Dalit, so what?' So, that level you can reach.
English enables Dalits to become global citizens.		IN.5...English will definitely create a positive identity...This is what English is doing to Dalits...They become a citizen of the world...
		IN.11...English definitely helps them to gain a positive attitude. If they are good at English, they can go to any part of the world. Be it the US or UK.

Q13: Does your identity as a Dalit help the students in the English learning process?

Why?

As a social identity, caste seems to operate more subtly in several fields such as education, employment, etc. This question attempts to understand how caste works inside second language classrooms and investigate whether teachers' caste identity impacts the Dalit students' learning.

Interestingly, dichotomous and contradicting themes emerge from the participants' responses. On the one hand, by never revealing their identity, more than half of the teachers (thirteen) wanted to be impartial and treat all the students equally. On the other hand, twelve others used their identity as a motivational factor.

Table 14: Teachers' explanations of how their identity helps their students learn English

Theme	Interview Excerpts
Teachers use their Identity as a motivational factor.	IN.1...if I share a small account of my past, how I struggle to learn English and how I picked up the language through certain incidents...They take it as a lesson... That kind of identification definitely helps. IN.2...but...students with the Dalit background may somehow come to know my identity. So they listen to me that here is a man; he has also established his position and come up well in life it's because of English. So it could be a motivation and inspiration. IN.20...these students learn a lot from me because I also spent some time...to speak to them about the language per se....to motivate them to learn English, to improve their language. And, I give them my experiences...What happened and how I improved my language
Teachers never reveal their identity.	IN.2...because it is not fair on the part of a teacher like me to reveal his identity. That would be definitely mistaken by other students... Probably the teacher may give a negative impression. IN.11...but as far as I am concerned as a teacher and my thirty years of teaching experience, I never look at a poor student as a poor student. To me, everyone has an equal footing. They are in the same class...that means that they also should get the same treatment. IN.16....As a teacher, you have to treat everyone as equal and give them the same effort to produce a situation of equality because...Students come from different educational and social backgrounds. Identity should not take the front seat, and it shouldn't appear at all in the English classroom...

Q15: What is your general opinion about the performance of the students from the marginalized community in your class? How do you evaluate these students? And, do you have any specific techniques to assess them?

This question attempts to investigate the marginalized students' performance as well as their teachers' attitude towards these students' learning. Answers to this question indicate that the participants are positive about these students' performance. Nearly half of the participants mentioned that they were somewhat happy with their students' learning. But, a few (three) were not satisfied because their students' level of motivation and self-confidence was low.

When it comes to the second part of the question, the overall responses show that there is no special preference given to students based on caste. Some teachers (nine) wanted to be impartial and treat all students equally. However, some others (six) emphasized that they evaluate their students individually, believing that their students perform better if they are encouraged and appreciated.

Table 15: Teachers' opinions about the performance of students from the marginalised communities and the specific techniques to assess these students

Theme	Interview Excerpts
Teachers evaluate their students individually	IN.1... if a poor downtrodden student, who is struggling with English, manages to...remember the points with grammar mistakes, I give 3 out of five....I do this in the first semester, and I change my evaluation when they come to the third semester. I tell them that I will be impartial hereafter. So, you have to rise up. Definitely, they also come up. IN.2... the background would positively influence me. It will give a sympathetic approach towards their evaluation...it is always better to evolve a separate evaluation procedure for these students, not by the traditional and conventional procedure. IN.16... We need more freedom as English language teachers for testing, evaluation, and other things. Yeah, you just have one question paper. You are not sensitive to their... educational background. How do you expect students from vernacular medium schools to perform at the same level as students from an English medium international school? We cannot test them at the same level.
Teachers' appreciation and encouragement help the students to perform better	IN.5... As a teacher, I have to give more importance to these students ...I encourage them ...Even if they speak one sentence in English, I will appreciate them. They need appreciation/ recognition/ acknowledgement. IN.17...If we encourage the students to express themselves, every student has their own world. I think that students can be encouraged to talk about their world views, and if they are exposed to a lot of motivational writing, they do well. IN.25....but I wanted them to come out from their inferior complex. I will create some comfortable zone and encourage them to express themselves in the language they know ...While I'm doing this, students also come forward to give me their write-ups.
Teachers are neutral while evaluating their students	IN.7... I do not differentiate them in the first place. As a teacher, if we differentiate, if we are going to favour some other people because of their caste, then you are not fit to be a teacher.

IN.8...we don't have special techniques for Dalit students to assess them. That cannot be done inside the classroom... There is no special kind of assessment for Dalit students or non-Dalit students.

IN.14....We do not have any specific assessment. There are good, even some marginalized people now they are good at communication. So the student is a student whether he is marginalized or not.

Q16: According to Paulo Freire, knowledge can be produced through the dialogic process. Do you think that the socio-cultural knowledge the Dalit student come with to the classroom can have a role to play in their English learning process? Do you feel that the appropriate content of the syllabus can function as a stimulus to learn English effectively? Do the current curriculum and pedagogic practice motivate the students from the marginalized sections? Can you elaborate on your view?

Half the participants generally believed that the curriculum that incorporates students' first language and culture helps students learn English. Therefore, some of them (six) expressed their desire to create an inclusive classroom. However, some others (eight) insisted that approaches to the text are more important than the content of the text. Therefore, they would pay attention to the socio-cultural knowledge of the students while dealing with subjects. In contrast, one participant did not feel that the curriculum can motivate students. Another one said that English can be learnt better with English culture; therefore, our socio-cultural knowledge is unimportant.

Table 16: Teachers' perspectives about the role of students' existing knowledge in the L2 classroom

Theme	Interview Excerpts
The curriculum can be a motivational factor	IN.6...When we selected passages for the English language textbook, we made the point to give the passages that give positive messages. We are given the passages that talk about how ordinary people....become extraordinary through hard work, dedication and motivation... we keep inspiring the students. IN.13... we had a Dalit Studies and a text written by Bhama and texts written by other famous Dalit writers. When I teach them those texts, Karukku especially, they enjoy the text... a Dalit, who manages to write story...and gets it the part of the curriculum is like reading themselves. IN.20... I think the syllabus plays a very important role in a classroom activity...the syllabus should cater to the needs of the whole...student community. That will also help the students to...feel that he is the part of the education system that he is in....
Relating the content of the syllabus to students' life	IN.3...when we teach other things, we can quote examples from their life...Not only ideas and opinions of the other people but we can also quote from the movies or the songs. Only then they will have a better understanding of the subject. The content of the syllabus has to be changed. IN.15...the socio-cultural knowledge of the Dalit students has a role in their learning...Talking about the appropriate content of the syllabus- it is again not the subject but one who teaches it. Even if something is not prescribed in the syllabus, I can bring it into the classroom in some way or the other... IN.21... I'm not worried about the text we are teaching. I'm only worried about the approach to the text, whatever the texts... If you can give space for students to respond to that from their point of view... So, it doesn't matter what text we are teaching. It is all about how much allowance we give to the students and teachers to interact. Bringing so many ideas together is important.

The curriculum does not influence students' learning

IN.2...This question may elicit different answers but in a place like Madurai, I don't find any difference between the students who belong to the upper class and lower class in a college where I teach. It is the more or less homogenous background. Curriculum and pedagogy do not influence at all.

IN.8...Everybody comes from a socio-cultural background. And definitely, they carry all these socio-cultural ideologies with them. But, when it comes to the process of learning a new or foreign language, such things have to be decapitated.

Q17: What are the pedagogic tools mostly used in your English classroom?

Though it appears to be a continuation of the previous question, this question was designed to investigate teachers' regular pedagogic tools used in ESL classrooms. The results indicate that pedagogic tools are very important, especially to facilitate the needs of first-generation learners. Nearly half (twelve) mentioned that pedagogic tools they frequently use in their ESL classrooms are group discussion and interaction. Technology and media are less often mentioned. The traditional method of teaching 'chalk and talk' is mentioned by three participants.

Table 17: Teachers' most frequently used pedagogic tools in their L2 classroom

Theme	Interview Excerpts
Group Discussion and Interaction	IN.1... Group- discussion... I form groups... I give only one instruction that during a presentation, the group leader should not talk... Another thing when you divide the groups, you can move across the students, move close to them and sit with them. IN.16...You can learn from the students' conversations with other students. So they have to imbibe and observe the patterns. The only role I do there is that I just motivate them to speak either correct English or incorrect English. They have just to speak, and I will change their mistakes. IN.20...only a few people interact in the classroom. So...what I will tell my class is that even in the literature classes, if somebody is not able to communicate in English, I will encourage them to speak in Tamil. So in that process, everyone is part of the classroom activity.
Chalk and Talk	IN.2... Yeah, generally speaking, I'm still primitive in my method. I just adapt to Blackboard and then oral teaching. IN.11... It is a chalk and talk, a lecture method. IN.13... An English class would normally have 80 students. First, I would teach them major points and the crux of them by using chalk and talk.
Technology and Media	IN.3... I use textbooks, and sometimes I...show video clips and pictures from YouTube related to the subjects. They will get a better understanding. IN.20... We are trying to use technology as much as possible and in our college... Visual Media should be part of the education system because that will help the students to be more relevant to the context, so we use technology, we use visual media. We try to make the whole class is a part of the system. IN.22...Regarding English language speaking, we try to make them watch videos... They can discuss anything, but that must be in English; that is the only condition I give. And, they come out with good responses.

Q18: What kind of pedagogy can facilitate the marginalized students in learning English and other subjects well?

This question is a continuation of the 16th and 17th questions. It is noted that answers to this question are relatively fewer than the overall answers to the other questions.

The results indicate that empathy of teachers is important in ESL teaching and learning. Knowing the condition of the first-generation learners, some participants (six) insisted that teacher motivation is essential, especially to encourage students to use the available resources to learn English. In addition to that, some participants (six) mentioned that culture-based learning is the most effective ESL pedagogy.

As far as the pedagogical needs of the marginalized students are concerned, technology, peer-group learning and streaming are the practices mentioned by four.

Table 18: Teachers' opinions about pedagogic tools that support the learning of students from the marginalised sections

Theme	Interview Excerpts
Peer Group, Streaming, Bridge Course	IN.1... first-year students who come from the marginalized community could feel more comfortable with their peer group. A student from third-year wins the confidence of a student of the first year....that he represents, meaningful interaction and meaningful learning taking place. IN.7...Pedagogy... I told you that streaming will be helpful. If they feel that they lack language skills, streaming will help them. IN.17... It is a bridge course. The title of the book is <i>The World in Your Stride</i>. That is very motivational. You can face any situation. In that, we have addressed some of the things required for the basics of tertiary education, such as independent learning, lateral thinking, and being confident.
Teacher motivation and encouragement	IN.6... We can give these things by encouraging students, by making resources available to them. And, by the use of technology because technology is a really captivating tool. IN.15... The empathy of the teacher may be. After a hectic schedule/work, he is coming to my class that why he sleeps. I should understand that, or else I should understand his/ her parents cannot help him/ her. So it is self-learning. So my empathy plays a major role. IN22... It is basically encouragement and individual-based assessment. It is not like a group. You should not cater as a group but knowing the strength and weakness of the individual, then catering accordingly.
Students' culture-based learning Technology and media	IN.6... the teacher...can start in the bilingual mode in the first semester and slowly but steadily move into a completely English language mode. By the time the students reach the sixth semester, he or she would be in a position to understand what the teacher says. IN.9...the pedagogy that is based on the local knowledge and native wisdom....Bringing all local examples, local voices, local knowledge, and native wisdom mixed in a classroom, then students will be more interested in learning the English language.

IN.24... we should start with the familiar contexts of a student...Only then...learning is possible... If they have better knowledge about their immediate reality, they will be able to imagine and speculate about the realities of distant places, abstract numbers, and abstract ideas.

IN.6....We can give these things by encouraging students, making resources available to them and using technology because technology is a really captivating tool. It can be used factor for positive encouragement.

IN.11...If they need some more assistance, we can have a language lab facility. Regarding the articulation of the phonemes; they could be given such exercises/ such tasks, which will help them overcome the diffidence. So the language lab will come as a bridge.

IN.20...technology plays an important role. And... giving the space also... is more important. If you give the space to a marginalized person...he improves his confidence a lot...in the classroom or outside the classroom...we should be able to provide that space...

Q19: What is your opinion about the statement by Savitribai Phule—By learning English caste system will be destroyed?

Responses show that participants expressed ambiguous and contradictory views. Almost half of the participants (eleven) reported that English has emancipatory potential, which can destroy the caste system. However, six of them mentioned that it cannot completely eradicate the caste system. In fact, some (nine) respondents said that caste is still deeply rooted in society. Therefore, it is not possible to eradicate caste by learning English. If that were possible, caste would have disappeared from society by this time.

Table 19: Teachers' opinions about whether caste can be destroyed by learning English

Theme	Interview Excerpts
English can destroy the caste system.	IN.2... James Shire wrote the poem <i>Death, The Great Leveller</i>, so I would paraphrase his poem that <i>English, The Great leveller</i>, brings down the curtain all social inequalities. I think English would definitely play a major role in abolishing the caste system. IN.11... Sure. With great egalitarian thing, the knowledge of English will definitely go into wipe all these kind of marginalization or discrimination that is there in society. IN.13... English is one language I believe, according to me, is a language that will not promote that kind of casteist mentality; it is not there...I would say a very interesting option for Dalits.
English cannot destroy the caste system.	IN.7... caste system cannot be destroyed. It is culturally inherent in our psyche, religion and community that it cannot be abolished. But, English will help you to be better placed among your peers, among your society. IN.9... but it is very difficult. How can a language destroy the caste system remains a question. I do wait for the day where the language destroys the caste, but I have a doubt because this system is rooted in the psyche or minds of the citizens of India. IN.16...I don't think that by learning the English language, the caste system will be destroyed because the stigma does not disappear. To destroy caste, to destroy discrimination...I think we need to have that imaginative training. Make them aware. These all are constructs.

Q20: Do you agree that speaking English gives one positive identity? Is it a language of anti-discrimination? Can you substantiate your view?

A common belief in society is that speaking English gives a positive identity. In this study also, almost all the participants (twenty-two) acknowledged that English is the language of positive identity and anti-discrimination. Of these, six teachers further mentioned that even if you speak English, there will be discrimination. Similarly, two

other participants expressed that the caste system cannot be destroyed completely by learning English.

Table 20: Teachers explanation of whether English can be a language of positive identity and anti-discrimination

Theme	Interview Excerpts
English is a language of positive identity and anti-discrimination.	IN.9...Yes, it is a language of anti-discrimination...It was against this kind of discriminatory practice. I do agree that speaking English gives one positive identity. IN.10...If you learn and speak English, you will get a positive identity because most people are respected for speaking in English in our society. And, learned people and literate people can speak in English. If you speak in English, automatically, you get respect. IN.24... It is anti-discrimination...because if you speak Madurai dialect with small variation, and you would say that he is of this caste and that caste....But, when you speak in English, it is impossible. It is impossible to identify one based on the way one speaks English.
The English language cannot empower completely.	IN.6... It helps in eradicating a few barriers. I don't know whether the language can completely eradicate discrimination. IN.16... But is it a language of anti-discrimination? Again yes, but it is because you speak in English, the discrimination will not disappear. IN.17... Being equipped with English is like being armed. An armed person cannot say that he never will be attacked. But, if he is armed, he can deal with it when he is attacked.

4.3 Important findings from the Teachers' interview

The previous section presents teachers' interview. This section summarizes the major findings, which provide insight into the participants' attitudes towards teaching and learning English.

4.3.1 Finding 1: The English language is necessary.

According to teachers, learning English as a universal language is essential. Because there are more opportunities and resources in the language, teachers reported that it is more advantageous for those who know it than those who do not. Furthermore, they felt that speaking English helps them to establish their social identity positively.

4.3.2 Finding 2: English is a language of empowerment.

The responses from teachers show that English is considered a language of socio-economic, educational, and linguistic empowerment. Indeed, it is the only language that is desired for Dalit empowerment. For instance, the teachers explained that the Dalit empowerment through the English language happens at various levels—by speaking English, they: a) personally feel confident; b) establish their identity positively as educated; c) get more educational and employment opportunities; d) escape the clutches of caste identity e) experience egalitarianism and f) climb up in the socio-economic ladder.

English is considered the language against discrimination. Therefore, participants highlighted that speaking English helps them overcome social barriers and establish positive identity as against Indian languages, which nurture caste-based discriminations.

4.3.3 Finding 3: Dalit empowerment through the English language is not complete

The responses show that on the one hand, English is seen as an empowering language. On the other hand, there is a feeling that Dalit empowerment through English is not complete because even if you speak English fluently, you may be exposed to a new form of discrimination. For instance, Teacher 10 says, ‘Even today, educated people, high authorities also follow the caste system’ (See Table 19). However, there is an awareness that the English language is an important tool to deal with Dalit problems as well as to question certain norms and stereotypes given by society. For instance, Teacher

17 says, “Being equipped with English is like being armed. An armed person cannot say that he will never be attacked. But if he is armed, he can deal with it when he is attacked.”

4.3.4 Finding 4: Dalit students are interested in learning English.

The results show that students generally show positive intention to learn English because it helps them study other subjects. When it comes to the marginalized and Dalit students, they have great reverence for the English language because speaking English creates a good impression. Among other factors such as education, employment, and economics that influence Dalit’s attitude towards English, establishing distinct social identity is the most important.

4.3.5 Finding 5: First-generation students’ struggle and succeed

The responses indicate that first-generation students have difficulty learning English when entering college. Furthermore, they find it difficult to understand concepts when their subjects are explained in English only. They feel that one main reason for their language deficiency is rote learning, which is believed to prevent them from acquiring language skills. However, when they reach the second or final year, they are able to overcome their language barriers. Furthermore, it is also felt that teachers should motivate these students to learn English because their parents cannot help with their education.

4.4 Results of Students’ Questionnaire Analysis

SPSS 24 and MS Excel 2010 were used to analyse quantitative elements in the students’ questionnaire. The qualitative data was analysed by using TA. Here, the results of the quantitative and qualitative analysis will be presented under each question. It is very useful to interpret the results of the quantitative descriptive analysis along with the results of qualitative thematic analysis because it helps to see if the two results complement each other.

The questionnaire consisted of four sections. The first section contained items to obtain demographic details of the participants (presented in Chapter II), and the items in the second, third, and fourth sections were used to measure students' attitudes towards English.

Section II

Results of the questions in section II of the questionnaire are discussed here. Most questions (9 out of 12) presented in this section have both quantitative and qualitative components. The responses in this section help us understand the participants' language ability, feelings, interest and motivational factors for learning English, learning atmosphere and the role of English in higher education.

Q1: How long have you been studying English?

As shown in Table 21, students learn/ study English on an average of 21.27 (SD. 3.362) years.

Given below are the Mean (M) and Standard Deviation (SD) showing how many years students have been learning English for:

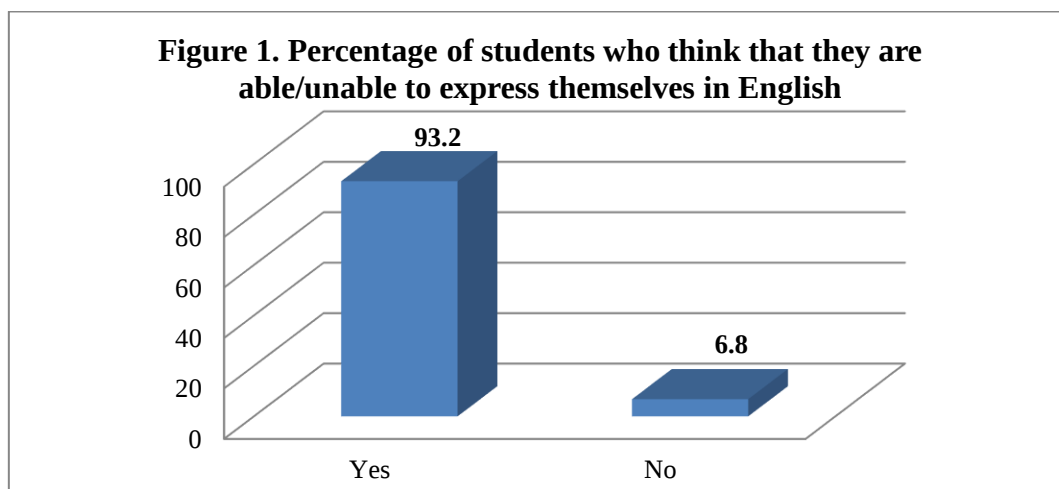
Table 21. Distribution of the M and SD of learning English in terms of years

Question	Mean	Std. Deviation
1. How long have you been studying English?	21.27	3.362

Q2: Are you able to express yourself in English? a. Yes b. No

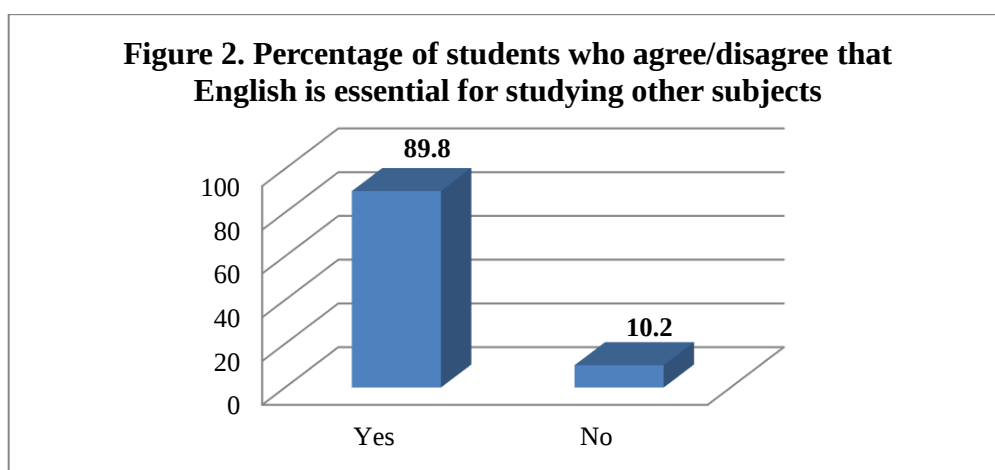
This question was designed to investigate whether students have attained sufficient proficiency in English to express themselves since they have been learning it for many years. Figure 1 demonstrates that nearly all students (93%) think that they can express themselves in English. It is evident that they have been studying English for more than

two decades, and at the current stage, they are confident in their ability to express themselves in English.



Q3: Do you think English is essential for studying other subjects? a. Yes b. No

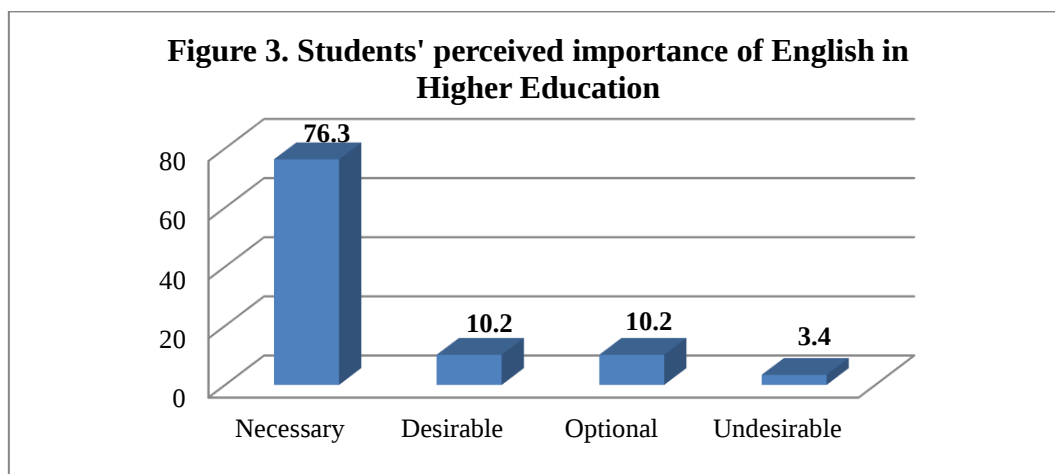
This question was asked to investigate whether according to them English is important to study other subjects. Figure 2 shows that students think English is necessary for studying other subjects. Almost 90% of the students reported 'Yes'. This result can be explained by considering the fact that English is generally the medium in higher education.



By cross-checking the data of students who do not consider English essential to study other subjects, it was identified that five of them are first-generation learners.

This question was worded differently in Q7, but still, the underlying focus remained the same: English in higher education is_____?

- a. Necessary b. Desirable c. Optional d. Undesirable e. Unnecessary



From Figure 3, we can observe that English is considered important for higher studies. 76.3% of the total participants reported that English is necessary for higher education, 10.2% felt it desirable, and another 10.2% considered it optional. Very few (3.4%) mentioned that English is undesirable.

This question had a qualitative component too. Results indicate that English is necessary for higher education due to the impact of globalization, i.e., Respondent 37 reports that “Necessity of English language comes out of the forces and impact of globalization and universality.” As a global language, English enables participants to interact with global communities and access more educational and employment opportunities, i.e., Respondent 19 reports that English is necessary for “searching jobs and communicating with other state people”. In addition to that, English is considered as an important source language for knowledge. For instance, Respondent 21 mentions that “In higher education, English is necessary to understand research articles, identifying and resolving problems, and creating innovation for scientific research.”

Table 22. Perceived importance of English in higher education

Theme	Excerpts from students' writing
English is a global language	Res.01...English is a global language. Without knowing it, you cannot access anything. Res.37...The necessity of the English language comes out of the forces and impact of globalization and universality. Res.38...It enables us to interact with universal communities.
A source of Knowledge	Res.02...Most of the educational sources are available in English..... As part of the PhD course, students have to publish research papers in established journals. Res.20...We must learn in English. So, English is an enhancement of our knowledge. Res.21...In Higher education, English is necessary to understand research articles, identifying and resolving problems, and creating innovation for scientific research.
A source of Employment	Res.17...Most of the competitive exams are conducted only in English. Res.19...For searching jobs and communicating with other state people. Res.52 ...it enables one for global employment opportunities.

Q4: Which of the four skills mentioned below are you comfortable with? Rate them on a scale of 1 to 4 (1 for the most comfortable and 4 for the least comfortable).

- a. listening
- b. speaking
- c. reading
- d. writing

Apart from revealing their language capabilities, the answers to this question also inform us about their perceived language difficulties with respect to the four macro language skills.

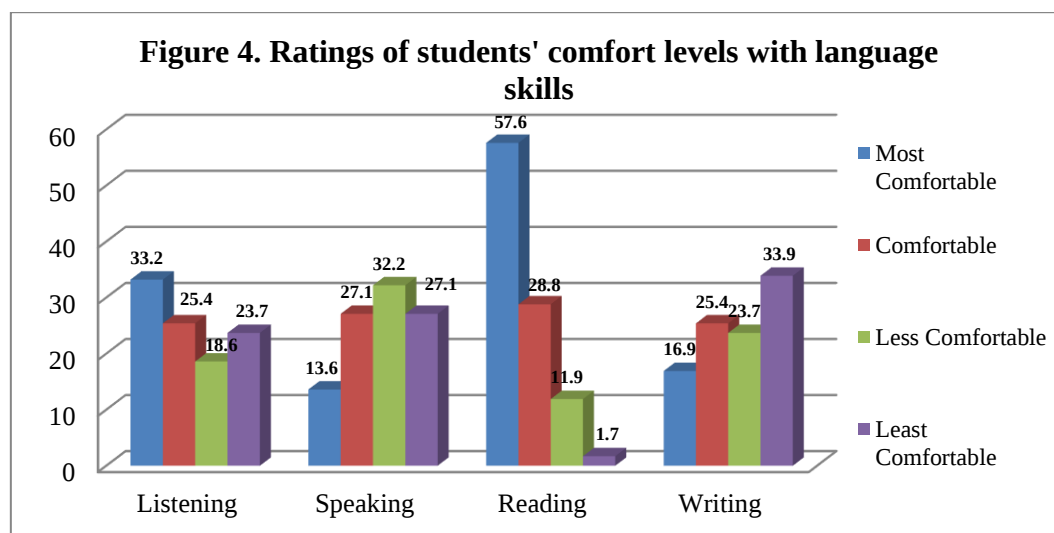


Figure 4 shows that students are more comfortable with receptive language skills than productive skills. When it comes to receptive skills, reading (58%) is more frequently rated as the 'most comfortable' skill. Among productive skills, writing (34%) and speaking (27%) are rated as less and least comfortable skills, respectively. These findings suggest that productive language skills, such as speaking and writing, are more challenging. Moreover, these results seem to challenge the assumption that improving receptive language skills help learners improve their productive skills, as many students in this study reported that they found reading easy but writing problematic.

Participants' written responses further show that they were encouraged to practise receptive skills more often than productive skills (Table 23).

Table 23. Students' feelings about ease with handling the language skills

Theme	Sub-theme	Excerpts from students' writing
Reading is the most comfortable skill.	Maximum time is spent on reading.	Res.03...I trained for reading.... Res.34...Maximum of time is spent from school to college on writing and reading. Res.39...I like to read storybooks
	Reading skill is easy.	Res.26...Reading was a part of learning every other subject. It was very much comfortable. Res.27...When we compare with four skills, reading is very easy and comfortable Res.37...Reading and writing are personal activities. So I feel comfortable.
Writing in English is difficult.		Res.02...writing in English requires time... To perfect one's writing, one should get it corrected by someone...
		Res.03...but lack of practice in...writing.
		Res.26...For writing it makes me think of grammatical errors.
Speaking is difficult.		Res.01...Speaking is very tough. You should speak out to develop communication skills. Most people shy in the beginning.
		Res.08...I'm studying Tamil medium. So, speaking English is very hard.
		Res.26... I used to search for words to express

As mentioned earlier in the description of the participants, most students had Tamil medium school education and learned English as one of the subjects. Answering the question, Respondent 1 says, "Until my 12th standard, I was studying in Tamil medium. I did not have a connection with English except for the English subject." The

responses show that due to inadequate learning conditions at school as well as at home, many students encounter issues related to learning English as a second language.

Q5: Based on your experience, learning English is_____?

The question was asked to examine the participants' feelings about learning English. Response to this question was rated on a five-point scale (Likert) using the following options: *very hard*, *hard*, *manageable*, *easy* and *very easy*.

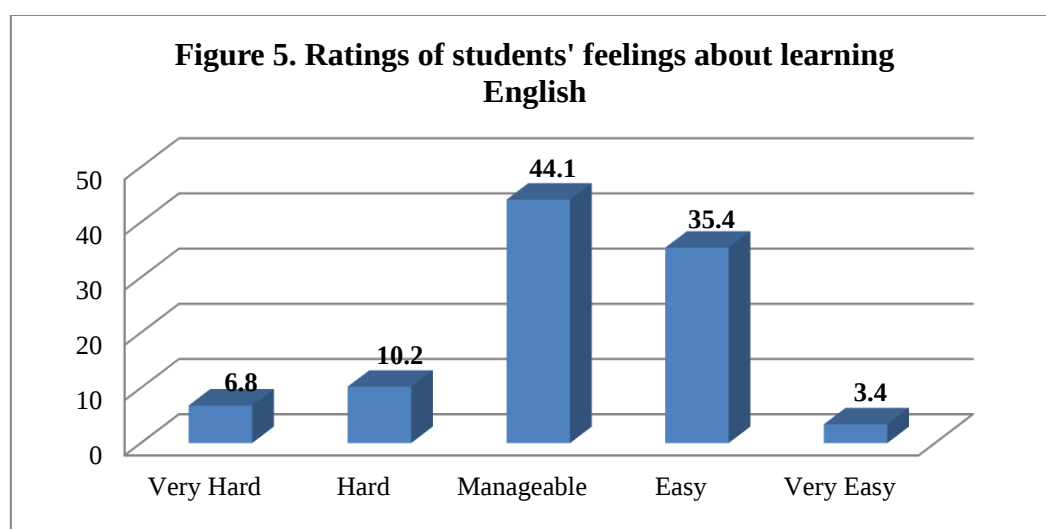


Figure 5 indicates that students have mixed feelings about learning English, ranging from very hard to very easy. 41% of the participants rated their feeling of learning as manageable, while 35% said it was easy. Only a few students (10.2%) found learning English hard, a few (6.8%) found it very hard, and a very few (3.4%) very easy.

Results of the qualitative elements of this question give even more comprehensible understanding of students' L2 learning experience. Their written responses to this question show that students' feelings about learning English have changed over a period of time. At an early stage, they found it hard. In particular, it was very challenging for first-generation students to learn the complexities of English

grammar. However, there was an improvement in their language skills once they entered college (Table 24).

Table 24. Students' feelings about how difficult it is to learn English

Theme	Sub-theme	Excerpts from students' writing
Learning English is hard at the beginning.		Res.23...It was hard when I started. It has three stages: a) the first stage is very hard; b) the second stage is easier than the first; the last stage is the easiest.
		Res.29...in the beginning, learning English was very hard, but now it is manageable because I read a lot.
		Res.39... After entering college, it is difficult to manage for the first three months. After that, I learnt English a little bit to write and speak slowly.
	Learning English is very difficult for a first-generation learner	Res.40...As the first generation of English-speaking communities, we are not given that much exposure. We are not trained to speak English at home.
		Res.41...I am also a first-generation learner.... I struggle with writing skills (grammar)...
		Res.42...It is very hard to learn because no one at home knows English.
	Learning grammar is hard	Res.09...It belongs to a different language family...So, the learning was not sophisticated.
		Res.50...I can't understand English grammar. So I don't know how to use English proper way.
		Res.54...Sometimes grammar part is a little confusing
English language development happened after entering college.		Res.01... Res.01...Until my 12 th standard...I did not have a connection with English except the English subject. After got into a college, it was inevitable to read and study in English... (Easy)
		Res.02...After 12 th ... I picked up a conversation English from English-speaking friends. At university, I got more feedback on my write-ups.
		Res.52...after school, the college and university environment enabled me to expand my vocabulary.
		Res.20...It is very simple. We have to invest and have involvement in English.

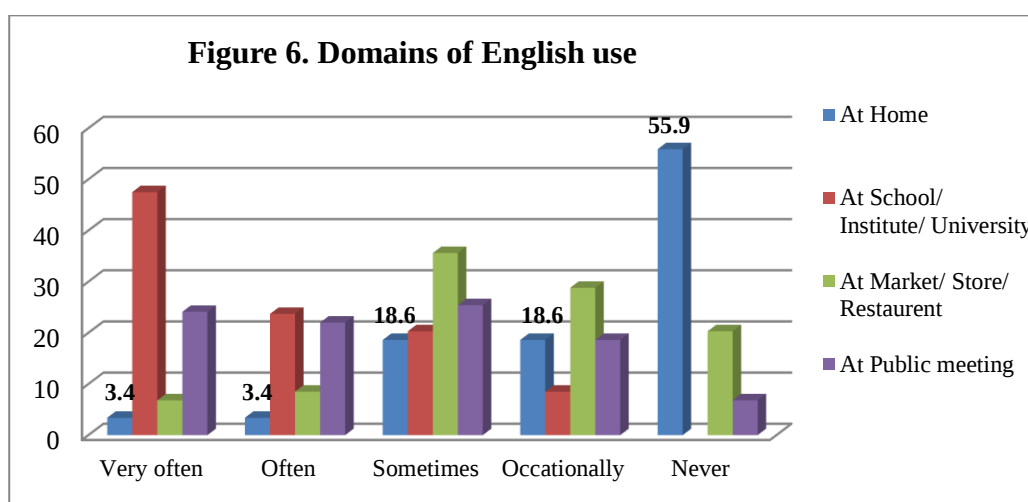
Students are motivated to learn English.

Res.31...We should learn English with interest.

Res.41...I'm excited to learn English.

Q6 (i): Where do you use English? Rate your frequency on the scale, using the following options: *very often, often, sometimes, occasionally and never*.

This question was designed to investigate where English is frequently used. Knowing this helped us understand the participants' exposure to learning and practising the language.



From Figure 4, it can be observed that students' exposure to English is very limited, except in schools and colleges. Nearly half of them (48%) reported that they use English very often at schools/ institutes/ colleges. 60% of the respondents mentioned that they never use English at home, while some (19%) use it occasionally or sometimes. Therefore, it is very clear from these results that schools and colleges are the only places where they are more frequently exposed to learning and practising English.

Q6 (ii): Who are the people you generally use English with? Rate your frequency on the scale, using the following options: *very often, often, sometimes, occasionally and never*.

This question was used to know about interlocutors with whom the participants use English. Like in the previous question, students had to rate their interlocutors on the same scale.

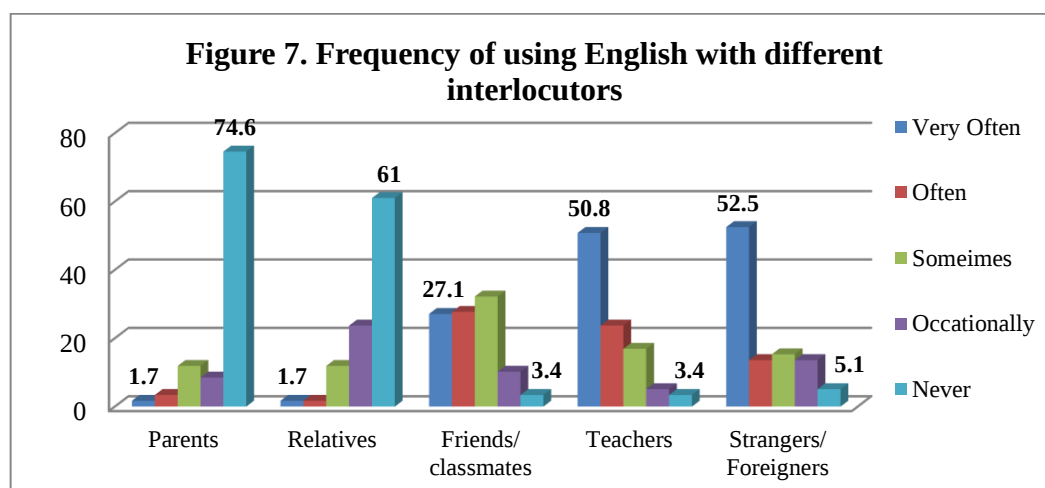


Figure 7 shows that almost all participants never use English with their parents and relatives. 75% and 61% of the total participants reported that they never use English with parents and relatives, respectively. In contrast, English is more frequently used with strangers (53%), teachers (51%) and friends and classmates (27%). This means that they more often interact with teachers and friends or classmates in English than any other mentioned in the figure, apart from strangers.

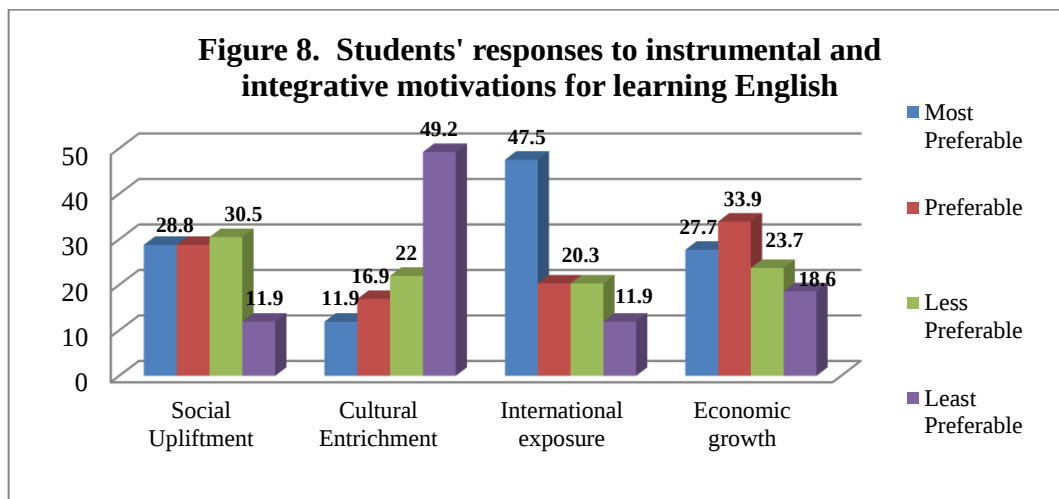
Students' written responses can explain that since parents do not know English, students cannot use English at home (Table 25). Students found that English is absent in their society. For instance, Respondent 3 says, "I'm the first graduate, and the whole society is illiterate." These findings can be validated against students' parents' qualifications (53% are illiterate) and the interlocutors with whom they use English in Figure 5 (Most students never use English with their parents and relatives).

Table 25. Students' explanations for where and with whom they often use English

Theme	Excerpts from students' writing
Parents do not know English. Friends and teachers speak English.	Res.06...My parents do not know English. That is why I can't use it. Teachers and friends know English. We can speak. Res.20...My parents are uneducated. Most of my relations also are uneducated. My friends are speaking in English. Res.26...Parents are not familiar with English and so my relatives. As students of English, we are made to speak English.

Q8: I prefer English because it helps me in_____?

- a) Social upliftment, b) cultural enrichment, c) international exposure, d) economic growth. Rate them on a scale of 1 to 4 (1 for the most preferred and 4 for the least preferred)



In Figure 8, it can be seen that English is mostly preferred to get international exposure. Almost half of the participants (48%) selected international exposure as their most preferred choice, given the preferences. Following that, economic growth and social upliftment (almost 30%) were rated as most preferable, whereas cultural enrichment (49%) was the least preferable. Probably, students perceived English as a symbolic capital

through which they can accrue more opportunities globally, and improve their socio-economic and cultural conditions as well.

These results can be explained by the qualitative analysis of the students' written responses. Most students reported that learning English makes the world smaller, and it enables them to communicate with people across the world and create enormous opportunities. Moreover, they also mentioned that English is perceived as a status symbol in India, and people respect them for speaking English. Most importantly, some of these students acknowledged that English empowers them socially, economically, and culturally. For instance, Respondent 26 says, "Since I come from a poor background, I can identify myself among the educated because of the language" (See Table 26).

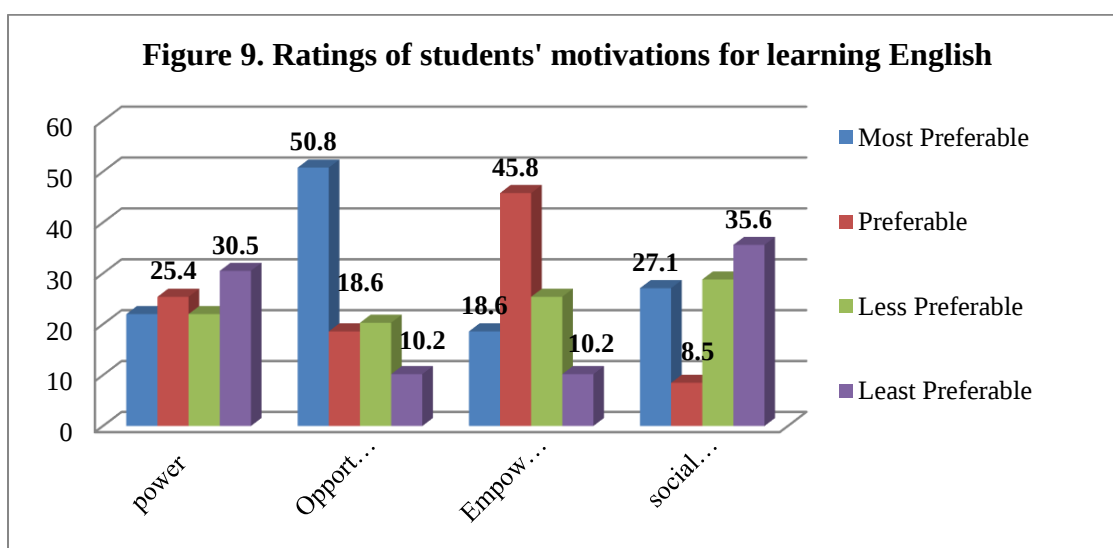
Table 26. Students' motivation for learning English

Theme	Sub-theme	Excerpts from students' writing
English is useful for getting international exposure.		Res.01... Once you are well in English, the world becomes a small village for you. You can contact any countries person without any barriers.
		Res.30...English is preferable when you want to go abroad.
		Res.50...English is an international language. If we learn English, we can communicate with any people because it is a common language.
English can be used for career and economic development.		Res.27...I started to learn English to getting a job and earn.
		Res.37...English helps in conveying my ideas on a bigger platform and likely to get a job.
		Res.45...It gives more economic opportunities than any other language.
English can be used for social upliftment	As a status symbol	Res.33...If I know English, society respects me as a knowledgeable person.
		Res.51...While speaking in English, people are giving respect.
		Res.52...In Indian society, English is...a status symbol.
	Social empowerment	Res.23...It helps the suppressed people to express their problem
		Res.26...Since I come from a poor background, I can identify myself among the educated because of the language.
		Res.38...As I come from a poor socio-economic background, English helps to empower my social status.
Cultural enrichment		Res.02... Besides Tamil culture, I got acquainted with other cultures as I am able to communicate with people belonging to different cultures.
		Res.26... It gives me a cultural enrichment...

Res.52...English gives me a chance to read global literature...Most multi-cultural spaces in India...

Q9: English is a language of_____?

- a. power, b. opportunity c. empowerment d. social upliftment. Rate them on a scale of 1 to 4 (1 for the most preferred and 4 for the least preferred).



In Figure 9, it can be observed that the pattern found in the previous question is recurrent. Over 51% of the total participants stated that English is the language of opportunities. Nearly equal proportion (46%) of students considered it to be a language of empowerment. English is rated as the ‘most preferable’ language for ‘opportunity’ and ‘preferable’ for ‘empowerment’. Afterwards, the remaining items—English as a language of power and social upliftment—are placed third (less preferable) and fourth (least preferable) on the scale, respectively.

To get an even more comprehensive understanding of this, students' written responses were found to be useful. These findings were found to be consistent with the participants' written responses to this question. The results of the qualitative analysis show that English is considered the language of empowerment. It creates more

opportunities and social mobility. Moreover, some participants mentioned that English is a gateway to a reservoir of knowledge. For instance, Respondent 30 says, “the English language is the most sought after if you want to achieve something bigger in the field of higher education.” Some highlighted that English is a language of international communication that helps the participants communicate with people worldwide through various mediums such as film, literature, news, etc. A few believed that English is a language of power that gives the users confidence (Table 27).

Table 27. Students' Preferences for learning English

Theme	Excerpts from students' writing
English is a language of opportunities and empowerment.	Res.40... It gives not only an opportunity but a scope of empowerment. Res.42...Proficiency in English creates more job opportunities..... Res.44...At present, it is a language of opportunity and empowerment.
English is a gateway to a reservoir of Knowledge.	Res.08... reading books in English develop our knowledge. Res.17...If you want to collect a specific area's knowledge, it will be available in the English language. Res.30...the English language is the most sought after if you want to achieve something bigger in the field of higher education.
Lingua Franca and international communication	Res.08.... English is useful to convey messages to other state language groups. Res.28...Because English is the language of communication in our world. Res.52...English provides an opportunity to interact with various people across the world through various mediums like film, literature, News etc.
English is a social weapon.	Res.18...It empowers and takes me higher on the social ladder. Res.20...Language is the strength of our life. Language is a social weapon. Res.26...The English language will give me a higher status.
English is a language of power in terms of confidence and knowledge	Res.02... Power, in terms of confidence, yes. Res.22...English is a language of power in scientific research. Res.52... Hence it empowers one with knowledge and power.

Q10: Will you recommend the English medium of instruction for other children in your family?

- a. Yes b. No

Since the medium of education can also be a factor that determines language attitude, this question was designed to investigate the participants' views on the medium of education.

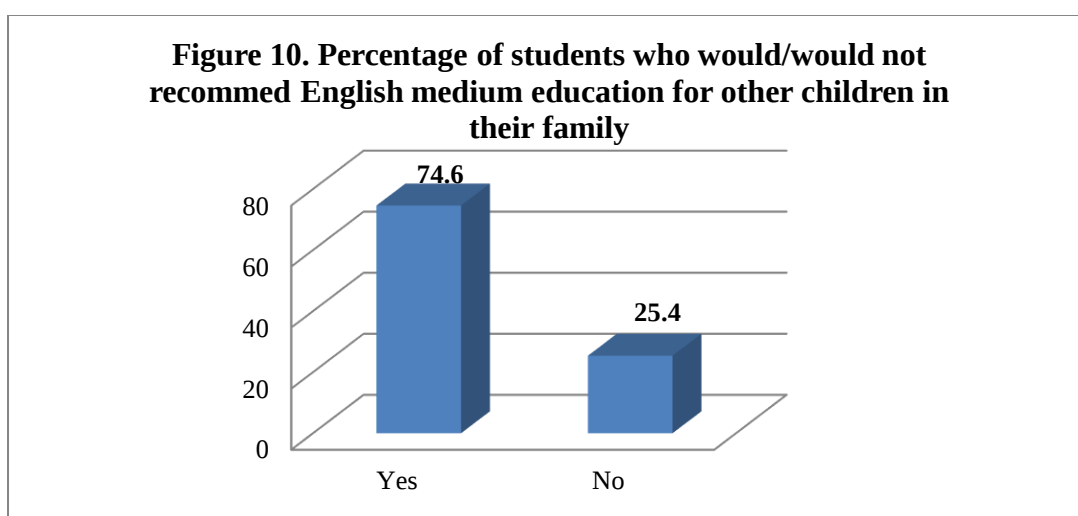


Figure 10 shows that the participants generally have a favourable attitude towards English medium education. Almost 75% of the total participants reported that they recommend English medium instruction for children in their families. The results of the qualitative analysis show that in the students' point of view, English medium education creates more opportunities and enables one to be competent in the world. Moreover, English is very important for acquiring more knowledge and international communication, and self-empowerment (Table 28).

The descriptive responses show that the participants might have taken the decision based upon their learning experiences as students of Tamil medium. Their assumption behind their decision—preferring English medium instruction for their family—seems to

be based on their belief that the students who study English medium education will obtain adequate proficiency, which, according to them, is essential for higher education, employment, communication, and social empowerment. In contrast, some (25%) feel that learning through their mother tongue is better and more effective, as the mother-tongue medium not only helps them understand concepts but also improves their second language learning (Table 28).

Table 28. Students' beliefs about the medium of education

Theme	Sub-theme	Excerpts from students' writing
Mother tongue medium helps us understand concepts.		Res.7... Mother tongue or regional language is better to understand concepts... Res.50...I give my first preference to my mother tongue unless we can't learn other languages. Res.58...Because mother tongue will help everyone to enrich the English language
Learning English creates more opportunities.		Res.45...It provides more opportunities for children. Res.17...In the 21st century, we are ready to participate in the competitive world. So it (the medium of instruction) is very necessary to be a part of it.
It enables them to survive in the competitive world.		Res.39...Learning English is good...It will be useful at the time of job opportunity. Res.08... All state and government examinations are in English. Students must develop speaking in English. Res.33...For survival in all places, not only in India, in the world.
English is important.	English is important for acquiring knowledge.	Res.30...So, if they know English, they will never face any difficulty when they go to tertiary level education. Res.46... in future, the English language will help our child...improve their knowledge. Res.49...But learning English will help us to get global knowledge. So we could enlighten ourselves.

English is
important for
international
communication
.

Res.18....It is an international language. It is the language of survival.

Res.28....English is the most communicative language in the world.

Res.48...English is one of the more important languages in the world.

English is
important for
empowerment.

Res.38...It is necessary in this modern world and will help them to empower themselves.

Res.40... the reason I prefer English medium instruction is for empowerment for the later generation.

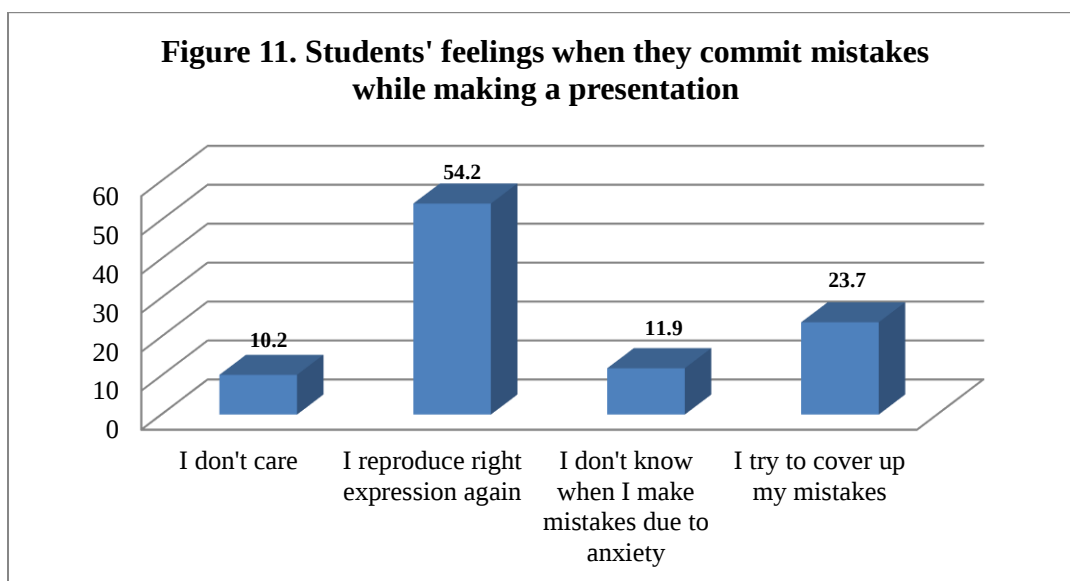
Res.51...In society, it takes my status higher.

The following two questions are designed to investigate how the respondents feel when they commit mistakes, and those mistakes are corrected by their teachers.

Q11: How do you feel when you commit mistakes while making a presentation in your class?

- a. I don't care
- b. I reproduce the right expression again
- c. I don't know when I make mistakes due to anxiety
- d. I try to cover up my mistakes

The respondents were also informed to choose more than one option if they felt important.



From Figure 11, we can observe that the participants are more aware of their mistakes, as they want their mistakes to be corrected by themselves. 54% of the total respondents wanted to “reproduce the right expression again.” 24% did not want their mistakes to be recognized by others; therefore, they “try to cover up their mistakes.” 12% reported that they do not know when they commit mistakes due to anxiety. Only 10% mentioned that they do not care about their mistakes.

These results can be explained by the participants’ written responses to the question. Most students felt that it is important to correct their mistakes for the following reasons: a) to learn English properly, and b) to communicate properly without meaning getting lost. However, some students mentioned that it is very common to make mistakes as a second language learner. Therefore, they stated that making mistakes is not a big issue and that mistakes can be corrected once the language is learned properly. Overall, these results indicate that the participants are interested in learning English.

Table 29 students' feelings when they commit mistakes while making presentation

Theme	Sub-theme	Excerpts from students' writing
Students reproduce the right expression again.	Students are interested in learning it correctly.	Res 2...These days, I recognize my mistakes immediately and rectify them. I don't try to cover up because that creates embarrassment.
		Res 3...I made many mistakes, but I am always interested to correct my mistakes.
		Res.21...I reproduce the right expression again because of learning it more properly again.
	To communicate properly	Res 26...Making mistakes leads to misunderstanding. So I would reproduce the right expression again for a better understanding. Res 43...If I do not reproduce the right expression, the meaning might be lost. Proper communication/ message could not be conveyed.
	Making mistakes is common but correcting them is important.	Res 31...Everybody makes mistake while making presentations in the class because it is not our mother tongue, but I will try to correct my mistakes.
		Res 40...As a first-generation English learner, it is hard sometimes to express our ideas without making some sort of grammatical mistakes. We are aware of our mistakes and think about it always.
		Res. 49...When I make mistakes, I won't feel shy to reproduce the right expression again because we don't feel the same when we make mistakes in our mother tongue.
Students do not care about making mistakes.		Res 1...Committing mistakes in a language, which is not your mother tongue, is not a big issue. ...for a learner, it is not a problem.
		Res. 30...When we make a presentation...it is common that we do make mistakes. Committing a mistake is not a problem. It becomes a problem when we fail to acknowledge it.

	Res 50...Because I want to convey the message to the people. And, I don't want to show that I am weak in English.
Students want to cover up their mistakes.	Res 16...To make a good impression. At the same time much clear about the subject
	Res 18...I would try to cover up my mistakes and see that they provide flows.

Q 12: How do you react when your teacher tries to correct your mistakes while learning English?

- | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|
| a) Very keen to learn | b) Eager to know my mistakes |
| c) I become nervous | d) I get very troubled |

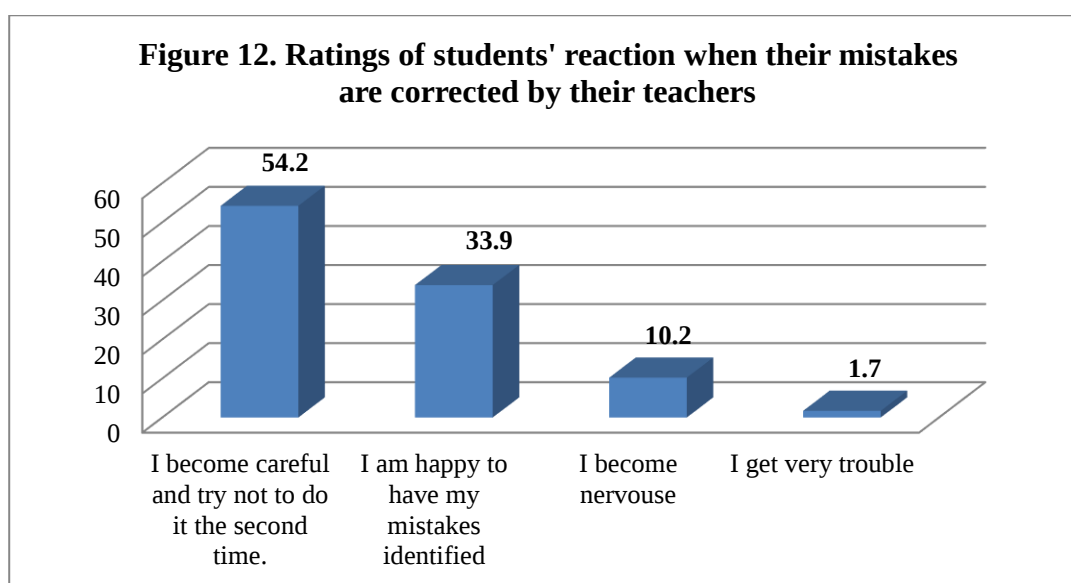


Figure 12 shows again that the students become aware of their mistakes and want their mistakes corrected. Almost 55% of the students reported that when their teacher corrects their mistake, they “become careful and try not to do it the second time.” Following that, 34% mentioned that they feel happy if their mistakes are

identified and corrected. In contrast, 10% admitted that they become nervous at that time. However, the results show that students prefer to correct their mistakes by themselves (as mentioned in the previous question) or by their teachers. This can be better understood by looking at students' written responses.

Several participants acknowledged that when their mistakes are corrected by their teacher, they feel happy and try not to repeat the same mistakes. They saw this as an opportunity to learn from their teachers. However, a few complained that they felt nervous at first, but later, they realised this was important. The overall emphasis is that the participants want to rectify their mistakes and learn English properly.

Table 30. Students' reactions when their mistakes are corrected by their teachers

Theme	Excerpts from students' writing
Students try not to commit the same mistakes again	Res.1...When a person trying to correct my mistake, I will be happy. It will help me to avoid the same mistake next time. It is the process of learning. Res.2...I am always eager to know where I go wrong. If my teacher points out my mistake, I am happy that I will never do the same. Res.39...I feel happy because I won't do that next time. When we are making mistakes, we learn many things.
Students see this as an opportunity to learn from the teachers	Res.26...It is a great opportunity to learn from teachers. Res.3... We always think that we never commit mistakes. We come to know only when the teacher points it out. In a way, it makes us learn correct English. Res. 43...Feedback helps to identify mistakes. When they are identified, it is easier to rectify them. The aim is to speak a proper language.
Students become nervous	Res.27...I become nervous when my teacher tries to correct my language.... in front of the classroom. Res.40..... I get nervous and troubled when mistakes are pointed out. Sometimes I do be careful about making no mistakes for the second time. Res.49...Firstly I feel nervous, but later, I realize the real intention of correcting our mistakes. I will correct it next time.

Section III

The following are the results obtained for questions in section III of the questionnaire. The third section consisted of 34 statements, to which participants responded using a five-point scale. Here, we have thematically classified these statements into eight groups: (i) social functions of English, (ii) motivation for learning English, (iii) the exclusiveness of English, (iv) English for empowerment, (v) English for emancipation, (vi) attitude towards the use of English, (vii) students'

anxieties, and (viii) their willingness to perform tasks in English. The participants were asked to rate each of these statements on a five-point (Likert) scale, using the following options: *strongly disagree* (SD), *disagree* (D), *cannot say* (CS), *agree* (A) and *strongly agree* (SA).

Group 1: Social Functions of the English language

Statements:

- English is a language of modernity
- English is a language of the educated class
- English is a language of the higher class
- English is a dominant language

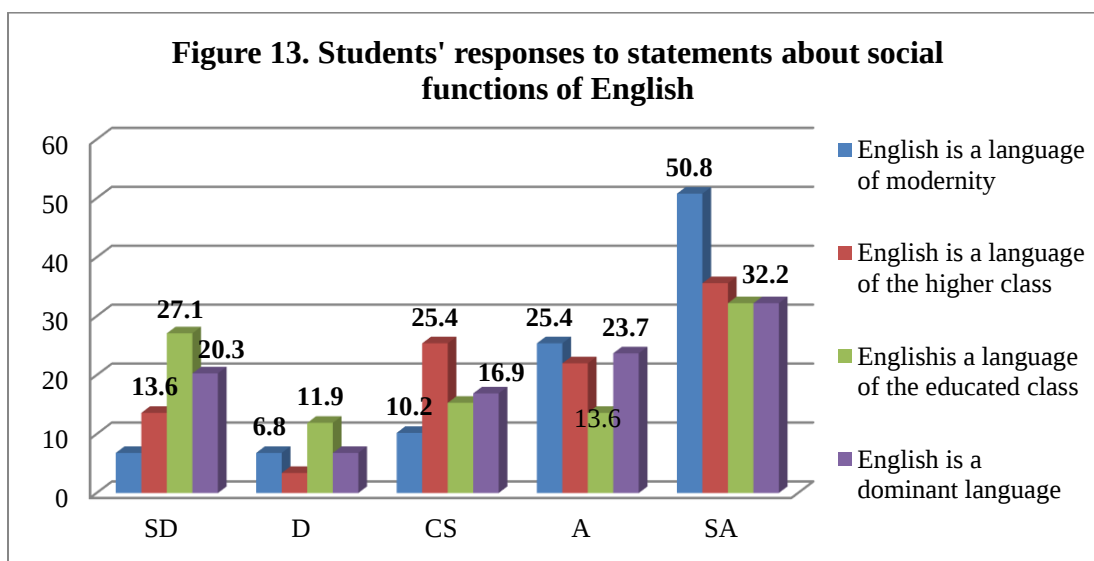


Figure 13 shows that the participants strongly agreed to all the statements, despite the differences. With agreement (25%) and strong agreement (59%), English is rated as 'the language of modernity'. Likewise, the remaining statements elicited almost 25% agreement and 35% strong agreement. In contrast, 27% of the participants strongly disagreed that 'English is the language of the educated class', and nearly equal number of students (25%) neither disagreed nor agreed with the statement. Overall, results

indicate that English is perceived as the language of modernity and belongs to the dominant/higher class.

Group 2: Instrumental and Integrative attitudes towards English

Statements: English is useful for:

- a. getting prestigious jobs
- b. higher education
- c. social mobility and prestige
- d. spreading social and cultural values
- e. national and international communication

The first three statements were used to elicit the instrumental aspect of English, whereas the last two examined the integrative aspect.

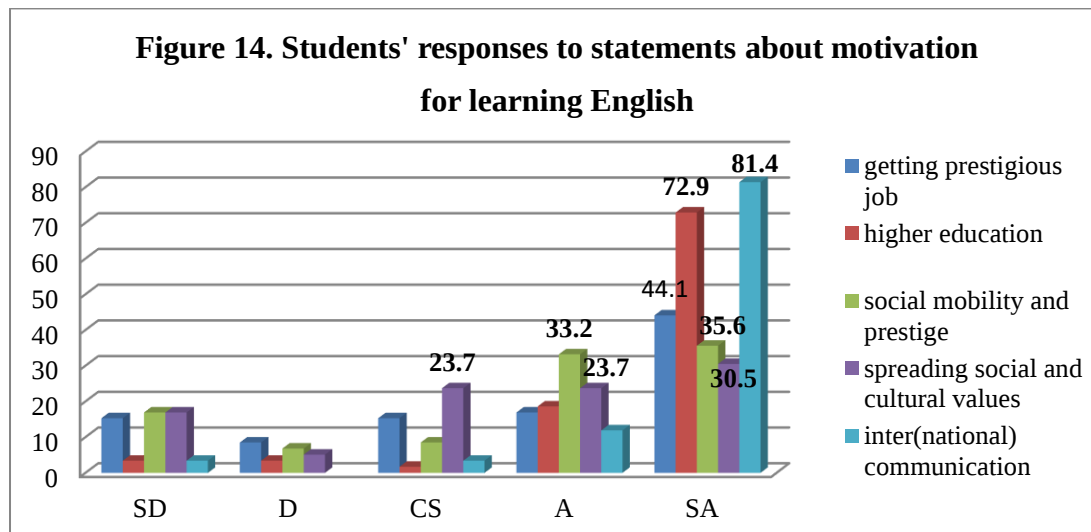


Figure 14 shows that both instrumental and integrative language aspects are given nearly equal importance. 81% and 73% of students strongly agreed that English is more effective for international communication and education, respectively. Subsequently, 44% strongly agreed that English is useful for getting prestigious jobs. Following that,

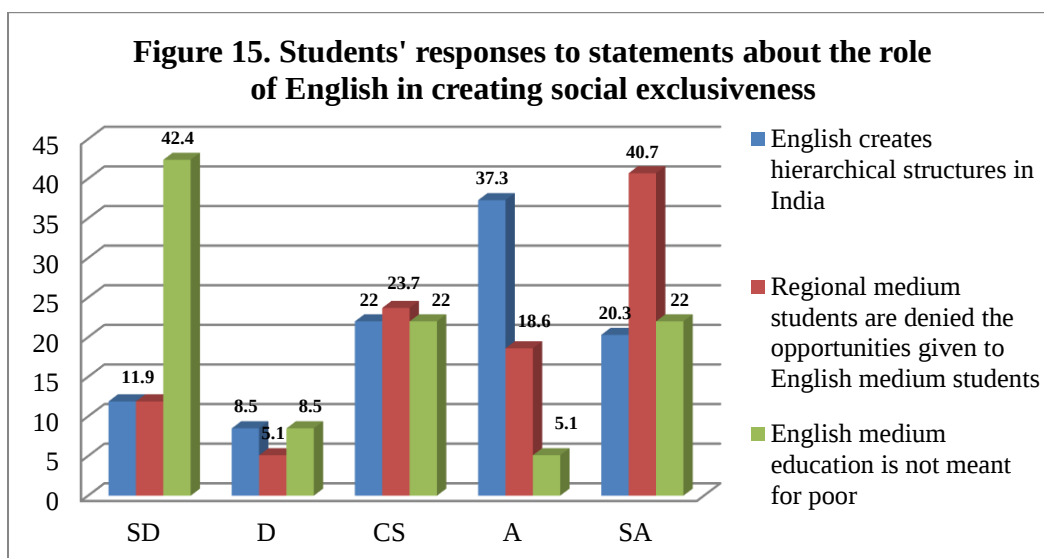
33% and 36 % of the participants agreed and strongly agreed, respectively, that English is valuable for social mobility and prestige. Finally, although spreading social and cultural values are valued positively (23.7% agree and 30.5% strongly agree), it is given the least importance in the figure. It is clear that among other instrumental values, higher education is highly valued. Similarly, international communication gets priority over the other integral values. This shows that there is a strong desire among the students to communicate with English-speaking people across the world.

Group 3: English and Social exclusiveness

Statements:

- (a) English creates hierarchical structures in India
- (b) Regional medium students are denied the opportunities given to English medium students
- (c) English medium education is not meant for the poor

Figure 15 shows that English can be used to create social exclusiveness. Almost 60% of the students (strongly) agreed that English creates hierarchical structures in India. Nearly equal proportions (57%) reported that regional medium students are denied the opportunities given to English medium students. In contrast, 42% of the total participants strongly disagreed with the statement—‘English medium instruction is not meant for the poor’. Interestingly, a considerable number of participants (almost 25%) neither disagreed nor agreed with all the statements. However, the results clearly indicate that English medium instruction should be affordable to all. If not, that will lead to further social exclusions.

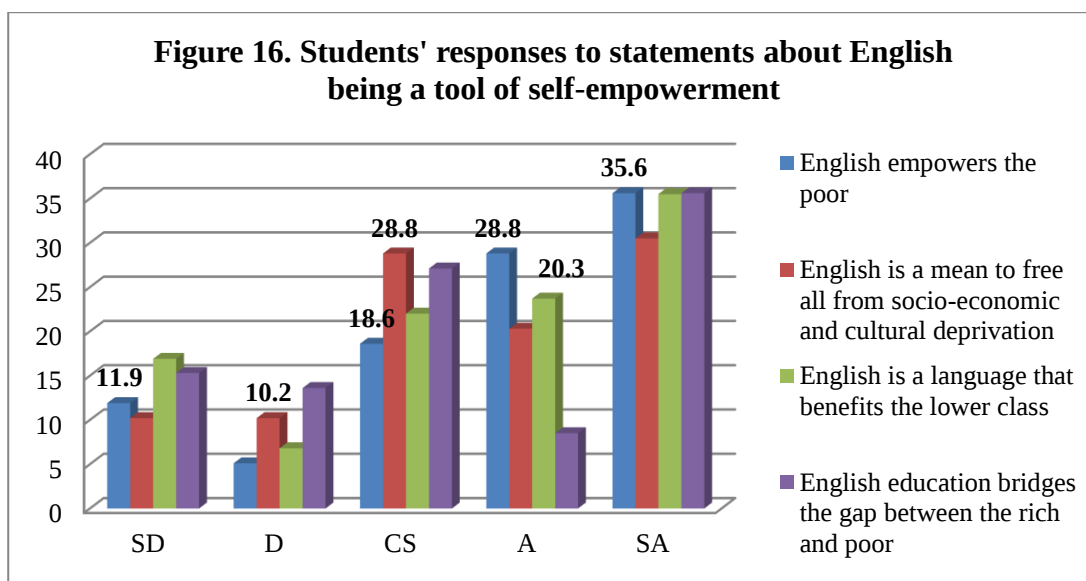


Group 4: English is the language of Empowerment

Statements:

- English empowers the poor
- English is a means to free all from socio- economic & cultural deprivation
- English education bridges the gap between rich and poor
- English is a language that benefits lower class

Figure 16 shows that English is perceived as the language of empowerment. Almost 35% of the students expressed strong agreement with all the statements. Also, more than 20% of the participants agree to all the statements except one- 'English education bridges the gap between the rich and poor.' This elicited only 8.5% agreement. Almost 25% of the participants reported that they could not agree or disagree to all the statements. Overall, the results show that English is seen as the language of empowerment.

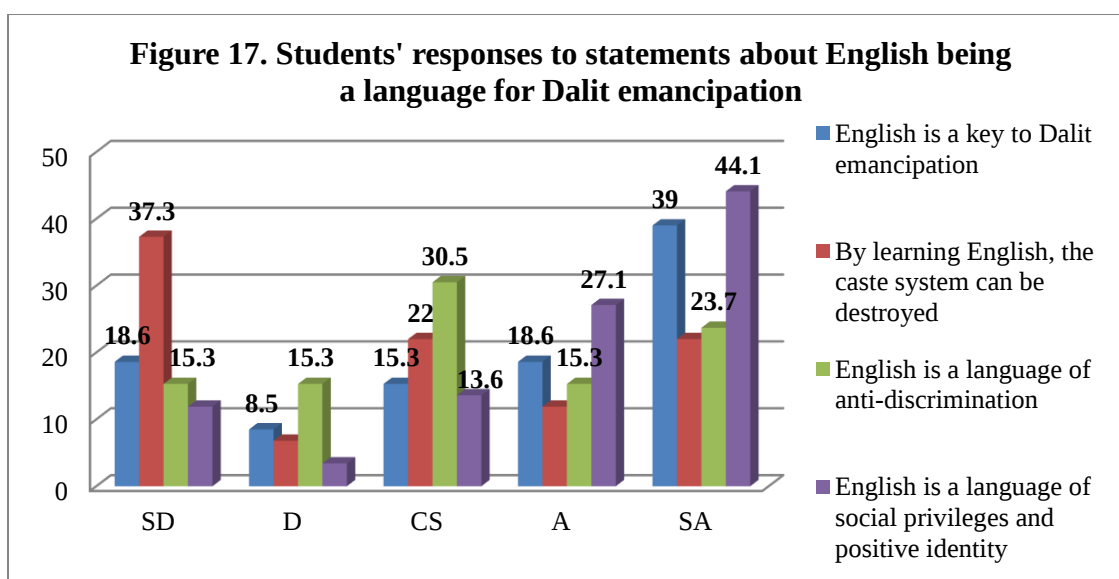


Group 5: English is a language of Dalit Emancipation

Statements:

- (a) English is the key to Dalit emancipation
- (b) By learning English, caste system can be destroyed
- (c) English is a language of anti-discrimination
- (d) English is a language of social privileges and positive identity

These statements were designed to investigate the role of English in Dalit emancipation.



From Figure 17, it can be observed that English is perceived as the language of ‘positive identity’ and ‘Dalit emancipation’. Around 71% agreed to the statement—English is a language of social privileges and positive identity, respectively. Similarly, the statement—English is a key to Dalit emancipation elicited 39% strong agreement and 19% agreement. Totally 59% of the participants reported that English is an important tool for Dalit emancipation. At the same time, while 31% disagreed, 38% agreed that English is a language of anti-discrimination. Nearly equal proportion (31%) of students mentioned that they ‘cannot say’ anything positive or negative. On the contrary, while 35% accepted, 44% strongly denied that ‘by learning English, the caste system can be destroyed’. Overall, the results indicate that English is seen as the language of positive identity and Dalit emancipation.

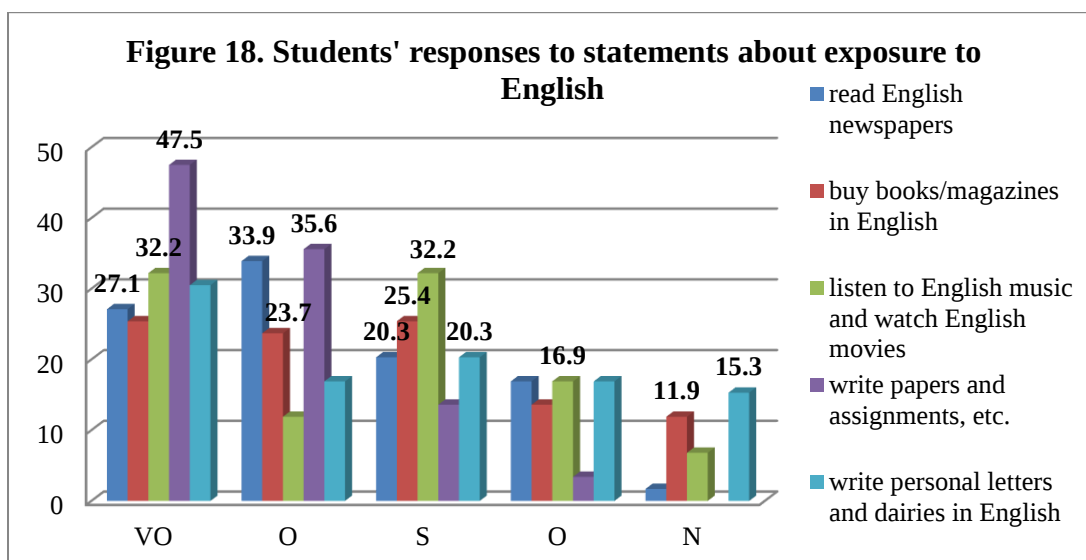
Group 6: Attitude towards the four macro language skills—listening, speaking, reading, and writing

Statements: I would like to_____?

- a. read English newspapers
- b. buy books/magazines in English
- c. listen to English music & watch English movies
- d. write papers, assignments, etc.
- e. write personal letters and diaries in English

Rate these statements on a five-point (Likert) scale, using the following options: *very often* (VO), *often* (O), *sometimes* (S), *occasionally* (O) and *never* (N).

These statements examined the participants’ attitude towards the four macro language skills—listening, speaking, reading, and writing.



The results show that writing and reading are the most frequently practised skills. A total of 81% of the participants stated that they more often use writing as part of their educational needs, with 35.6% & 45.5% reporting 'often' and 'very often', respectively. When it comes to recording personal information, the percentage is 48% (including 31% 'very often' and 17% 'often'). Moreover, 20% of the participants reported that they 'sometimes' write personal information. Following that, 61% mentioned that they read the newspaper more often (including 27.1% 'often' and 33.9% 'very often'). Listening is reported most often by 32%, often by 11%, sometimes by 32% and occasionally by 17%. These findings show that writing and reading are used frequently, whereas listening is practised less frequently.

Group 7: Language anxiety while performing tasks in English

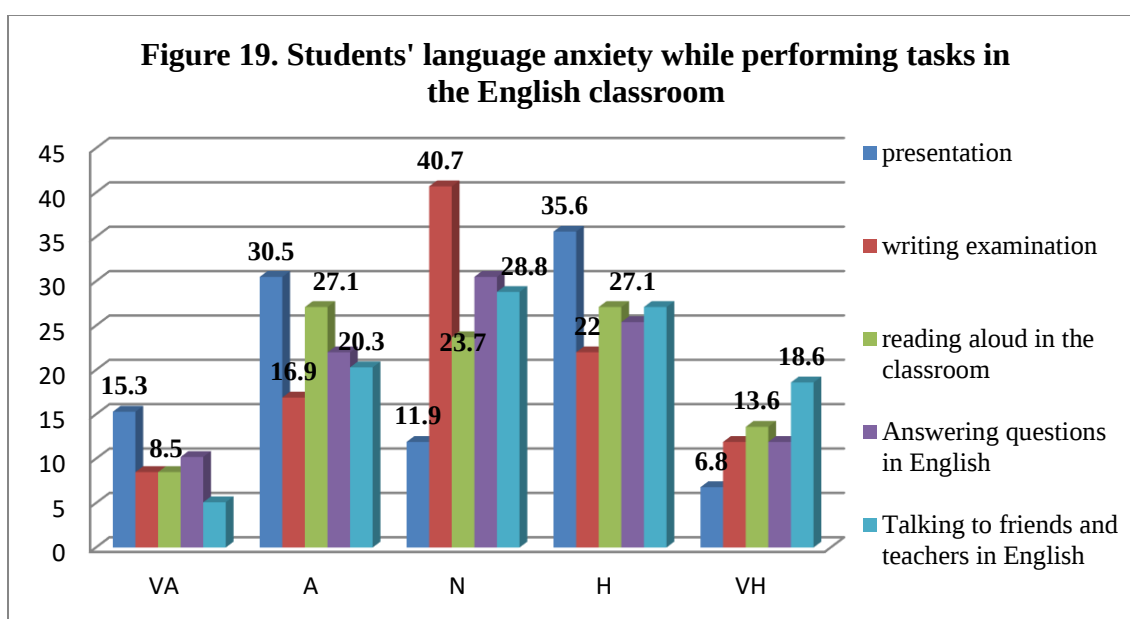
Statements: How do you feel while performing the following tasks in English?

- Presentation
- Writing examinations
- Reading aloud in the classroom
- Answering questions in English

e. Talking with friends and teachers in English

Rate them on a five-point scale, using the following options: *very anxious* (VA), *anxious* (A), *nothing in particular* (N), *happy and excited* (H) and *very happy and excited* (VH)

These statements were designed to examine the respondents' feelings while performing the tasks in English.



From figure 19, we can observe that students have mixed feelings about their performance. Despite small differences, almost 20% to 30% of students reported feeling anxious while performing the given tasks, whereas 22% to 36% feel happy. 46% of the students admitted that they feel more anxious while making a presentation to the class. Following that, some students (36%) felt anxious when reading aloud in the classroom. In contrast, 46% of the students felt happy talking to teachers and friends in English. This figure declined to 42% for making a presentation to the class. However, several students (around 20% to 40%) feel nothing in particular. These results indicate that almost half of the participants still feel anxious when performing tasks in English.

Group 8: Willingness to perform the following tasks in English

Rate your willingness on a scale of 1 to 5 to perform the following tasks (1 for very willing and 5 for unwilling)

- Attending a job interview in English
- Writing a job eligibility test in English
- Participating in a group discussion instead of writing an examination
- Initiating talks in English in formal meetings

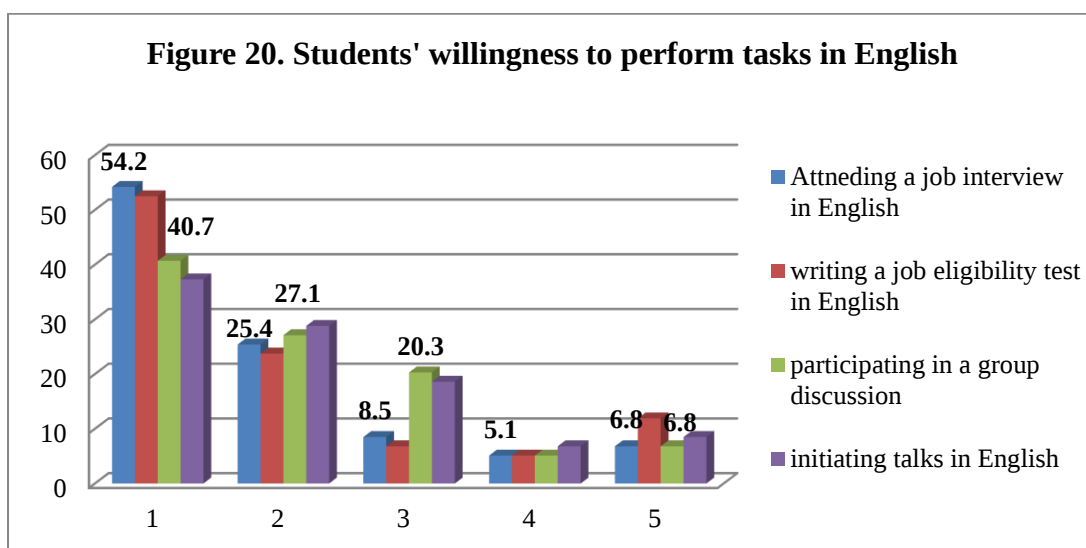


Figure 20 shows that the respondents are more willing to perform the mentioned tasks in English (63% to 80%). Only a small number of respondents (less than 15%) reported that they are unwilling. These results also show that participants have positive attitude towards using English for employment. On the whole, we find that although they find it difficult to learn English at an early stage, we have noticed that most students prefer English as a medium of education rather than the mother tongue. It has also been established that the students have positive attitudes towards English as a medium of instruction. This can be understood better from the following section, which presents the results drawn from the analysis of the participants' responses to the questions designed to elicit Tamil and English language attitudes in the bilingual context of Tamil Nadu.

Section IV

The following are the results obtained for questions in section IV of the questionnaire. These questions have both numerical and descriptive component.

Q1: Do you think learning English is more important than learning Tamil?

a. Yes b. No

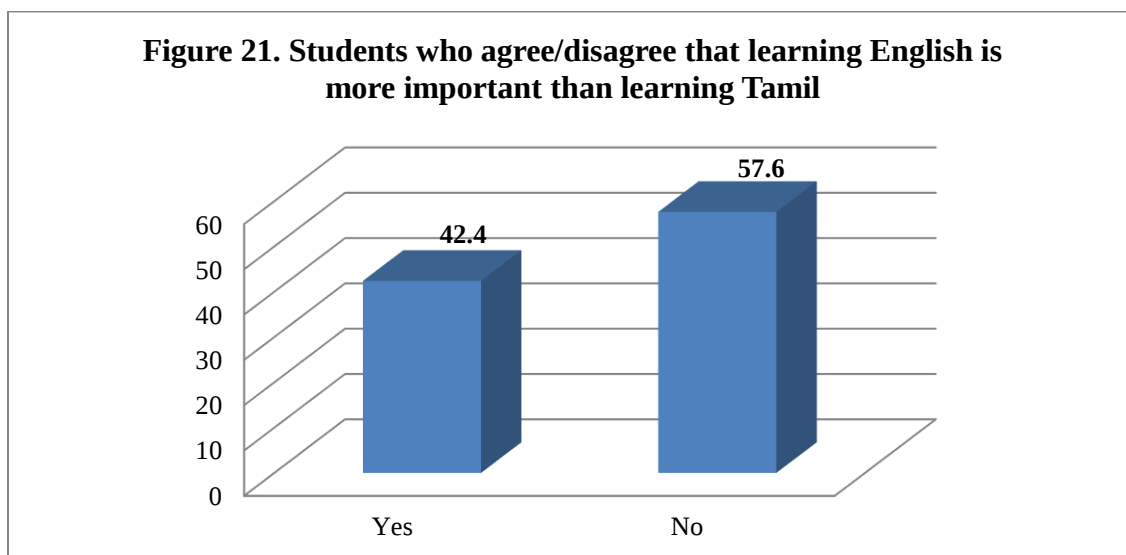


Figure 21 shows that most students (58%) challenged the notion—‘learning English is more important than learning Tamil’. However, some students (42%) claimed that learning English is more significant than learning their mother tongue.

These results can be explained further by the qualitative analysis of students’ written responses. Results from the analysis show that the Tamil language is more frequently valued as a cultural anchor. Some participants emphasized that to some extent, Tamil is a base for learning, including learning English as a second language. In contrast, after considering education, employment, communication, empowerment, etc., some participants asserted that English is more significant than Tamil. It appears that attitudes towards English and Tamil are contextually dependent and motivated by socio-economic and cultural factors.

Table 31. Students' responses about whether learning English is more important than learning Tamil

Theme	Excerpts from students' writing
English is for educational and employment opportunities.	Res. 18... Language is the most important...for improving our knowledge. Res.21...English is very important in research work. Res.36...To get the job opportunity
English is for international communication.	Res. 04...Nowadays, I mostly speak English for communication. Res.31...Tamil is the regional language. If you are going outside Tamil Nadu, you should know English.... Res.51...It is a world language.
English empowers people.	Res. 26...English is an essential one in the present situation to have a better life. Res. 27...To survive...learning English is more important than learning Tamil Res. 49...Poor/ socially backward students must learn English to sculpt themselves in life.
Mother tongue is a base of learning.	Res. 01... Mother-tongue is very necessary for everyone. Even to learn a new language, mother tongue is inevitable. Res. 50... Our mother-tongue is the base of our learning. Res. 52...I think a decent knowledge of the mother-tongue is essential to learn English.
Tamil is a cultural root.	Res. 08...English is only for communication. The Tamil language is life.... Res. 10...English is my second language only. But, my soul is Tamil.

Q2: Do you feel more comfortable talking in English than in Tamil?

- a. Yes b. No

This question was asked to examine whether the participants feel more comfortable talking in English than in Tamil, particularly to identify if they have developed any negative feelings towards Tamil.

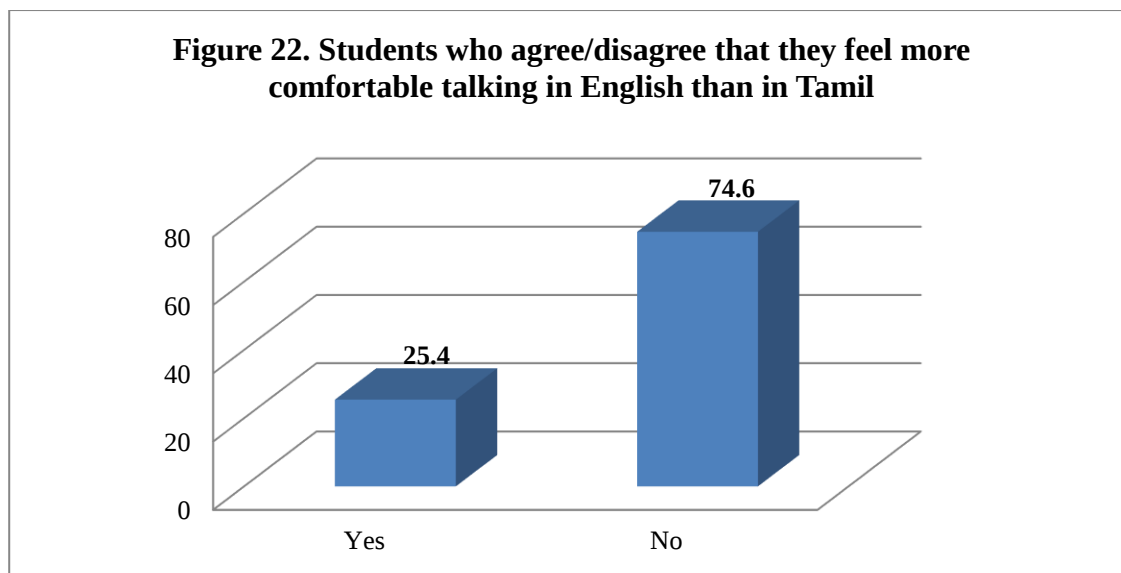


Figure 22 shows that the participants feel very comfortable speaking Tamil. Almost 75% of the students disagreed with the claim that they feel more comfortable talking in English than in Tamil, while 25% agreed. The results indicate that the participants are not as proficient in English as they are in their mother tongue. This may also suggest that though they are aware that English has more practical and symbolic value, they have not yet developed any negative attitude towards their mother tongue.

Table 32. Students' responses about whether they feel more comfortable talking in English than in Tamil

Theme	Sub-theme	Excerpts from students' writing
Tamil is comfortable.	Mother tongue	Res. 01...Tamil is my mother tongue. I'm very happy and proud to use my mother tongue than any other language.
		Res. 26...Tamil is my native language. It is used very often than English... find it more comfortable.
		Res. 40...Always the flow of the ideas comes in the mother tongue...
	Feelings can be expressed better through mother tongue.	Res. 02...Sometimes I feel that English does not help me express how I feel. Tamil comes naturally to me.
		Res. 03...I always feel comfortable talking in my mother tongue because it is well known from my childhood.
English is for specific purposes.	Lack of exposure and Proficiency	Res. 31...Everything we can't share and express in English. For example, sharing feelings, I'm comfortable with Tamil.
		Res. 001 For now, I'm not mastered in English. That also may be the reason.
		Res. 50...Because I don't know proper English. I don't know how to correct my grammar.
	Academic Performance	Res. 01...Even after mastered in English, I will use it whenever it is necessary. Otherwise, I will use Tamil only.
		Res. 08... English is unnecessary for daily life. Tamil is used for daily life.
		Res. 33...English is only for jobs.
		Res. 16... English is not used any time, but at the academic level

Res. 21...I feel comfortable talking in English in my research presentation.

Res. 30...I have been engrossed in the English language for the past five years since I pursue my higher education in English literature.

Equally
comfortable

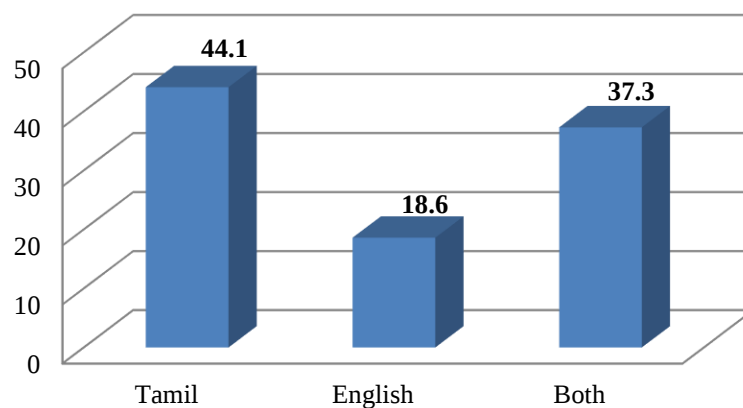
Res. 52... I am actually quite comfortable talking in both English and Tamil.

The qualitative analysis of the participants' written answers in Table 32 shows that Tamil is more useful for day-to-day life. Moreover, the participants highlighted that certain feelings could be expressed better in their mother tongue (Tamil). Lack of proficiency in English is also mentioned as another reason for which they felt more comfortable talking in Tamil than in English. On the contrary, some participants insisted that English is used for specific purposes such as academics and employment. A few claimed that they are equally comfortable in both languages. These results show that the role of English as a second language is clearly defined, and that the language is mostly used in contexts such as education and employment, whereas Tamil is used for day-to-day communication.

Similar results were obtained from the participants' responses to Q8 (In which language are you able to express yourself better? a. Tamil, b. English, c. Both).

Figure 23 shows that participants generally express themselves better in Tamil. 41% of the total participants reported that Tamil is the only language in which they can express themselves well, 37% mentioned both Tamil and English, and 19% only English.

Figure 23. Ratings of languages in which students can express themselves better



Similar results can be found in students' written responses to this question. Referring to Tamil as their mother tongue, many students felt that they cannot express themselves better in any other language except Tamil. Despite having better exposure in both Tamil and English, some insisted that they express themselves in both languages.

Table 38. Students' descriptions of the language they chose to express themselves better

Theme	Excerpts of students' written responses
Students can express themselves better in both Tamil and English.	Res. 02... I use both languages every day. However, now I feel anxious when it comes to writing Tamil. I rarely find an opportunity to write in Tamil. Res. 40... Every person expresses themselves better in their mother tongue but still, as I'm given more exposure to English, both are made easy. Res. 52... Earlier, Tamil would have been a clear choice. But, my stay at UoH made me equally comfortable in both languages.
Students can express better themselves in their mother tongue.	Res. 01... In your mother tongue only you can be able to express better than any other language. Res. 26... Feelings can be expressed more comfortably in our native language. Res. 27... Tamil is my first language. I feel more comfortable using it than the second language.

Q 3. Which language would you prefer to use for learning if you have a choice?

- a. Tamil b. English

This question was intended to study the participants' choice of a language for their learning. By emphasizing freedom to choose their medium of learning, this question

attempted to understand the students' perspectives on their most preferable medium of learning.

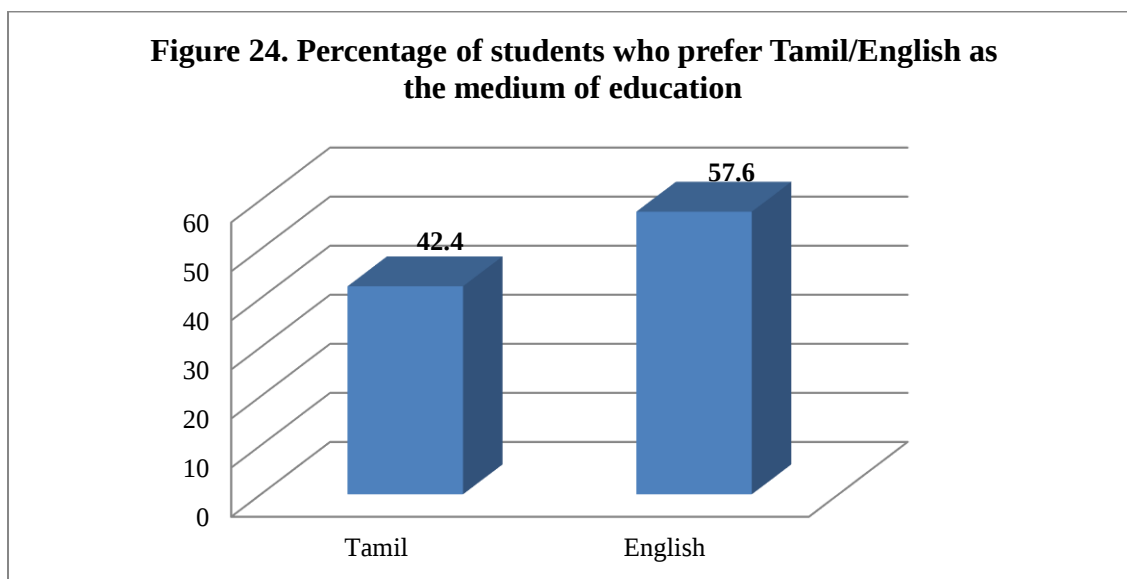


Figure 24 shows that English is considered to be the most preferred medium for learning. 58% of the total participants preferred the English language to Tamil, and the remaining 48% preferred Tamil. The result may suggest that although English is important, it does not seem to be cutting into the importance given to Tamil as a mother tongue.

This can be explained by the students' written responses that learning English is intended for educational and socio-economic values, whereas learning Tamil carries more cultural values (See Table33).

Table 33. Students' perceptions of their preferred language for learning

Theme	Sub-theme	Excerpts from students' writing
English is the language of learning.	Economic and social status	Res.17...It gives a good social status Res. 22....Because of earning money only Res. 23...It brings jobs
	Availability of resources	Res. 02...If different fields of resources can be accessed through Tamil, then I prefer Tamil. I might have saved a decade instead of pursuing English. Res. 52...Many works are not translated in Tamil, and also the quality of a translation is a problem. So I prefer reading in English to reading in Tamil. Res.53...If the translation gets improved and made systematic, then I would prefer Tamil. Otherwise, I would prefer English.
Tamil is the language of learning.	Tamil gives a better understanding.	Res. 01...I can understand everything in Tamil. Res. 08...Tamil is our mother tongue. So, easily understand... the language. Res. 36...My mother tongue. It is so easy to learn.
	Tamil as a cultural pride	Res. 25...I like Tamil because I am a Tamilian. Res. 42...Because Tamil is my mother tongue
	Lack of proficiency in English	Res. 01...The reason is simple. I can understand everything in Tamil than any other language. Res. 04...Communication problem in English Res. 24...I can't speak proper English, that is why I have to prefer my language.

Many students preferred English as a language of learning because of the availability of educational and employment opportunities. On the contrary, the students,

who chose Tamil for their learning, highlighted that their mother tongue gives a better understanding of concepts. Moreover, they felt that Tamil is their cultural pride. Interestingly, lack of proficiency in English was also found to be one of the reasons for which they prefer Tamil as their medium of learning.

In Tamil Nadu, both Tamil (the dominant regional language) and English (the second language) are important. When two or more languages are used in a society, language contact, language conflict, and language interference might be inevitable. Sometimes one language gets more prestige over another. These aspects can be understood by examining the attitudes of the people towards both Tamil and English in Tamil Nadu. The following questions are intended to examine this bilingual context.

Q4: Do you think the widespread use of English interferes with the use of Tamil?

- a. Yes b. No

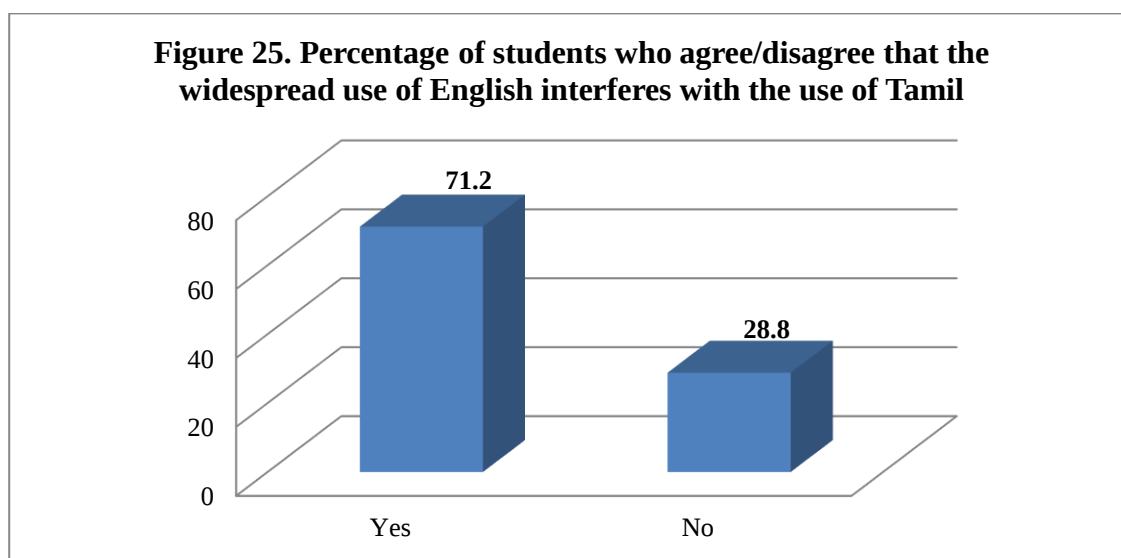


Figure 25 shows that 71% of the participants agreed that the widespread use of English interferes with the use of Tamil, whereas 29% disagreed. These results can be explained by the qualitative analysis of students' written responses. The participants who concurred with language interferences highlighted those English words are used to

replace Tamil words when speaking Tamil. This is understandable, considering that English is a status symbol.

Table 34. Students' responses about whether the widespread use of English interferes with the use of Tamil

Theme	Excerpts from students' writing
The present generation gives more importance to English.	Res.01...Nowadays most of the children... even youngsters are not good at Tamil. This is because of English medium school. They are not concentrating on Tamil at all. Res.16...Through more English language use, we didn't give more importance to Tamil Res.17...The learners want to express their thoughts in their second language (English).
English is a language of social prestige.	Res.31...Learning English will lift you in our society. Res.49...Everyone thinks that speaking in English could bring prestige Res.50...Because of the educated people... English is a language to show their privilege and status.
Substitution of Tamil words with English	Res.4...Naturally....we use English words while speaking Tamil. Res.26...It occurs often, which is inevitable. Res.52...we often tend to substitute Tamil words with English words.
People give preference to Tamil.	Res.32...No, we use both languages to communicate. Res.43...I see people nowadays prefer Tamil to English Res.41...Tamil is widespread in every place

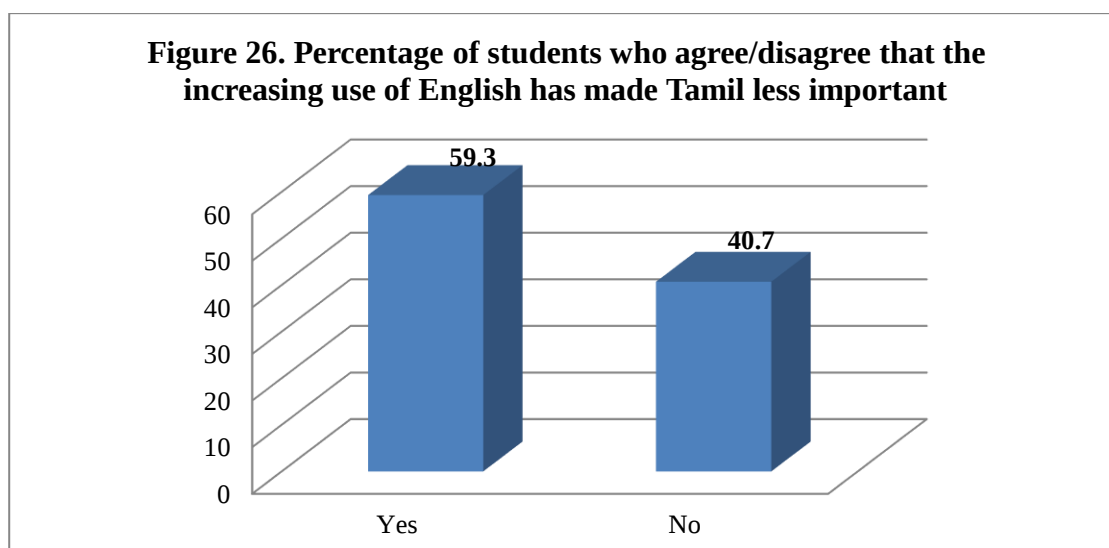
Q5: Do you think the increasing use of English has made Tamil less important in our society?

a. Yes

b. No

Since English is considered an important language for education, employment, empowerment and social status, this question attempts to investigate whether the widespread use of English overshadows Tamil.

Figure 26 shows that participants felt Tamil language is neglected by giving too much importance to English. Nearly 60% of the participants accepted that the increasing use of English has made Tamil less important in society, while 40.7% negated the proposition. In the written responses, the students, who concurred with the claim, highlighted that at present everyone prefers to learn in English because it is seen as a symbol of social status.



In addition to the reasons given above, English is considered to be important for education and international communication. Because of that, the respondents felt that the Tamil language is being ignored. In contrast, the students, who refuted the claim, informed that Tamil is also given importance as a language of the masses. For instance, Respondent 52 says, 'Tamil still remains the language of the masses. The Tamil film industry, printing press and TV channels are booming' (Table 35). In addition, students

also mentioned that speaking English will not reduce the importance given to Tamil because both languages are treated equally in society.

Table 35. Students' explanations of how Tamil has (not) been made less important by the increasing use of English

Theme	Excerpts from students' writing
English is a symbol of status	Res. 01... The people are thinking English is a status symbol. Res. 39... People believe that if we are talking English, then only others will give respect. Res. 50...Because society thought that English is not a language but it is a key to show their status.
English is an academic and institutional language	Res. 02...In schools, colleges, workplaces, English dominates, but people use Tamil in their everyday life. Res. 20...Today all the government and private institutions are following English only. Res.25...Job opportunities
Everyone wants to learn English	Res. 03...Nowadays all the parents are enrolling their children only in English medium and they feel happy for their children to speak in English. Res. 04...Nowadays everyone considers learning in English is more important, especially students of the first generation and their parents. Res. 28....Because today's generation started to learn in the English medium.
Tamil language and culture is being ignored	Res. 16...Which, among students, creates about Tamil language and culture unnecessary Res. 42...It creates a chance of mother tongue to die out. Res. 45...People consider the Tamil language as optional.
Tamil is also important	Res 41...Tamil is very important for all of us. Res. 52... Tamil still remains the language of the masses. The Tamil film industry, printing press and TV channels are booming. Res.53...Can't say like that. The Tamil language is also given the importance

Both are equally
important

Res.38...Each language has its own importance according to the
context.

Res.49...Speaking English won't reduce Tamil's importance...

Res. 51...Both languages are equal in society

Q6: Do you mix Tamil and English in your conversation?

a. Yes b. No

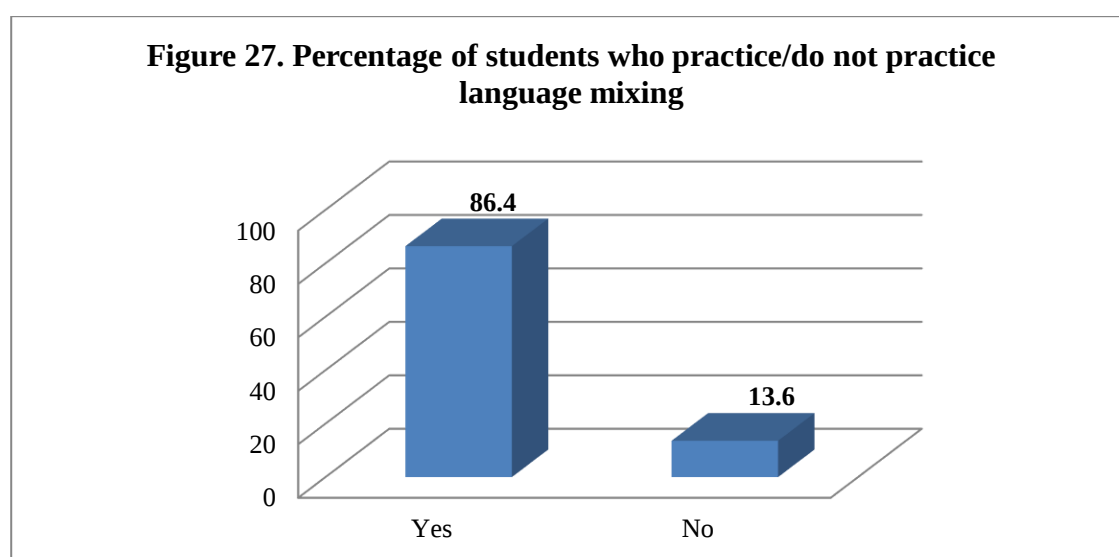


Figure 27 shows that generally, the participants mix languages. 86% of the students accepted that they mix Tamil and English during their conversation. Only a few (14%) mentioned that they never mix languages.

These results can be explained by the participants' written responses in which most students claimed that mixing Tamil and English is inevitable (Table 36). They further explained that it helps them overcome language barriers. While speaking in English, the students tend to mix Tamil, especially when they do not get appropriate words and expressions in English, which is vice versa while speaking in Tamil. They find it easy to communicate with people, but it is only possible when people can understand both the languages.

Table 36. Students' Explanations for language mixing

Theme	Excerpts from students' writing
Language choice depends upon the linguistic communities.	Res. 02...It depends on to whom I speak. ... Some of my friends know both languages; we automatically switch between Tamil and English.
	Res. 43... When the person on the other side knows both the languages, yes.
	Res. 44...It depends on the receiver.
Code-mixing is inevitable.	Res. 01... Mixing both the languages while speaking is not avoidable nowadays.
	Res. 27.... It comes automatically without our knowledge.
	Res. 42... Basic needs in daily practical life have to be said in English.
Easy to communicate	Res. 31... I feel it easy to express ourselves by mixing languages
	Res. 36... we are feeling comfortable while mixing Tamil and English in our conversations.

Subsequently, responding to Q7 (What is your opinion about mixing the languages? a. good, b. bad, and c. other responses), the participants' expressed their opinion about language mixing.

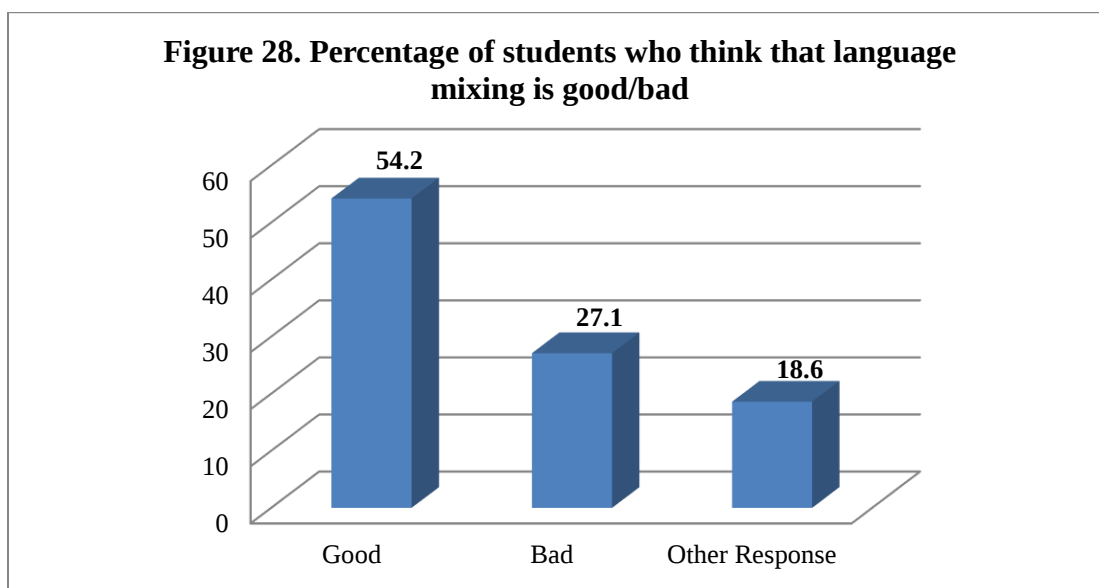


Figure 28 shows that most students (54%) believed that mixing languages is ‘good’, while 27% of the total participants considered it ‘bad’. The remaining 19% chose ‘other responses’. These results can be interpreted by their written responses to this question.

The results of the qualitative analysis show that mixing Tamil and English is useful because it helps improve communication and overcome language barriers (Table 37). Moreover, students highlighted that it supports professional teaching. This result can be understood by the results of teachers’ interview analysis in Table 1 in this chapter, where teachers also reiterated that the students expect bilingual teaching even in higher educational institutes.

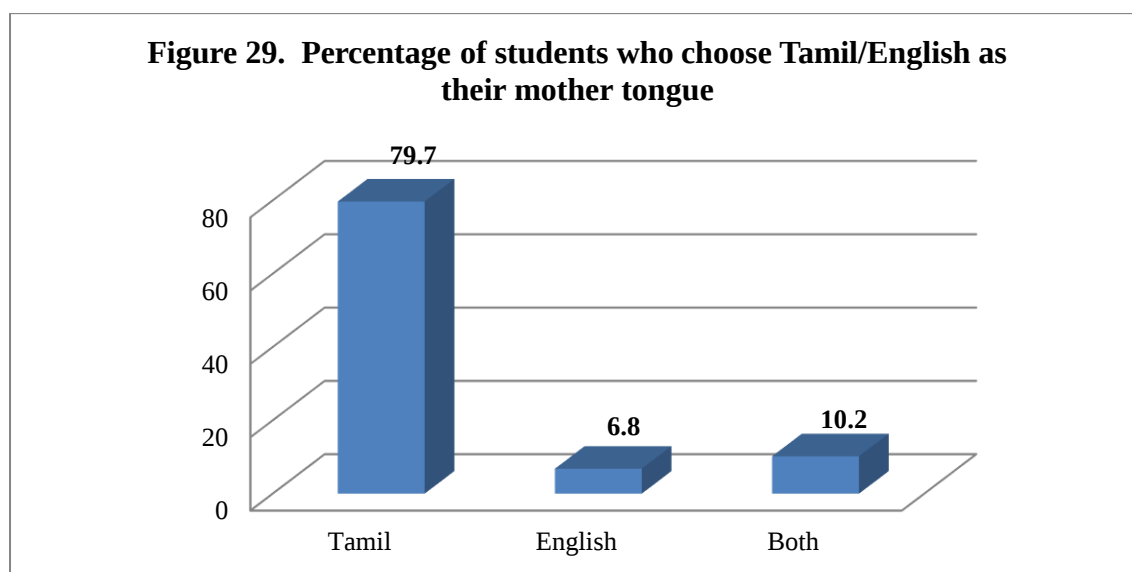
For some, mixing the languages is bad because it creates an impression that English is not learned properly. Moreover, a few emphasized that communication can be misunderstood when English and Tamil are mixed, especially by people from other languages (non-Tamil speakers).

Table 37. Students' perceptions about language mixing

Theme	Sub-theme	Excerpts from students' writing
Mixing languages helps	to improve communication	Res. 01... For communication purposes, we can do that.
		Res. 38... Improves communication
		Res. 54... Nothing wrong. The purpose is to communicate ideas...
	to overcome language barriers	Res. 04... to fill the gaps in conversation, mixing languages helps. Res. 24... Sentence order is not coming to my mind. That is why... Res. 34... Sometimes I don't know how to express
Mixing languages is bad.	Language mixing is useful for teaching	Res. 25... Professional teaching (good)
		Res. 44...In terms of teaching, it is good.
		Good to convey
	It gives a bad impression.	Res.35...Blending languages is not correct Res.39...People will understand that the person doesn't know English completely. Res.51...Using mixed language, others may think badly.
	because people cannot understand it properly	Res. 52... I think communication is more effective when it is not mixed. Res. 27...Mixing language is not a good thing because when mixing languages, other language people get confusion. Res. 22... Because it can't be understood properly (bad)

Q9: Which of the following languages would be your mother tongue if you have learned Tamil and English as your first language and are equally comfortable using both? The provided choices were: a) Tamil, b) English, and c) both.

The respondents were asked to answer the hypothetical situation given in this question.



It was assumed that they will choose both languages because both of them have equal right to become their mother tongue. But Figure 15 shows that only 10% of the total respondents chose both Tamil and English. Almost 80% of the students reported that only Tamil would be their mother tongue. On the contrary, English would be the only mother tongue for only 7% of the participants. The qualitative analysis of students' written responses also confirms that Tamil is considered as a cultural root. Though they learn English, the participants asserted that nothing could be compared to Tamil (mother tongue).

Table 39. Students' explanations for their chosen mother tongue

Theme	Excerpts of students' written responses
Tamil is a cultural root.	Res. 01... I'm a Tamilian. So, that only can be my mother tongue. Learning alone cannot decide your mother tongue. Res.02...I can learn any language along with Tamil, but nothing can come near a mother tongue. English can be my only social language. Res. 20... Tamil is a reflection of our culture, customs, etc. Tamil is a breath of life.

The previous section provided the results of both quantitative and qualitative analysis of students' survey questionnaires. Drawing evidence from these results, the key findings are discussed in the next section.

4.5 Important findings from the students' questionnaire analysis

4.5.1 Finding 1: Students can express themselves in English

Since they have been learning English for more than 20 years (Mean—21.27%), the majority of the participants reported that they have the ability to express themselves in English. However, Tamil is the only language that students feel most comfortable expressing themselves in. In addition to that, they also felt that anything can be expressed better in their mother tongue because Tamil is used daily for social and cultural purposes, whereas English is mainly used for education and employment.

4.5.2 Finding 2: Learning English is difficult but manageable.

The participants initially found it difficult to learn English. This was even more challenging for the first generation learners. However, over a period of time, they found it manageable and, to a certain extent, easy. As far as learning difficulty in terms of macro language skills is concerned, students have more exposure to reading and listening, hence

they are more comfortable with these receptive skills than productive skills (speaking and writing). In fact, they found it difficult to improve their speaking and writing skills.

4.5.3 Finding 3: Schools and colleges are the primary sources of their inputs for learning English.

Schools and colleges are found to be the only places where most of the students are exposed to English. They have never had the opportunity to use English outside of educational institutions, especially in their community. In fact, 56% of the participants never use English at home since their parents are illiterate. They mentioned that friends, classmates and teachers are their primary interlocutors.

4.5.4 Finding 4: English is essential for learning.

Approximately 90% of the students indicated that English is essential for studying their subjects. When it comes to higher education, the language is generally considered to be necessary and desirable. About 60% of these students prefer to use English for learning. Interestingly, 75% of the participants mentioned that they recommend English medium learning for children in their families. But most of them (around 60%) never considered learning English more important than learning Tamil.

English is referred to as a language of learning mainly because of the availability of resources. It is acknowledged that the language is useful not only for accessing the source of knowledge but also for engaging in knowledge production. In addition to that, it is learned especially to get international exposure and greater job opportunities.

4.5.5 Finding 5: English is a language of social empowerment.

English is recognized as a status symbol. Some participants mentioned that speaking English makes them appear more knowledgeable. These students identified themselves as the educated class because of the language. They believed that English

helps them climb up the social order. Interestingly, English is seen as an important tool for articulating Dalit issues.

4.5.6 Finding 6: Mixing Tamil and English is inevitable in conversation.

Whether they speak English or Tamil, the participants generally tend to mix both languages. This, according to them, is inevitable. Furthermore, they felt that it helps them improve their communication and overcome the language barrier. In particular, when they cannot find proper words or expressions, they switch between these two languages.

4.5.7 Finding 7: Conflicting attitude towards English and Tamil

On the one hand, English is given more importance for the availability of resources. Many students think that English helps them get more educational and employment opportunities as well as international exposure. It is also regarded as the language of social empowerment because English enables Dalit students to get better education, prestigious jobs, social mobility and a positive identity. English is also envisioned as an important tool to bridge the gap between the rich and poor.

On the other hand, as the dominant regional language, Tamil bears more cultural significance. Therefore, almost 60% of the participants reported that learning English is not more important than learning Tamil. They further mentioned that they are prouder of their mother tongue, and nothing can be compared to their mother tongue. Though they have learned English for many years, they feel more comfortable speaking in Tamil; they can express better in Tamil than in English.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the results and important findings of both teachers' interviews and students' questionnaires analyses. It was found that both teachers and students have favourable attitudes towards English yet feel a strong sense of loyalty and

attachment for the Tamil language. The findings of this study will be discussed in detail in the Discussion and Conclusion chapter.

CHAPTER - 5

HISTORICAL ATTITUDE(S) TOWARDS THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

5.1 Introduction

Previously, chapter Four discussed the contemporary attitudes of Dalit students and teachers towards English in Tamil Nadu. This chapter reports anti-caste intellectuals' attitudes towards English in the Tamil-speaking Madras presidency. The writings and speeches of three anti-caste intellectuals (Iyothee Thass, E.V. Ramasamy and C.N. Annadurai), whose views have generally influenced people's thinking, have been collected and analysed to study their attitudes towards the English language.

The findings obtained from the analysis answer the second Research question: What were the attitudes of anti-caste intellectuals towards English in the Tamil-speaking Madras Presidency during 1890-1970?

Discourse Historical Approach (DHA), which is a kind of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), has been used as an analytical framework for this study. DHA was considered appropriate for this purpose because it has often been used in areas such as discourse and discrimination, discourse and identity, discourse and history, etc. (Reisigl, 2017). The following section briefly discusses DHA.

5.2 Discourse Historical Approach (DHA)

DHA studies “intertextual and interdiscursive relationships between utterances, texts, genres and discourses, as well as extra-linguistic social/sociological variables, the history of an organisation or institution, and situational frames” (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009, p. 90).

5.2.1 Analytical tools of DHA

The DHA follows three-dimensional principles in the following order: 1) identifying the specific discourse *content* or *topic*, 2) investigating *discursive strategies* and 3) investigating the specific and contextually dependent *linguistic realisation*. Although several discursive strategies are used for examining a relationship between a specific discourse and its relevant texts, this study confines itself to the study of the following discursive strategies: a) *prediction* and b) *argumentation*. As Reisigl & Wodak (2009) puts it, they concern the following questions:

- a) What are the characters and qualities attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena/events and processes?
- b) What arguments are employed in the discourse in question? (p. 93)

The following section discusses the socio-historical and political context, within which we study anti-caste intellectuals' attitudes towards English.

5.3 Socio-political and historical contexts

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, when the Nationalist movement was getting established and gaining popular support, the question of English education too was being debated often. It was looked at favourably by some, but it also had staunch opponents. Most members of the congress party were well acquainted with the English language and supported English education and western civilisation for uniting its members who spoke different languages from different parts of the Madras, Bombay and Bengal presidencies (Indian National Congress, 1905). However, some of them considered the education system unnatural, and ineffective for developing national character (Indian National Congress, 1906). Bal Gangadhar Tilak, known as the father of the Indian Freedom struggle, defined national education as a means that imparts "knowledge of the experiences of our ancestors...through books or through anything else"

(Tilak & Ghose, 1922, p. 81). National education, specifically education in our vernaculars, according to Tilak, would reduce the burden of the study of foreign languages, namely English education. He said:

One who speaks and writes good English is said, these days, to have been educated. But a mere knowledge of the language is no true education. Such a compulsion for the study of foreign languages does not exist anywhere except in India. We spend twenty or twenty-five years for the education which we can easily obtain in seven or eight years if we get it through the medium of our vernaculars (Tilak & Ghose, 1922, p. 85).

In the same speech, Tilak mentioned that Berar and Madras had already begun education in national lines, and they were ahead of Maharashtra. In 1905, Tilak, in his speech delivered at the Benares Nagari Pracharni Sabha Conference, pointed out the need for a common Indian language, considering it an essential element of national identity. Tilak mentioned that the Nagari Pracharni Sabha was doing an excellent service to find a common language for India by identifying Devanagari as the common character for all Aryan languages derived from Sanskrit (including Hindi, Bengali, Marathi, Gujarathi, and Gurumukhi) and "preparing a dictionary of scientific terms in Hindi" (Tilak & Ghose, 1922, p. 34). In short, English language and education was found to be a failure in establishing national character by some, and, therefore, they felt that time had come to change the education system along national lines and establish Hindi as a common national language. Like Tilak, Gandhi also said that Hindi should be the universal language of India, and that vernacular languages should be the medium of education and therefore, valuable books in English should be translated into various Indian languages (Gandhi, 1921). This, probably, could be the context of reference against which Thass

and other anti-caste intellectuals insisted that English should be the common language of India and supported English education.

Anti-caste intellectuals in the Tamil-speaking Madras presidency perceived this (Hindi being promoted as the national language) as a threat to the Tamil language and culture. Consequently, they developed anti-Hindi sentiments and demanded the retention of English.

Moreover, anti-caste intellectuals like Iyothethe Thass and Periyar had anti-swaraj views. They believed that justice and equality were maintained only by the British because they ensured access to water, road, temple, education and employment to the lower sections of society. Overall, these intellectuals firmly believed that social reforms should precede political reforms. But there were exceptions to this too. C.N. Annadurai believed that freedom should be sought first and then, social reform will follow.

The next section presents the results of the analysis of the selected writings and speeches of Iyothethe Thass, E.V. Ramamsamy (Periyar) and C.N. Annadurai (Anna).

5.4 Text analysis

DHA has been used to analyse the selected speeches and writings of the three anti-caste intellectuals and investigate their attitudes towards English in the Tamil-speaking Madras Presidency. First, each subcategory in this section outlines their socio-political views. Then, it provides a summary of their language perspectives with regard to English, Tamil and Hindi. Finally, it presents the results of the analysis with empirical evidence.

5.4.1 Pandit Iyothethe Thass (1845-1914)

Iyothethe Thass was a Tamil pundit, Siddha physician and journalist. During 1881 Census, in a memorandum submitted to the Commissioner of Census Report, he argued that *Pariahs* (depressed castes) must be enlisted as *Adi-Dravidar* or *Adi-Tamizhan* (Thangavelu, 2011) because, according to him, they were the original inhabitants of the

subcontinent. Drawing references from Tamil literary resources, Thass asserted that *Pariahs* (ex-untouchables) were originally Buddhists during the time of Emperor Ashoka and had been degraded historically (Aloysius, 2015; Omvedt, 2011). Maybe Thass introduced discussion on anti-caste and Buddhist movements in colonial India (Leonard, 2017), even before Dr B.R. Ambedkar and E.V. Ramasamy.

5.4.1.1 Tamilan/ Oru Paisa Tamilan (1907-14)

Thass launched a Tamil weekly called *Tamilan (Oru paisa Tamilan)* in Madras in 1907, which served as a platform for reconstructing Tamil Buddhism and discussing issues related to Tamil history, the current socio-political events of his time, religion and literature (Aloysius, 2015; Leonard, 2021).

When the Indian National Congress called for self-rule (swaraj), anti-caste intellectuals such as Thass and Periyar proposed the following as conditions: a) the abolition of caste, and b) an equal communal representation in education, basic livelihood, and employment. The Congress party's lack of concern for these issues resulted in anti-Congress and anti-Swaraj attitudes among these intellectuals (Basu, 2011) and they wanted to stabilise the British rule in India for the betterment of the marginalised and oppressed people. Iyothee Thass, on 2nd October 1907, described the British in the following way:

They were the ones who educated us to get degrees like B.A., M.A., to get prestigious jobs, and to live happily with our family. They were the ones who paved the way for us to walk down the street.... and provide us with drinking water. They were the ones who created the facilities such as telegram...and railways.... (Ayōttitācar & Aloysius, 1999, p. 31-32)

Hence, Iyothee Thass proposed—‘English must be the common language of the nation’ (Ayōttitācar & Aloysius, 1999).

5.4.1.2 Thass' views on the English language

Arguing against making Hindi or any other Indian language as the national language, Thass emphasised that English must be the common language of India because it is a language of unity, rationality, equality, science and so on. In Table 5.1, some of his views on English language are presented. The table also provides the main topics and the discursive strategies of argumentation or implication.

Table 5. 1. Thass' perceptions about English

Main Topics	Argumentation/ Implications
1) Learning English reduces caste and religious differences.	a) "By learning the English language, casteism, religiosity, deception, discriminations will be abolished."
2) Learning English will result in better wisdom and intelligence all over India.	b) "If we learn and spread the English language throughout India, not only their wisdom and intelligence will spread, but we will also be blessed with the rational prudence."
3) Language like Hindi creates caste and religious divisions	c) "...if all Indians learn the language of caste and religious struggle...the futile divisions will be more, and the unity already remaining will be ruined."

The following actors/objects are discursively constructed in Thass' text: 1) English, 2) Hindi/Sanskrit, 3) supporters of Hindi and Sanskrit, 4) Native speakers of English, 5) All Indians, 6) Pro-British Indians, 5) Speakers of Hindi and Sanskrit (see Table 5.2).

Table 5. 2. Important objects, agents and attributions in Thass' text

Objects/Agents (actors)	Attributes
English	● “It is celebrated and well respected by all nationalities.” ● “If people learn and speak English, our wise, intelligence and prudence will abound.” ● “(English will) eradicate caste and religious differences.” ● “easily be learnt”
Hindi/Sanskrit	● “language of the caste and religious struggle”
Supporters of Hindi and Sanskrit	● “When some people baselessly say that Hindi or Sanskrit must be learnt, it is due to their lack of understanding.”
Native speakers of English	● “wise and intelligent” ● “respect/ treat all human beings as human beings” ● “impartial and unbiased”
Pro-British Indians	● “blessed with wisdom, intelligence, rational prudence if we learn English”
Speakers of Hindi	● “deceitful and discriminatory”

Thass's text provides positive predictions¹¹ about English and the native speakers of English, whereas it offers negative predictions about Hindi and its speakers, which will be explained below.

As evident from the extracts above, there are three important languages: Hindi, Sanskrit, and English, which are discursively constructed in the text. Hindi and Sanskrit are negatively represented as the language of 'caste and religious struggle'. In contrast, the English language appears to be more positive as 'celebrated', 'well-respected', and 'easy to read'.

¹¹“prediction” here implies the discursive characterisation or qualification of social actors (agents), objects, phenomena, etc. (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009).

In addition, the native speakers of the English language are positively portrayed as 'wise, intelligent, and prudent'. On the contrary, the supporters of Hindi/Sanskrit are constructed with a negative prediction. The word 'Indians' occurs three times in the text, representing Pro-British Indians who wanted to retain English in the official position and stabilise the British rule in India.

The important claims found in Thass's text are given below:

- Claim 1: By learning the English language, casteism, religiosity, deception, discrimination will be eradicated.
- Claim 2: Learning English will result in better wisdom and intelligence.
- Claim 3: Learning a language like Hindi would create futile divisions.

5.4.2 E.V. Ramasamy (1879 -1973)

Erode Venkata Ramasamy (EVR), popularly known as Periyar, was a social reformer, atheist, and rationalist. During his early political career, impressed by the policies and events of the Indian National Congress, Periyar joined the Congress Party. He was elected as the President of Tamil Nadu Congress (1923-24) and later, Secretary (1925). Due to the party's apathy towards Vaikam Temple Entry Agitation and the communal representation bill, Periyar left the Congress in 1925 and started the Self-Respect Movement to eradicate 'the evils of caste-system and religion' (Rāmacāmi & Veeramani, 2005; Manoharan, 2017). Then, he supported the Justice Party government because it made efforts to ensure social justice and communal representation in education and employment. In 1928, he was elected as the President of the Justice Party. Finally, in 1944, Periyar renamed the party as Dravidar Kalagam.

5.4.2.1 Anti-Hindi Agitation

In 1937, after becoming the Prime Minister of the state of Madras, C.Rajagopalachari announced that Hindi would be a compulsory subject in the school curriculum. Consequently, to resist Hindi dominance over Tamilians, Periyar proclaimed that Tamil Nadu is an independent state. In 1938, when Hindi became a compulsory subject, he started the first anti-Hindi protest in front of the Hindu Theological College in Chennai. In 1948, the second anti-Hindi protest took place in Kumbakonam. Following this, in 1952, Hindi names were erased in all railway stations in Tamil Nadu.

Given below are Periyar's views on language in general. They throw light on his attitudes towards English, Tamil and Hindi.

5.4.2.2 What is a language?

Language, according to Periyar, is for exchanging ideas and it must be good enough for understanding matters. It also gets adapted to the climatic conditions of the country and people's lifestyle, customs and characteristics. For these reasons, he said that we must carefully choose the language according to our needs.

Periyar also pointed out that a language is a war tool for world struggle. It has to be modified periodically like a war weapon. For instance, to strengthen and refine the Tamil language, he suggested that ideas and words from any language can be taken into Tamil. But they should be considered only if they "suit our goodness and well-being, induce our freedom, and drive out our scorn" (Anaimuthu, 1974, p. 972).

Given below are Periyar's attitudes towards Tamil and Hindi, which are useful to understand his attitude towards English.

5.4.2.3 Periyar's Attitude towards Tamil and Hindi

Tamil, according to Periyar, is a more useful language than Hindi. Until the entry of the Aryam, Tamil was a great language. He believed that superstitious beliefs in

Sanskrit based on Shastras, mythology, and epics eventually subjugated our rational thoughts. Due to this, one could not become like Newton, Edison and Marconi in Tamil. Hence, he suggested that considerable efforts should be made to refine the Tamil language by removing all Sanskritised elements and incorporating new ideas, words and letters from the English language.

5.4.2.4 Periyar's attitude towards English

The following are Periyar's views on the English language:

1. English is the language of scientific and progressive ideas. He believed that we got all democratic, socio-political and other progressive knowledge from the English language. Importantly, when Indians thought that slavery was the joy of life, it was the English language that fostered the idea of freedom.
2. English is a rational language that excludes anything irrational. Periyar mentioned that it was English that liberated Tamil people from Hindi subjugation and made them think rationally.
3. English is a more suitable and useful language for the people of Tamil Nadu. Periyar promoted English because he believed it was a more appropriate language for practising politics, science, art, etc. According to him, English is the best medium for advancing faster globally; it can take people to the world of knowledge even faster than Tamil. Periyar thought that Tamil people should be equipped with the English language because it is an essential tool to compete with advanced countries such as the USSR, the UK, the USA, and Japan in terms of science. Finally, for the Tamil language refinement, Periyar advocated that Tamil can be learned easily if English alphabets are used as the alphabets of Tamil. If the English language does not have any alphabet for any particular Tamil pronunciation, the same Tamil letters can be used. He even went on to

say that he will be happy and satisfied if English becomes the spoken language of Tamils. Periyar, on the whole, was a very strong proponent of English language/ education (Anaimuthu, 1974; Kavi, 2013).

In Table 5.3, some excerpts from Periyar's writings and speeches on the English language are presented and analysed here. They have been presented as the main topic and discursive strategies (argumentation and implication).

Table 5.3. Periyar's perceptions about the English Language

Main Topics	Argumentation/ Implications
1) English gives us knowledge of liberty, equality, democracy and other progressive ideas.	a) "the knowledge of the English language was to foster liberation for the Indian people who thought that 'slavery was the joy of life. The knowledge that enables us to prefer republic over autocracy; the knowledge that enables us to demand equality over caste hierarchy in religious fundamentalism; the knowledge that enables us to practise gender equality- all of these socio-political and economic progressive ideas were imparted to us through the English language."
2) All scientific inventions are made in English.	b) "It was the English language that introduced telegraph, electricity, footage, aeroplane and X-ray, neither our Tamil language nor the northern language (Hindi)—that came to destroy Tamil."
3) Due to English, we think rationally and reject anything irrational	c) "It was the English language that liberated us from such slavery and made us think with rationality. It was the English that made us exclude anything irrational and unacceptable."
4) English is more useful for politics, science, art etc.	d) "if asked what other language is necessary (good) for Tamil Nadu and Tamil people and suitable (useful) for politics, science, art, etc., to me, English seems to be the best."

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>5) English is helpful as the official language or medium of instruction and useful if it becomes the spoken language of Tamil people.</p> | <p>e) "... English alphabets can be taken as the alphabets of Tamil...; I have said that I will be happy and satisfied when the time comes for English to become the spoken language of Tamils."</p> <p style="margin-left: 40px;">"Mr Rajagopalachary said that English must be the official language of Tamil Nadu and medium of education. Then, I too spoke like that and said it is useful even if English is a spoken language."</p> <p style="margin-left: 40px;">"...English should be the lingua franca, the language of government, the language of Tamil Nadu and the home language of Tamils."</p> |
| <p>6) English is the best language for accessing world knowledge</p> | <p>f) "...it (English) takes the people who speak it to the world of knowledge even faster than Tamil...."</p> |
-

In Periyars' texts, the following objects and agents (actors) are discursively constructed: 1) English, Tamil and Hindi, 2) Indians, 3) Tamil people, 4) the government 5) politician, scholars and literates, 6) Periyar ('I'), 7) Rajagopalachari (see Table 5.4).

Table 5.4 Important objects, agents and attributions in Periyar's text

Objects/Agents (Actors)	Attributes
The English language	● "gave Indians an idea of liberty." ● "a language of socio-political, scientific and other progressive ideas" ● "introduced telegraph, electricity, aeroplane, X-ray, etc." ● "liberated Tamils from Hindi dominance" ● "made Tamils think rationally." ● "takes people faster to the world of knowledge." ● "suitable (useful) for politics, science, art, etc."
The Northern language – Hindi	● ("has) superstitious beliefs that subjugated Tamils." ● "enslaving Tamils to the northern people." ●
The Tamil language	● "once a great language" ● "lagging behind today due to the influence of the northern language." ● "more civilised than any other Indian language"
Indians	● "borrowed quality of life from the English texts" ● "ignorant of freedom (slavery is the joy of life)."
Tamils	● "rational thinking was subjugated by Hindi or Sanskrit." ● "more civilised at one point in time." ● "now, there is no other global significance."
The government	● "tricked to implement Hindi as a compulsory subject"
Tamil Politicians, scholars, and literates	● "rebellious" ● "consider Tamil as important as religion" ● "insistthat Tamil should be a language of politics, college education and literature"
Periyar ('I')	● A strong proponent of English
Rajagopalachari	● A supporter of English

As noted in Table 5.4, English, Tamil and Hindi are the three languages discursively constructed in the text. English and Tamil are positively portrayed, whereas Hindi is negatively represented in Periyar's Text.

As evident in the table, First, Indians are negatively represented as people who were 'ignorant of freedom' and improved their quality of life from English texts. Second, **Tamils** are positively conceptualised as more civilised but subjugated by Hindi/Sanskrit. Third, **the government and many others** appear to be tricky: as they somehow wanted to implement Hindi as a compulsory subject. Subsequently, Tamil **politicians and scholars** are characterised as 'rebellious' because they are inclined to consider Tamil as religion and insist that it should be the language of politics, education and literature.

The following are the important claims found in the text:

- **Claim 1:** English is the language of scientific inventions and other socio-politic, democratic and progressive ideas.
- **Claim 2:** English takes people to the world of knowledge even faster than Tamil.
- **Claim 3:** It was the English language that fostered the idea of freedom.
- **Claim 4:** The English language liberated Tamils from the northern dominance and made us think rationally.
- **Claim 5:** English is a more suitable and useful language for Tamil Nadu and Tamil people since it is the best language for politics, science, art, etc.
- **Claim 6:** All efforts should be made to make Tamil a new language, free of religious entangle.
- **Claim 7:** Hindi, by any means, is not necessary and therefore, it should not enter into this country (Tamil Nadu).

- **Claim 8:** Hindi is a language of superstitious beliefs, and it is used for no other purpose than to enslave Tamil Nadu and Tamil people.

5.4.3 C.N. Annadurai (1909- 1969)

Conjeevaram Natarajan Annadurai, popularly known as Aringar Anna (scholar) or ‘intellectual elder brother’ (Britto, 2006), was a great orator (in Tamil and English), litterateur, actor, journalist, social reformer, and statesman (Chidambaram, 1987; Sujatha, 2018). Anna began his career as a school teacher but resigned his job and became a social activist. In 1935, he joined the Justice Party and became a disciple of Periyar, with whom he participated in the Self Respect Movement and the first Anti-Hindi Agitation (1938) (Sujatha, 2018). From 1937-40, he worked as an assistant editor of journals such as *Kudiyarasu*, *Viduthalai*, and *Pagutharivu* (Ram, 1974). Eventually, he founded his own political party Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK), in 1949 and was elected as a member of the parliament (1962-66) and the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu (1967-69).

Anna glorified the ancient Tamil people's achievements and heritage and contributed majorly to modern Tamil prose. He introduced a new form of Tamil prose writing called *thooya tamizh* (pure Tamil) and, most importantly, renamed Madras state as 'Tamil Nadu' in 1968 (Annadurai, 1963a; Hardgrave, 1964; Sujatha, 2018). He claimed Tamil Nadu to be an independent state free from the British and Aryan dominance (Perinbanayagam, 1971). Notably, he strongly opposed Hindi becoming the official language of India and argued that English must retain its position. Besides, he claimed that Tamil is the only language worthy of becoming the official language next to English. In brief, he had great reverence for Tamil language, literature and culture and strove to create an environment in which Tamil could prosper.

5.4.3.1 The retention of English as the Official Language

When drafting the Constitution, the Official Language Commission (1956) report stated that Hindi would replace English after 1965 (Kher, 1956), but there was a lot of resistance to making Hindi the Official Language from non-Hindi-speaking regions, especially, Tamil Nadu. According to Anna, if Hindi became the official language, political authoritarianism will prevail in India. Therefore, he argued that English must be retained as the official language (Annadurai, 1957).

In a Chennai Lok Shaba debate on the President's speech on the official language, Anna argued:

...not only do we reject Hindi as the Official Language, but the language is also not ready for it. What right do you have to keep a language that is not rich and subjugate the other developed languages? Moreover, yet I can confidently say that Tamil is the only language worthy of a succession of English... We say that English should continue as the official language, not because we are enamoured of it... Until the fourteen major languages of India are accepted as national languages, English must be retained as the official language (Annadurai, 1965, p. Official language discussion section).

To fight against Hindi imperialism and preserve the linguistic and cultural diversity of the nation, Anna argued that English must be retained as the official language of India. Besides, he believed that having a single Indian language (Hindi) as a common language of India will create injustice for some sections of society (non-Hindi-speaking). Therefore, he suggested that until the fourteen important Indian languages (including Hindi) are recognised as the official languages of India, English should be continued as the official language (Annadurai, 1963b).

5.4.3.2 Anna's perceptions about the English Language

Anna mentioned that Hindi should not become the official language of India because it will become a great advantage for the Hindi speakers and a great disadvantage for the speakers of the other Indian languages. Instead, he preferred English because it was the most convenient tool which distributed advantages and disadvantages evenly as a foreign language. He also considered English as an essential language for living and acquiring world knowledge. However, he was not enamoured by English, nor did he give it a higher place than his mother tongue (Tamil). He nearly used it as a link language, especially to communicate with people from different language groups. Thus, he gave English speeches in the parliament but wrote and spoke in Tamil within Tamil Nadu. In short, Anna felt that English must be retained in its official position because it serves both integral and instrumental purposes within the country (Annadurai, 1963b; Annadurai, 1967).

In Table 5.5, some excerpts from Anna's speeches and writings on English are presented and analysed as the main topic and discursive strategies.

Table 5.5 Anna's Perceptions about the English language

Main Topics	Argumentation/ claims/ presupposition or Implications
1) English can be used as a link language between Tamil Nadu and the rest of the world.	a) "The government of Tamil Nadu has stated in unmistakable terms that Tamil and English can serve all our purposes, the former as the official language of this state and the latter as the link language." "...if it is accepted that English can serve admirably as a link between our state and the outside world, why to plead for Hindi to be the link language here?" "If you (Congress) are to allow Mr Vajpayee to develop Hindi in his UP and if you are to allow English to be the link between Mr Vajpayee and me, I could not get a better friend than MrVajpayee."
2) Anna is more proud of Tamil than English.	b) "I am proud of Tamil. I am not as proud of English as I am of Tamil, and in my State, Tamil is the official language....I make English speeches only here, and in my State, I speak in Tamil. I speak and write in Tamil in my State.'

3) English helps stay connected with the world and access world knowledge.

c) “Shelly and Byron, Keats and Coleridge, Emerson and Bacon-they are not foreign to us in the strict sense of the term. Is Tiruvalluvar a mere Tamilian? They are all world citizens – world teachers. And the language enshrining their thoughts is not to be discarded just because it comes from another country.”

“...the English language is essential for living with the world and accessing the world’s knowledge repository.”

“Please do not think that because it is foreign we should discard it (the English language). This is the age of getting know-how and technical assistance from any country that gives them and therefore let it be the technical assistance...”

4) English is not a colonial language anymore.

d) “But now there is no question of imposition of English by the British..... Therefore, it is not as if there is any imposition of an alien language by an alien power. We ourselves, for the sake of convenience, for the sake of expediency, because of the force of circumstances, are asked to choose this medium.”

5) Unlike Hindi, English distributes advantages and disadvantages evenly.

e) “...I plead for English, and I speak for English not because I am enamoured of it, not because I think it ought to be given a higher place than my mother tongue, but because it is the most convenient tool, it is the most convenient medium which distributes advantages or disadvantages evenly.....Which (the English language) happens to be foreign to U.P., foreign to Madhya Pradesh, foreign to Tamil Nadu, foreign to U.P., foreign to Madhya Pradesh, foreign to Tamil Nadu, foreign to Andhra; therefore, the advantages and disadvantages are evenly distributed.”

Table 5.6 provides the most important objects and agents discursively constructed in Anna's text.

Table 5.6 The important social actors, objects and predictions in Anna's text

Objects/Agents (Actors)	Attributes
The Bill (for making Hindi the official language of India)	• “an injustice and handicap” (to some sections of societies) • “an imperfect bill” • “a trap” (let us not fall in for this) • “problematic” • “Advantageous for the Hindi-speaking states”
English	• “convenient tool” (to access the world's knowledge and live with the world) • “impartial” (spreads advantages and disadvantages evenly) • “uniting agent” • “convenient link language”
Tamil	• “ancient language” (Five thousand years old)
Home minister	• “untrustworthy” • “incogitant, illogical, irresponsible”
Mr Bhupesh Gupta	• “a hater of English (wanted to drive out the English language)” • “a hypocrite (wanted Hindi to become the official language but did not learn Hindi)”
Mr Vajpayee	• “positive about the bill”
C. Rajagopalachari	• “Anti-Hindi” • “Pro-English”
Anna (I)	• “Sceptical about the bill” • “Dissatisfied with the bill” • “Democratic” • “More proud of Tamil than English” • “A rescuer of the rights of the minorities”
Indians	• “Confused”

Here, the official language bill is considered an imperfect bill and a trap because it would create injustice for non-Hindi speaking states, increase bitterness and rancour, and fail to preserve the rights of minorities. The bill is criticised because it will give a definite and permanent advantage to Hindi-speaking regions over non-Hindi speaking regions. Second, the English language is portrayed positively as the most convenient tool that gives technical assistance in the world. Finally, Tamil is represented as the ancient language (five thousand years old), and it is also seen as the more qualified language than Hindi to become the official language of India.

The following are the important claims found in Anna's text:

- Claim 1: The present Bill for making Hindi the official language does not satisfy the feelings of the people in south India
- Claim 2: English is the most convenient tool because it distributes advantages and disadvantages.
- Claim 3: Pleading for a single common language (Hindi) will do injustice to the non-Hindi speaking Indian states.
- Claim 4: Tamil has a greater literary tradition than Hindi.
- Claim 5: English is not an alien language imposed by an alien power. For our convenience, we choose the medium because our circumstances demand it.
- Claim 6: Hindi is not our mother tongue. Therefore, it cannot offer us advantages as it does to its ethnic groups.
- Claim 7: English is the language of technical assistance. it can be used to access world knowledge
- Claim8: English can be used as a link language.

5.5 Important Findings

In this chapter, DHA was used to analyse three anti-caste intellectuals' attitudes towards English by analysing their texts. The findings reveal that these intellectuals exhibited positive attitudes towards the English language. In the following sub-sections, their attitudes towards English are summarised.

5.5.1 English must be the common language of India.

For Iyothee Thass, learning languages like Hindi will create futile divisions such as caste and religion, whereas learning English will eradicate caste- and religious-based discrimination. Besides, he believed that learning English will also lead to better knowledge and wisdom as well as rational prudence. Likewise, Periyar also perceived that it is the English language that gives us the knowledge of democracy, equality and other socio-political, scientific and progressive ideas. Periyar believed that it is the English language that fostered the idea of freedom and liberated Tamils from subjugation to the northern language (Hindi or Sanskrit). Moreover, it enables us to think rationally and discard anything irrational. Anna also believed that English must be retained as the Official language because, unlike Hindi—a language that offers more advantages to its ethnic groups than others, English as a second or foreign language is the most convenient tool to distribute advantages and disadvantages evenly.

5.5.2 English is the link language.

Iyothee Thass and Periyar highlighted that English should be the lingua franca. Likewise, Anna also mentioned that English could be used as a link language between the Indian states and the outside world. Therefore, he believed that learning Hindi as another link language is unnecessary. Moreover, according to Anna, English is not a colonial imposition anymore because we (Indians) have chosen the medium due to the demands of our circumstances; English connects us with the world and gets us technical assistance.

5.5.3 English is the language of knowledge and wisdom.

English, according to Iyothee Thass, is the language of wisdom and knowledge. Periyar also believed that it gives us the knowledge of science, democracy, equality and socio-political progressive ideas. It is the most suitable language for politics, art, education, etc., and helps us advance faster in the world. Therefore, Periyar desired that English should become the language of Tamil Nadu. In the same way, Anna considered it an important tool to access the repository of world knowledge.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has presented important findings of Discourse Historical Analysis of anti-caste intellectuals' speeches and writings. The findings provide us with insights into anti-caste intellectuals' attitudes towards English, Tamil, and Hindi within the context of the state's socio-political, historical, and language movements. The results show that these leaders exhibited more positive attitudes towards English and believed that English will help them overcome caste-based struggle and think rationally. They considered English as a language of liberty and equality. In the next chapter, important findings of this study will be discussed in detail in relation to research questions and relevant literature in the field.

CHAPTER - 6

DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses major research findings presented in chapters 4 and 5 in relation to the three research questions:

- 1) What is the present attitude of the Dalit students and teachers towards English in Tamil Nadu?
- 2) What was the attitude of anti-caste intellectuals towards English in the Madras Presidency in the period 1890-1970?
- 3) How can the present attitude be interpreted in the background of the history of Dalit thinkers' attitude towards English?

The results of the study are also discussed in relation to relevant literature in the field. Specifically, this chapter integrates and synthesises the study findings, specifically to answer the third research question: How can the present attitude be interpreted in the background of the history of anti-caste intellectuals' attitude towards English? This is followed by a discussion on the present study's contribution to the field, implication, limitation, and the areas for further research arising from this study.

6.2 Discussion of the key findings

This study has attempted to explore both the historical and the present attitudes of Dalits towards English in Tamil Nadu. To study the present attitude, interviews were conducted among teachers who teach English, and questionnaires were administered to research students (MPhil & PhD) at selected colleges and universities in Tamil Nadu. Interview data was analysed thematically to map out important themes. The questionnaire data were analysed using descriptive statistical analysis (for closed-items) and thematic

analysis (for open-ended items). The results of the interview and questionnaire analysis were presented in Chapter 4.

For a better understanding of the present attitudes of Dalit students and teachers, this study also investigated the historical attitudes of anti-caste intellectuals towards English. In order to study the historical attitudes, three anti-caste intellectuals' selected speeches and writings were collected and analysed using Discourse Historical Approach (DHA). The results of the document analysis were reported in Chapter 5. The next section discusses the important findings in relation to the research questions.

6.2.1 The present attitudes of Dalit students and teachers towards English

The following research question investigated the current attitudes of the teachers and students towards English: What is the present attitude of teachers and students towards English in Tamil Nadu?

To study this research question, the data was collected using interviews and questionnaires. Interviews were conducted with teachers, and questionnaires were administered to students. Thematic Analysis (TA) was used to analyse the interview data as well as responses gathered through open-ended questions in the survey questionnaire. Responses collected through closed questions were analysed using descriptive statistical analysis (frequency analysis). The results of the thematic analysis and descriptive statistical analysis have been presented in Chapter Four. The major findings are discussed below.

6.2.1.1 Attitude towards the medium of instruction in higher education

The findings in this study show that teachers displayed more complex responses towards the medium of instruction in higher education. Many teachers (fourteen) were keen to use English—global language—as the medium of instruction and some of them expressed unwillingness to use students' home language, assuming that use of L1 may

limit the input of L2, which, in turn, may affect educational and career mobility. However, almost all (twenty teachers) recognized the usefulness of mother tongue: of which, nine mentioned that the use of mother tongue is very important, considering the needs of the rural/ regional medium/ marginalized students. What becomes evident is that teachers are not blindly supportive of English medium instruction or the global spread of English. Their responses are also shaped by their socio-cultural realities (Appadurai, 1996). Both teachers and students use English and Tamil side by side, and the use of these languages complement one other. These findings also indicate that we cannot have a strict polarisation between L1 (Tamil) and L2 (English). The participants, it is evident, are well aware of the roles and functions of the first and second language. In many contexts such as the medium of higher education, day-to-day or academic communication, both L1 and L2 (Tamil and English) are complementary both in terms of their functional roles and shaping our participants' identities.

In the study, the attitudes that emerge towards English and Tamil complicates the overestimated role of global English that results in neglect of cultural diversities to perpetuate 'the existing unequal power relations between English and other languages' (Terasawa, 2018). These findings corroborate with studies (Liu & Evans, 2016) that show that teachers' attitudes towards languages are mixed, ranging from 'free use of languages' to 'restricted use of home language' to 'English only' use. These findings are also consistent with the conclusion of several studies (Ramanathan & Bruning, 2002; Kieu, 2010; Haukås, 2016; Al-Amir, 2017) which show that teachers are aware of the fact that the use of students' L1 supports L2 learning.

It is important to mention here that our participants' attitude towards English is not simply determined by economic factors. The study shows that there are several other

factors that are influential. Some of them that surface predominantly in the study have been mentioned below.

6.2.1.2 Attitude towards English as a language of empowerment

Our findings indicate that English tends to be considered very important for our participants' success. Proficiency in English is perceived to be very effective in construing positive identity and climbing up the professional and social ladder. These findings are obvious in our participants' responses to many of the interview questions (Q4, 5, 6, 9,10,11,12, 19, and 20). They reveal high internal consistency within interview data. All teachers, who participated in this study, recognised that learning English increases educational and employment opportunities for their students (Table 5 & 6). The student participants also acknowledged that English as an international language opens up more educational and employment opportunities globally (Figures 7, 8 & 13 and Tables 23 & 24). These results are consistent with the findings of the previous studies (Wei, 2016; Soomro, 2016) which show that participants are willing to embrace the opportunities created by the effect of the global spread of English.

The findings further show that almost all teachers (twenty-four) strongly felt that Dalits establish unique identities and become global citizens by speaking English, which, in turn, helps them overcome all socio-economic and linguistic barriers (Table 8 & 10). Also, English was perceived by them as an important instrument for constructing egalitarianism and minimizing the gap between the higher and lower classes/castes. These views are consistent with students' perspectives, which show that despite acknowledging its role in creating and sustaining social hierarchies (Figure 14), they feel that the English language frees them from socioeconomic deprivation, benefits lower sections of the society, and bridges the gap between the rich and the poor (Figure 15). According to students, English is the language of social privileges, positive identity, and an important

key for Dalit empowerment (see Figure 16). The language is seen as the symbol of social status and a powerful medium to express Dalit issues (Table 23 & 24). These perspectives are in line with Labassi's (2008) arguments that English can be used for 'solidarity purposes', as to fight for a better life and address problems of the larger community at the international level. These findings are in line with the findings of the previous research (de Figueiredo, 2017) that learning English ensures personal and social mobility. It also reflects the claims of Canagarajah (1999) and Pierce (1989) that English can be used to resist and rise above hegemony. Some teachers believed that emancipation through English is not simply socioeconomic and political, but also linguistic. According to them, speaking Tamil with regional or colloquial differences might expose their caste identity, leading them to face discrimination.

Although this is the majority view, our findings also reveal that, according to some, empowerment through English is not guaranteed. When the participants were asked to reflect on whether caste can be destroyed by learning English, their responses were ranging from 'complete eradication' to 'not complete eradication' to 'cannot eradicate.' This shows that the teachers are acutely aware of the complex caste system and that English alone will not help Dalits emancipate themselves completely. However, English is considered as one of the important emancipatory tools.

6.2.1.3 Attitude towards English Language Learning and Learners

Teachers' attitude towards English language learning (ELL) may affect their attitude towards English language learners (ELLs) (Dixon et al., 2016). The results in the present study also indicate that teachers' personal experiences of ELL had an impact on their attitude towards ELLs. Describing themselves as the first- or second or more-generation learners of English, teachers expressed their motivation and experiences of learning English. As far as ELL difficulty is concerned, compared to second-generation students,

the first-generation learners (almost half of the total participants) found learning English hard, especially with respect to speaking and writing skills. In contrast, second-generation learners found learning English easy and were confident about their communication skills. As far as ELL motivation is concerned, the first-generation learners were primarily motivated by their teachers, whereas most of the second-generation learners' ELL was augmented at home and supported by their parents. One reason could be that the factors, such as parental education and English learning atmosphere at home and society, have an important role in ELL motivation.

As far as ELL strategy is concerned, the first-generation students seem to use specific strategies, while the strategies of second-generation students are unpredictable. The following are the strategies used by the first-generation learners to learn English: a) talking to friends and classmates; b) reading dictionaries and newspapers; and c) construction of imaginary dialogues. These findings indicate that not only did the first-generation learners find learning English hard, but also they had no ELL atmosphere outside their (ESL) classrooms. According to the teachers, this is a very big challenge for students. Teachers feel that their students' struggle for ELL is manifold: first of all, these students need to work and study simultaneously; second, they have no one at home to support their learning; third, they hardly get any chance to use English outside ESL classrooms and therefore, they need more support and encouragement from their teachers.

Since teachers had undergone similar learning experiences, they empathized with the first-generation learners and tried to motivate and encourage them. Many of the teachers even advocated for individualised continuous assessment to ensure their students' progress in ELL.

Overall findings reveal that teachers were generally supportive of their students' ELL. Compared to the teachers who were second-generation learners, the teachers who

were the first-generation English learners expressed more solidarity and support for students who come from the regional medium, rural, and marginalized backgrounds. From the study, it is evident that the ELL experience and the ELL context are mutually dependent, and they determine learners' attitudes towards English as a second language.

These findings corroborate with students' attitudes towards learning English. Several students reported that in the beginning, they found learning English hard. However, later, they were able to manage with it (Figure 4 & Table 21). Like teachers, these students also found speaking and writing skills difficult (Figure 3 & Table 20). They had very limited opportunities to use English outside the classroom (Figure 5 & Table 21), and practised English only with their teachers and classmates (Figure 6 & Table 22). Under these circumstances, these students found learning English hard. However, after entering college, they were able to manage their English learning (Figure 1) because they were exposed to extensive use of English, specifically by their teachers, classmates, and friends.

Despite having many disadvantages, these students were very enthusiastic about learning and practising English (Figure 10 & 11). The participants felt that it was very important to learn English properly, especially to communicate clearly, without loss of meaning. Therefore, they wanted to correct their mistakes mostly by themselves and were happy if their mistakes were corrected by teachers. However, a few students felt nervous when they committed mistakes or their mistakes were corrected by teachers (See also Table 26 & 27), or they had to perform certain tasks in English (Figure 18). Despite these anxieties, the respondents were willing to perform the following tasks in English: writing job eligibility tests, job interviews, group discussions, and initiating talks (Figure 19). Overall, these results imply that the participants were excited to learn English

appropriately, especially for academic and career purposes that require good communicative skills.

6.2.1.4 Attitude towards the role of students' previous knowledge in learning English as a second language

According to Freire et al. (2000), knowledge is constructed through the dialogic process; both teacher and students actively participate in the dialogic process by bringing already learned socio-cultural knowledge to acquire new knowledge. He further says that “if students are not able to transform their lived experiences into knowledge and to use the already acquired knowledge as a process to unveil new knowledge, they will never be able to participate rigorously in a dialogue as a process of learning and knowing” (p. 19).

Recently, learners' previous cultural and linguistic knowledge has been recognized as resources for teaching and learning English as an additional language in multilingual contexts (Illman & Pietilä, 2018). The participants in this study had mixed feelings about the use of their first language in their ESL classrooms.

As far as the cultural aspect is concerned, the findings of the study show that the ESL curriculum that incorporates students' first language and culture facilitates learning in general. Nearly half of the participants mentioned that the curriculum context familiarity could function as a motivational factor and help teachers create more inclusive classrooms. However, some teachers highlighted that the way in which one approaches the text is more important than the content of the text. They further expressed that they bring students' first language and culture into their ESL classroom while handling the subject. These findings are consistent with the outcomes of several studies (Ramanathan & Bruning, 2002; Haukås, 2016; Meganathan, 2018) that show that teachers use students' previous linguistic knowledge as a resource to learn a new language.

6.2.1.5 Attitude towards the role of English in higher education

The findings of this study reveal that students consider English very important in higher education (Figure 3). Almost all the student participants (90%) reported that English is essential for studying other subjects (Figure 2). Furthermore, they found it valuable, especially for interacting with global communities and getting more educational and employment opportunities globally. These results seem to agree with Klapwijk & Walt's (2016) findings that English is considered very important, in terms of its use in education as well as for successful study. These results also support the claim of Labassi (2008) that English has become an essential language for joining academic communities in nearly all disciplines.

The results also indicate that though students generally seemed to be more comfortable using their mother tongue, English was mostly preferred as a language of learning (Figure 19). Significantly, however, they did not consider learning English as more important than learning Tamil (Figure 17). Instead, their mother tongue (Tamil) was recognised as a base of any learning, including learning ESL (Table 28). These results seem to suggest that the importance given to English did not cut into the significance of Tamil as the participants' mother tongue. This finding augments the teacher participants' belief that the use of mother tongue in higher education is important, especially for understanding concepts well and catering to the needs of the poor/rural/regional medium students (Table 1).

In addition to that, the findings also indicate that learning ESL is intended for educational and socio-economic mobility, whereas Tamil carries more cultural significance. These findings seem to be consistent with the findings of Klapwijk & Walt (2016) that students may recognize English as 'linguistic capital', but they are also aware of the role of their home languages.

6.2.1.6 Attitude towards code-switching (CS)

As mentioned by Spolsky (1998), “bilinguals switch between their two languages” during conversation and code switching happens between sentences or within sentences, borrowing phrases or words or parts of words (p. 49). The results show that the students in the present study expressed a favourable attitude towards code-switching. 70% of the participants felt that the widespread use of English interferes with the use of Tamil (Figure 20). For instance, they also reported that people tend to use more English words while speaking Tamil (Table 31). Likewise, almost 60% of the students mentioned that the increasing use of English has made Tamil less important (Figure 21). They further mentioned that the present generation wants to learn English because it is considered a symbol of social status (Table 32). These findings support the outcomes of the previous study (Klapwijk & Walt, 2016), which show that due to the overuse of English, home language is perceived to be less important. However, our participants mentioned that they do not mind mixing languages. 86% of the participants reported that they too tend to mix Tamil and English when they speak (Figure 22). It is evident, therefore, that both languages influence/complement each other and serve communicative purposes. For instance, nearly 55% of the total respondents believed that CS is inevitable and improves their communication (Table 33 & 34). Moreover, they mentioned that CS is more useful for professional teaching. As Canagarajah (2011) reports, CS can be used as an effective pedagogic tool.

Overall, the students' attitude towards CS is positive. These results can also be explained by assuming that students make their own language choice to deal with the communicative demands (Dewaele & Wei, 2014; Genesee, 2003; Zhu & Li 2005). Moreover, students found CS easier for communication, although Gardner-Chloros (2009) reported that switch between languages in conversation requires “high linguistic

knowledge” and “sociolinguistic sensitivity” (Dewaele & Wei 2014, p. 237). Students also mentioned that CS is dependent on linguistic communities and that it is possible only when speakers know both Tamil and English. Therefore, this type of CS is called *metaphorical switching*: “a powerful mechanism for signalling social attitudes or claiming group membership or solidarity” (Spolsky, 1998, p. 50).

On the whole, the study reveals a complex and ambivalent attitude towards English among the Dalit students of Tamil Nadu. On the one hand, their attitude towards English is positive, they are motivated by both instrumental and integrative purposes. English is perceived as the language of art, science, politics, rationality, liberty, equality, socio-economic mobility and Dalit emancipation. And on the other, there is resistance to accepting it as the language they would like to identify themselves with. In the study, despite the acknowledged importance of English, preserving the Tamil identity emerges as equally important. This, perhaps, has to be understood in the context of Hindi domination and the movements that followed to resist it. The resistance to Hindi as the national language, the natural affinity and pride in the Tamil language and the visible benefits that English offered--all the three can be seen as having their part in shaping the attitude towards English that we find in this study.

6.2.2 Historical attitudes of anti-caste intellectuals towards English

The results obtained from the analyses answer the first research question: What was the attitude of anti-caste intellectuals towards English in the Madras Presidency (Tamil Nadu at present) in the period 1890-1970?

In India, English has become the medium of higher education and social interaction, especially among the educated strata who consider that speaking in English on every social occasion is a symbol of honour and distinction (Azad., 1946; Pandey, 2016). English has also been perceived as the language of social mobility and equality by

Dalits (Pandey, 2016). The results of the current study also show that anti-caste intellectuals have acknowledged English as the symbol of distinction and a language of social mobility and equality. For instance, Thass believed that learning English will eradicate caste and religious discrimination (see Table 5.1). It can be inferred from Thass's arguments that he exhibited positive attitudes towards English; in fact, he considered it a means of emancipation. Thass's attitude towards English was probably influenced by the way the British Indian government treated the marginalized and oppressed sections. Describing the British, Thass says:

If we seriously analyze the enmities of religious divisions, caste divisions, and language divisions and consider political strategies and administrative tactics required to bring unity among these, we would realize that the present rulers- the British- are like father and mother to us, they are our moral deities, and they are our friends in need... (Aloysius, 1998, p. 67 cited in Omvedt, 2008, p. 197).

Thass felt that British rulers in India protected the marginalized and oppressed sections. According to Thass, the British (native speakers of English) were rational and prudent, treated all equally, and produced modern and scientific knowledge. Another important finding is that Thass believed learning a language like Hindi creates caste and religious divisions, whereas the English language was a unifying agent.

Like Thass, Periyar also considered that English is the language of liberty, equality, and rationality because it helped Tamil people think rationally and liberated them from Hindi dominance. He believed that the use of English language would result in the welfare of Tamils, preserve their self-dignity, and rationality. He wanted it to become the home language of Tamils and the official language of Tamil Nadu. In this regard, Anna also had a similar view. He said that, while considering the language and

cultural diversity in India, English should be retained as the official language because as a foreign language, English distributes advantages and disadvantages equally to all Indians.

All three strongly believed that Hindi should **not** become the official language because it creates futile divisions, handicaps, and injustice for the vast majority of people who do not speak Hindi as their mother tongue. Furthermore, according to them, Hindi as a link language was unnecessary because English can be used as a link language within nations and across the world.

This resistance towards Hindi must be understood within the context of Tamil nationalism—a revolutionary movement that began at the end of the 19th century. The movement asserted that Tamil civilization was distinct from Sanskrit civilization (Radhakrishnan, 2013) and 'the ancient Tamil society was egalitarian and castless' (Asura, 2018). Importantly, these anti-caste intellectuals felt that the Tamil language and culture were under threat when Hindi was promoted as the official language. As a result, in 1965, when it was decided that Hindi would become the national language, anti-hindi agitation broke out, and English was chosen as an instrument to fight against the Hindi oppression.

Pandey (2016) points out that 'English nations are the greatest producers of modern knowledge'. This study also shows that this modern knowledge is produced in English according to these anti-caste intellectuals. For instance, Thass stated that learning English would lead to better knowledge and wisdom. He further mentioned that "if we learnt wisdom, knowledge, charity and morality of the British, our country would flourish and we would also live happily." Likewise, Periyar also considered English a language of science and socio-economic-progressive ideas. He added that English was more

suitable for politics, science, art, etc. Therefore, he asserted that English was essential to advance faster in the world. His disciple Anna also had, to a certain extent, a similar view that English was a technical assistance to access the world knowledge repository.

Pandey (2016) described “Dalit votaries of English” as “meek anglophile” (p. 57). However, the results in this study indicate that the three anti-caste intellectuals' attitudes towards English are not simply 'meek anglophile'. For instance, Anna had slightly different perspective on language. Glorifying the Tamil language and its culture, he strongly believed that mother tongue could not be replaced by any other language, whereas Thass and Periyar had no overt mother-tongue affiliation. Expressing pride over the heritage and achievement of the ancient Tamils, Anna ascertained his immediate identity as Tamil. In addition, Anna made efforts to revive the Tamil language by removing all Sanskritised words and substituting them with equivalents from the classical *Chankam* Tamil literature. He was even confident of saying that Tamil is more worthy of replacing English as the official language than any other Indian language.

These intellectuals expressed negative attitude towards Hindi/Sanskrit due to the inherited caste and religion-based discriminatory practices, which, in turn, resulted in developing a favourable attitude towards English and the British. The findings indicate that English is seen as an anti-discriminatory language that works against caste-, religion-, and language-based-discriminatory practices. Therefore, they preferred English as the official or common language of India.

These intellectuals' attitudes towards English and other languages can be understood better in the context of their preference for rational and pragmatic approaches and the socio-economic, political, religious, and cultural reforms of their times. This goes against the *reproduction orientation* or deterministic perspectives where “languages are

seen as monolithic, abstract structures that come with a homogeneous set of ideologies, and function to spread and sustain the interest of the dominant group” (Canagarajah, 1999; p. 2). The anti-caste intellectuals believed that the English language has emancipatory potential that would enable them to “rise above domination” (p. 2). Their “resistance perspectives” convinced them that though English was a language of domination, it was relatively neutral in the Indian context, and they would be able to turn its functions to serve their own purposes (Canagarajah, 1999). English, thus, was no doubt repressive, but it was also a weapon of the oppressed, as happened in the South African freedom struggle (Pierce, 1989; Warschauer, 2000).

The findings of the present attitudes of the Dalit teachers and students correspond to the past attitudes of the anti-caste intellectuals towards English, although there are a few noticeable differences. There is continuity in the belief that English is a language of Dalit emancipation, knowledge, wisdom, science, liberty, equality, rationality, etc. Also, both in the historical and current attitude, it is seen as an important tool to resist Hindi dominance.

Despite many similarities in the historical and current attitudes, there are differences. These are the changes that have crept in over a period of time. For instance, both the past and present attitudes show that English helps Dalits overcome caste and religious discrimination. However, some teachers mentioned that it could not eradicate caste. This study also shows that Dalits face discrimination, even after gaining proficiency in English. They feel that they are treated discriminatively when their caste is known to others. These findings are also in line with the results of several other studies (Madheswaran & Attewell, 2007; Thorat et al., 2009) which show that Dalit candidates are treated discriminatively in the urban labour market.

Regarding language and cultural identity, the anti-caste intellectuals were pro-English, pro-Tamil, and anti-Hindi. Importantly, Tamil was seen as their cultural pride. For instance, Anna was a great admirer of the Tamil language and culture; he was more proud of Tamil than English. Anna mentioned that mother tongue is more important than anything else and wanted to promote the mother tongue medium in higher education. Similarly, Dalit teachers and students consider the Tamil language and culture as their pride, despite their claims that English is a symbol of social respect and positive identity and speaking English creates a good impression among people. These findings suggest that, like Anna, the participants are more proud of Tamil than English. These attitudinal changes are in keeping with socio-economic, political, and cultural changes resulting from Dravidianism or Dravidian nationalism and globalization.

In the present study, we found that our participants have a favourable attitude towards English and their attitudes are determined by both ‘instrumental’ and ‘integrative’ motivation. Results indicated that both in the past and present, English had/has been valued for practical or instrumental purposes, such as gaining educational and employment opportunities, getting prestigious jobs and career development, accessing world knowledge, establishing a positive identity and a good impression. To put it differently, English is seen as the language of self-empowerment.

Furthermore, our participants also mentioned that they wanted to learn English for integrative purposes, associating with the English-speaking population within the country and across the world. In this regard, some reported that learning English enables them to become global citizens and communicate internationally.

6.3 Study Contribution

As the findings indicate, the study has a few pedagogic implications for teaching and learning English as a second language and methodological implications for researching language attitude.

As mentioned in the Literature Review, there have been studies in the field of language attitude in India, but none of them looks at the multilingual context where language contestation has been a reality for many centuries. It is in this research gap that the present study has been located. The study has attempted to explore attitudes of Dalit students and teachers towards English in Tamil Nadu. To understand Dalits' attitude diachronically, this study has also investigated the historical attitudes of anti-caste leaders towards English and other languages such as Tamil and Hindi/Sanskrit (Northern language).

Second, this study has examined how the present attitude has been shaped by historical attitudes and demonstrated the linkage between the two. The findings of the study illustrate how the present attitudes can be traced and interpreted through historical attitudes. While doing so, this study also explores the various socio-political and historical events that have contributed to develop and shape individual and social attitudes.

Three, the findings of the study—the past and present attitudes—are useful to understand the sociolinguistic profile of the state where bilingualism has been in practice for many decades. Within this bilingual context, the roles of both Tamil and English are clearly defined as the first and second language, respectively, and sometimes expected to complement each other in many situations. Moreover, English is considered a symbolic capital, which is more useful to accumulate economic, social, and cultural capital. Tamil is also seen as a language of prestige and cultural pride. This shows certain ambivalence in the sociolinguistic scenario of Tamil and English in Tamil Nadu.

Four, the findings of the study explain how the present attitudes of teachers and students impact their teaching and learning English. As the findings show, teachers develop a sympathetic approach towards Dalit students' learning English since most of these students come from the regional medium, rural, and first-generation educational backgrounds. Teachers feel that it is important to bring students' socio-cultural knowledge into their classrooms for the discussion of their subjects. Moreover, the student participants have shown more willingness and tremendous effort to learn and use English, especially in higher education.

The most important finding of this current study is that the present attitudes of Dalits students and teachers towards the English language replicate the historical attitudes of anti-caste intellectuals. Anti-caste intellectuals wanted to preserve the ancient Tamil culture—that was a casteless and egalitarian society. In this process, they found the English language as an alternative to Hindi/Sanskrit dominance. They also believed that English—a language of equality and rationality—can be used to destroy the caste system. Surprisingly, these views were also found in the present attitudes of Dalit students and teachers towards English. It shows that beliefs, values, practices, etc., of the past (residual elements) 'are still alive' and have an active role in the present time, in the process of ongoing contest and negotiation between Dravidian and Aryan culture. A significant difference found in the present attitude is that English is seen as linguistic capital also, which is essential to accumulate economic, social and cultural capitals, despite the structural, linguistic and cultural inequalities it obviously creates.

6.4 Study limitations and directions for future research

The study has a number of limitations. First, it is limited to the participants drawn from the selected universities and colleges located in semi-urban or urban areas in Tamil Nadu. In addition, the respondents involved in the study consisted of Tamil students

currently pursuing MPhil or PhD at central and state universities in Tamil Nadu. In order to generalise the study's findings beyond this student population, the present study needs to be replicated in other places, with a large number of Tamil students' participation from SC and ST communities. Therefore, when undertaking similar studies in the future, the inclusion of a wide range of participants from these communities may have a greater generalizability and higher representativeness of the results produced.

Second, the possibility exists that different social attitudes can be found between castes and sub-castes in the SC and ST categories, and so also between genders. This study has not been able to focus on these differences because of the limited number of samples. A study with a large number of SC and ST categories in the future would be useful to compare the differences between the attitudes of the respondents from the SC and ST communities and their sub-communities.

Third, the study had to depend on the interviews of teachers to infer their attitudes. Classroom observation can be used in future research, which would be useful to compare whether classroom practices corroborate with the attitudes reported during the interview.

Fourth, assuming that the student participants are highly educated and proficient in English, the questionnaire was not translated into Tamil (the dominant vernacular or mother tongue in the region). However, the informants were asked to respond to the open-ended questions either in Tamil or English. Almost all students chose to use English, except a few who pursued Tamil language studies. It is possible that the use of both the first and second languages in the questionnaire might have supported the informants to provide richer data.

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APPENDIX I

Excerpts from Teachers' Interview Analysis

Table 1. Teachers' opinion on MTB-MLE

Theme	Sub-theme	Interview Excerpts
Mother tongue is important	Understanding concepts well	IN.3... Mother Tongue based multilingual education is good actually because this is where a situation we can have a good rapport with students. Since I'm working in, most of the students come from rural background. If I keep on lecturing in English, how will the students be able to get what I want to convey in the class? IN.5.... When comes to mother tongue based education, mostly all the states in India offer mother tongue based Education because it helps students to understand the concept well. IN.7.... because usually it will be comfortable thinking in your own mother tongue rather than in a foreign language. And English is definitely not our mother tongue. Basically starting with the mother tongue will help to understand the concepts better. IN.16... Mother Tongue Based Multilingual education will help the students understanding difficult concepts without the mediation of foreign language like English. IN.17... I feel that when we learn something in mother tongue, you learn that completely well whereas when you learn in English medium schools, you just have only assumptions and it is not complete understanding. IN.21... As a teacher when I make use of MBME system within my classroom situations, there is a kind of fear that because students are not homogenous. There are students who are coming from upper privileged class and under privileged class. And moreover their orientation towards English is different.
	English language is a necessary medium of instruction at tertiary level	IN.6... <i>The most important thing considered</i> here is, especially at the tertiary level, Education has to be in global language primarily because of the availability of resources, for instance books, especially on science and technology. For instance, a student who studies Economics in Tamil language, he may never get an opportunity to do his Post Graduation/ research or cannot take up the career outside the linguistic region. So, that limits both higher education and career opportunities
	As a global language	IN.7...but due to the globalization, we are in such a position to read English. Without English, we will not be taken anywhere. IN.8.In the current scenario where you feel the impact of globalization in all walks of human domain. Now

this English education has become something very important or what I consider something which fetches you or makes you very important person in the job market.

IN.17...But I also realize that students need be equipped with English because we live in a globalised world

IN.18...So it is English that will give us enormous circumstances or situations. Whether we like English or not we have to accept it.

IN.3... But, what about the students who come from the rural background?Most of these students came from Tamil Medium. So if I keep on giving a lecture in English, what will be the condition and what will be the attitude of the students towards the paper?

IN.7...The present generation lacks exposure in English language. ... When we were students we did not stop with the classes. We started reading books

IN.10...it is difficult to the first generation students...If a teacher teaches only through English, then students are suffered a lot because they are unable to understand

The first generation students face a lot of difficulties for improving the learning skills.

IN.13...The other aspect is when I teach them in English, they simply stare at me. I can see the fact that they don't understand what I teach them....

IN.20...They struggle a lot in higher education because by the time they have grown too much use to their mother tongue...Now to teach a person who never had hands on experience with the English language at the graduate level is very tough.

IN.22...My experience as a teacher is in a rural college. Most of the students are the first generation learners and most of them have come from the marginalized societies. They find it difficult to understand English language.

IN.25...When they are into a fully English medium, they aren't able to communicate properly; they aren't able to grasp what they have been learning. They are not very much confident about themselves.

Table 2. Teachers' opinion about Students' learning English and the role of English in studying other subjects

Theme	Sub-theme	Interview Transcripts
Interested in learning		IN.1.....But, when it comes to the bilingual students and students come from rural, they also make a lot of

English language	mistakes because they are afraid of English language. And they pick up and they manage to correct. You can see drastic difference in students from the first semester to the last end semester. When they reach the end semester, definitely you can see them write a write in better English IN.3....students are started showing interest learning English not only because of the education provide in the colleges or in schools but also the impacts created by the Media IN.16...I think they are eager to learn English. They see English language as a tool to success. That is the idea they have about English language IN.19... They have that interest, especially Tamil medium student. The problem- the spoken English is not thrust upon. It is not given importance when they study in schools.
English gives positive identity and social promotion	IN.3..... when they are going out, they have to create an image in front of public when they are going out that they are speaking English...It is actually very prestigious for them.... I took my students to participate at the inter-collegiate events, a student who does not speak English in the college, he try to speak English in front of the girls....I just wondered while seen that. So the students' tendency is that if they speak English, then automatically public's reaction turns towards them. IN.6...but, at the same time, that gives them a lot of confidence as well because their exposure to English language and when they do their test and assignments... I think it gives them more positive outlook to their life where they realize that they can take on world or any challenge for that matter if that is in English. IN.19...When you give English education to the students from marginal community, they can forget their identity. So, English education actually makes them go high.. Especially Dalit students wanted to escape from the clutches of caste system.
Second generation students are confident	IN.24...It has become a cultural trait that if you speak your mother tongue mixing with some English words, you are considered to be the educated person. We see people around who mix English with Tamil IN.1... number one, these students communicate well, they speak very well because their communication has improved and they get a lot of confidence. And they are able to speak in any forum but they are not able to make a point. IN.7...We find even in classroom there are two extremes. One is people very few pupils know some

	language; they have language skills, English language skills... The first category you know they have a very they have this attitude I know everything. IN.10...Only the second generation students know the importance of English because English is a communicative language and if we learn English, we will go abroad or other state. IN.16...Especially, students who come from very good educational background can speak English very well. I think the syllabus that we have for Part II does not fulfill their needs.... Only minority of students are comfortable with English language. I'm not talking about other major students but about English major students.
First generation students are struggling	IN.8...Moreover, students are willing to learn English but the thing is that initially they have this barrier.... you see they are not able to understand things and they are not able to grasp things. All that they have been exposed to is rote learning and just reproducing it in their papers. This is something detrimental for the students and they are unable to use their thinking skills IN...15... But then people coming from multilingual background find it difficult when they come to college level. It is difficult for them. People who do not have language command, they are unable to express themselves even when they know the concept. They find it really difficult. IN.19...Majority of them are from rural. Most of the students, since they are come from Tamil medium, initially come to Chennai and feel difficult to understand a few things in English....Since they have come from Tamil medium set up, they feel inferior that they can't speak English like others. This inferiority complex is prevalent not only to Dalit students but even BC and MBC students also face the same problem
Students are not taught better at school	IN.23....They find it difficult because they are not taught the basics of the language. IN.4...When students are at school education, the teachers are not playing their prominent role.... The thing is that the way they are taught in English is something different. IN.8...Students have a lot of problem because it is not only the problem with language education but the whole system that is followed is somewhere lacking or what I would say that it is not a kind of education system which caters to or which allows students to think. IN.16... but I think the syllabus we have is kind of inadequate to meet their needs. It does not take care of

English helps studying other subjects well	their needs like they want to communicate well and they want to write well.. IN.19... They have that interest, especially Tamil medium student. The problem- the spoken English is not thrust upon. It is not given importance when they study in schools. Apart from that, even in schools like government schools or aided schools and other schools, they do not have English teachers. They don't have that regular class IN.2... So everyone wants to learn English. They know their command of English knowledge would also help other subjects well, score better marks IN.6...a definite yes for this question because a student, who is good at English skills (reading), gets a lot of access to resources..... So, English language definitely helps them IN.14....Yes, it is only the English language, science, technology and even medicine subjects are in English language. That's why teaching English language would certainly help students when they go for higher education
English is not helping students studying other subjects	IN.24...Students who have good English will obviously perform well. They can easily update themselves if they have English IN.12...It is not like that. Language is a skill. A person who is so competent in one language need not be so competent in other subjects.
No opinion	IN.24...but just because they have English it doesn't mean that they can understand the other subjects well because it doesn't work in the way, because English is not a key instrument or we can't say that if you master English, you can master all the other subjects IN.13...I don't know really that would help them especially in the context of Tamil Nadu. If they prefer to stay inside the state I wouldn't know learning English would help them. IN.21...Studying other subject I may not say much because I'm particularly an English teacher but English has become the global language

Table 3. Description of English learning experience and issues related to it

Theme	Sub-theme	Interview Excerpts
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English is difficult to learn	First generation learners	IN.1... Even after the completion of my post graduation, I was not able to speak or write one complete sentence in English- proper errorless English. That was the state of my English... IN.4... When I entered into my UG, I had a lot of problem to speak English... to communicate with others. The first problem that I faced is inferiority complex, and then hesitation and nervousness like that IN.18... Since I studied in Tamil medium school till my +2, I was struggling to speak. Only thing that I used to do in my class was that whatever the teacher said I wrote it down. I hardly spoke in English. I wasn't able to speak even one sentence properly in my UG. Being a first generation learner, I had to work and study. I worked in different places. I used to study every day but I couldn't understand what the English people have written. I found it really hard to learn, speak, and write English proficiently. IN.24...I studied in Tamil medium till my +2. From the 1st standard to 12th standard, we studied English as one of the subjects. In that scenario, we used to memorize essays, we used to memorize the answers and reproduce them in the exams. So, we learn expressions without understanding the meaning. That was the condition in which I did my school education. When I went to the Presidency College for my under graduation, almost all papers, except one that is Tamil, are in English. I know that I took English literature to improve my English. That is an erroneous assumption that it doesn't work out. If you have English, you better choose English literature. When I go to college without the knowledge of English grammar and vocabularies, I found the course very difficult. So, what I did was I went to professors and tried to get the basic grammar of English so that I can frame my own sentence
English is easy to learn	Second generation	IN.3....I use to speak in English even in my childhood days. My father used to communicate with me in English. Since I'm brought up from the good family background and I did my schooling in English medium, I didn't find any difficulty IN.11.... Definitely, I would say my mother was very influential because she taught English in a high school. And, I greatly benefitted out of that IN.15... but then I studied hard. I had my parents to support me. I have my family background that there were my grandparents to teach me proper English. So I was able to come up. IN.16...I learnt English at very early age. Through my aunt and parents, I was introduced to reading English

First generation learners' learning strategy	Talking to friends	books when I was in school. So, there is no difficulty for all three of us [including his brothers] to learn English IN.1... my roommate was an Oriya. So I was forced to communicate with him in English. I was forced to write letters in English. By the way of writing letters and by the way of talking to my roommate, I picked up my English. IN.20... I think my learning English comes from there, me talking to my classmates, my hostel mates, my friends. I can see the improvement that happened. The campus helped me to meet a lot of people and talk in English. It has given me the opportunity and the platform to speak in English...
	Reading and talking to friends	IN.18... Then I moved to PG,... I wrote a letter in English but my teacher said that there were quite a lot of grammatical errors. My friend and I decided when we were doing the second year that 'from today onwards for three months whenever we meet we have to speak only in English.' Because once we finish our PG, we don't know what will happen. We never find a platform to speak in English. So as long as you are a learner/ student, you can make mistakes, correct mistakes in the course of learning. So the main transition took place. We made up our decision to speak in English for three months. That was my learning process. Plus, reading helps me a lot.
	Reading dictionary	IN.21... But with English, with me personally, the strategy that I used which I did not know that it was strategy earlier, was to read the dictionary like it's a book. I use to do that. Dictionary is next to me most of the time because I don't want use the same word again and again. I want to use different word. I use to find many many alternative words.... And I think the introduction to the English Bible at the very early age, and then to English dictionary later on, and my interest in trying to get more words that is one strategy.
	Constructing imaginary dialogue and reading	IN.19... Initially when we learn this language we think that it is difficult. ... Some students get very good friends and they are able to speak fluently. There are some students, who don't find good friends, feel difficult to speak English. We say in Tamil /sithiramum kai plakkamum senthamilum naa palakkamum/..... When you have the regular practice, you can also speak English. English is not at all a difficult language. When I learnt English I became confident. When I travel to places, I use to talk to myself in English IN.24... Whenever I travel in a bus and sit quietly, I use to construct an imaginary dialogue. I would construct dialogues, in which there would be other person asking

questions and I would be answering the questions. The most difficult part in speaking English is answering the questions. ...I often construct an imaginary dialogue within myself where I will be always answering the questions and the other self of me asks questions. That is how I learn English even today. I never hesitated to read originals. So, that also helped me to pick up some key expressions, sentence structures and all that.

Table 4. Difference between the first-generation and second-generation English learners

Theme	Sub-theme	Interview Excerpts
1 st generation English learners	Struggle and Succeed	IN.1... I personally don't believe in this first generation and the second generation. The first generation English learners normally claim themselves as suffered. It is true but they shine. Because they are afraid of urban English culture, so they struggled to come up and then they manage. So there they achieved.... So being a first generation English learner I'm very happy. IN.2...So, the students of the first generation- Ok, I cannot learn the subject, I cannot speak like the other guy/ a girl whose parents and grandparents are educated. So, this leads to a battle of mind first..... But then, students from the first generation are struggle a lot. So, these are all harsh realities we need to accept/ we need to cope with.....They can also take a lot of efforts, come up and compete with the other students. In fact my research has broken a myth that the students from an educated background usually are far better in English. But, my PhD study has proved that it is motivation which plays a major role in language acquisition. Some of the students coming from the rural area, whose parents are not educated, have done extremely well in their written performances. So, it has broken the myth. IN.11..... Yes and No. Yes in the sense, the first generation learners have a big struggle but you know MCC is a melting point. By the time they come to the final semester, they pick up the accent and they are as good as persons like the second generation English learner. IN.20... Yes, definitely, one good thing about most of the first generation learner or at least some of them are very hard working....what you call it as knowledge, it is for the first generation learners learning on their own. They might be learning in the school but

Lack of
exposure to
English

basically learning on their own.... Some of them are hard working and I think they will succeed.

IN.23... Yeah, definitely, students who come from educated family are seen better but there are examples, you know, they may go with over confidence. But students come from poor family and the first generation learners have their interest and thirst for knowledge. Definitely they are out sign them..... They have better placed. I can give you an example, a girl who hails from a very poor family who even doesn't know the alphabets of English when she joined English but in 5 years she has successfully learned the language. Now she has become a teacher in English.

IN.7... The lack..., learning the language does not just involve the classroom situation and even at home As a child learns all language from parents, even the words used by the parents, English words used by the parents are picked up by the children. So that is lacking in first generation learners. Because they are not read, parents are not read...

IN.8... There is a difference because those who have support at home, pupil whose parents got educated have more support at home, their learning is augmented at home whereas the first generation English learners it is not so.

IN.13... Difference in the sense, it is again an obvious fact, this person who comes from the first generation learner when goes home, he or she has to do a work which assigned to them apart from studies.... A student from the first generation background may not have a person who has the concern in the family to make sure that the person reads at their home.

IN.16...what about those, whose parents are not exposed to English education, becomes a bit of problem. Again the factors remaining are economic, caste, gender....Because caste is close to the economic factors. We cannot separate caste and economy. Caste and economy work together to reproducing English speaking subject

IN.7... IN.7.... definitely, the first generation learners are a bit hesitant.

IN.9... Yeah yeah. We come across students. It is there. For instance, students coming from Tamil medium speak silently in low voice

IN.18... Obviously. I was a first generation learner I told you. Honestly, a very few students show interest. The rest of them the minute they come to class, they feel discouraged/ demotivated.

IN.23... First generation students lack confidence. There are differences even in their behavior, in their

dress, you know, the way they present themselves. You may easily find these differences.

IN.4... The people, who are second generation English learners, in my opinion, are rich in their pronunciation. First generation learners, there is a lot of difference in their pronunciation...

IN.5.... The third generation or fourth generation English learners have their competence in English whereas the first generation students technically knowing English is good but how to use that technically knowing is also important. Yes there is a difference.

IN.20.. definitely, I have seen a large gap between first generation learners and second generation learners particularly with English speaking abilities.

IN.21... One thing is that the second generation students are good at English and the first generation are only getting through.

IN.2...Students who are coming from the educated background have a better advantage; probably some of the parents use to discuss so many things in English or bilingual. So, they are advantaged. But then, students from the first generation are struggle a lot. So, these are all harsh realities we need to accept/ we need to cope with.

IN.7.... As a child learns all language from parents, even the words used by the parents, English words used by the parents are picked up by the children. So that is lacking in first generation learners. Because they are not read, parents are not read...

IN.8... There is a difference because those who have support at home, pupil whose parents got educated have more support at home, their learning is augmented at home whereas the first generation English learners it is not so.

IN.16... There is. Those, whose parents know a bit of English, are at advantageous position because the parents help them in school that the English speaking environment can be somehow reproduced in their family. So, that again another terrain where they can learn English

IN.1...At the same time the second generation English learner take things for granted. The children of the urban elite parents take things for granted and they desperately fail to shine. So we cannot have the strict polarity

IN.3... Since the second generation students possess good English and communication, they just built up with that. 'I need not learn literature. I possess good communication. They have this over confidence'.

IN.15... I have found the first generation learners more into education and more involved than other activities but well educated parents' children they have their own lethargic way of taking education but not the first generation English learners....

IN.23... Yeah, definitely, students who come from educated family are seen better but there are examples, you know, they may go with over confidence. But students come from poor family and the first generation learners have their interest and thirst for knowledge. Definitely they are out sign them

Table 5: Difficulties faced by first-generation students

Theme	Sub-theme	Interview Excerpts
Problem with articulation		IN.8... IN.8... Most of the times it is at their articulatory level. It is not only for dalit students again I insist on that. Students comes from all, even from urban background, they face this kind of problem. Articulation is very difficult for them. Moreover the mother tongue influence is also there and it has constant impact upon these people. IN.9... Suppose if I get non dalit students from rural areas and dalit students from rural areas, leaving alone caste and the difficulties faced by the rural areas are similar. There are difficulties but the level of difficulties depends upon the personal learning habit of the student. But naturally we are facing difficulties in teaching phonology and semantics. IN.11.... Basically with regard to articulation, they haven't been given a platform to express themselves. In our college, they get very much opportunities to take part in competitions and they are given a plot form to bring out their talents. One will be surprised that by the third year they are as good as anyone on campus. They are one among the best. IN.19... Especially in the spoken area if they are asked to speak, they feel difficult. They are able to read. They are able to read very well, listen to the teachers, they can write very well. The only area that is the spoken English area, the spoken English area why they lack in that area, you know, because after college when they go home English is not spoken at home. English is not spoken. Most of the dalits students are first generation students. Their parents are very poor and they know only one language, the mother tongue. IN.22... Especially something to do with their pronunciation because basically they are coming from

Lack of
vocabularies

Tamil medium. Underprivileged and I'm taking about the first generation learners....we know that especially something to do with their pronunciation and something to do with their fluency. Other things they do not have. Only to do with fluency and most of the children they rectify that also but they feel really difficult to come out their pronunciation. And it is also for non dalits, it seems. IN.7...Language areas, basically vocabularies, they are not aware of these words...

IN.17... Grammar and vocabulary

IN.18... You take any first generation learner or any dalit boy or a girl, the first thing is that they don't have enough words to speak in English. So they have to know many words by reading or listening to.

IN.24... Don't have good pronunciation. They are not comfortable with new words. So they lack vocabulary, they lack grammar, they fear to pronounce certain words in the class. The difficulties are manifold ...because the schools system is so bad. They don't expose these students to new words.

Lack of
confidence

IN.3...Difficulties in the sense, they lack confidence in themselves. Even though they know the answer they are hesitant to answer in front other classmates.

IN.7... And they are lack of confidence in speaking. And lack of confidence is not a dalit oriented issue. It is a general issue among all students. First, they feel that if they commit mistakes. It s pear pressure and they laugh at people. Some people make fun of people who are trying to speak in English and saying that /peeter vuduraan/

IN.18... Peer learning is very important and they have to form a group wherein they have to speak in English. And many students are inhibiting in nature and they feel shy. If we able to remove all these lacks, they will be able to speak in English

IN.19... They know the language. The only thing that is hindrance actually sometimes we call it inferiority complex or we can say that lack of confidence or boldness. If we speak English, others may find fault with it. They may find fault with in our language. They may tease us, that is the main problem.

IN.21... I think that is what I keep telling. It is a matter of confidence. Confidence is one thing because it is not only a matter of speaking I English; it is a matter of speaking

Lack of
exposure

In.2...Difficulties faced by all the students are more or less same but, if you ask me to identify one difference, the students of Dalit parents are generally not educated. So the one major difficulty is that there is nobody at

home to monitor what stuff they are reading or what problem they are facing at home.

IN.6... So the lack of encouragement and the non-availability of resources, their inability to access quality education, all these make dalit and other marginalised communities stay far away...because of their lack of English education.

IN.13... All my students invariably face very similar kind of problem mainly because all the students are the first generation learners. And almost all my students come from similar social background (economical background). Though they come from different caste, only the certificate say that they are upper caste, lower caste... but when it comes to learning English, they are equally bad and they are equally good.

IN.15... You won't get English news paper to read. How long school and college library will help you? So, the basic push/ instrument is not there in their background. So, it becomes more difficult for them to learn this language. Apart from that, it is not because of they are Dalit finding it so difficult. It is because they don't have a proper thing. And parents also they don't encourage their children. It is very difficult task for the first generation students. I don't find that it is because they are Dalit. There are non- Dalits also

IN.19... The only area that is the spoken English area, the spoken English area why they lack in that area, you know, because after college when they go home English is not spoken at home. English is not spoken. Most of the dalits students are first generation students. Their parents are very poor and they know only one language, the mother tongue.

Table 6: Teachers' responses to the importance of English for success

Theme	Sub-theme	Interview Excerpts
English gives positive identity		IN.1. Definitely if you speak in English, you can create an impression that you are speaking a truth.
		IN.3. I'm more confident because I have the ability to speak in English with a flow.
		IN.7. I'm an English professor that is success and even then you can go anywhere and face any person.
		IN. 15. I had the real passion for English, was there. I gradually gained that because people respect me when I'm good at English.

Social and
Professional
Promoter

IN.19. When I learnt English I became confident.... That gave me strength to face officials. When I go there for any village problem or students' problem and introduce myself as an English teacher, then immediately I get real respect.

IN.7. English is a passport to social gathering and a passport to education and even for any job for that matter...English is the language for the communication. In India, English connects people in this end to the north
IN.8. It is not only me but all my ancestors were successful because they could get very good professions as well. All of them very easily claimed their social as well as their professional ladder. Obviously it is very great facilitator for them.

IN.9. For me English language is a source of inspiration and then a channel for me to talk to students across states. Even when I visited countries, I use to talk only in English even students coming from India..... So, personally for me, English is a medium of instruction, friendship and knowledge. That is how I used this language to get academic network with foreign faculty members and whenever I visited countries for presenting papers, English language helped me a lot.

IN.18. I intended my Tamil for living but English for living well. I have actually visited the US in 2014, I had been to Naipaul and conducted a work shop. Whatever happened in my life and whatever I'm today, is 100% because of English

Source of
employability

IN.3.... I'm more confident because I have the ability to speak in English with a flow. Before started working here, I attended interviews in many colleges and I got selected because I have the good flow of English. I never felt hesitant or isolated. Because of English, I have a confident in myself. It actually brought success in my life.

IN.5. Whatever I earn and whatever I'm now is because of English.

IN. 6. I'm an English teacher obviously.... I do not know what would have happened if I did not choose English as my area of study... I earned excellent library resources because I worked part time in the library. So English definitely helped me in my career.

IN.7. English is a passport to social gathering and a passport to education and even for any job for that matter...English is the language for the communication. In India, English connects people in this end to the north

IN. 11. It is my bread and butter to be precise. And that is what helping me to get salary every month. I would attribute everything to the knowledge of English language.

IN.15. Now my students literally love me for the language I speak. So, language had its place but if you ask my success is it English? Yes, of course, the language helped and being an English teacher it is really helped.

Table 7. Teachers' perspectives about how important English is for their students' success

Theme	Sub-theme	Interview Excerpts
English is a language of empowerment	Source of Employability	IN.1... Definitely English will empower students. I have seen in my own life and that's what I have seen my students career also. So those students who get the consciousness that they can communicate well automatically get the confidence to face any interview. Some of the students who studied here who were not able to write one proper sentence improved and got a job. IN.2... we also tell them like some case studies- all these students how they are well placed in the society- government and private sector only through the seer command and fluency in English....When you go up to the interview, you may have a very good score in the written examination, unless you impress the panel through your command of English, it will be a flap. So English brings success in the lives of students and also in the lives of employed people as well. IN.7... And English has become a language of communication throughout the world. All the countries, even china wanted teachers to teach English. If students are in a position to speak and write in English, they can plan any job. IN.14... If you are good in the language proficiency, then they will be given the job. Even if you are an expert in your subject, they will not consider that. It is the language that gives job opportunities to the graduates. That is what I believe.
	Source of Knowledge	In.7.... English is definitely going to help the students. Most of the colleges here provide English medium education including engineering and medical. Now all the researches happening elsewhere around the world, though it happening in their own language, it is translated into English.... If a science student wants to update his knowledge, he has to use English language. If he wants to write an article, has to write in English. So English has to be improved and it is a gateway for better knowledge.

I doubt whether English brings success or not	IN.9... Students must make use of English language for three things: first, for updating their academic information, for instance, the latest articles about literary theories are available only in English language. Second, translation is another medium. So students can access books translated from Tamil into English language for students outside Tamil Nadu. And Students within Tamil Nadu also can access books translated into language from various other languages in the world. Third, the important one is that the advent of online books. So, now online books play a very vital role. IN.18... I intended my Tamil for living but English for living well. I have actually visited the US in 2014, I had been to Naipaul and conducted a work shop. Whatever happened in my life and whatever I'm today, is 100% because of English. Because of that English I speak, I have been associated with an American project. I have given a talk in more than 10 colleges and published more than 10 articles. I presented more than 20 papers. It's all because of English. IN.23.... It is because English language or English standard text, you know, they bring world experience into it. Suppose you read a book in vernacular or mother tongue, you are exposed to that kind of literature in that language but in English literature, it is a mixture of world knowledge. In that way it is kind of superior but I don't say my or any vernacular literature inferior. But, English literature comprises itself with the experiences of the world. IN.12....No. Not at all. Yeah, there is a perspective that still you have that colonial conceptualization in you as language as window of the world, language of learning, library language, academic language. It is not so. Any one has correct consciousness/ learning process, a person can learn anything.... IN.13...I don't want to be very optimistic about that especially after having spent nearly four five years teaching English to students from urban slum and rural locality..... I don't know whether English helps them develop in term of their career. Even if they get placed as English teachers, I still doubt that English is the reason for their development. That is the belief I have.
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Table 8: Teachers' perspectives about how English functions as a social marker

Theme	Sub-theme	Interview Excerpts
	People who speak English get social respect	IN.2...Sure, certainly I agree with this. So, even in Madurai, you can see a marked difference between the English knowing population and otherwise. If you have a good command over English, people listen to you. Even when you talk some nonsense they listen to you. In country like India where there is so much glamour for English language. Indians have fascinations for English. IN.15... I think that English language is one major tool which will bring students up in the social ladder. But then, I know there are exceptions. Exceptionally good students from Tamil medium background, from very low strata of the society, they come up. IN.24... now if you are go on speak in English at railway ticket counter, you will be respected. You are seen with some admiration. Some respect. And whereas the person who does not have it will not get the same respect...
	People who speak English get access to quality education	IN.6... Rich people can send their children to good schools by paying lot of money. There is a kind of secluded the future of their children by sending them to good schools. So, English in that manner becomes a source of social discrimination. IN.16.. Yeah. Definitely, the English knowing population is there because of their economic background. It is not just about the economic background but various intersectional factors such as economic, social, cultural and religious. If you have more money you will be lucky to have good English teachers and good school and you will pick up English without any effort. So, economic background also matters IN.25... Now English education has already become a business. Due to this commercialization, children with poor background cannot be offered in English medium education. They want to be a part of the program, but it remains only as their dreams.
	Access to knowledge and other resources	IN.6... Yes, this has become most of the advent of technology because almost all content available on online is in English. This puts those who do not know English at great disadvantage. All libraries are full with English language books..... IN.13...when we think of a kind of knowledge that is being limited because not everything written or translated into Tamil in the contemporary scenario. When we consider that learning English definitely open a vast resource IN.23... If anything is taught in vernacular, clearly that gives him the strength to know things... but the

Speaking English gives Employability	focus is towards higher education and there is also thirst for knowledge. Today there is thirst for information....if English language is taught in such a way that should give them the wisdom. IN.6...Yes, obviously, because of, as I told you earlier, right now recruitment is not based on what they are scoring in their major but how well they communicate in the job interview. In an interview, if a person knows English definitely that is an advantage that will put him in a position whereas a person with a poor communication is going to fail especially in the corporate sector. So, definitely, English knowing students are at great advantage than students who do not use English much
Speaking English gives positive identity to the marginalised	IN.13... But unfortunately because of the fact that they do not have the vocabulary or language skills to express their idea which they have learnt, they struggle and they score less. Maybe if these two pupils go and compete each other in an interview, I would unfortunately say that a person who has more communication skill, she would be given the job. Not the other person that is the problem. IN.14... Those who are well versed in English, they march on their life. They get job and even those who are having very good commands on English language, they are getting promotion and their name will be popularized where they are working. IN.2.. in some cases I believe that students from the marginalized sections have realized the need for empowering themselves through language education so that they can articulate their view points or ideology in an effective and convincing manner. So I think it should also lead to that realization. So only when they become more acquaint and more fluent with the language, they can communicate their ideas powerfully.
Psychological	IN.19... If I speak in Tamil, I can be identified or branded as a dalit or OBC or MBC. For example, I come from a place called Tirunelveli. If I speak in Tamil, immediately I'm identified that I'm from that region. That subject is not at all there. IN.21...There is a possibility that if you learn English and speak like others, for you to probably mask who you are. I think within any language bears the blood of a culture. It will carry the character of that particular culture. I think much of our language is being tinct by caste. So when we speak our language, we invariable use certain caste oriented terms IN.2...Inequality is by virtue of the birth of the students because they born in a marginalized sections.

In a classroom setting, they may have developed a kind of an inferiority complex, so naturally the dominant section try to impose their ideology/ thinking on the lower sections

IN.15... Definitely it is there. I would say most of the time majority of the student population when they get English medium education they grow up and when they get Tamil/ regional dominant medium education they are treated by the society a bit inferior.... I think it is an inferiority complex has been created in a student because of their regional language medium of the background when they aren't able to cope up with the society

IN.18... Similarly the people who speak English will grow a form of group. This group tries to show off and speak English always. They go confidently where as the other group, which always talks in Tamil, doesn't. It creates a gap and it has to be merged.....

When I was doing my UG, as I have told you I studied from a Tamil medium background, I found it harder because even if my teachers cracked joke, I couldn't understand but I was not the only one who couldn't understand the joke or who didn't laugh. There were only five students used to laugh. We the rest of the students were never laughed

Tamil
medium/ first
generation/
rural students
perform well

IN.5... So inferiority complex (the fear of not knowing) makes the difference. They think that they do not know English but I promise when it comes to writing, Tamil medium students writing is far better than English medium students because they systematically study. It is also because they are concentrating. Their language is good and their mind set up is slowly changing.

IN.13... I go for paper evaluation and I got papers from different colleges and from different academic backgrounds. So, I can see a marked difference in students' perception or understanding of the subject....Normally a girl from an English medium school background, who has decent vocabularies and who has decent communication skills.... This student is a city bred girl. Her answers, they are kind of makeup. They have the language skills but they do not know the subjects. I don't think they have understood the concept. With the help a kind of language skill they have, they simply pretend that they know the answer. whereas I find my students coming from rural place, I valued answer sheets and I see some honest effort to know or understand the subject. I also see so some honest attempt to clarify or some critical thinking going into it but unfortunately

their language skill is lacking and also their vocabulary is lacking. They have understood the concept with the help of mother tongue. Maybe their teacher or friends would have taught them.

IN.15... I think it is an inferiority complex has been created in a student because of their regional language medium, of the background when they aren't able to cope up with the society but then there are exceptions- from Tamil medium, people shine like anything.

Table 9. Teachers' opinions about the statement—English medium instruction is not meant for the poor

Theme	Sub-theme	Interview Excerpts
Due to commercialisation		IN.2... 'English medium education is not meant for the poor. No, I would never agree. Probably, in terms of money, if students have to pay extra money, they may not afford to pay it IN.6... To the some extend, that is true because English medium education is expensive due to commercialization and privatization. IN.11... I think it is because of education has become a business and affordability becomes a question. With regard to English medium schools, the fee structure is very high. That is the reason why have not's or people below the poverty line struggle IN.18... English is not meant for poor, may be they are not able to afford to because the fees in exorbitant in English medium schools. IN.24... Now you have very good schools... which poor students only dream of going there and studying there. In those schools, English, it is not taught but English is the ambience and it is pervasive in that campus. So, they pick that language. When education was privatized after the independence, they started created curriculum and, people who design that curriculum are damn sure that if you have a high fee structure, people still come and put their children in their school because it teaches them English.
Poor people have ability to learn English language		IN.2... I would definitely not agree with the statement, 'English medium education is not meant for the poor. No, I would never agree. Probably, in terms of money, if students have to pay extra money, they may not afford to pay it but if your question is that they don't have the inherent abilities, the talents, they are not fit for studying English, I would not agree with that. IN.8... English medium instruction is not meant for the poor is a statement that I strongly disagree with because given the present scenario where English education is given to students only who can offered English is a different question but they cannot learn English is highly disputable.

Make English
medium
education for all

IN.11.... But, I don't agree with the statement 'English medium instruction is not meant for the poor'. Anyone can excel provided the right environment. So, they should be given that and the exorbitant fee that they collect should be cut off.

IN.16... This statement also imagines that the poor people cannot speak English. You are determining their capacity or competence not based on their skill but based on the extraneous fact that caste or economy

IN.20... Obviously that is very wrong statement... I feel that anyone can learn anything...I always try to do, I always try to.... even the student is coming from very poor English background, I'm trying to help them out in certain ways as much as I can improve his language. So I don't think it will take much time to improve. It will take few more days.

The one that we need to do is that inculcate the habit of hard work and giving them the confidence. He or she can speak. If you can give that confidence, your process is done

IN.2... the government should take some efforts to that English education is also affordable to the poor. If the government is really interested in empowering the poor, meliorating the conditions of the poor, and bringing them up, they must also introduce English medium schools. It should be free education.

IN.5.... They will not learn English. Until unless there is a revolution like education is free for everyone and there is no sections like ICSE, NCERT, CBSE, or STATE board education. If you say CBSE and ICSE education for everyone, everyone will learn.

IN.16....English medium education is for everyone. This particular statement assumes so many things. One of the assumptions is that, when you are saying English medium instruction is not meant for the poor, you are trying to exclude them from this type of education

IN.22... in due course this stereotype may get erased because in a lot of government schools in and around Tamil Nadu, are introducing one exclusive class for, English medium in government schools. When it actually picks up in full year, then definitely this stereotype will go away.

Table 10: Teachers' views about how important is English for education and empowerment of the marginalised and oppressed people

Theme	Sub-theme	Interview Excerpts
English is a language of dalit empowerment		IN.2... There are so many things to empower the marginalized and the oppressed sections of people. So, economic empowerment, social empowerment, but this linguistic empowerment will help them a lot significantly. IN.8... Of course, English is a very good, what we call, it gives you empowerment. As I have already

English brings
egalitarianism

told you that it is all the impact of globalisation, everywhere you see English is very important thing. English is a language of empowerment, particularly when it come to caste/ dalit oppression.

IN.9... but students, particularly oppressed and marginalized speak English; he feels very happy and very much satisfied that he is communicating properly in a foreign medium. Apart from the politics, as a medium, definitely it will empower the students..... That is very important because more than the language the content available in English language will definitely empower the marginalized students. On one side English language as a foreign medium, if an alien speaks English naturally he feels empowered not because of denying the mother tongue but this language has to be additionally used for empowerment.

IN.16..... I think English is one way to earn money and be independent. And English also allow them to become global citizens that they can pass exams and move out of country. For example, Narendra Jadhav, in his Memo, talks about how he moves out of India and how his children do not feel the burden of caste in the US. So English can be used as a means to have the experience of transit from the caste based society to caste less society.

IN.24....If they learn English, they have a greater world. They can go and live in a world where there is no trace of caste. If they settle in Europe, America or any other continent, where the influence of Hinduism or the institution called caste is unheard of. They can lead very decent and respectable life. It is possible only through English

IN.2... But, as the poet says, 'death as a great leveler' and I would say- English will be the greatest leveler. It will level the inequalities: upper and the oppressed.

IN.11... The role of English is to bring up egalitarian setup and equitable set up wherein only the privileges have access, I don't believe in that. Everyone should have equal access.

IN.13...A very famous statement from Tempest, you know, Caliban would say, 'you taught us language and we use it to curse you.' The kind of language was denied. The kind of knowledge was denied. It is now available for the dalits. This knowledge is available in the English tongue. And it is absolutely necessary for the dalits in the today's context to grab that opportunity, to make sure that we know the world and to fight the oppression

English language becomes a label of positive identity	IN.16... First, people from marginalized communities believe that it is one way to go incognito. If they speak their own language, the slang would reveal their own caste identity and they suffer from psychological problem. That I have been working on Dalit literature for my research and there they are trying to escape their own language that they are trying to use English as a language of success, social mobility, and as a language that makes caste disappear. IN.21... I think we spoke that. It does help a lot. It does help a lot. In the present condition, where English has become the global language, I think that is one way out for us. That is the one way to escape a lot of discrimination and to get the lot of ideas of the equality, fraternity and liberty. IN.4... Even I'm marginalized. I come from agricultural community...but I studied English.... I have a sense...my pronunciation will be rich. I get respect from others... I speak English better than others. So I'm different from others. So it gives me self confidence...I'm educated. So society has respect for me. IN.20... I definitely feel that it gives them a lot of confidence because now become a kind of touch stone for, touch stone for, making certain person as educated or respectable person. I feel it gives you a lot of respect. Once people know that you can speak in English, I know it is, it is a kind of, you know, it is again a prejudice but I feel that it gives certain respect. IN.22... Yes , mm, how English is forming a part and parcel of our identity...I have been noticing since from my childhood days..... Wherever you go whether it is in the hospital or in the bus or n the train or even in schools, colleges, everywhere when you talk in English, people take a single minute break and they turn and look at you. This is the reality. IN.24... you have a society built on these wrong assumptions that English is a sign of respect. English is the token of knowledge. Since these assumptions are very strong, you need the marginalized and the oppressed communities to... they need to learn that language and make use of the language, so that, they can be get into place where they can be visible.
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Table 11: Teachers' views on Dalits demand for English and Dalit students' learning English

Theme	Sub-theme	Interview Excerpts
Dalits need English for socio-economic, educational and linguistic empowerment		IN.2... There is every justification for Dalit students demand for English language because they are socially economically oppressed and deprived and also subjected to all kinds of hardships and humiliation because of their birth in a particular community. So at least through English education they can have a better employment and come up well in life. And that would give them an identity. It is quite genuine justification IN.6... It definitely helps that English education puts marginalized community on par with other communities. And once they are on par, they keep moving up. So, English language education definitely helps them in self realization of themselves. Once they realize that they are a lot more than what they think about themselves, they keep moving up. And they are also able to come out of social perceptions like what others think of me. IN.12.... English as a medium instruction has come a long way. It has started ruling the roost. So, when this is the language of the governance, When English is considered a language of empowerment, this empowerment and governance should be given to the underprivileged sections. There is no doubt about it. Where it is taken as a language of governance or library language or a language of empowerment, I strongly believe that it should go to the underprivileged sections. IN.16... Many reasons are involved there. It is prestige, to go incognito, they can make this caste thing disappear if they speak English. It can be used for social mobility in the case of Narendra Jadhav and Ambedkar. IN.21... So in many ways not only in terms of economical growth, not only in terms of claiming the social ladder, although the social ladder be an economic ladder, not in a very, what do you call, you will not suddenly be accepted by other caste people that still something that we cannot explain in this country but still English is probably one way of hope. Hope that we can use. They are absolutely right in demanding English education.
Dalit students are interested in learning English		IN.2... They are also interested in learning English because of social identity and employability. So for these two reasons, if other students are interested in learning English, it is to get a better job and place themselves well in life. But then Dalits students are learning English not only for Employability but for good identity and acceptability in the society. They want to be treated like other human being.

IN.3... It is not only the dalit students are interested in learning English but, the students who are marginalized and who have poor background are interested in learning English. Not only the discrimination made under caste, the discrimination made under religion and racism or something like that, every people, who are oppressed, wanted to learn English.

IN.4... They are interested in learning English because they want to change their identity. English is a key to improve their identity/ to change their identity.

IN.24....Dalit students are interested in learning English and they demand English medium education. I mean you can understand dalits demand for English education through an historical event. That took place in 2009, where a group of scholars and students celebrated the 200th birthday of Thomas Babington Macaulay

IN.25... They are interested. They also want to be equalized with everyone. They are not able to made so because of poor background. Due to commercialization and lack of exposure, economy, we are not made so.

Table 12: Teachers' views about whether English helps Dalits get prestigious jobs

Theme	Sub-theme	Interview Excerpts
English makes it possible for dalits to get prestigious jobs	As a tool of empowerment	IN.2... Certainly, there are lots of examples- dalits are well placed because of their seer command of English. Well, if they have well grounded in both spoken and written, they may keep claying the ladder of successful in the society. I think English played a positive role in helping them get prestigious jobs, no doubt about it. They are recognized in their field only because they were articulate certain points....Now I can quote myself that I'm listened to the campus. I have a respect in the campus. It's all because of my English language IN.6... Once they acquired the necessary skills in English, they start moving up in the social ladder both in terms of their educational achievement and their position in the society. If we go to a village, find a student who can communicate in English outside the village, at the same time, his status inside the village keeps growing. He gets a lot of respect. The respect comes not because of he speaks other language but because he can communicate with someone else whereas others cannot. The oppressed communities can/ should use English language as a tool for empowerment..... But a

A new form
of
discrimination
will be there

person who is up in handling English language skills and a person moves up in economic scale slowly moves away from discrimination.

IN.9... Any person who communicates properly in English, there are chances for getting a good job....The problem for the dalits in India is whether we speak English language fluently or not. How dalits are recognized for a sheet in a university or a college or for a job in a company is important. For that we have to make this language as a weapon or as a channel whether for self empowerment or self employment. It depends upon the student and the way he presents himself. In that way I strongly believe that this language can help.....But personally what I believe is that English cannot eradicate caste system in India but students and faculty of Dalit origin can use this medium as a tool to learn information. They can use this for self empowerment. Through self empowerment, they can use their knowledge for social empowerment.

IN.16... It will help them face certain test and interview with confidence, which will earn them good jobs. English is very important for Dalit to get into good jobs.

IN.1... You will not see the same kind of discrimination that you have seen in the rural but in urban, now they got a position and sitting in an office, the main stream invents new forms of discrimination. Sometime it is invisible. Even in the IT industry when selecting a candidate the boss is very clear but he won't let you know his criteria but he talks about all silly questions and then he eliminates you from the project and then he chooses somebody else. They are invisible that you cannot prove because they will site technical reasons in the industries.

IN.6... English is empowering tool but it is not complete eradication of social evils.....The ability to communicate in English gives the particular person an advantage over one major curdles. It is not the one tool for fixing all problems. Marginalization happens through other methods and English helps to eradicate some of them.

IN.9...I cannot link English language and prestigious jobs. Any person who communicates properly in English, there are chances for getting a good job. It may not be prestigious. Of course the issue of caste is always there. Even though a person speaks very good English, his caste is known to the board members in the interview, and then I cannot

say that English language fetch you prestigious jobs. If caste is not known, if his language is so good, there are chances for this person to get prestigious jobs

IN.21... Yes, it may help but to an extent, if they are dalits, then if they are discriminated on the basis of their caste, just because we learnt English doesn't guarantee a good position in society. You might still be discriminated. So, English may be the tool to change the mindset of the people but that is not the end of it. It is only mean through which try and continue to struggle against the caste situation, but it is not the end. But it is important to learn it, so that, you have a tool in your hand. It is only a tool but it is not the end.

Table 13: Teachers' perceptions of how English helps Dalits create a positive identity

Theme	Sub-theme	Interview Excerpts
Positive identity		IN.11...I think everyone should have a positive identity. There should be an amount of self confidence. That has to be there in every individual. Dalits need not go with a tag or a face goes down and they have to go with their heads held high. English definitely helps them to gain the positive attitude. If they are good in English, they can go to any part of the world. Be it US or UK
Confident as an educated		IN.13... I would say learning English for him as a SC and a Dalit student will help him as much as anyone else (BC, MBC) because they are equally poor. That is the reality when I find my students in my classroom. They are equally poor, they are equally ambitious and they are equally ignorant. IN.16... But still you can, again to use back to Spivak's terminology, affirmative sabotage certain givens in society through the English language that you have achieved. To explain the term 'affirmative sabotage' in a simple way, you are located in the society as a Dalit or a female. You can use same positions and over turn those positions through the English language that is possible. If somebody says that you are a Dalit, they aspirate all the stereotypical thoughts, you can just ignore them or just try to drive sense in them. That confidence English education can give you. Furthermore, English educated give you confidence to sabotage the given in the society. If you are English educated, you can really dismantle the propositions from within. Self improve from within; you don't

have to deny that you are a Dalit. You can say, 'Yes, I'm a Dalit, so what?' So, that level you can reach.

IN.22.... wherever you go whether it is in the hospital or in the bus or n the train or even in schools, colleges, everywhere when you talk in English, people take a single minute break and they turn and look at you. This is the reality. We need to politicize this one minute attention. That only one minute the marginalized need. When they turn you give your opinion regarding your status. It is almost kind of positive manipulation.

IN.24... yes, I think I have answered the questions in different words. Yes, it helps them create positive identity.... English gives visibility to dalit students. And they feel good about themselves. If they mastered the language, if they have some proficiency in the language, they are happy about it. They are confident.

Global citizen

IN.5... Yes, English will definitely create a positive identity. Because / yaathum oore yaavarum Kelier/ is a Tamil proverb. This is what English is doing to Dalits. It is not creating a separate society for them. They become the citizen of the world when I know English. I have an identity. I'm proud of what I am because I have the language. I get/ face everything because of English.

IN.11... I think everyone should have a positive identity. There should be an amount of self confidence. That has to be there in every individual. Dalits need not go with a tag or a face goes down and they have to go with their heads held high. English definitely helps them to gain the positive attitude. If they are good in English, they can go to any part of the world. Be it US or UK.

Table 14: Teachers' explanations of how their identity helps their students learn English

Theme	Sub-theme	Interview Excerpts
Identification as a motivational factor		IN.1...Yes.... Definitely that you are very true. In the middle of the class, if I share a small account of my own past, how I struggle to learn English and how I picked up the language through certain incidents, definitely they pick up from that incident. They take it as a lesson. So, more than the exercises that you conduct to improve the level of English communication, if you reveal your personal encounter, then they understand that 'oh sir also was almost like

Teachers do
not reveal
their identity
inside the
classroom

me'. I think there they get energetic and they come out of their taboo. That kind of identification definitely helps.

IN.2...but there is a possibility that students with Dalit background may somehow come to know my identity. So they listen to me that here is a man; he has also established his position and come up well in life it's because of English. So it could be a motivation and inspiration. So this could happen indirectly.

IN.20... Definitely, I think definitely I feel that it is possible and it is true that these students learn a lot from me because I also spent some time at least, spent time to speak to them about the language per se.... I spend some time to motivate them to learn English, to improve their language. And I give them my experiences and tell them my experiences. What happened and how I improved my language

IN.22...Yes, because it helps my identity especially only to do with dalit students, even women. Even everybody, a teacher is a role model. And I will be doubling the role model for the oppressed group because they say somebody is standing in front of them and making something possible. For her it is possible and why can't me also? That kind of influence, I can give them

IN.24... I deeply identified myself with dalit students and dalit causes. I don't know how it operates, so whenever I speak whenever I teach, I make sure that I give examples from Dr. BR. Ambedkar. So my lessons will have a lot of anecdotes that happened in Dr. BR. Ambedkar's life. In that way students might get interested and you know they come to me, they don't ask my identity as such. Dalit students in general come to me and have open discussions, and they feel free with me.

IN.2... Well, I cannot answer this question directly because it is not fair on the part of a teacher like me to reveal his identity. That would be definitely mistaken by other students because Dalit students would be a minority in a classroom where there are more than 60 or 70 students. Probably the teacher may give negative impression

IN.8.... You are a teacher and you carry the responsibility of mentoring all the forty or fifty students enroll in the class to become a better citizen of India. That should be the goal of a teacher. You should not look in to the eyes of the students and call the students dalit or non-dalit...you cannot do that.

IN.11... I really don't know how to handle this question but as far as I am concerned as a teacher and my thirty years of teaching experience, I never look on a poor student as a poor student. To me, everyone has an equal footing. They are in the same class in the same sections that means that they also should get the same treatment.

IN.16.... But, why do you bring Dalit identity or gender Identity in English classrooms that is not a good thing to do. As teacher you have to treat everyone as equal and give them same effort to produce situation of equality because we have only heterogeneous classroom. Students come from different educational and social background. Identity should not take the front sheet and it shouldn't appear at all in the English classroom but as an individual learner of English language you may think of various aspects

IN.23... I'm a neutral teacher in the classroom. As a teacher I have to expose them to both the side of life. Because, I hail from one particular community, I don't wear it in mind. When I go into classroom, all the students are equal but there were times when people were talking about the marginalized section of the people and they may be skipped it.

Table 15. Teachers' opinions about the performance of students from the marginalised communities and the specific techniques to assess these students

Theme	Sub-theme	Interview Excerpts
Individual based/ continuous/ sympathetic approach		IN.1... Yes, I have. I also confess it in the class. If a good student from an elite background writes errorless impressive English and their answer is well structured, then I give maximum 3.5 for 5 marks questions. But, if a poor downtrodden student, who is struggling with English, manages to bring across/ remember the points with grammar mistakes, I give 3 out of five. I have this discriminatory evaluation especially in the first semester. Elite students cannot impress me with their language because I expect more from the elite students something more than that I taught in the class. If they reproduce only what I taught them in the class, then definitely I reduce the marks. I do this in the first semester and I change my evaluation when they come to the third semester. I tell them that I will be impartial hereafter. So you have to rise up. Definitely they also come up. IN.2... When you evaluate their papers, the teacher like me would be sympathetic. I would do my best to improve their standard. This is after their evaluation. So, the background would positively influence me. It will give a sympathetic approach towards their evaluation.

But, as you have asked in your question, it is always better to evolve a separate evaluation procedure for these students, not by the traditional and conventional procedure.

IN.16... We need more freedom as an English language teacher for testing, evaluation, and for other things.

Yeah, you just have one question paper. You are not sensitive to their background. I'm not talking about their caste, but the educational background. How do you expect students from vernacular medium school to perform the same level as students from an English medium international school? We cannot test them at same level.

IN.21... The parameter is no more the good construction of the sentence or construction of good sentence. That is very minimal; it carries very minimal merit now. What I look for is have you got some kind of, have you been able to grasp that particular idea. If you are able to grasp something even in broken English, you will be able to convey it. In that sense, I only look for whether the student has given the content. And coming to the idea of whether marginalized students, whose English is not up to the mark, that is the one way create the balance between the one who write English well and the one who do not. So how do you create a balance between the ones who have good English and ones who are learning and now taking baby steps? The balance is simple. Cut it. If you look at the content, you will not.

IN.22... We adopted a continuous evaluating process. That is there. That must be there right from the beginning. When they show some difference, I mean it is after all performance oriented within the class, continuous assessment. The final exam for the major marks

Encouragement
after evaluation

IN.5... Few students are good but most of them don't have the proper orientation- what is the importance of education/ language? It is not here in and around their community. Because of that a good student is not at all performing up to his ability. He has ability and quality but he is not coming up. It is because of that he doesn't have the motivation.

As a teacher I have to give more importance to these students because they are not performing and they don't have the ability. If they score 10 marks in the first internal and I encourage them to score more marks. If they score 12 marks, there is a development. Even if they speak one sentence in English I will appreciate them. They need appreciation/ recognition/ acknowledgement. These things are lacking there. And we have to give that to them.

IN.9... We do take care of students individually. We call them. We discuss and counsel and then we recommend books for their language empowerment. We don't even hurt them inside the classroom.

There are instances in framing questions and designing syllabus and evaluating thesis. .. We always write in the answer scripts that please meet me personally and I have some doubts something like that we wrote. We treat students in very dignified way

IN.17... I have a student whose father was working class person in a tea estate and she gave me a short story of how we in India become consumers of tea. It should be about self expression. If we encourage the students to express her, every student has their own world. I think that students can be encouraged to talk about their world views and if they are exposed to a lot of motivational writing, they do well.

IN.22...I haven't adopted any strategy to evaluate the children, evaluate the performance of the children but I am bringing strong methods in bringing in equity in their learning process.

Irrespective of the caste, irrespective of the class, gender also, when students find some kind of difficulty in coming up with their performance oriented, then I help them and give them some extra coaching and give them some extra care

IN.25.... Our classis consisted of 60 students that we cannot separate them into groups. Even I do not want to divide students on the basis of their performance. The distinctions as slow and fast learner itself create certain psychological disturbance in their mind. Therefore I won't evaluate them, but I wanted them to come out from their inferior complex.

I will create some comfortable zone and encourage them to express themselves in the language they know. I ask them to answer the question in English before that I make sure that the rest of the students in the classroom should not hurt anyone of them. They know something about English because they have been learning it from school. If they are wrong, I do not give them any hard feelings. When I ask them to use their known English words to combine a sentence, they have some confidence that they can speak English. While I'm doing this, Students also come forward to give me their write-ups. I also feel very happy about them.

Neutrality (no special treatment)

IN.6...I cannot identify whether a student is marginalized community or not. One of the reason is I teach in an institution where it is almost homogenous. Almost all students seem to be at the same level. So I don't need to do something extra to push up one student.

IN.7... Well this question is something that I cannot answer because I do not differentiate them in the first place. As a teacher if we differentiate, if we are going to favour some other people, because of their caste, then you are not fit to be a teacher.

IN.8... I would not say that dalit students score is lesser than rest of the non dalit students. It is not so. It is all based upon their individual capacity. Moreover, we don't have special techniques for dalit students to assess them. That cannot be done inside the classroom. Single paradigm alone has been laid down for them.

So all of them have to take up the same test and the same pattern of evaluation is done for them. There is no special kind of assessment for dalit students or non dalit students.

IN.14....We do not have any specific assessment. There are good, even some marginalized people now they are good in communication. So student is a student whether he is a marginalized or not. To the eyes of teachers the student is a student.

IN23... No, when we evaluate the answer scripts, we go by merit but in the classroom performance, you know, we can easily find out...

Table 16: Teachers' perspectives about the role of students' previously learned knowledge in the L2 classroom

Theme	Sub-theme	Interview Excerpts
Students are motivated by curriculum		IN.6... Yeah, I give an incident to answer this question. When we selected passages for the English language textbook, we made the point to give the passages that give positive messages. We are given the passages that talk how ordinary people because from ordinary situation to become an extraordinary through hard work, dedication and motivation. So that is the one technique by which we keep inspiring the students. So the classroom doesn't become a language oriented classroom, it also become the classroom for motivation. So that happens at one level. IN.13...Earlier when I was teaching in Thiruthani, we had a Dalit Studies and a text written by Bhama and texts written by other famous dalit writers. When I teach them those texts, Karukku especially, they enjoy the text especially. The next thing is a kind of inspiration they could draw from somebody who is among them but still manage to write. When they find a writer who is a dalit, who manage to write story and gets published, and gets at the part of the curriculum is like reading themselves. IN.16... I agree with all your statements that we are talking about already. They have socio cultural package when they enter into English classroom and that decides the confidence and the motivation level IN.20... Yes, I think so..... I think the syllabus plays a very important role in a classroom activity. I think the syllabus should cater the needs of the whole community, student community. That will also help the students to be the part of, feel that he is the part of the education system that he is in. if he feels alienated to the education system, I think it is very difficult for any student to succeed in

Relating it to
students' life

learning whatever that he has to learn..... We have not just Indian literature as canonical literature but we also have Tamil literature and which also convinces those students coming from weak education background to understand they are part of the education system. I think syllabus plays a very important role

IN.23... Normally when students are conscious about, this aborigine or this marginalized Dalit literature being thrown into the classroom definitely they become happy. But, that has to be taught from the right perspective. That is very important. That has to be taught in the right perspective.

IN.3... This is that when we teach other things, we can quote examples from their life. We can compare and teach the students. Not only ideas and opinion of the other people but we can also quote from the movies or from the songs. Only then, they will have a better understanding of the subject. The content of the syllabus has to be changed.

IN.15... Yes, the socio cultural knowledge of the Dalit students has a role in their learning, if the teacher allows them to express. Talking about the appropriate content of the syllabus- it is again not the subject but one who teaches it. Even if something is not prescribed in the syllabus, I can bring into classroom in some way or the other but if I don't have that empathy towards poor/marginalised, I should be able to understand that my student not getting what said inside the classroom may have various reasons.

IN.19... Yeah, yes, actually...a t his juncture we need to give that even, for example, through English, we can talk about cultural activities. We can talk about the societal problems. Through English we can talk about the social revolutionary people.

IN.21... I'm not worried about the text we are teaching. I'm only worried about the approach to the text, whatever the texts; it is a piece of literature, a piece of any work because you can always give space. If you can give space for students to respond to that from their own point of view, you can criticize, you can say it is wrong or right. So it doesn't matter what text we are teaching. It is all about how much allowance we give to the students and teachers to interact. Bringing so many ideas together that is important. As a system we fail there.

IN.23... Yeah definitely when you are exposing them to familiar things, you know, familiar literature or life, students find it comfortable when you teach R.K.

Narayan. When you talk about astrologer and when you talk about Rajan, such characters are very familiar to them. This is what I said earlier, you know, 'Varumayin

Curriculum does not influence students' learning	niram sivappu' is familiar to my boy. When I talk about 'Antony and Cleopatra' it is unfamiliar to him. When I try to bring them together they enjoy. IN.2... I think I can reluctantly say that curriculum doesn't influence the learning aspect either upper or lower class. But pedagogical practice plays a major role. For instance, the pedagogy that the teacher uses all the time is in English or bilingual. There will be students from the oppressed/ marginalized community and they would feel out of place. This question may elicit different answers but in a place like Madurai, in a college where I teach, I don't find any difference between the students who belonging to upper class and lower class. It is more or less homogenous background. Curriculum and pedagogy doesn't influence at all. IN.8... Coming to the second part of your question, students whether he/ she is a dait or non-dalit doesn't matter. Everybody comes from a socio cultural background. And definite they carry all these socio cultural ideology with them. But when it comes to the process of learning a new or foreign language, such things have to be decapitated.
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Table 17: Teachers' most frequently used pedagogic tools in their L2 classroom

Theme	Sub-theme	Interview Excerpts
Group Discussion and Interaction		IN.1... Group- discussion. In group discussion, I form groups, and select elite students as group leaders. I give only one instruction that during presentation, the group leader should not talk. So whatever the mistake committed by the group, the blame will go to the group leader. So, are forced to work with the group....Another thing when you divide the groups, you can move across the students, move close to them and sit with them. IN.9... We always promote group discussion after a theory class. We do have GD. We go for grouping students and make students to read and reflect. For instance, there are three or four teams and we give thematic guidelines for each group. We ask them to discuss IN.16... You can learn from students' conversation with other students. So they have to imbibe and observe the patterns. The only role I do there is that I just motivate them to speak either in correct English or in incorrect English. They have to just speak and I will change their mistakes

Chalk and Talk	IN.19... We are giving them opportunity to speak, then the other students also, they can also understand what our classmate is originally faces. IN.20... What happens is most of the time, only few people interact in the classroom. So, the others might not be able to interact because one definitely lacking English language communication and what I will tell to my class is even in the literature classes, if somebody is not able to communicate in English, I will encourage them to speak in Tamil. So in that process, everyone is part of the classroom activity. IN.2... Yeah, generally speaking, I'm still primitive in my method. I just adapt to Black board and then oral teaching.
Technology and Media	IN.11... It is basically a chalk and talk, a lecture method. IN.13... An English class would be normally has 80 students. First, I would teach them major points and crux of it by using chalk and talk. We cannot afford to use PowerPoint mainly because we do not have that infrastructure. IN.3... I use text books and sometimes I use show video clips and picture from YouTube related the subjects. They will get the better understanding IN.13... Because we teach English literature we show them movies, with the help of subtitles they try to learn, watch, and understand because we have laptops that Tamil Nadu government has given laptops to students. Students watch movies, this is how ideally normal classroom would be. IN.20... We are trying to use technology as much as possible and in our college, still we are lacking certain infrastructure... Visual Media should be part of the education system because that will help the students to be more relevant to the context, so we use technology, we use visual media. We try to make the whole class is a part of the system. IN.21.... Mostly now I ask them to create a whatsapp group and try to interact through whatsapp group. You can touch with that continuously not only with that one hour. IN.22... And regarding English language speaking, we try to make them watch videos. It is need not to be a movie. They can discuss anything, which has come in English. Even whatsapp or even face book could do but that must be in English that is the only condition I give. And they come out with good responses.

Table 18: Teachers' opinions about pedagogic tools that support the learning of students from the marginalised sections

Theme	Sub-theme	Interview Excerpts
Peer Group, Streaming, Bridge Course		IN.1... Peer group learning or first year students who come from marginalized community could feel more comfortable with their own peer group. A student from third year wins a confidence of a student of the first year and if he also represents the same community that he represents, meaningful interaction and meaningful learning taking place. IN.7... Pedagogy, told you streaming will be helpful. If they feel that they lack language skills, streaming will help them. And now they should approach, streaming is not offered, bridge course is not offered anywhere. IN.17... I have a book which I edited. I'm working in Tamil Nadu state council for higher education. It is a bridge course. The title of the book is <i>The World in Your Stride</i>. That is very motivational. You can face any situation. You can take anything in your stride. In that we have addressed some of the things required for- the basics of tertiary education such as independent learning, lateral thinking, and being confident
Teacher motivation and encouragement		IN.6... We can give these things by encouraging students, by making resources available to them and by use of technology because technology is a real captivating tool. It can be used factor for positive encouragement. IN.9... More than teaching subjects, a teacher must motivate students. Motivation is very important. IN.15... The empathy of the teacher may be. After a hectic schedule/work, he is coming to my class that why he sleeps. I should understand that or else I should understand his/ her parents cannot help him/ her. So it is self learning. So my empathy plays a major role. IN.22... It is basically encouragement and individual based assessment. It is not like group. You should not cater as a group but knowing the strength and weakness of the individual, then catering accordingly. So for that student teacher ratio must be proper. Then only it would be possible.
Familiar to unfamiliar and culture based learning		IN.6... In other subject, say for example the teacher who teaches physics and if the students are going to be there for six semesters and the teacher is going to teach all the six semesters, then the teacher can vary his level of language accordingly. Say for instance, he can start in the bilingual mode in the first semester and slowly but steadily move into a completely English language mode. By the time the students reach the sixth semester he or she would be in a position to understand what the teacher says. IN.9... Yeah, the pedagogy that is based on the local knowledge and native wisdom. These two paces are very important. Suppose a text, instead of teaching an alien theory, if the theory is linked with the local experience that will be very good for students, particularly for marginalized students, in learning English. Even sometimes names should be changed to names that are familiar to students. Bringing all local examples, local voices, local

Technology and media	knowledge, and native wisdom mixed in a classroom, then students will have more interest in learning English language IN.19.....apart from syllabus, we are giving certain information, outside world information. We are not simply confined to classrooms. We take them out...we are screening certain things, major problem in and around what is going in our society. We are screening them. IN.23.... Now we have achieved. So also when students looks at, you know, when there is something about him and his life is reflected there, naturally he becomes happy. IN.24... Learning anything for that matter, we should start with the familiar contexts of a student. We should start with that. Only then our knowledge is possible. Learning is possible, not knowledge. If they have the better knowledge about their immediate reality, they will be able to imagine and speculate the realities about the distant places, abstract numbers, abstract ideas. IN.6....We can give these things by encouraging students, by making resources available to them and by use of technology because technology is a real captivating tool. It can be used factor for positive encouragement. IN.11...If they need some more assistance, we can have a language lab facility wherein most good with regard to articulation of the phonemes, they could be given such exercises/ such tasks, which will help them to overcome the diffidence. So language lab will come as a bridge. IN.20...I think again technology plays an important role. And I think giving the space, also giving the space is more important. If you give the space to a marginalized person and one thing I realized that would happens is he improves his confidence a lot. Whatever the space that might be in the classroom or outside the classroom or wherever it is. We should be able to provide that space IN.21.... I'm ok with technology and all those things coming to the classroom. It is a natural progression that takes place. I'm not averse to those things. Yeah let it come. But, still the attitude of the teacher and attitude of the system itself has to be pro- student. (Technology)
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Table 19. Teachers' opinions about whether caste can be destroyed by learning English

Theme	Sub-theme	Interview Excerpts
English destroy caste		IN.2... I think I have answered your question that I quested from the magazine that 'English the great leveller.' James Shire wrote a poem <i>Death, The Great Leveller</i>, so I would paraphrase his poem that <i>English, The Great leveller</i>, bringing down the curtain all the social inequalities, I think

English
language
cannot fully
empower

English would definitely play a major role in abolishing the caste system.

IN.8... Of course because learning English leads you to the higher clan of the society. These days we all talk about Diasporic communities and all those things, so definitely it helps you to shed your caste marker. Even though it is not a quick process, it is a long drawn process, but in due course it has a positive impact on the society to collapse all these barriers.

IN.11... Sure. With great egalitarian thing, the knowledge of English will definitely go into wipe all these kind of marginalization or discrimination that is there in society.

IN.13... English is one language I believe, according to me, is a language that will not promote that kind of casteistic mentality, it is not there. To learn English language, it does not have that vocabulary in it. I would say very interesting option for dalits.

IN.22... This is one of the mandatory things that the society needed in the process of eradicating caste system. That had helped a lot also. See my father studied English and he could communicate with other groups very well.

So we also get empowerment. I could agree with that.

IN.3... I cannot fully agree to the point that it will destroy the caste but to some extent people may start reducing to talk about caste.

IN.6.. I won't say complete yes to that because English society has equivalence of the caste system, where is the division between the nobility and lay. English as such cannot annihilate caste system. At the same time, English language can remove certain barriers. That's standard way of empowerment of marginalized. And once they come out of certain aspects of marginalization, where they reach economic stability, then they can think of moving forward. So, English plays a major role in breaking caste barriers but it is not a complete...

IN.9... Education is one of the tools and English education is another tool to face this problem. But it is very difficult to say 100% that by teaching English language, we can eradicate caste system.

IN.17... IN.17...Caste is so deeply entrenched in our society. Whether caste is destroyed or not is what I least bothered. Destroying caste is a big challenge but I think by socio economic emancipation we can achieve a lot.

IN.20...I partly agree with it Partly agree with it because, yes, there is realization at least of a certain sect of people particularly in the urban system where the education definitely made them realize...One I might

It cannot
destroy caste

agree with it because it is not just about English language as such but with English language what kind of knowledge that we are gaining. Just knowing about the English language doesn't create the social consciousness IN.7... caste system cannot be destroyed. It is culturally inherent in our psyche Indian psyche Indian religion, Indian community that cannot be abolished. But, English will help you to be better placed among your peers, among your society.

IN.9... but it is very difficult. How can a language destroy caste system remains question. I do wait for the day where the language destroys the caste but personally I have a doubt because this system is rooted in the psyche or minds of the citizens of India. If English language happens to eradicate the mindset of the people, definitely this will happen.

IN.10... Learning English cannot destroy it...it is not possible. Even today, educated people, high authorities also follow the caste system. How can you eradicate caste system?

IN.16...I don't think so by learning English caste system will be destroyed because the stigma does not disappear. To destroy caste, to destroy discrimination, to destroy the barriers between people, I think we need to have that imaginative training. Make them aware. Ok. You belong to particular caste but caste is nothing. We belong to particular gender, gender is nothing. These all are constructs. That training must happen from a very early age.

Table 20: Teachers explanation of whether or not English can be a language of positive identity and anti-discrimination

Theme	Sub-theme	Interview Excerpts
English is a language of positive identity and anti-discrimnatory		IN.2...Yeah English would certainly give one positive distinct identity. You must be familiar with Abraham Maslow's Hierarchical Needs, so English would help you to actualize his potential. Yeah it will put an end to all kinds of discrimination.
		IN.9...Yes, it is a language of anti-discrimination because, if you take Tamil, we do have slangs and dialects. English education has slangs and dialects within England but English traveled outside the country never created discrimination. It was against this kind of discriminatory practices. I do agree speaking English gives one positive identity.

English
language
cannot
empower
completely

IN.10...If you learn and speak English, you will get positive identity because in our society most of the people are respected for speaking in English. And also learned people and literate people can speak in English. If you speak in English, automatically you get respect.

IN.13...I still can't say that it is a language of anti-discrimination because it was the language of the American that had slave trade in it. Still it treads African American on a very different plane but when it comes to Indian context for want of a better alternative, I would still prefer English over other languages because they are still more discriminatory than English.

IN.24... It is anti-discrimination. Yes, because if you speak Madurai dialect with small variation, and you would say that he is of this caste and that caste. If you speak konku Tamil, then you might say that he is from this caste. If he is not from this caste then he will be from this caste. So the dialects tell us not only about the region but also it reveals the dominant caste. Whatever the dialects you speak, if it is a Chennai dialect or Madurai dialect, whatever the dialects it may be, it is easy for people to identify, if not exactly, if not with accuracy, but they can identify the caste of someone. It is easy. But when you speak in English, it is impossible. It is impossible to identify one based on the way one speaks English.

IN.6... It helps in eradicating few barriers. I don't know whether the language can completely eradicate discrimination.

IN.16... But is it a language of anti- discrimination? Again yes, but it is because of you speak in English the discrimination will not disappear.

IN.17... Being equipped with English is like being armed. A person who armed cannot say that he never will be attacked. But if he is armed, he can deal with it when he is attacked.

IN.20... It certainly gives you certain type of positive identity. Antidiscrimination- one way, yes and one way, no. Again discrimination is there once you learn English.

APPENDIX II

A Sample of Students' Responses to the Questionnaire

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Attitude Survey

1. **Personal information:**

1) Name: S. SIVA

2) Age: 24

3) Gender:

Female	Male	☒	Transgender	Other
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4) Category:

SC	☒	ST	MBC	BC	OC
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5) Religion:

Christianity	Islam	Buddhism	Hinduism	Atheism	☒
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6) Residence:

Metro	<u>1</u>	Urban	<u>2</u>	Semi- Urban	<u>3</u>	Rural	<u>4</u>	☒
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7) Monthly Income:

Less than Rs. 10,000	Rs. 10,000 to 30,000	Rs. 30,000 to 60,000	Rs. 60,000 to 1,00,000	Above 1,00,000
<u>1</u> ☒	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>

8) Parent's occupation:

Father: <u>Labourer</u>	Mother: <u>Housewife</u>
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9) Parent's qualifications

Father: <u>8 Std</u>	Mother: <u>Illiterate</u>
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10) Medium of instruction in school:

Tamil	☒	English	☐	Telugu	☐	Malayalam	☐	Hindi	☐
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11) Which language did you learn first Tamil

Tamil	☒	English	☐	Malayalam	☐	Hindi	☐	Other:	☐
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12) State Tamilnadu

13) Name of the institute/ university: University of Madras

14) Course currently pursuing: Ph.D

15) Subject of study: Commerce

16) Email id: iamsivapkm@gmail.com

17) Mobile/ phone number 9952552796

18) Generation :

- a) First generation English learner (☒)
 b) Second generation learner (☐)
 c) Third or more generation English learner (☐)

19) Languages you know:

(In order of your preference: 'a' for most preference & 'd' for least preference)

a) <u>Tamil</u>	b) <u>English</u>	c) ☐	d) ☐
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2. Attitude study

1. How long have you been studying English? 7 years (+12)

2. Are you able to express yourself in English?

☒

Yes	☒	No	☐
-----	-------------------------------------	----	--------------------------

3. Do you think English is essential for your subject?

✓ Yes	✓ No		
-------	------	--	--

4. Which of the four skills mentioned below are you comfortable with? Give them a scale of 1 to 4: 1 for the most comfortable and 4 for the least comfortable).

Listening	Speaking	Reading	Writing
1	4	2	3

Give reasons:

Even a beginner can listen English and understand. That is why listening comes first. Reading needs continuity. Once you're reading continuously you can skilled it easily. An oracious reader automatically writes well as far as I know. Speaking is very tough. You should speak out to develop communication skill. Mostly people are shy in the beginning.

5. Based on your experience, learning English is--

Very hard	Hard	Manageable	Easy	Very easy
			✓	

Say a few words about your experience of learning English in the box below:

until my 12th standard, i ~~was~~ was studying in tamil medium. I didn't have connection with English except the english subject. Even i scored very low marks in english. After got to a college it was inevitable to read and study in english since the degree i possessed was taught in english. Even the college was an english medium college. There was teaching only in english. So, i had no other go except learning the language. First i started reading english newspapers. then watching english news channels, English movies and so on. Gradually i started reading English novels. Now, i am comfortable with ~~test~~ listening, speaking, writing and reading english.

6. Where do you use English? (rate your frequency on the scale)

I use English –	very often	often	sometimes	occasionally	never
at home					✓
at school/ institute/ university	✓				
at market/ stores/ restaurants/		✓			
at public meeting/ organisation		✓			

i) With whom----- (rate your frequency on the scale)

I use English with	Very often	often	sometimes	occasionally	Never
parents					✓
relatives				✓	
friends/classmates	✓				
teachers	✓				
strangers/ foreigners			✓		

Give reasons:

since i am doing my research in university, it is inevitable to use english in various modes. And i dont think that i am not well versed in english. so i am continuously using it to master it.

7. Choose one of the options provided as reaction to the statement given in the box.

statement	necessary	desirable	optional	undesirable	unnecessary
English in higher education is	✓				

Give reasons for your choice in the box below:

English is a global language. without knowing it you cannot access anything. If you want to read & get details from ~~ex~~ most of the sources, english is necessary. ~~Most of the sources in the world~~ available only in english. And mostly the translations of every countries works are available only in english.

8. I prefer English, because it helps me in _____ (Give your order of preference on a scale of 1 to 4: 1 for the most preference and 4 for the least preference)

- ✓ a) Social upliftment (2)
 b) Cultural enrichment (3)
 c) International exposure (1)
 d) Economic growth (4)

Explain your reasons in the box below.

By knowing english, i can access everything from world banks report to local news papers. ~~next~~ once you well in english the world becomes a small village for you. you can contact ~~every~~ any country's person without any barriers.

9. English is _____ (Give your order of preference on a scale of 1 to 4: 1 for the most preference and 4 for the least preference)

- ✓ a) a language of power (2)
 b) a language of opportunity (3)
 c) a language of empowerment (1)
 d) a language that takes us higher in the social ladder (4)

Elaborate your preference:

10. Will you suggest English medium of instruction for children in your family?

✓/ Yes		No	✓
--------	--	----	---

Give reason for your choice:

The question is vague i think. You can ask it as "will you suggest English medium of instruction alone".
 i will suggest Tamil medium school for tamil children. we can arrange special classes and language lab for English language ~~teaching~~ learning. That will be more effective.

11. How do you feel when you commit mistakes while making presentations in the class?

Rate your frequency on the scale

- a) I don't care ()
- b) I reproduce the right expression again (✓)
- c) I don't know when I make mistakes due to anxiety ()
- d) I try to cover up my mistakes ()

Give reasons for your choice in the box below:

committing mistakes in a language which is not your mother tongue is not a big issue. That too for a learner it is not a problem. Once you mastered in English, the mistakes will automatically fade away.

12. How do you react when your teacher tries to correct your language while learning English?

- a) ✓ Very keen to learn
- b) Eager to know my mistakes
- c) I become nervous
- d) I get very troubled

Explain your reasons in the box below:

When a person trying to correct my mistake, I will be happy. Because, ~~the~~ it will help me to avoid the same mistake next time. It is the process of learning.

Read the statements given below and choose one of the options given.

a)

Statements	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Cannot say	Slightly agree	Agree
English is a language of modernity (P)					✓
English is a language of the educated class (N) (P)			✓		
English is a language of the higher class (N)	✓				
English creates hierarchical structures in India (N)	✓				
English medium education is not meant for the poor (N)			✓		✗

b)

English is useful for:	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Cannot say	Slightly agree	Agree
getting prestigious jobs	✓				
higher education					✓
social mobility and prestige				✓	
spreading social and cultural values			✓		
national and international communication					✓

c)

Statements	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Cannot say	Slightly agree	Agree
English is a dominant language in independent India (N) (P)					✓
English empowers the poor					✓
English is a means to free all from socio-economic & cultural deprivation					✓
By learning English, caste system can be destroyed			✓		
English education bridges the gap between rich and poor			✓		

d)

Statements	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Cannot say	Slightly agree	Agree
English is the key to Dalit emancipation				✓	
English is a language of anti discrimination				✓	
English is a language that benefits lower class					✓
English is a language of social privileges and positive identity					✓
Regional medium students are denied the opportunities given to English medium students					✓

e)

Statements	Very often	often	sometimes	occasionally	Never
I would like to read English newspapers	✓				
buy books/magazines in English	✓				
listen to English music & watch English movies	✓				
write papers, assignments, and etc.		✓			
write personal letters and diaries in English			✓		

f)

How do you feel while performing the following tasks in English?	Very anxious	A little anxious	Nothing in particular	Happy and excited	Very happy and excited
Presentation			✓		
Writing examinations				✓	
Reading aloud in the classroom				✓	
answering questions in English				✓	
talking with friends and teachers in English					✓

g) Rate your willingness on a scale 1 to 5 to perform the following tasks (1 for very willing and 5 for unwilling)

i) Attending a job interview in English

1	2	3	4 ✓	5 ✓
---	---	---	-----	-----

ii) Writing a job eligibility test in English

1	2	3	4	5 ✓
---	---	---	---	-----

iii) Participating in a group discussion instead of writing an examination

1	2	3	4 ✓	5
---	---	---	-----	---

iv) Initiating talks in English in formal meetings.

1	2	3	4 ✓	5
---	---	---	-----	---

v) Being interviewed by the researcher and discussing the issues pointed out.

1	2	3 ✓	4	5
---	---	-----	---	---

g. Answer the following attitude questions

1. Do you think learning English is more important than learning Tamil?

Yes	No	✓
-----	----	---

Explain your reasons in the box below:

mother tongue is very ^{much} necessary for everyone. Because even when we are using any other language, we understand only in ~~english~~ our mother tongue. Even to learn a new language, mother tongue is inevitable.

2. Do you feel more comfortable talking in English than in Tamil?

Yes	No	✓
-----	----	---

Give reasons for your choice in the box below:

Tamil is my mother tongue. I am very happy and proud to use my mother tongue than any other language. For now I am not mastered in english. That also may be the reason. Even after mastered in english, I will use it whenever it is necessary. otherwise I will use tamil only.

3. Which language would you prefer to use for learning if you had a choice?

Tamil	☒	English	☐
-------	-------------------------------------	---------	--------------------------

Explain your reasons:

The reason is simple. I can understand everything in tamil ^{better} than any other language

4. Do you think widespread use of English interferes with the use of Tamil?

Yes	☒	No	☐
-----	-------------------------------------	----	--------------------------

Explain your reasons:

Nowadays most of the children are not well in tamil. Not only children, even youngsters are not good at tamil. This is because of english medium school. They are not concentrate on tamil at all

5. Do you think the increasing use of English has made Tamil less important in our society today?

Yes	☒	No	☐
-----	-------------------------------------	----	--------------------------

Give reasons in the box below:

The People are thinking english is a status symbol. So, they started ignoring tamil which leads them to not learn tamil.

6. Do you mix Tamil and English in your conversation?

Yes	☒	No	☐
-----	-------------------------------------	----	--------------------------

Give reasons for your choice:

Mixing both the language while speaking is not avoidable nowadays. But when it comes to writing, I never mixed both. ~~Even~~

7. What is your opinion about mixing languages?

It is good		It is bad		Other response	✓
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Explain your reasons:

For communication purpose we can do that. But when two families meet it is better to communicate in tamil without mixing english.

8. In which language are you able to express yourself better?

Tamil	✓	English		Both	
-------	---	---------	--	------	--

Give reasons in the box below:

In your mother tongue only you can able to express yourself better than any other language.

9. If you have simultaneously learnt Tamil and English as your first language and are equally comfortable in using both, which of them would be your mother tongue?

Tamil	✓	English		Both	
-------	---	---------	--	------	--

Explain your reasons in the box below:

~~Myself surrounded by tamil people.~~ I am in tamilian. so that only can be my mother tongue. Learning alone cannot decide your mother tongue. ~~For~~

*Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Conducted by

Ramamoorthy.S

Ph.D English Language Studies

School of Humanities

University of Hyderabad

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1
002

Attitude Survey

1. Personal information:

1) Name: S. VASU2) Age: 27

3) Gender:

Female		Male	☒	Transgender		Other	
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4) Category:

SC	☒	ST		MBC		BC		OC	
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5) Religion:

Christianity		Islam		Buddhism		Hinduism	☒	Atheism	
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6) Residence:

Metro		Urban		Semi- Urban	☒	Rural	
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7) Monthly Income:

Less than Rs. 10,000	Rs. 10,000 to 30,000	Rs. 30,000 to 60,000	Rs. 60,000 to 1,00,000	Above 1,00,000
	☒			

8) Parent's occupation:

Father : <u>Clothes - seller</u>	Mother : <u>—</u>
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9) Parent's qualifications

Father : <u>10th std</u>	Mother : <u>5th std</u>
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10) Medium of instruction in school:

Tamil		English	☒	Telugu		Malayalam		Hindi	
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11) Which language did you learn first _____

Tamil	☒	English		Malayalam		Hindi		Other:	
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12) State Tamilnadu

13) Name of the ~~institute~~ university: University of Madras

14) Course currently pursuing: Ph.D

15) Subject of study: Counter-writing (The marginal's writing against the established)

16) Email id: vasuias2020@gmail.com

17) Mobile/ phone number 8056592759

18) Generation :

- a) First generation English learner (☒)
 b) Second generation learner ()
 c) Third or more generation English learner ()

19) Languages you know:

(In order of your preference: 'a' for most preference & 'd' for least preference)

a) <u>Tamil</u>	b) <u>English</u>	c)	d)
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2. Attitude study

1. How long have you been studying English? 20 years

2. Are you able to express yourself in English?

Yes	☒	No	
-----	-------------------------------------	----	--

3. Do you think English is essential for your subject?

Yes	☒	No	☐
-----	-------------------------------------	----	--------------------------

4. Which of the four skills mentioned below are you comfortable with? Give them a scale of 1 to 4: 1 for the most comfortable and 4 for the least comfortable).

Listening	Speaking	Reading	Writing
2	3	1	4

Give reasons:

Speaking and Writing English require time, understanding how English works. Further, to perfect one's writing, one should get it corrected by someone. My college friends, my school teacher and university professors have been reading and responding to my write-ups. Their feedbacks have helped me improve my writing in English, especially to write research articles and get them published in journals.

5. Based on your experience, learning English is--

Very hard	Hard	Manageable	Easy	Very easy
		☒		

Say a few words about your experience of learning English in the box below:

I couldn't learn much at school, as it had only part-time English teachers. After 12th, I went to a Spoken English institute. Then, at college, I picked up conversational English from English-speaking friends. At university, I got more feedbacks on my write-ups. The newspaper, The Hindu, has been a great help. I have been reading it for last 8 years. Then, reading novels really changed the way I speak and write.

6. Where do you use English? (rate your frequency on the scale)

I use English –	very often	often	sometimes	occasionally	never
at home				✓	
at school/ institute/ university	✓				
at market/ stores/ restaurants/				✓	
at public meeting/ organisation				✓	

i) With whom----- (rate your frequency on the scale)

I use English with	Very often	often	sometimes	occasionally	Never
parents					✓
relatives				✓	
friends/classmates	✓				
teachers	✓				
strangers/ foreigners	✓				

Give reasons:

At home, I converse in Tamil, my mother tongue. At university, I am a Senior Research Fellow (UGC), and I am also taking classes for MA students. So, as a professional, I use English more at my work-place.

7. Choose one of the options provided as reaction to the statement given in the box.

statement	necessary	desirable	optional	undesirable	unnecessary
English in higher education is	✓				

Give reasons for your choice in the box below:

Most of the educational services are available in English. At seminars and conferences, students have to speak in English so that they can be understood by others who are from different language groups/backgrounds. As part of the Ph.D. course, students have to publish research papers in established journals.

8. I prefer English, because it helps me in _____ (Give your order of preference on a scale of 1 to 4: 1 for the most preference and 4 for the least preference)

- a) Social upliftment (2)
- b) Cultural enrichment (3)
- c) International exposure (4)
- d) Economic growth (1)

Explain your reasons in the box below.

Because I work as an English professor, I get a salary / fellowship. So, I am economically taken care of. Socially, I move with scholars of all statuses. I am respected for my expertise. Besides Tamil culture, I get acquainted with other cultures, as I am able to communicate with other people belonging to different cultures. Through email, I send my articles to foreign journals.

9. English is _____ (Give your order of preference on a scale of 1 to 4: 1 for the most preference and 4 for the least preference)

- a) a language of power (4)
- b) a language of opportunity (1)
- c) a language of empowerment (2)
- d) a language that takes us higher in the social ladder (3)

Elaborate your preference:

~~If~~ If I know how to speak in English, at least I can secure a job at a BPO. I can run a Spoken-English institute... Opportunities abound. Consequently, my economic needs are fulfilled. I move up the social ladder, as I have a profession of my own. Power... in terms of confidences, yes.

10. Will you suggest English medium of instruction for children in your family?

Yes	☒	No	☐
-----	-------------------------------------	----	--------------------------

Give reason for your choice:

At present, every school is ready to offer ^{at least} two languages — mother-tongue and English. So, there is nothing wrong in English being a medium of instruction. But if students have difficulty, then it should not be forced on them.

11. How do you feel when you commit mistakes while making presentations in the class?

Rate your frequency on the scale

- a) I don't care (3)
 b) I reproduce the right expression again (1)
 c) I don't know when I make mistakes due to anxiety (2)
 d) I try to cover up my mistakes (4)

Give reasons for your choice in the box below:

As long as I convey myself, my listeners aren't bothered about my mistake. These days I recognize my mistakes immediately and rectify them. I don't try to cover up because that creates embarrassment. ~~and~~ ~~anxiety~~

12. How do you react when your teacher tries to correct your language while learning English?

- a) Very keen to learn
 b) Eager to know my mistakes
 c) I become nervous
 d) I get very troubled

Explain your reasons in the box below:

I am always eager to know where I go wrong. If my teachers point out my mistakes, I am happy that I will never do the same, especially in my thesis.

Read the statements given below and choose one of the options given.

a)

Statements	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Cannot say	Slightly agree	Agree
English is a language of modernity					✓
English is a language of the educated class		✓			
English is a language of the higher class	✓				
English creates hierarchical structures in India				✓	
English medium education is not meant for the poor	✓				

b)

English is useful for:	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Cannot say	Slightly agree	Agree
getting prestigious jobs			✓		
higher education					✓
social mobility and prestige					✓
spreading social and cultural values					✓
national and international communication					✓

c)

Statements	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Cannot say	Slightly agree	Agree
English is a dominant language in independent India				✓	
English empowers the poor					✓
English is a means to free all from socio- economic & cultural deprivation					✓
By learning English, caste system can be destroyed			✓		
English education bridges the gap between rich and poor				✓	

d)

Statements	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Cannot say	Slightly agree	Agree
English is the key to Dalit emancipation					✓
English is a language of anti-discrimination					✓
English is a language that benefits lower class					✓
English is a language of social privileges and positive identity					✓
Regional medium students are denied the opportunities given to English medium students			✓		

e)

Statements	Very often	often	sometimes	occasionally	Never
I would like to read English newspapers		✓			
buy books/magazines in English	✓				
listen to English music & watch English movies			✓		
write papers, assignments, and etc.		✓			
write personal letters and diaries in English				✓	

f)

How do you feel while performing the following tasks in English?	Very anxious	A little anxious	Nothing in particular	Happy and excited	Very happy and excited
Presentation				✓	
Writing examinations		✓			
Reading aloud in the classroom		✓			
answering questions in English			✓		
talking with friends and teachers in English				✓	

g) Rate your willingness on a scale 1 to 5 to perform the following tasks (1 for very willing and 5 for unwilling)

i) Attending a job interview in English

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

ii) Writing a job eligibility test in English

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

iii) Participating in a group discussion instead of writing an examination

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

iv) Initiating talks in English in formal meetings.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

v) Being interviewed by the researcher and discussing the issues pointed out.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

g. Answer the following attitude questions

1. Do you think learning English is more important than learning Tamil?

Yes	No
-----	----

Explain your reasons in the box below:

One language is not sufficient. Being equipped with two languages is an advantage.

2. Do you feel more comfortable talking in English than in Tamil?

Yes	No
-----	----

Give reasons for your choice in the box below:

Sometimes I feel that English does not help me express how I feel. Tamil comes naturally to me.

g) Rate your willingness on a scale 1 to 5 to perform the following tasks (1 for very willing and 5 for unwilling)

i) Attending a job interview in English

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

ii) Writing a job eligibility test in English

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

iii) Participating in a group discussion instead of writing an examination

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

iv) Initiating talks in English in formal meetings.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

v) Being interviewed by the researcher and discussing the issues pointed out.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

g. Answer the following attitude questions

1. Do you think learning English is more important than learning Tamil?

Yes	No
-----	----

Explain your reasons in the box below:

One language is not sufficient. Being equipped with two languages is an advantage.

2. Do you feel more comfortable talking in English than in Tamil?

Yes	No
-----	----

Give reasons for your choice in the box below:

Sometimes I feel that English does not help me express how I feel. Tamil comes naturally to me.

7. What is your opinion about mixing languages?

It is good ☒	It is bad ☐	Other response ☐
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Explain your reasons:

Again it depends on contexts. Mixing languages show that one is thinking bilingually, which is healthy. At class, I provide students with equivalents, and they understand better.

8. In which language are you able to express yourself better?

Tamil ☐	English ☐	Both ☒
--------------------------------	----------------------------------	--

Give reasons in the box below:

I use both languages every day. However, now I feel anxious when it comes to writing Tamil. I rarely find an opportunity to write in Tamil.

9. If you have simultaneously learnt Tamil and English as your first language and are equally comfortable in using both, which of them would be your mother tongue?

Tamil ☒	English ☐	Both ☐
---	----------------------------------	-------------------------------

Explain your reasons in the box below:

I can learn any language along with Tamil, but nothing can come near a mother tongue. English can only be my social language.

*Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Conducted by

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003

1

Attitude Survey

1. Personal information:

1) Name: M. Pandiyan2) Age: 293) Gender: Male

Female		Male	☒	Transgender		Other	
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4) Category:

SC	☒	ST		MBC		BC		OC	
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5) Religion:

Christianity		Islam		Buddhism		Hinduism	☒	Atheism	
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6) Residence:

Metro		Urban		Semi- Urban		Rural	☒
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7) Monthly Income:

Less than Rs. 10,000	Rs. 10,000 to 30,000	Rs. 30,000 to 60,000	Rs. 60,000 to 1,00,000	Above 1,00,000
	☒			

8) Parent's occupation:

Father: <u>Farmer</u>	Mother: <u>House Wife</u>
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9) Parent's qualifications

Father: <u>Farmer</u>	Mother: <u>Farmer</u>
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10) Medium of instruction in school:

Tamil	☒	English	☐	Telugu	☐	Malayalam	☐	Hindi	☐
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11) Which language did you learn first Tamil

Tamil	☒	English	☐	Malayalam	☐	Hindi	☐	Other:
-------	-------------------------------------	---------	--------------------------	-----------	--------------------------	-------	--------------------------	--------

12) State Tamil Nadu

13) Name of the institute/ university: University of Madras

14) Course currently pursuing: Ph.Ds (5th year)

15) Subject of study: Computer Science

16) Email id: gingeepandi@gmail.com

17) Mobile/ phone number 9543558744

18) Generation :

- a) First generation English learner (☒)
 b) Second generation learner (☐)
 c) Third or more generation English learner (☐)

19) Languages you know:

(In order of your preference: 'a' for most preference & 'd' for least preference)

a) <u>Tamil</u>	b) <u>English</u>	c)	d)
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2. Attitude study

1. How long have you been studying English? 29th 23 years

2. Are you able to express yourself in English?

Yes ☒	☐	No ☐	☐
--	--------------------------	--------------------------------	--------------------------

3. Do you think English is essential for your subject?

Yes ✓		No	
----------	--	----	--

4. Which of the four skills mentioned below are you comfortable with? Give them a scale of 1 to 4: 1 for the most comfortable and 4 for the least comfortable).

Listening	Speaking	Reading	Writing
2	3	1	4

Give reasons: I trained for reading but and listening but, lack of practise in speaking and writing.

5. Based on your experience, learning English is--

Very hard	Hard	Manageable	Easy	Very easy
		✓		

Say a few words about your experience of learning English in the box below:

I am a Tamil medium upto my U.C. degree, I hate English, I couldn't speak and write, when I enter for (MCA) degree I forced to learn English first and now I eagerly (Intersingly) learn English

6. Where do you use English? (rate your frequency on the scale)

I use English –	very often	often	sometimes	occasionally	never
at home					
at school/ institute/ university		✓			
at market/ stores/ restaurants/				✓	
at public meeting/ organisation			✓		

i) With whom----- (rate your frequency on the scale)

I use English with	Very often	often	sometimes	occasionally	Never
parents					
relatives					
friends/classmates		✓			
teachers		✓			
strangers/ foreigners			✓		

Give reasons:

I am the first generation graduate
out whole society is illiterate.

7. Choose one of the options provided as reaction to the statement given in the box.

statement	necessary	desirable	optional	undesirable	unnecessary
English in higher education is	✓				

Give reasons for your choice in the box below:

Maximum Materials available only
in english

8. I prefer English, because it helps me in _____ (Give your order of preference on a scale of 1 to 4: 1 for the most preference and 4 for the least preference)

- a) Social upliftment (4)
- b) Cultural enrichment (3)
- c) International exposure (2)
- d) Economic growth (1)

Explain your reasons in the box below.

English is the global language and
it's necessary to get job.

9. English is _____ (Give your order of preference on a scale of 1 to 4: 1 for the most preference and 4 for the least preference)

- a) a language of power (3)
- b) a language of opportunity (1)
- c) a language of empowerment (2)
- d) a language that takes us higher in the social ladder (4)

Elaborate your preference:

It is a standard language
which is used in many countries as
well as computers are used English language

10. Will you suggest English medium of instruction for children in your family?

Yes	☒	No	☐
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Give reason for your choice:

I suggest to my children in my family
to learn all the languages,
learning the language gives
more opportunity to
Express himself
and live anywhere.

11. How do you feel when you commit mistakes while making presentations in the class?

Rate your frequency on the scale

- a) I don't care ()
- b) I reproduce the right expression again (✓)
- c) I don't know when I make mistakes due to anxiety ()
- d) I try to cover up my mistakes ()

Give reasons for your choice in the box below:

I did many mistakes but I always
interested to correct my mistakes.

12. How do you react when your teacher tries to correct your language while learning English?

- a) Very keen to learn (✓)
- b) Eager to know my mistakes
- c) I become nervous
- d) I get very troubled

Explain your reasons in the box below:

I really love to learn the
languages not only English, Hindi,
malayalam, ... because of my own
interest.

Read the statements given below and choose one of the options given.

a)

Statements	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Cannot say	Slightly agree	Agree
English is a language of modernity					✓
English is a language of the educated class				✓	
English is a language of the higher class					✓
English creates hierarchical structures in India				✓	
English medium education is not meant for the poor					✓

b)

English is useful for:	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Cannot say	Slightly agree	Agree
getting prestigious jobs				✓	
higher education					✓
social mobility and prestige			✓		
spreading social and cultural values				✓	
national and international communication					✓

c)

Statements	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Cannot say	Slightly agree	Agree
English is a dominant language in independent India				✓	
English empowers the poor			✓		
English is a means to free all from socio- economic & cultural deprivation			✓		
By learning English, caste system can be destroyed			✓		
English education bridges the gap between rich and poor			✓		

d)

Statements	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Cannot say	Slightly agree	Agree
English is the key to Dalit emancipation			✓		
English is a language of anti-discrimination			✓		
English is a language that benefits lower class				✓	
English is a language of social privileges and positive identity			✓		
Regional medium students are denied the opportunities given to English medium students				✓	

e)

Statements		Very often	often	sometimes	occasionally	Never
I would like to	read English newspapers			✓		
	buy books/magazines in English		✓			
	listen to English music & watch English movies			✓		
	write papers, assignments, and etc.		✓			
	write personal letters and diaries in English		✓			

f)

How do you feel while performing the following tasks in English?	Very anxious	A little anxious	Nothing in particular	Happy and excited	Very happy and excited
Presentation			✓		
Writing examinations			✓		
Reading aloud in the classroom			✓		
answering questions in English		✓			
talking with friends and teachers in English		✓			

g) Rate your willingness on a scale 1 to 5 to perform the following tasks (1 for very willing and 5 for unwilling)

i) Attending a job interview in English

1	2 ✓	3	4	5
---	-----	---	---	---

ii) Writing a job eligibility test in English

1	2 ✓	3	4	5
---	-----	---	---	---

iii) Participating in a group discussion instead of writing an examination

1	2	3 ✓	4	5
---	---	-----	---	---

iv) Initiating talks in English in formal meetings.

1	2	3 ✓	4	5
---	---	-----	---	---

v) Being interviewed by the researcher and discussing the issues pointed out.

1	2	3 ✓	4	5
---	---	-----	---	---

g. Answer the following attitude questions

1. Do you think learning English is more important than learning Tamil?

Yes	✓	No	
-----	---	----	--

Explain your reasons in the box below:

In our higher Education system, forcing to learn English, even getting Job also based on our effective english communication skill.

2. Do you feel more comfortable talking in English than in Tamil?

Yes		No	✓
-----	--	----	---

Give reasons for your choice in the box below:

I always feel comfortable when I talking in my mother tongue because it is well know from my childhood onward.

3. Which language would you prefer to use for learning if you had a choice?

Tamil	☒	English	☐
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Explain your reasons:

I learn the language in my childhood itself, it is very familiar for me (It is mother language)

4. Do you think widespread use of English interferes with the use of Tamil?

Yes	☒	No	☐
-----	-------------------------------------	----	--------------------------

Explain your reasons:

5. Do you think the increasing use of English has made Tamil less important in our society today?

Yes	☒	No	☐
-----	-------------------------------------	----	--------------------------

Give reasons in the box below:

Now a days all the parents are enroll her children's to only English medium and they feel happy if their children speak in english

6. Do you mix Tamil and English in your conversation?

Yes	☒	No	☐
-----	-------------------------------------	----	--------------------------

Give reasons for your choice:

Some of the words I am not familiar in english, some of the sentence can be explain better in my tamil language compared to English

7. What is your opinion about mixing languages?

It is good	☒	It is bad	☐	Other response	
------------	-------------------------------------	-----------	--------------------------	----------------	--

Explain your reasons: ^{In my opinion}
 Language only used to express our feelings, thoughts and ideas first; other things are next. So mixing language is not bad.

8. In which language are you able to express yourself better?

Tamil	☒	English	☐	Both	☐
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Give reasons in the box below:

It is my mother language

9. If you have simultaneously learnt Tamil and English as your first language and are equally comfortable in using both, which of them would be your mother tongue?

Tamil	☒	English	☐	Both	☐
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Explain your reasons in the box below:

It is sudden feelings and emotions are expressed only in my mother tongue because it is very close to me.

***Thank you very much for your cooperation.**

Conducted by

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APPENDIX III

Pandit IyotheeThass's Views on English

The following excerpt is a translation of Iyothee Thass's writings printed in *Tamilan*—a Tamil Weekly (1907 and 1914) on 15 February, 1911.

English language must be a common language of India

Acceptance of all (any of) the contemporary Indian languages as a common language is futile because they are filled with increasing myths of caste struggle and ill righteousness. It must be analyzed and confirmed whether a language is important or the morals of the people who speak that language are significant. Without doing so, this shows negligence that, without any reason, some people in India say that Hindi must be learnt, while others emphasize Sanskrit.

The English language is celebrated worldwide, well-respected by all nationalities, easy to read by all people, and if the natives of the language go to any country, they are wise and intelligent and prudently treat all human as a human without jealousy. If we learn and spread their English language throughout India, not only their wisdom and intelligence will spread, but we will also be blessed with the rational prudence of treating human as a human without considering caste and religious differences.

Except for such actions and the language of those actions, if all Indians learn the language of caste and religious struggle, all castles will have caste, the futile divisions will be more, and the unity already remained will be ruined.

What kind of knowledge and welfare has been created and delivered to this country by those who learn Hindi as the modern language of India? Except for speaking their language, there is no pleasure. Will they leave their deceitful genealogy if Hindi is learnt? Will they give up the differences between self and alien? They never give up.

By learning the English language, casteism, religiosity, deception, discriminations will be abolished, and everyone will be kind. Wisdom and intelligence will abound. Vain affairs and deeds will get rid of. We may speak English and happily befriend, seeing any people in the world. Instead of learning Hindi and using it during the religious journey to Kasi, speaking English with people worldwide is a pretty joyous reward. We, therefore, urge every Indians to learn English and stay faithful to the British government in India.

(IyothidasarChinthanai 1, p. 326-27)

Feb 15, 1911

Source text: Ayōttitācar, & Aloysius, G. (1999). *Ayōttitācar cintanaikal. araciyal, camūkam*. Pālaiyaṅkōṭṭai: Nāṭṭār Valakkāriyal Āyvu Maiyam.

APPENDIX IV

Periyar's Views on English

The following Excerpt is a translation of Periyar's views on English, Tamil and Hindi. Only selected writings and speeches of Periyar was taken from the first volume of Thought of Periyar, E.V.R. (*Periyār Ī. Ve.Rā.cintaṇaikaḷ*) by Anaimuthu, V. (1974).

Periyar's Views on English

Progressive concepts are found in English language texts. There are plenty of scientific research books in English. From English texts, we often learn a number of ways to improve our quality of life. In short, it is not an exaggeration to say that the knowledge of the English language was to foster liberation for the Indian people who thought that 'slavery was the joy of life.' The knowledge that demands democracy but denies the king; the knowledge of wanting equality; the knowledge that ancient moral law must be destroyed; the knowledge that men and women are equal - all of these socio-political and economic progressive ideas were given to us by the English language.

It was the English language that introduced telegraph, electricity, footage, aeroplane and X-ray, neither our Tamil language nor the northern language (Hindi)—that came to destroy Tamil. Due to the contact with the Northern language, superstitious beliefs in Shastra, mythology and epic subjugated our rationalising. It was the English language that liberated us from such slavery and made us think with rationality. It was the English that made us exclude anything that was irrational, unacceptable, and not historical; it (English) takes the people who speak it to the world of knowledge even faster than Tamil....

Tamil was once the greatest language. Today, it is lagging behind like left-hand. The main cause of this illness is that the Tamil language has become entangled with the religious people. It is important to know that due to the entry of Ariyam into Tamil, in the Tamil tradition shipping was used on trade when other people lived a barbaric life--today even one could not become like Newton, Edison, and Marconi. Get rid of the old-fashioned lust. All efforts should be taken to make Tamil a new language.

....Even when finding Tamil words for scientific ideas, if English words are easy to pronounce in the Tamil language, it is better to accept them.....From any language that is suitable for our goodness and prominence; inducing our freedom thought and driven out our scorn—words that strengthening our language and necessary can be taken.....

A language is a war tool for the world struggle. It has to be changed periodically.

(Speech delivered at Kumbakonam Government College and Chennai Pachaiyappan College on 'Mozhi' (language), 'Eluththu' (alphabets) (Collected work: 'Mozhi-Eluththu' Tamilan Press, Erode)

Anaimuthu, V. (1974). *Periyār Ī. Ve.Rā.cintaṇaikaḷ: patippācīriyarmunnurai = Thoughts of Periyar E.V.R. Tiruccirāppaḷḷi: CintaṇaiyāḷarKaḷakam.*

Language

Language, for man to exchange ideas—is necessary enough for understanding matters, language affection is unnecessary.

Language is suitable only for the social condition, not for public or emotional life. With these ideas, we have to think of the language for our need.

....While living in Tamil Nadu—thinking about the Tamil country, if Tamil Nadu needs a language for politics, literature and education, **we** have to choose Tamil. That is to some extent justifiable.

In the country, as mentioned above that to make Hindi compulsory education (language), the government, Brahmins and most of those have to survive by their grace have bravely come forward to impose and force Hindi as much as possible, and for that, many tricky ways have been taken.

Likewise, politicians, scholars, literary lovers, and those who consider the language to be as important as religious, insist that Tamil should be a language of politics, college education and literature. Rebellious people are revolting for this.

For me, I don't care about these two languages (Tamil and Hindi); there is no stubbornness. My opinion is that in these two, Hindi, by any means, is not necessary and it should not enter into this country (Tamil Nadu)....Apart from enslaving Tamil Nadu and Tamils to northern people, Hindi is not used for any other purpose....

To become Hindi as a medium of education, literature and politics, it is only at the level of translating into Hindi from other languages and then introducing in our country—apart from that, what is the resource (treasure) of the language?

...I don't see that Tamil people have any other global significance other than their spoken language and mother tongue—Tamil. Otherwise, if asked what other language is necessary (good) for Tamil Nadu and Tamil people and suitable (useful) for politics, science, art, etc.—to me English seems to be the best. This is an idea that appeared to me thirty years ago.

In 1939, I mentioned this when I was speaking to students of Coimbatore College, headed by its Principal. When I had gone to jail for protesting against imposing Hindi—after being released, I was summoned by college students and I have mentioned in the talk entitled "Language." In that topic, I had divided my talk into two categories: a) what is the use of language? b) Which language is suitable for use? In the talk, in addition to mentioning that English alphabets can be taken as the alphabets of Tamil and If English does not have an alphabet for Tamil pronunciation, its Tamil letters can be

taken; I have said that I will be happy and satisfied when the time comes for English to become the spoken language of Tamils. Recently (1957), all party members participated in the anti-Hindi meeting at Nungambakkam, Chennai. Speaking at the meeting, MrRajagopalachary said 'English must be the official language of Tamil Nadu and medium of education'. Then, I too spoke like that and said 'it is useful even if English is a spoken language.' At the same time as I say this, some language patriots have asked me 'whom I was born to?' If we were born to British just because I told English has to be spoken, we use coffee, radio, airplane, telephone, drug, etc., knowing that everything belong to British-- if we think how many times we would not be born to the British, I told that we won't be born to British just because of speaking the language.

....

Although I have no doubt that Tamil is better and more useful than Northern language, I tell you that English is the best tool if we are to advance faster than we are today, it must be the language of politic and education, the English alphabets has to become the alphabets of Tamil, and English has to become the language of our speech.

Friends should feel that My anti-Hindi is neither to disfavour Hindi or favour Tamil. After all, it is because that English should be the lingua franca, the language of government, the language of Tamil Nadu and the home language of Tamils.

Source: Anaimuthu, V. (1974). *Periyār Ī. Ve.Rā.cintaṇaikaḷ: patippācīriyarmunnurai* = *Thoughts of Periyar E.V.R. Tiruccirāppaḷḷi: CīntaṇaiyāḷarKaḷakam*.

Appendix V

Anna Speaks at the Rajya Sabha 1962-66

Resisting the Hindi Menace

May 1963

The official Languages Bill, 1963, was introduced, because Article 343 of the Constitution stated categorically that the Official Language of the Union shall be Hindi after 1963. Being aware of the Passionate opposition towards such an arbitrary arrangement by the Non – Hindi States, this Bill tried to achieve a tenuous compromise by ruling that English may be also an official language until such time as Hindi could develop into an Official Language.

...The overall attitude of the Congress Party to the language issue made that party very unpopular in Tamil Nadu. The people of Tamil Nadu started seeing the DMK as a party that would fight to any extent, at any cost and undergo any suffering to resist the imposition of Hindi imperialism in Tamil Nadu. The mishandling of the language issue by the Congress Party and the language agitations of 1965 created an emotional awakening among the Tamil people and contributed to the electoral victories that DMK secured in the 1967 elections.

MADAM, ...the Home Minister... has tried to present bill as the most convenient measure that could be drafted under the present circumstances. He has also made it appear as harmless as possible...I rise to oppose this Bill, conscious of course of the numerical factor – the political arithmetic working in this Assembly. But I think apart from political arithmetic, this august House will pay some attention to political ethics and democratic liberalism, for democracy does not merely mean majority rule. It means, fundamentally, also recognizing, sanctifying and safeguarding minority rights and even minority sentiments....Therefore I say that I am thoroughly dissatisfied with the present Bill. I am dissatisfied with the present Bill because it does not satisfy that sentimental objection raised to Hindi being made the official language and that sentimental objection comes not from a small part of India but from the southern side of India as a whole. Of course, my Hon. Friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, wanted especially today to drive out English and, therefore, he was very harsh in presenting English; even the romantic Shakespearian characters like Romel and Juliet were presented in a very harsh manner, but let me remind him that I am proud of Tamil and I am not as proud of English as I am of Tamil, and in my State, Tamil is the official language. Mr Gupta's friend ought to have informed him that I make English speeches only here and in my State I speak in Tamil. I speak and write in Tamil in my State. Though it is run by the Congress, as far as language is concerned, they have made Tamil the official language and they made Tamil also the medium of instruction in higher classes. I would very much like my friend Mr. Gupta, to influence his Government as I have to a certain extent influenced my Government.

BHUPESH GUPTA: Sorry I cannot.

I sympathise with his inability but I would like to tell him that I plead for English, I speak for English not because I am enamoured of it, not because I think ought to be given a higher place than my own mother tongue but because it is the most convenient tool, it is the most convenient medium which distributes advantages or disadvantages evenly....If India is a unitary State... India is a federal State. Indian society is plural, our political system is composite and in a plural society and composite political system to plead for a single common language will, I think, create injustice unawares, create handicaps unawares to some section of the society. India is not a country. India consists of various ethnic groups, India consist of various language groups and India has been termed very correctly as an sub-continent and that is why we are not able to find out that common working medium as far as an official language is concerned....whatever be the claim that the Hon. Home minister makes that Hindi has progressed very much, how can I be compensated when I am told that Hindi is becoming progressive, when I have got a language five thousand years old and when I am not able to make that language the official language of India?

I will say that of all the languages, barring Sanskrit which has become a dead language Tamil has a literature tradition that goes back to five thousand years. I may tell, Madam Deputy Chairman, for the information of the house that the President is going over to the information of the House that the president is of the ancient Tamil work Tolkappiyam is a grammatical work written more than three thousand years ago. We possess such as inheritance. Let not my friend, Mr. bhupesh gupta, feel that we are acting like some toadies and therefore we want English. No. he has stated that he plead for Hindi and he wants Hindi to become the national language and official language yet he did not attempt to learn Hindi and speak in Hindi.

BHUPESH GUPTA: I did not have time.

But he had time to learn das capital; he had time to learn the underlying difference between Russian Communism and Chinese Communism. He has had time to read everything except Hindi and yet he spoke for Hindi here... shri C. Rajagopalachari said something at a big meeting. It was not as awkward as he as presented. I sat by his side when he addressed the meeting.

He was saying Madam Deputy Chairman, while I was sitting beside him:

“ because of the Hindi question there is estrangement between me and my old friends and because of the language question my inveterate enemy, the DMK , is sitting by my side”

This is what he said and he asked the audience to draw a lesson by saying,

“ here you find an example of language dividing and language uniting”.

He said, “English is uniting and Hindi is dividing.”

Therefore, if Mr c. Rajagopalachari or anybody of his way of thinking pleads for English, it is not because they are enamored of it and they are not enamored of their own mother tongue.

...Another curious thing the home minister said, Of course he presented it in a very sweet manner. He said "I went to Madras to the Hindi prachar convocation and when I met thousands of graduates there I was wondering whether I should address them in English and they said speak in Hindi." Is it any wonder, Madam Deputy Chairman, for the home minister to address in Hindi in the Hindi convocation? To whom does it do credit? The amazing part of it is that the home minister was doubtful whether Hindi would be understood there in the Hindi Prachar Sabha Convocation. He was doubtful whether Hindi would be understood and that is why he enquired what language he should speak in. Therefore let us not fall in for such things.

...First of all, let us take the deliberations of the Constituent Assembly. Now, my friend, Mr Bhupesh Gupta was proving here that English can never be the official language because it is a foreign language and only Hindi can be the official language and he said there are only a handful of people, toadies and lackeys –

BHUPESH GUPTA: I gave the percentage.

You just go through your speech later. Who question Hindi and plead for English. Madam Deputy Chairman, I have got here the remarks made on the floor of the Constituent Assembly by Mr B. Das of Orissa. He accepted Hind. After accepting Hindi he has stated;

"But that does not mean that we have no apprehensions, we have no suspicions, we have no fears. The fears and suspicions of years ago when officialdom was manned by the English. When the Civil Service examinations were held in London naturally the Englishmen preponderated in the Service. Now that the Civil Service and other examinations are being held in Delhi naturally hereafter the Hindi – speaking province – Madam, Mr. Das was very prophetic!

"I am not talking of the immediate future but 15years hence- the people of Hindi – speaking provinces such as U. P. and C. P. will preponderate in the Civil and other services." Dr. Subbarayan, also pleaded for retaining English or for Hindustani with Roman Script.

....We are amending the Constitution for the sixteenth time and I would plead for a reappraisal of the language issue and ask this august House to inform the Government that instead of allowing this bitterness to grow, this rancour to continue, instead of the two camps being created artificially, they should take up a reappraisal of the language question and keep till that time the status quo. If that is done, I would be perfectly satisfied with the motives of the Government....The people suspect the motives behind this Bill. It may be argued that 42 per cent of the people

M. B. LAL: He should be given more time.

N. M. ANWAR: He must be given more time.

HON .MEMBERS: Yes, he must be given time.

It was stated Hindi has got the claim to become the official language because it was spoken by 42 per cent of the population. If this 42 percent were to be scattered throughout the length and breadth of India, the argument would be logical and it would be ethical also but this 42 per cent is concentrated in compact and contiguous areas. It is not spread over. Therefore if 42 per cent is taken into consideration you are conferring a permanent, perennial advantage on a compact and contiguous area in India and conversely a permanent disadvantage to other areas. And therefore it is that this 42 per cent cannot be taken into consideration. If Hindi were to be spoken throughout India even by 20 per cent of the people, then we can say that of all the languages Hindi is known from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas. Twenty percent of our population do know Hindi and, therefore, let Hindi become the official language. I can understand it, though I cannot support it. I can understand the logic behind it. But what is the logic behind presenting this 42 per cent, in a compact area of U. P., Bihar, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh as an argument....

...Therefore, the 42 per cent, entrenched in a compact area cannot be taken as an index of ethical majority. It is merely an arithmetical majority. Therefore I say that Hindi has no claim to becoming the official language. As the Home Minister was saying, we have had linguistic States working in full harmony. We have developed our regional languages. We do not even call them regional languages. We call them the national languages. In my State Tamil is the national or linguistic States is developing in its own way. I would very much request Members of this House to come along with me and note the present political situation and find out whether your official language problem fits in. Here you have got linguistic States fully conscious of their nationalism. They are developing their national languages. Just as they are developing their national language, Telugu in Andhra, Malayalam in Kerala and Tamil in Tamil Nadu, so also in U. P. Madya Pradesh, Rajasthan and other other places, they have got every right to develop Hindi as their national language, as the official language there. I found from the papers that in Punjab, which is considered to be bilingual with Hindi and Punjabi, the Leader of the House was saying some days back that he had great difficulty making Hindi become the official language there. Therefore, I would request, I would plead with the Hindi States make their language their State official language. Work it out and make it acceptable to everyone else, if they want it.

SANTHOSH KUMAR BASU: What is your solution to the problem of a common language for the whole of India?

Maybe my solution to the problem is negative, not positive. I will present it in this way. Keep the status quo by amending the Constitution. Let there be a solution not necessarily by us. We are not the last scions of India. Perhaps we are more confused. We have more political rancour. In future times a proper solution may be arrived at. Therefore, let us not seal it. Let us have the status quo maintained by an amendment of

the Constitution. I do not say it is my solution. It is my request, it is my pleading and I would say that on a solution of this issue depends the entire political future of South India, especially Tamil Nadu.

B. K. P. SINHA (Bihar) : Why not The Hague Court ?

I know I am facing the Home Minister and in facing him I say as a Gandhian he should give me the right of protesting against what I consider to be evil and unjust. I am prepared to take any consequence, and I am not alone in Tamil Nadu. And therefore it is that I would say, respect the feelings of people who have got a hoary language, who think that by the imposition of Hindi as the official language there will be political rencour.

Well, arguments are advanced that English is a foreign language. Again I give an example which may perhaps irritate my friend, Shri Bhupesh Gupta. In the United States of Amercia only 20 per cent of the people went from the British Isles. Of the 80 per cent of people, some of them went from Spain, some from Portugal, some from Italy and other European countries. Yet America has chosen English as the official language. My friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, smiles ; “oh, that Anglo – American conspiracy, we are well aware of it.” Yet I would say that Americans have got as much self – respect as we have got. Then, they thought that if they could adopt English as the official language, they could convey the sentiments of so many people. Again, I would give another classical example, Ireland was fighting England as ferociously, if not more ferociously than as thee Congress fought the British. In Ireland De Valera said : “If we are given the option Ireland or the Gaelic language, I would give up Ireland, and I would keep the Gaelic language.” When Ireland became free, the Irish Parliament met and decided that Gaelic should be the official language and along with it English should be the official language as well. After all, we do not have any rancor or hatred towards the British. We happen to be members of the common wealth though my friend , Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, would like India to be in some other group. Fortunately or unfortunately India is a member of the common wealth. You can remain in the common wealth. You can use all technology. You can look at the world of English, but English is a foreign language. It will be considered to be derogatory to us if the British were the remain here and say take it. Then, we will have to resist it. But now there is no question of imposition of English by the British. As a matter of fact, as my friend Mr. Bhuipesh Gupta said, the British would very much like English to get out of India because of the low standard of English here. Therefore, it is not as if there is any imposition of an alien language by an alien power. We ourselves, for the sake of convenience, for the sake of expediency, because of the force of circumstances, are asked to choose this medium, which happens to be foreign to U.P., foreign to Madhya Pradesh, foreign to Tamil Nadu, foreign to U.P., foreign to Madhya Pradesh, foreign to Tamil Nadu, foreign to Andhra, therefore the advantages and disadvantages are evenly distributed.

Now, suppose Hindi becomes the official language. The Prime Minister has been saying that Hindi should be simplified. If a language becomes the national language, take it

from me, from my experience of the working of the Tamil language, the pressure will be to make it more and more pure and not more and more simple. You can never simplify the language after making it official or national. If you come to our part of the country, Mr Bhupesh Gupta, you will find new words taken from the old vocabulary of Tamil. In the case of Tamil mixed with Sanskrit, the mixture has been taken out and there is purity of language there. That alone will happen in Hindi States. When that happens and when we are asked to learn simple Hindi, is it not a handicap? For Hindi – knowing people in Hindi States, Hindi is the mother – tongue, Hindi is the State official language, Hindi is the medium of instruction and Hindi is the official language in the Union.

How many advantages have they got? How many disadvantages have you put on us? Hindi is not our mother – tongue, though if we learn Hindi, we can speak as our esteemed friend, Shri Satyanarayana.

You want curiosities in North India. That is say, however efficient, however proficient we may become in any language, unless it is our mother – tongue, it cannot offer us advantages as that language would offer to members of that group, and that is why we say that behind this Language Bill there is the political problem. You may not be aware of it. The Hon. Minister has stated at the end of his speech that there is no ulterior motive. There cannot be ulterior motive when such gentlemen are handling such things. But I say whether you have a motive or not, the consequence will be that. The consequence of the imposition of Hindi as the official language will create a definite, permanent and sickening advantage to the Hindi – speaking States....Therefore, do not think that it is merely confined to the DMK. In this problem, the DMK occupies only a very small place....if Hindi is imposed as the official language, the DMK will unfold its relentless fight, its relentless agitation against this imposition of Hindi whatever be the consequences.

The other day I heard the Home Minister saying, “During the emergency the parliament is empowering me to take what action I like.” I am aware of it and being cognizant of it my conscience will not permit me to keep quiet of this imposition of Hindi were to become a fact. The entire south will revolt against this. When I say the entire south, I know that there are Andhra, Malayalees and others who will say; “No no. we are not with you.” I am aware of that. But those who understand the significance of the Hindi menace and those who realize the consequence of the Hindi menace, they are with me.

...I would say that it is not a question of majority or minority. It is a question of justice and freedom, it is a question of consultation and concord, it is a question of amity and affection of animosity. You will have to decide it in that way and not through numbers. Therefore it is that I say I request the Home minister, through the bill it is passed by the lok sabha, to withdraw the bill, to take the prime minister’s assurance into his consideration. And that is the last item that I want to press upon him.

What is the prime minister's assurance? ...He stated that English would continue as the associative official language. Why don't we include the words "associative official language"? ...I have got nothing against Mr. Vajpayee. I can understand his words... My friend, Mr. Vajpayee, is swearing by Hindi. I appreciate his courage. I wish my State also contains as many Vajpayees as possible. He is fighting for his language, fighting not only for his language to become the State official language but to become the all India official language, and if my friend, Mr Vajpayee, were to be given full scope, he would make it even a world language. I like him very much got that. But what the Congress Government has done is this. They on the one hand went on encouraging the Hindi people, and on the other hand they went on giving confidence to us also. Wherever there were occasions to meet people who wanted Hindi as an official language they said: "Do not be afraid. Let 1965 dawn, Hindi will become the official language." And Shri Vajpayee was thoroughly satisfied. That is why the present Bill dissatisfies him, because another ten years' lease of life is given to English and he turns round and asks; "Where is my Hindi?" You have given rich assurances to us. You have stated that English will remain an associate language indefinitely. The word "indefinitely" was explained by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in this way; "As long as you want, as long as the non-Hindi people want; and I will leave the entire question to be decided not by Hindi-knowing people but by non-Hindi knowing people." Now by giving assurances to us and by encouraging men of Mr Vajpayee's persuasion you are creating unnecessary rancour between myself and Mr Vajpayee. If you are to allow Mr Vajpayee to develop Hindi in his UP and if you are to allow English to be the link between me and Mr Vajpayee, I could not get a better friend than Mr Vajpayee. Therefore I think that through this Bill you are creating political rancour, and so the Prime Minister's assurance has not been carried out through this bill. Of course clause by clause people argue, well, the Prime Minister stated that English would continue, English continues. How? Not as an associate official language along with Hindi, but for some purposes which the Government will decide. But the Prime Minister has stated that English will remain as an associate official language, and if the Prime Minister' assurance is to be fully carried out, I would request the Home Minister to drop this Bill, gird up his loins, take the consequences bring forward an amendment of the Constitution maintaining the status quo, that is keeping English as the official language. Please do not think that because it is foreign we should discard it. This is the age of getting know-how and technical assistance from any country that gives them and therefore let it be the technical assistance that the English people have given to us or handed over to us till, as my Hon. Friend here put it, a permanent solution is thought of in a calmer mood perhaps by people who come after. Therefore, I request the Home Minister to drop this Bill, because I may tell him that the moment this Bill was discussed, the calm atmosphere in South India was disturbed....As a sagacious statesman the Home Ministers should look into the matter and drop this Bill, amend the Constitution, keep English as the official language till the non-Hindi-speaking people decide about it.

....That is political magnanimity, that is political sagacity. And through this Bill, the political sagacity and statesmanship expected of you is being thwarted...I would plead with the Home Minister to consider this as the feeling of the official representative of the DMK and the unofficial emissary of the non-Hindi States of the South, those people who understand the menace of Hindi and its consequences. Therefore, I plead before the Home Minister for a reappraisal of the language issue, pending that reappraisal, for an amendment of the Constitution for maintaining the status quo and keeping English as the official language.

APPENDIX VI

Annamalai Convocation Address

Arignar Anna

18.11.1967

Mr.Chancecellor, Mr. Pro-Chancellor Mr.Vice-Chancellor, Graduates of the Year and Friends:

....Graduates of the Annamalai University, let me call upon you to carry on the crusade against caste which cannot co-exist with democracy, against superstition which cannot co-exist with science and against tyranny of various dimensions which cannot co-exist with liberty , equality and fraternity.

....National integration is a goal, worthy and much – sought after, but neither in the field of language nor in the economic sphere, could we tolerate injustice and domination. That is exactly why this government was brought into existence – it represents the determination of the people to be coerced into accepting Hindi as the official language.

When we plead for the continuance of English as the link language, some people do misrepresent us and misinterpret our motive. They trot out untenable arguments and disputable statistics, bring in the bogey of disintegration and want to silence people by threats and troops. Problems were never solved by autocratic methods – and this problem of language is intimately connected with our way of life, not for the present alone but for the future as well.

The government of Tamil Nadu has stated in unmistakable terms that Tamil and English can serve all our purposes, the former as the official language of this state and the latter as the link language. If it is accepted and the most emphatic of hindi protagonists do accept that - if it is accepted that English can serve admirably as a link between our state and the outside world, why plead for hindi to be the link language here? What serves to link us with the outside world is certainly capable of rendering the same service inside India as well. To plead for two link languages is like boring a smaller hole in a wall for the kitten while there is a bigger one for the cat. What suits the cat will suit the kitten as well.

English is foreign, some argue, as if we were out to destroy or give up everything foreign. We bring foreign wear in foreign ships. We seek foreign aid not only in the shape of money but also in the from of technical know-how and not a week passes without one or other leader undertaking a journey to the west or east to secure whatever aid is possible to secure. And on top of all these things, we have given up so many systems peculiarly our own.

We are not content with rural economy, we want trombays and ennores.(?) And we are not conscious of their being foreign; only in the matter of language we pose as being ultra –nationalists and dub the English language as foreign.

Shelly and Byron, Keats and Coleridge, Emerson and Bacon-they are not foreign to us in the strict sense of the term. Is Tiruvalluvar a mere Tamilian? They are all world citizens – world teachers. And the language enshrining their thoughts is not to be discarded just because it comes from another country. That we are not going to accord a higher status to English is borne out by the fact that we have accepted and are implementing with due caution the principle of making Tamil the medium of instruction in colleges –progressively.

Truly great has been our achievement in the field of literature: to be able to announce to the world that we the Tamilians do process.

....And to present to the world the great Tirukkural which is a Code of Conduct for the entire humanity are something about which we can have pardonable pride and pleasure.

And yet, are we devoting enough attention to these Tamil Classics? Addressing the Convocation here in 1943, the late lamented Sir R.K. Shanmukham Chetty had the following to say :-

“I graduated with a complete ignorance of Tamil Culture and History: in fact with a great deal of contempt for these. I attained a fair degree of proficiency in English literature and the history of European culture. I acquired some knowledge of even Anglo- Saxon and Gothic. I read the translation of the Bible in the Gothic language by Bishop Ulfials , but I had not read the Kural of Valluvar. I could understand Chaucer, but the name of Ilango was nothing but a name. Even after leaving College, I kept alive My interest in these studies and built up a Library in which there was not a single Tamil book.

In my early youth when I lived in a world of my own with no sense of responsibility, all this made no difference to me and I was proud of my learning. Soon when manhood came with its cares and problems, I found myself a stranger in my own home.....Gradually I began to realise the incongruity of my scheme of life and for some time now I have been endeavouring to rectify the balance. It was only a few years ago that I seriously attempted to study some of the Tamil Classics. I find that they are fit to rank among the immortal works of the world. I now bitterly regret my neglect of the treasures of my own land.”

It was not an apologia, but the expression of a new determination and sir R.K.Shanmukaham lived to establish the truth that he had mastered not only the Tamil language but Tamil literature as well.

.....Thoughts now placed before the world as blossoms of the modern age.

You, graduates of the Annamalai University, have got to undertake the special task of carrying the message that our classics contain to the entire world and declare that what was the most ancient here is what is being introduced to-day as the most modern.

South India is the home of the most ancient culture. Though for a fairly long period there was the mist of ignorance, thick and widespread, it has now been acknowledged by all that Dravidian Civilisation of a highly developed character can be traced back to the second and third millennia before Christ. Many a foreign scholar has borne testimony to the perfection with which Tamil language has been developed into an instrument of precise and subtle thought and to the beauty and richness of the literature – which is contained in it. Dravidian literature, philosophy, art and architecture offer therefore a rich and fruitful field for exploration and critical investigation.

Not for more glorification but for a just appreciation of all that is of real value and beauty in our past heritage. We need this research and investigation.

May I submit my plea to you, youths blossoming forth from this institution, be firm but not obstinate, let there be a blending of ideas, but never cheap imitation and injurious adulteration, beware of mistaking obsessions for principles and fads for facts, strike at a synthesis and avoid subservience, view as the final one to protest against injustice but project not your own view as the final one, forget not the ancient saying....And remember the longest journey is the journey inward, and since graduation is but the starting point of that journey, I wish you success - reach the goal yourselves - teach others to march towards the goal and let that goal be....

Report of Institutional Ethics Committee, University of Hyderabad



Institutional Ethics Committee University of Hyderabad

Justice TNC Rangarajan
Chairperson

Prof. Geeta K. Vemuganti
Member Secretary

Decision Letter of Institute Ethics Committee

IEC No.	UH/IEC/2020/241	Date of review	18-02-2020
Application No:			
Project Title:	Attitudes of Dalit Students and Teachers towards English in Tamil Nadu: An Historical and Exploratory Study		
Principal Investigator/ Co-PI:	PI: Ramamoorthy S. CI: Prof. Sunita Mishra		
Participating Institutes if any	----	Approval from Participating Institute	---
Documents received and reviewed	Protocol & ICF		
In case of renewal submission of update	----		
Decision of the IEC:	Approved after the conditions suggested at the IEC meeting were fulfilled on 02.03.2020 Duration: One year from date of approval		
Any other Comments Requirements for conditional Approval	----		
Members Present	Sri Justice Rangarajan, Prof. Geeta K. Vemuganti, Dr. C.T. Anitha, Dr. Savitri Sharma, Dr. Suvashisa Rana, and Dr. Insaf Ahmed		

Please note:

- Any amendments in the protocol must be informed to the Ethics committee and fresh approval taken.
- Any serious adverse event must be reported to the Ethics Committee within 48 hours in writing (mentioning the protocol No. or the study ID)
- Any advertisement placed in the newspapers, magazines must be submitted for approval.
- The results of the study should be presented in any of the academic forums of the hospital annually.
- If the conduct of the study is to be continued beyond the approved period, an application for the same must be forwarded to the Ethics Committee.
- It is hereby confirmed that neither you nor any of the members of the study team participated in the decision making/voting procedures.

Chairperson

Member Secretary

(Justice Rangarajan)


(Prof. Geeta K Vemuganti)

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