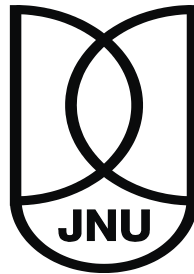# POLITICS OF LANGUAGE IN INDIA:

ORIGIN, MECHANISM AND DEVELOPMENT

Dissertation Submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University

in partial fulfilment of the

requirements for the award of degree of

MASTERS OF PHILOSPHY

SATISH KUMAR

CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

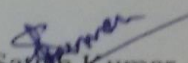**JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY**

NEW DELHI -110067

INDIA

2015

July 27, 2015

DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled "**Politics of Language In India: Origin, Mechanism and Development**" submitted by me in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy** is an original research work and has not been submitted so far, in part or full, for any other degree or diploma of any University/ Institution.
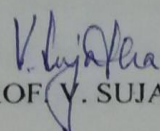
Satish Kumar

July 27, 2015

CERTIFICATE
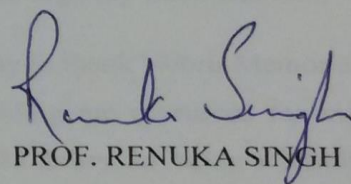
This dissertation entitled: "**Politics of Language in India: Origin, Mechanism and Development**" submitted by **Satish Kumar**, to the Centre For Study of Social Systems, School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University, for the award of the degree of the **Master of Philosophy** is an original work and has not been submitted so far, in part or in full, for any other degree or diploma of any University.

We recommend that the dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

PROF. V. SUJATHA

(Chairperson)

PROF. RENUKA SINGH

(Supervisor)

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I thank Atharva for bringing out the child in me and letting me forgo my social cocoon. I enjoyed every moment that I spent with you. I know I am much younger than you Atharva - my four year old little Teacher ☺

Lastly, I remember my youngest siblings Raju and Babli, and thank them for being a beautiful ray of hope in my life. God bless you both!

****

Dedicated

To

Baba and Nana

"IF THOUGHT CORRUPTS LANGUAGE,

LANGUAGE CAN ALSO CORRUPT THOUGHT."

— GEORGE ORWELL

CONTENTS

CHAPTER TWO: POLITICS OF LANGUAGE IN INDIAN HISTORY: ROLE OF POWER ELITES

CHAPTER THREE: CONTEMPORARY INDIA: LANGUAGE BASED EXCLUSION AND RECENT DEBATES

CHAPTER FOUR: CONCLUSION

INTRODUCTION

Mine has been a generation that has witnessed two decades of socio-economic changes owing to major reforms post 1990s, particularly the advent of what came to be known as the 'LPG reforms'. What the LPG reforms primarily did was impact the mode of production, resulting in altered relations of production. Those were the times when Multinational organizations, Business Processes Outsourcing started mushrooming in the Indian socio-economic milieu. In such a scenario, English Education became almost an indispensable factor for the employability. Akin to Karl Marx's dictum of 'economic structure being the causal element that ultimately determines the superstructures of culture, language etc.', India too witnessed a shift in the cultural-educational arena, owing to its exposure to the "Global capital" and its subsequent mode of production relation.

I was a student of a primary convent school then and unlike my younger sister who was sent to a Hindi medium school under the pretext of managing the household budget, I had the 'privilege' of being educated in an English medium institution. Education, in fact, in my family at that point of time was a path-breaking step owing to my roots from the lower ladders of socio-economic hierarchy of the Indian Hindu Society; a practice that has thrived and existed over thousands of years. Studying in a convent English medium school made me not only a 'special child' but also a representative of the first generation in my family growing up in an urban setting. It was nothing short of a 'revolution', for it opened in front of me a plethora of global cultural and educational experiences in the form of poems of Lord Tennyson, Geoffrey Chaucer, William Wordsworth, Western folk tales and scientific knowledge and also made me experience a certain sense of 'superiority' over other students from Hindi medium background in general and my younger sibling in

particular. And when one calls this experience as a 'revolution' for one`s family (and the entire socio-economic group that one is deemed to represent), one uses it in every possible meaning of the term. At that time, the reactions (and pampering) that one receives were undoubtedly overwhelming and welcome, but the entry in to the arena of rational critical thinking (thanks to the institutions like JNU) makes one`s question those experiences in a more serious light.

The questions are many but the one that has had a deep impact on one`s persona is- Why did one feel superior to one`s sister and others from Hindi medium schools? Was it due to the fact that one could speak English while others (who were not educated in English-medium) around me found it difficult to speak or even write English words correctly? Or was that due to the importance that one`s parents, relatives and neighbours assigned to the English language?

Ones still recalls how, as a child, a few kinsmen in one`s native village in Eastern Uttar Pradesh, despite knowing little English, tried to examine his English language skills by asking me many questions like "What is your father`s name?, Where do you live? etc., until they made me answerless. One would feel defeated in their 'enquiry' while the spark in their eyes spoke of the sense of pride they felt in being apparent 'victors'. What was that emotion? One still question that sometimes. Again, in another instance, one remembers reading out an English letter written by one`s cousin to his aunt. How proud were his kinsmen! But the question is, why did he write the letter in English to his mother who was neither trained in it nor knew how to decipher it? What was that psyche? Does it only represent an "individual" human psyche or is it

"social" and "political" in its origin and mechanism. Is it only limited to "agency" or it also has an interaction with the "social structure"?

Language, to be put simply, is a collective means of communication in the form of various symbolic interactions. Then, how can a particular language with no cultural roots in India become important to such an extent that the local languages, including Hindi (in Eastern part of Uttar Pradesh, where it is spoken most-widely), are relegated to insignificance in major avenues of education and employment, particularly in the private sector. What one experienced as a child or adolescent can still be subsumed under the framework of the general 'that happens in villages' notion, but surprisingly, English Education seemed to have a role in the selection process of many of the 'elite' institutions that one has been a part of in one`s adult life as well. Does this mean that a vernacular-medium student has no role to play in the socio-economic and educational fabric of the country? Or can a particular language claim to represent knowledge and not the others?

The recent protests against the CSAT format of UPSC gave me an immediate reason to frame this concern into a research question and ponder over my experiences of the past and, in retrospect, push my "innate self" to dialogue with the questions that have haunted me at times. Why only a particular medium of communication should have the monopoly over 'knowledge' and be a means of being socially accepted as 'educated'? Why are social facts like "prestige" and "status" attached with a particular language? Does it have to do with the larger society, its norms, values, belies, mode of functioning, power, social structure, historical memory etc.?

All these questions, coupled with my own personal experiences, make me dig deep to find the origin and mechanism behind such politics of a particular language and attempt to understand the patterned generalizations of the contemporary Indian Society in this sphere. Thus, this dissertation is not only an academic work but also a journey to seek answer of my own questions that one, as an agency, keeps posing in front of the structure i.e. the society. The title of my dissertation i.e. "**The politics of Language in India; Origin, Mechanism and Development***"* revolves around the genesis, mechanism and exclusion caused by the monopolization of resources and knowledge by a particular language and the **role of power elites** in maintaining such a status quo.

1.1 Research Questions:

The basic questions with which one seeks to deal and deeply engage with in this dissertation are:

- How does a particular language go beyond the realm of the means of communication and become "political", i.e. How does 'status' and 'prestige' gets linked to a particular language?

- Is the "political' nature of language (in India) a recent social phenomenon or does it have a connection with India`s historical past?
- Who were the Power Elites in Indian Society, both in the Past and Present and how is their status quo maintained i.e. the mechanism of its operation?

- How is social exclusion and marginalization caused by such phenomenon of monopolization and hegemonization by a particular language? How is the social mobility impacted?

- What all measures can serve as possible 'solutions'? How can social mobility be encouraged?

Thus, to sum up the prime concerns of this dissertation, what one is seeking to focus upon is the origin and mechanism behind the politics of language and the resultant exclusion and marginalization caused by such socio-political processes. The attempt is to understand the underlying theoretical currents beneath the origin, hegemonization and exclusion caused when language is used as a political-cultural instrument to control and command the resources of power for material benefits. For that, the factors that lead to the utilization of language as a political cultural instrument in order to create barriers to the non-elites (both caste and class in Indian context) thus causing social exclusion are sought to be brought into focus.

The research will broadly look at ancient history of India i.e. the later Vedic period (1000 B.C. to 500 B.C.) , the British colonial rule (after 1857 till 1947) and try to understand the role of Power elites in creating barriers, using language, against the larger masses and systematically excluding them from enjoying the benefits of distributive justice. The argument is on how caste in the past has gradually transformed/transfused into a class structure of modern Indian context and how similar political elites i.e. upper caste in ancient India and upper class in modern India, have similar aspirations to marginalize 'masses' from the resources; using language as a primary means of barrier- be it Sanskrit or English, in accordance with their time periods. It has also been attempted to look at and understand the pattern, if any, behind the rise and fall of the dominant hegemonic language, tracing its roots from ancient Indian history to further explain the developments in modern India which has seen the rise of English as a dominant hegemonic language.

The contemporary debates around UPSC '–CSAT examinations and the alleged bias of Premier educational Institutes towards English speaking, convent educated youth is a question that is being examined. Thus, this research thesis would be holistically dealing with the nature of power elites in acquiring power by means of language and the voice of the marginalized in questioning their marginalization process.

1.2 Key concepts used:

Language: The very act of communicating has its own constituent means and methodology. Language is one of such means of communication and interaction between agencies using myriad conventions such as sounds, signs, gestures etc. having a collective understanding giving legitimacy to it. Politics, essentially, is the dialogue between theories and principles of the society. Thus, language is an indispensable instrument for the existence of politics. Chairman Mao who said that, "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun even saw the little red book of his thoughts as more important than bullets in achieving his communist objective".

Thus, political length and breadth of language raises complex questions. Linguistic structures are being constituted by the social and political categories such as culture, manipulative power, the intention to control resources, etc. It is vivid that power is an important constituent of language, society, culture, religion or any other form of social structure (Foucoult 1990). Therefore, the historical analysis of the origin of the political nature of language to deduce the underlying factors is sought after in this dissertation. The attempt is to explain the modern Indian society after LPG reforms (1991 A.D) and the role of the global capital/power elites tracing their relationship with the English language of the colonial past in India.

Power Elites: 'Power elites' is a group of political individuals who, owing to their common political and economic interest' exist in interwoven social linkages. Power elites in different societies have institutionalized themselves in different ways for instance Clergy and noblemen in the western societies, the hereditary priesthood in Indian history etc.

"Power elites, are a group of individuals with interwoven interests such as the military, corporate, academia as well as the political elements of society and suggests that the ordinary citizen is a relatively powerless subject of manipulation by those entities". (C. Wright Mills 1956)

As Mills says, Power elites are marked by occupations of highest order of the societies such as the military, economic and the political and their decisions have enormous impact on the socio-political fate of the country and for the underlying populations of the world. They legitimize their decision making by means of legal and cultural instruments.

Dominant ideology/ Hegemony: The advocates of dominant ideology/hegemony identify ideology, a term synonymous with concepts such as ultimate values, shared belief systems and common culture, as the hallmark of social order and stability in advanced capitalistic societies. The argument assumes that, in class stratified societies, the Power elites (upper castes and class in Indian context) or the ruling class controls the production of ideas, its circulation as well as material production. This production of ideas, beliefs, rituals, social processes, language, and culture by the ruling class thus encompasses the social consciousness of the working class or the non-elites (both lower castes and classes in Indian context). Thus, the ruling class or the carriers of power tend to create a spectacle wherein the larger masses lose their capability to protect their own interest as they, as Marx says, are never able to become a class for itself. Ruling class, thus, excels in protecting their

own interests by systematically disallowing the power of thinking critically from the larger masses and thus rendering them incapable in protecting their own interests.

Thus, dominant ideology and hegemony is a production of an overarching ideology that dictates the way in which the non-elites view society. In this dissertation, the role of language as a political instrument, in the hands of power elites, has been used to explain the processes by which the power elites impose such an ideology on the masses. Thus, the 'false consciousness' that is created by the ruling class baffles the non-elites who are pursued, by means of religion, language, culture, to accept the unequal distribution of resources without question. Power manifests in language, gets legitimized in the form of laws, customs and sacred texts and renders the non-elites to follow an apolitical way of life.

Such a hegemonic dominance through ideological apparatus had been existent since the early feudal society to late capitalist societies and elites had been interplaying with manipulative power in order to control resources and the non-elites. The elites always manipulated for the accumulation of power, resources and property. The entire mechanism such as endogamy based caste-inter group marriage practices in India, manipulative rules of inheritance unambiguous in nature, remarriage etc. were a creation of creation of legitimate environment of the political interests of the power elites. Therefore, the hegemonization and dominance by means of ideological apparatus created compliance of the subordinate strata i.e. the lower castes and classes in India which were maintained in such lower hierarchy forever by means of many constraints such as economic, social and political in nature. The political coercion, the codified ways and means of living, worshiping and ways of conduct for different strata in the societies in

the form of various social institutions such as customs, laws, religion codified into texts by means of language as well as the oral tradition of the past.

Social Exclusion: Social exclusion is a systematic and methodical blockage of individuals, groups and communities from exercising their political rights, economic resources and cultural legacies. Social exclusion is a mechanism to exclude people and it does have inherent political and economic ambitions of the power elites. In modern Indian society for instance lower class and lower castes, despite have equality of opportunity, are unable to find place in the mainstream civic political and economic life. The role of education which is increasingly becoming elitist in nature, by means of private, convent heavy donation based English medium schools. Gender again is a systematic means of social exclusion wherein patriarchy as a political ideology tries to control the sexuality, rights and choices of females.

There exist three broad as well as overlapping concepts of social exclusion in the society. The first is the kind of social exclusion wherein an individual or a group or a community is systematically marginalized from exercising and enjoying their political and social rights. This leads the policy makers and researchers to formulate policies in order to create an inclusive society. The analytical framework of this kind of social exclusion gives us an understanding and lens to look at society in terms of inclusion –exclusion index. This frame of reference provides idea about the sinking of real political as a well as socio-economic democracy and participative citizenship.

The second kind of social exclusion is the 'anomie' and the related aspects of anomie with the social integration of the larger society. Anomie causes isolation from society as well as social norms. Thus, from the reference point of Emilie Durkheim, this kind of social exclusion is the state of social and normative isolation wherein an individual becomes increasingly isolated from the social

norms. This kind of isolation and exclusion can be a reason for, what Durkheim calls, "anomic suicide". This frame of reference is set up to analyze big multicultural societies where smaller groups and non-functional groups become increasingly isolated from the rules, norms of the larger communities.

Social Closure: Social closure is a theoretical framework which gives us an understanding of the reasons behind social exclusion and inequality. "The concept was given by Max Weber and the concept emerged as alternative to Marxist theories of inequality and how the latter is generated, maintained and transformed" (Parkin 1979).

Social closure, as Weber says, is a means by which power elites, owing to their own commercial and proprietary interests form a class. This elite class further legitimizes such formation and institutionalises them in to various institutions of the society in order to enhance their own life chances.

Akin to Marxist interpretation of dominant ideology or Gramsci`s Hegemony, Social closure is a Weberian interpretation of the mechanism through which Power operates in the society benefiting the one who hold it and targeting the rest of the population. The manipulative power causing the two fold mechanism of inclusion of few and exclusion of many is the idea behind social closure. The real beneficiaries or the Power elites come together in social groups as a class and marginalize others by mechanisms of religion, caste, class, region, colour, merit, identity etc.

Thus, social closure is the power, in the hands of power elites, to mobilize resources in their own interests by mechanism of manipulative power, social class formation and creating a mechanism of punishment and reward thus causing the twin mechanisms of exclusion and inclusion.

Therefore, the political nature of men or 'power elites' and their endeavour to control the social, cultural and economic 'capital' makes him to create unequal social structures and then legitimize their existence by means of religious scriptures, religion, state and Ideology. The language as a means of propagation of such political action is vivid and loud across Indian experience from later Vedic period to the modern age. The history of Indian society is the history of social closure rooted in material interests of the hegemonic powers. Thus social closure is an important concept to understand the mechanism beneath the development and sustenance of hierarchical social structures right from ancient to modern India and the use of Language in legitimizing all those.

1.2 Methodology:

Methodology is nothing but a systematic and theoretical analysis of various methods applied to a multitude of fields of study. It consists of the analysis of the structure of methods and principles related to a branch of knowledge. Research methodology does not aim at providing solutions. Thus, it is not as same as a method. Instead, a methodology provides a theoretical underpinning for comprehending what method, collection of methods should be applied to a specific case in order to calculate a specific result.

1.2.1 Method:

The methodology, in this dissertation, is to arrive at a method that involves secondary research in which two time periods in Indian history are compared and an inference is derived from the same. In order to seek a coherent method to do a comparative research between two periods in Indian History i.e. the later Vedic period (1000 BC to 600 BC), the British colonial rule (after 1857 till 1947) and the two decades after LPG reforms i.e. post 1991 A.D., a

historical/comparative method is followed. The idea, thus, is to understand the past in Indian history and explain the present with the help of insights drawn from the similarity in the nature of social phenomenon (linguistic hegemony, in this case) across these time periods. The Material has been collected from secondary sources such as books, journals, articles etc. as students are not encouraged to do primary research at the M.Phil. level in CSSS, JNU.

1.2.2 Historical/comparative method:

This method involves the study of social phenomenon, events, institutions, processes of the history and civilizations in order to arrive at the inference and finding origins of causal factors and antecedents of the contemporary social phenomenon and processes. This is a particular way of doing comparative study of social groups, their interrelationships, compositions and social conditions which undermine or support them. Thus, it is a way of finding an explanation of the present by way of understanding of the working of the past social processes, institutions and their interrelationships.

1.3 Brief summary of chapters

The outlay of the dissertation consists of three core chapters along with an Introduction and a Conclusion. The three core chapters are divided in a manner so as to create a sense of interrelationship and flow of the sequential journey of the dissertation. Chapter I incorporate all the key concepts and theories that I read across while trying to delve into my research questions. It starts with the concept of language and the effect of social factors/ social phenomenon on the evolution of language as a political instrument. Thus, it is a chapter that focuses on the broad conceptualization of this work.

In the second chapter, the historical basis of the political tendencies of power elites in 'using' language as a tool of segregation and control of resources has been explored. The later Vedic period (1000 B.C. to 500 B.C.) has been taken as a time frame to understand the role of the power elites (i.e. the Brahmins) in the past. The focus has been on how these power elites controlled knowledge by attributing hegemony to the Sanskrit language and thus hampered the fluidity in social mobility that existed in the ages preceding the Vedic Period. Thus, this chapter draws historical links and attempts at arriving at a conclusion that language doesn't exist as a secular entity rather exists as a political instrument facilitating the circulation of elites[1]

In the third chapter the analogy of the past has been used to explain the debates surrounding English language in contemporary India, tracing its roots to the colonial past in modern history. The debates around exclusion-inclusion vis-à-vis English Education, employability, education as a consequential aftermath of the LPG reforms have been largely discussed. Further, this chapter also deals with the power elites of contemporary India i.e. the Global capital, the corporates, the Bretton woods and their vested interests in controlling resources and the mechanism through which they operate in order to selectively benefit the few.

Lastly, the conclusion summarizes the entire framework with a comparative analytic emphasis upon the two major time frames, language and the role of Power elites. The problem is identified and a possible solution is suggested and articulated.

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[1] see, Vilfredo Pareto.

Relevance of the study: This study is basically an attempt to explore the reasons behind the conflicts that exists in India today around English language between those who benefit from it and those who do not see their life chances around this language. The study is a serious attempt to explain the mechanism with which such cultural invasion occurs in the interest of the Power elites. The non –elites are consistently baffled by the mechanism of 'legitimacy' which is derived from various institutions such as media, religion, material benefits associated with a language and most importantly the 'politics of equality of opportunity'.

Thus, the relevance of this study is in the 'deconstruction' of the existing constructed mechanisms of exclusion around language particularly English language in modern India and the role of Power elites in maintaining the status quo. This might be of use to policy makers in understanding issues sociologically wherein the deeper multiple layers of reality can be peeled and understood.

…………………………………..

What one seeks to sketch out, thus, is a theoretical roadmap to understand the various social and political realities that has existed over years as a complex interplay between the aspirations of power elites, their intent to control resources and the hegemonic status assigned to a specific language. Language, as a matter of fact, has had the constitutive role in formation of such institutional structures. And to ignore this power-language nexus would only limit the understanding of the historical domains of either 'power' or 'language' to a superficial level.

CHAPTER I

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1.1 Origin of Language:

What is a language? How it came in to existence? And what is a political language? There are different theories around the origin of language and they all differ in terms of their relation to their fundamental assumptions. Some theories about the origin of language are based on 'continuity'. These theories propound that language in humans are evolved from the pre-linguistic structures of the ancestors of human beings – the pro-hominids. Thus this theory of the origin of language is similar to Darwin`s evolution of human species based on adaptation and survival of the fittest.

The second strand of theorising is based on the assumption that language is a unique characteristic of human being. It's a unique human trait thus it marks a discontinuation from the evolution theory of language and the Pro hominids. Thus, this theory unlike the previous one is based on the assumption of 'discontinuity'.

Thus, language, despite having found among most of the primates and other animals in different forms and symbolic interactions, is unique to human beings. Languages in human societies are more than mere symbolic interactions; they are social as a well as political. They help in the formation of institutional realities and social categories. Language, thus, is a unique human mechanism of systematic interaction using words, symbols, signs etc.

1.2 Studying Language:

Its Political ontology

The real problem, in beginning any research work, is not precisely the fear of getting/ giving wrong answer to the questions that our tradition asks, rather to me, it appears that it does not always ask the questions that need to be asked in the first place. Before answering questions as- What is it that we know as 'exercise' of political power? What is a 'just' and 'egalitarian' society? – the attempt should be to try and answer the more fundamental questions of 'how do we define society?' What's more, in what function can political cosmology identify with whatever is left of mental, physical and social metaphysics? In fact, what sort of power can be termed as 'political'?

There are precisely three ideas that **John R. Searle** endeavours to clarify:

1. "The idea of "status functions" and with that the interrelationship with "social actualities" and deontic powers."

2. "The constitutive role of language in formation of institutional reality and therefore the constitutive role of language in any arrangement of deontology'.

3. "The curious human function to create and act on desire attributable to their autonomous explanations for action. People have a striking function to perceive and to be persuaded by purposes behind activity. John R. Searle accepts that this function underlies the likelihood of human progress, and, the likelihood of political association. He believes that each of these thoughts can be clarified; however, it is extremely hard to comprehend one without comprehension of the other two. Aristotle has described people as *zoon politikon*. This expression alludes to two interpretations: one is that people are social creatures, and second that people are political creatures. Each living being, from ants to timber wolves, is a social creature. However, only human

beings as individuals are political creatures as they are persuaded by reasons of activity and have the ability to make social and institutional statements by the constitutive role of the language."

Its Social Ontology

People and numerous different species have a biological function of collective cooperation. This is the function of 'collective intentionality' shaped by collective consciousness and is only a marvel of shared types of awareness in human or animal cooperative psyche of participative existence. For instance, it is portrayed when a gathering of animals chip in chasing their prey, or when two individuals have discussions, or when a gathering of individuals attempt to sort out an collective rebellion or unrest. Collective intentionality is shown both as helpful conduct and in intentionally shared yearnings, convictions and goals. At whatever point two, three or more operators share a yearning, aim, conviction or other purposeful state, and where they are mindful of sharing, the gathering of individuals being referred to has collective intentionality. Sociological scholars, all the time, assert that collective intentionality is the foundational supporting of society. This point is made in diverse routes by Emilie Durkheim, Simmel and Max Weber.

1.2.1 Formation of Institutional realities:

Structures are made due through organizations. In any case, how does a social reality standardize into institutional facts? The collective cognizance of feeling, acting, thinking and so forth, are unconventional attributes of social realities which can likewise be called as 'collective intentionality' a term propounded by John R. Searle. Collective intentionality, as he says, is essential for the production of less complex sorts of social reality and social facts. Really, social fact is

characterized as any fact in which there is a collective intentionality of two or more individuals. Notwithstanding, it is far from straightforward collective intentionality to cash, property, marriage, or government, and hence it is far from being a social creature to being an institutional or a political creature. What vernacularly must be added to collective intentionality, then, to get the types of institutional reality that are normal for individuals, and specifically normal for human political reality? It would seem that precisely two further components are essential:

1. The imposition of function and

2. Certain sorts of standards that are "constitutive rules".

It is this mix between the functions and constitutive rules and collective intentionality that forms the key base of human society.

At the point when individuals develop the function for collective intentionality and the imposition of function, it turns into a simple work to consolidate both of them. How is it conceivable to have a thing as 'status functions'? The prime component in the development from the social to the institutional, and correspondingly the development from physical functions to status functions, is the development communicated in the constitutive principle of the language. It is a procedure where we can see something as having a certain sort of status, and with that status, certain sort of function. Institutional facts are constituted by the presence of status functions. Status functions as an after-effect of regulation of collective intentionality or collective conscious constitutes an institutional actuality which is constituted by the constitutive role of language.

The powers that are constitutive of institutional facts are dependably matters of rights, commitments, responsibilities, obligations, approvals, authorizations and benefits. It is generally seen that such powers exist as long as they are perceived, recognized or acknowledged as a collective consciousness. These sorts of powers are known as **deontic** powers. Institutional facts are dependably outcomes of the legitimization of deontic powers. In this manner Institutional facts are made by the constitutive rules as the constitutive role of language which further makes status functions and the status functions relegate deontic powers as Searle notice.

1.3. The Constitutive Role of Language:

The constitutive segments of the status functions are the language and the images which are utilized to communicate between the members of a society. These status functions are gotten from the legitimization of deontic powers, for example, rights, obligations, power and so forth. Language in reality is such a fascinating typical procedure, to the point that it is utilized not just to speak of conditions of undertakings that exist autonomous of language but to speak of facts of which language itself is somewhat constitutive of.

In this section, it is endeavoured to clarify the contrast between people and animals in matters identified with language and its constitutive role into social and institutional structures. The initial phase in clarifying the distinction is the recognizable proof of institutional reality. Institutional reality is comprised of status functions and status functions contain deontic powers. For instance, the person who occupies an office of the chief justice is a judge in the Supreme Court of India. But, the status function of being chief justice imposes rights and commitments that the inhabitant did not generally have. In such ways, there is a causal relationship between the status function and deontic power.

1.4. Linguistic Constitution of Power:

All political power is a representation and legitimization of status functions, and therefore, it can be said that all political power is deontic power. Deontic powers comprise of rights, obligations, commitments, consents, benefits, approvals, power and so on. The genesis of all political power, despite their praxis from above, lies from below. This is due to the fact that political power derives its source from status functions i.e. the legitimization of deontic powers.

The whole idea is that political power is the derivative of status function and therefore, political power is constituted by means of language. Individuals are the agencies which exercise political power and they are, thus, its real source. However, the mechanism of operation of 'power' is such that despite such a possibility, the individuals have to feel powerless. Language, thus, are the real sources of power and all institutions are linguistically constituted and so does status functions – the prime element of all political power.

Thus, for the political reality to exist in a society, it needs to have different aspects of existence. Some of them are as follows:

1. "A distinction between the public and the private sphere with the political as part of the public sphere".

2. "The presence of nonviolent group conflicts"

3. "The group conflicts must be over social products inside of a structure of deontology" (Searle 2007).

1.5 Language and Power: Theoretical Framework

The acquisition of language is a consequence of the process of learning; it is the result of educational socialization process. Quite often in our life experience we see that, once in a while, we are being taught by ourselves. The question arises if there existence of any difference between the two processes of language learning and teaching? Also, if power has a constitutive role in forming status functions and thus social facts and institutional facts, how is power related to the processes of learning and reaching? In an open-market circumstance open interest conditions supply. The utilization of the term as Cooper (1989) states:

"When planning is directed towards increasing a languages uses, it falls within the rubric of status planning. But when it is directed toward increasing the number of users, speakers, writers, listeners, or readers then a separate analytic category for the focus of language planning seems to me to be justified" (p. 33).

Thus, the process of teaching which corresponds to socialization process in one sense is a kind of acquisition planning of abilities. The acquisition of abilities and skills, thus, are essential ingredients of the formation of an individual personality which can negotiate for different choices and life chances. The acquisition of language is one similar effort by an individual. Thus individuals are rational in their approach to acquire languages for their own judicious utility i.e. work, political power, skills, knowledge, abilities etc. or seeking additional objectives (abstract, passionate, pompous, and so on.) reasons.

"Thus, this behaviour of individuals for acquisition planning is a rational behaviour earmarked by different reasons. The reasons of such kind can be, thus,

classified in to three kinds; pragmatic, instrumental, and utilitarian" (Tariq Rehman 2002).

"The other kind of reason is '**extra rational reasons'** which correspond to the emotional needs of the man. They deal with human emotions, personal aspirations, likes dislikes and so on. This does not imply that the extra-rational goals are any less profitable to be sure they may be subjectively much more significant and satisfying for a man than reasonable ones. It additionally does not imply that the decision of contributing vitality, time and cash in learning of a language that does not acquire material increases is an irrational decision. In the setting of one`s passionate needs and subjective wishes it might be prominently judicious. Creation of an analytical category, sometimes, requires some peculiar coinage of words. That is why this category as extra- rational is being used to denote to certain kind of human needs in terms of acquisition planning of a particular kind of language. This extra rational will explain how an individual indulges in to reading and writing his mother tongue despite it being not fruitful in terms of employment, education, acquiring prestige in society, livelihood and so on." (Tariq Rehman 2002)

An individual just learns a language sometimes just for absolutely individual reasons, for example, that the writing in that language gives one delight, fulfils some profound yearning or other private reason. A coin, when enters the market has a value to buy anything, is a consequence of the quest for power that enters in the permutation and combination of the probability that language is demanded by people or is it a political category like state or the ruling elite who is formulating policies in order to affect the choices of the people.

"This idea, that the individuals and groups learn a language for economic reasons and the ruling elites teach it for political ones is well known" (Watson 1993: 28).

However, it can be summed up that both aspirations are nothing but craving for a political entitlement i.e. a demand for power.

A famously troublesome instructing idea to utilize is what we know as power. It is for the most part utilized without a clarification by etymologists. For instance, David Crystal points out that,

"A language becomes an international language for one chief reason: the political power of its people especially their military power. Later, he goes on to tell us that while a militarily powerful nation establishes a language worldwide it takes an economically powerful one to maintain and expand it" (Crystal 1997: 7–8).

To put it plainly, power is something which incorporates both the coercive element; the methods for giving pain: the methods for purchasing things; the methods for purchasing pleasure. For ordinary citizens the results would perhaps be the want of carrying on with a decent life. However, contrastingly the great life is characterized in diverse chronicled periods and societies; it cannot yet have some fundamental prerequisites: sustenance, lodging, garments, opportunity from apprehension, and the admiration of one's kindred people.

A shockingly better life would involve the ownership of leisure and the function of having ones cravings gratified. These goals could be pure, for example, the ownership of books, pictures, and the regard of numerous individuals; they could be over the top, for example, the longing for having more than anyone has: and they could be gigantic, for example, the ownership of sex slaves, enjoying cruel practices, and driving everyone to concede and submit to one. Whatever the cravings may be, a sign of being powerful would be the

capacity to gratify them. In any case, in light of the fact that it is a capacity, a quality practically equivalent to potential vitality in material science, it can't exist without a framework to bolster it. At the crudest level, this framework is physical strength. One can drive a couple of things out of weaker individuals by physical compel alone. This sort of power is called **primary coercion** by Gellner (1988).

"Such power is not lasting and it needs only one other person to join the victim to be defeated. What is crucial is that people should allow a person, or persons, to possess power voluntarily; to recognize that it is legitimate authority", as defined by Hannah Arendt (1969: 45)

What's more, what offers authenticity to power in human social orders, even straightforward ones, not to mention complex present day ones, are ideas or, as Gellner calls them, "social rules" (Gellner 1988: 146). All ideas for the association of social orders, tribal mores; majesty; organization; popular government; communism; autocracy are based upon some understanding, some bolster, some quiet submission among various individuals regardless of the possibility that, even if at times, an abnormal individual can make enough dread to be obeyed by others even after this agreement is decimated or genuinely disintegrated.

Generally, then, one can concur with Barry Barnes when he guarantees that: "Social power is the added capacity for action that accrues to individuals through their constituting a distribution of knowledge and thereby a society" (Barnes 1988: 57). Foucault observes that power is an indispensable element of knowledge and knowledge of social structures. Foucault clarifies this further by depicting how power in the form of "constructed knowledge' transforms individual consciousness. He lets us know why we obey power: what makes

power hold great status, what makes it acknowledged, is just the way that it doesn`t just weigh on us as a constrain that says 'no', however that it navigates and produces things, it instigates delight, shapes knowledge, produces discourse. "It should be considered as a gainful system which goes through the entire social body, substantially more than as a negative occurrence whose function is constraint" (Foucault: 1980). The generation of discourses is particularly imperative in light of the fact that they make and express the belief system, the world perspective, by which we judge everything. In this way the incomparable activity of power lies in moulding people's world views whereupon their qualities and activities are unexpected. "Indeed, social conditioning through schooling and the media is the most important way of changing world view whether undertaken by business organizations or the state" (Galbraith 1984: 131–4). Thus, **signitive power** is a kind of power exercise which indulges in to the construction of reality.

The other two sorts of linguistic power may be called pragmatic and symbolic power. "Pragmatic power is based on the communicative dimensions of language", (DeKadt 1993: 160). Symbolic power alludes to the relationship of a language with properties which have a worth, positive or negative, in the brain of the perceiver. For example, English is connected with innovation, information, and instruction in India whereas Punjabi is connected with warmth, casualness, rusticity etc. Such typical weights are not the natural piece of a language as individuals expect; they are the results of the way a language is utilized. On the other hand, if it is utilized by effective elites, especially in the domains of power, then it gets to be connected with positive qualities of a formal kind. If not, it may have a negative symbolic connotation. Thus, the symbolic form of a language is a derivative of power in a hidden form. The manifestation of power thus gets in to the domains of language and institutionalises in to social facts.

The third sort of power, pragmatic power, is in view of the communicative aspects of language.

"The very acts of writing and creating (literary) texts what **Pollock** calls **literization and literarization** were exercises in **culture-power**. They were based on particular choices people made at some point in time, choices absent using local languages for certain purposes (vernacularization) or, as in the case of Sanskrit, using a trans-local code for similar purposes (cosmopolitanism)" (Pollock 2006: 499).

They were in view of specific decisions individuals made sooner or later in time, decisions truant utilizing nearby languages for specific purposes (vernacularization) or, as on account of Sanskrit, utilizing a trans-local code for similar purposes (cosmopolitanism). Furthermore, every decision engaged a few individuals more than others. Now-a-days, this relies upon the way a language is utilized in the domains of power, mainly, the apparatus of the state or corporation. For sure, as we move to the present day state, power turns out to be more detached from people, (for example, sovereignty) and becomes the machinery that nobody claims (Foucault 1990).

Now, if we turn our focus to organizational machinery through which power operates in modern societies, it can be observed that the more this machinery gets to be expand and impersonal with modernization, the more does language give one entrance to it. That is where the demand/interest for taking in the language of the machinery of power comes in.

"This visible machinery is associated for the most part with the state in government, bureaucracies, military, judiciary, education, research, and media but in other countries private domains of power, such as corporations, are very powerful" (Saul 1995).

The language of the domains of power is an empowering device. The individuals, who know it, control it; have a conspicuous point of interest over the individuals who don't. This, however, is just a pattern and not an outright guideline in a modernizing nation like India. In the Indian field, for case, power is personally associated with the ownership of land. Landowners, or medieval rulers, as they are called to some degree, misleadingly, practice control, independent of whether they can control a written language or not. To be sure, they can even secure political power without gaining English in any level of capability. Correspondingly, religious pioneers have power without being able to control English.

It is just in the modern sectors- the common and military organizations, media, instruction, business, and examination that entry is denied without the capacity to utilize the language of a specific domain. But even here ability in the use of a language is not directly proportional to either ones actual power or the capability of acquiring it even in that domain. In the event that that were along these lines, teachers of English would have had more power than legislators, officers, officials, and corporate boss. The circumstance is something else in India as well as in all nations.

Language, then, is an empowering element for acquisition of power in the modern society. On the other hand, even before modernity had made an immense

bureaucratic system subject to the control of the written word, certain etymological styles were a sign of power (social predominance).

In old Greece, for case, there was a development called '*attikismos*' which made individuals mirror the style of established Athenian creators toward the end of the first century BC. According to Simon Swain (1996), who has considered it in detail: "The aim of attikismos, stylistic and linguistic, was to differentiate the leaders of Greek letters and speech from the broad mass of Greek speakers in order to signal clearly that they had command of the best sort of Greek". In the same way, 'learned' individuals have separated themselves from the masses either by talking an alternate language, for Instance, Sanskrit language in Ancient India and English language in modern India.

"In South Asia, before the colonial impact, one function of language was to differentiate the educated elites from ordinary people", (Washbrook 1991: 182). The historical accounts in India refer to such period in history when Sanskrit, Urdu and Sanskrit respectively became the language of the elites and were used as instruments in the hands of power elites for differentiating them from the ordinary people. Thus class formation as a consequence of 'social closure' of power elites was an important rationale when one looks at the politics of language in India.

When one analyses further, one sees that even the notion of patriarchy and formation of a social closure of male dominated community was again a mechanism to exclude women from the sharing the resources and also in order to differentiate from them. Thus, sustenance of hierarchy by the mechanism of access to a certain language and by exclusion of others (including women), were the political activities that revolved around language in the past and the present.

In the medieval age, without a doubt, there were manuals encouraging individuals not to instruct their little girls. The instructing of the language of power, previously, was bound to the 'elite' of the power. The language of power is not the spoken language of ordinary life and, along these lines, must be 'learned'. This language has notable qualities: it is an institutionalized assortment of a language; it is a print language; it is exceptionally esteemed; it is not spoken by the normal individuals; it is an elitist ownership. Not only is it a standardized language in the sense of possessing fixed spellings, written linguistic uses, word references, and printing traditions, it is additionally utilized by the ruling elite in the domain of power. The utilization of a language in such domain, by the cutting edge state or language legitimization, is a matter for the ruling elite to choose.

As organization and rule record for a large portion of the effective, lucrative, and prestigious positions which the state can offer, Laitin is right when he clarifies that, "when language rationalization occurs a citizen needs to have facility in a single language in order to take advantage of a wide range of mobility opportunities in the territory".

To put it plainly, while language legitimization is a method for expanding the power of the modern state, it additionally results in empowering a group, generally the educated elite of the centre, to the detriment of 'negligible' groups. The institutionalized language utilized by the state in the domain of power has the capability of enabling the individuals who learn it while disempowering the individuals who don't or can't.

How languages are institutionalized and justified too has much to do with power. "In the case of **English,** for instance, it was standardized not because it was structurally or intrinsically any better than the non-standardized, region-bound varieties of the languages we stigmatize as dialects. It was standardized by complex processes in which powerful elites, clerks of the chancellery and the clergy had a hand", (John Honey 1997). At that point the informed classes, state organizations, priests, distributers and essayists burned through cash on showing it, printing lexicons and books in it and utilizing it as a role of the areas of power. As these classes involved positions of power in the state device, they made the standard mixture the language of the spaces of power (justification) to the detriment of the various assortments of English and their speakers. This made Standard English engaging and practically helpful in light of the fact that it always enhanced itself in vocabulary and different assets as it met the developing needs of an 'advancing' society. We often mistake this greater functional usefulness for superiority but that is an evaluative term which one can do without as long as one remains at the purely theoretical level. On the other hand, as individuals live on the pragmatic level and not on the theoretical one, they cannot but rather help utilizing evaluative terms for everything, including languages.

What's more, at that level it would be an indiscretion to level to deny that the standard variety of a language is not empowering at least at present. As it were we all concur in supporting the arrangement of the appropriation of power just by tolerating the institutionalized variety of a language as the corrector exquisite language. The non-institutionalized languages are regularly given less eminence than institutionalized ones even by their own vernacular speakers. This is not as a result of the way of the language but rather due to its utilization in the areas of power. The urgent component is power, not language. The core of the issue is whether a language can engage one or not. "People make individual assessments of the benefits of speaking a language (multiplied by the probability of actually

receiving them) and then subtract the cost of learning it" (Laitin 1992: 32). Laitin applies game theory to the very act of learning a language and says that, "people are willing to learn languages other than their own as instruments for the fulfilment of economic or social goals but this does not happen without their feeling a sense of loss, of alienation from their roots, of betrayal' (Laitin 1992: 52).

As we have effectively commented, in many nations the institutionalized variety is an elitist ownership. This implies that it offers best in the linguistic market. The idea of a market originates from Pierre Bourdieu, the French sociologist, who contends that:

"Linguistic exchange is also an economic exchange which is established within particular symbolic relation of power between a producer, endowed with a certain linguistic capital, and a consumer (or a market), and which is capable of procuring a certain material or symbolic profit" (Bourdieu 1991: 66).

As it were, languages don't convey just significance in any neutral sense; they likewise communicate power. Along these lines, words are esteemed by who speaks them; which class they are connected to and what picture they have in a general public. Speech codes connected with powerful groups in a society, for example, European languages in ex-states or the standard language anyplace, don't pass on significance alone, they pass additionally the power of their history and contemporary affiliations. That is the reason, regardless of the fact that they are stating the same thing, standard English sounds authoritative and correct to a great many people in India. In the English-speaking world the articulation, expression, vocabulary, and even the basic linguistic use of the individuals are diverse. That is the reason Standard English must be learnt in school as (Honey 1997).

The individuals who can't, or don't, go to school are naturally closed out of the formal, advanced, domains of power. For the populace of South Asia, the language of the domain of power was by and large a foreign language. Under the Mughals, it was Persian and under the British it was English. Lower areas of power, for example, the lower courts, schools, private organizations, vernacular media, mosques, tombs of spiritualist (Sufi) holy people did function in the vernacular languages however there was a chain of hierarchy in which the vernaculars came at the comfortable base.

In reality, for most Muslims of north India and India, their native language (on the off chance that it was other than Urdu) came last. In India as well as in all ex-provincial nations, the neighbourhood languages are degraded opposite the language of the former rulers/masters.

Languages of power, then, are a speculative thing. They are put into on the grounds that they have the capability of making one capable. So far we have spoken just about the acknowledgment, and henceforth the interest, for taking in a language. However, another reaction to the high valuation of a language could be resistance to it.

Language is an symbol of identity which, for both rational and extra-rational reasons, wants a greater share in power and goods and services than it is given. The role of language in language developments, or ethnic declarations, is symbolic or iconic that is, language is a method for correspondence as well as stands for a lifestyle or an image of character. In South Asia identity used to be related to shared blood or essence (jati). It was also role-oriented so that the

weavers (julaha) were a jati as were the barbers (nai). Modernity has changed the way group identity came to be seen.

Less powerful countries, and vernacularly less effective groups encompassed by powerful individuals, don't succeed in taking in their languages which are thus ghettoised and left in seclusion. The significant purpose behind this absence of progress is that there are no financial advantages taking after the learning of 'powerless' languages.

Mechanism of Exclusion by Elite Social Closure:

The social class formation of the power elites in order to practice exclusion to the other groups is known as linguistic apartheid. Thus elite social closure is a political characteristic of the power elites.

> "This particular aspect of linguistic apartheid locking people out of power by not teaching them the language used in its domains is an extreme form of **elite social closure** defined as the limiting of the access of non-elite groups to political position and socioeconomic advancement", (Scotton 1993: 149).

Elite social closure had been in practise in India even in the past. During colonial times, only a gentleman in anglicised outlook could get a good job. Similarly in USA during civil war period, only a white was eligible to work in the Govt. office. In Ancient Indian history, only the twice born caste, particularly male, had the right to learn Sanskrit and thus, control knowledge. Thus elite social closure is a characteristic of power elites in different forms and dimensions. This phenomenon exists even today, even in a modern democratic society, which is marked by equality; liberty freedom etc., elite closure cannot be functioned explicitly. Therefore, the politics of equality of opportunity for jobs, education

etc. is propagated while there is no equality of outcome for the masses. The only beneficiaries are the power elites from this whole set of modern ideals. Thus elite social closure is an important parameter to assess the inclusion-exclusion index of the citizens.

Elite closure translating in Government policy: A state may not teach all its citizens. In such a scenario, the uneducated are, then, bolted out of the power device however they remain a part of it in some limit form or the other. Another state may teach one language to its regular subjects yet utilize another in the more elite classes of the spaces of power. For this situation, the individuals who are taught the elitist language will have much less demanding access to control than the individuals who are most certainly not. The last classification of individuals will request it and desire for it. A third case may be the educating of the language of the areas of influence indifferently to ordinary individuals while the rich have admittance to guideline. In India this happens by teaching just a little number of children in lavish English medium schools while permitting the rest to remain either unskilled or obtain some skills in Hindi (or other vernacular languages) and some learning of English in government schools. To put it simply, it is the usage of language in the domain of power that creates the demand for a language. The states may not explicitly back up a language but they can formulate a policy which creates a demand for the same.

It is, in this way, very untrue that individuals request a language on account of its characteristic worth; in light of the fact that they are enamoured with it; in light of the fact that they need to be edified; on the grounds that they appreciate the writing in it; on the grounds that they want to be a part of the group which speaks it. Just a few individuals yearn to learn a foreign language, or even find the opportunity, to incorporate themselves in another group. Not many erudite people

truly savour foreign language/language other than their mother tongue and even less look for illumination for its own purpose. For the most role individuals take in the effective language for instrumental, sane reasons in light of the fact that it is the main key to control what personal efforts can give them.

On the other hand, they additionally realize this language due to passionate, additional balanced reasons. In such cases it is not just in light of ethnic resistance or awareness of character for which a few individuals learn even their ghettoizing native languages. Sometimes, the feeling included is the yearning for acknowledgment; for being similar to the powerful; for the pompous estimation of the effective language. This is justifiable in perspective of Paulo Freire's perspective of 'cultural imperialism'.

At the end of the day, language is a method for creating belief systems. A superb investigation of the relationship between power and ideology is given by James Tollefson (1991). "He refers to the fact that, 'certain assumptions, such as those relating to superiority or virtue, appear common-sensical but only because they are based on certain ideological assumptions. Thus, in his own words, ideology is connected to power, because the assumptions that come to be accepted as common sense depend upon the structure of power in a society" (Tollefson 1991: 10–11).

1.6. Language and Learning outcomes

The study looking at the connection between the language of instruction and learning results has a few predecessors. The education psychology writings demonstrate that for children, an ideal situation of learning requires that they are taught in their local language (Abadzi 2006). The proof from the writing

recommends that first language guideline in the early years of adolescence can maintain a strategic distance from psychological detriments (James Cummins, 1978; Jim Cummins, 1979). This essentialness is more for kids who originate from disadvantaged backgrounds. Kosonen (2005) contends that when kids are offered chances to learn in their local language, they are more prone to go to and succeed in school. Likewise, a few studies demonstrate that when kids learn in their local language the parents are more prone to take an interest in their kids' learning (Benson, 2002).

Then again, there is likewise proof from the psychobiological writing which demonstrates that more youthful kids learn languages more effortlessly than young people and grown-ups. This is alluded to as the "critical period hypothesis" (Hakuta, Bialystok, and Wiley, 2003; Johnson and Newport, 1989). The use of this hypothesis would propose that if kids are presented to the new language at an exceptionally young age they will procure the language abilities all the more effectively and along these lines this won't have any negative effects on their learning process.

As per Human Capital Theory, change in "knowledge stock and learning capabilities" of the populace would have an altogether positive effect on the general economy (Invasion and Lundvall, 1998). Utilizing this structure, inside of the financial aspects of training writing, it there is confirmation to propose that the "medium of instruction policy in education" has an impact on human capital development. R. Ramachandran (2012) proves from studies on Ethiopia that a change to native language instruction for primary school prompted a critical increment in understudy instructive accomplishment. Similarly, proof from Yoruba demonstrates that "higher repetition rates, dropout rates and overall lower achievement" can be partially clarified by difference in the medium of instruction

(Bamgbose 2005). In the United States, Thomas and Collier (1997) examined the effect of Bilingual Schools versus English Schools on language minority students over the period 1985-2001. The study uncovered that language minority students in English schools performed poorer in English tests and had higher dropout rates and lower instructive fulfilment as compared to their counterparts in Bilingual Schools.

In the Indian setting, there are very few studies which have exactly inspected the connection between the medium of training and students' learning results aside from Muralidharan and Sundararaman (2013). Although this study can't test the precision of these speculations all in all, it can toss some light on the condition of English medium schools in correlation to the provincial medium schools.

1.6.1. Gender Discrimination in Educational Choice

The phenomenon of gender discrimination in intra-family unit distribution of assets in India has been reported broadly by Alderman and King (1998) and Duraisamy (1992). A later study has brought up that "girls experience gender discrimination especially from age 10 onwards, with almost universal disadvantage in the amount of education expenditures in the group of 15-19 year olds." (Zimmermann 2012) Moreover, gender discrimination inclination has a tendency to be more intense in rural regions when contrasted with urban zones (Azam and Kingdon 2013). All in all, parents have a tendency to distribute more assets for learning of the male kid contrasted with the female child. The differential treatment of the female kid can be because of social and financial reasons.

(Dreze and Sen, 2003) contend that "entrenched belief of gender division of labor" is an essential component for sex segregation. Results from Gandhi Kingdon (2002) uncover that a plenty of components impact young girls'

educational achievement—in vernacular "parental background, wealth, opinions, individual ability, age-at-marriage and quality of primary education".

1.6.2. Economic Class and differential access to Primary Education

The causal connection between economic class and access to quality education is very vigorous and there is an extensive amount of writing to bolster the speculation. Geeta G. Kingdon (1996) and Filmer and Pritchett (2001) uncover that by and large a 'rich' kid is 31 percent more probable be selected than a 'poor' one. The study goes ahead to include that this crevice is not even in all States. Case in point, the State of Kerala the hole is only 4.6% though Bihar is 42.6%. In any case, as of late there has been a sharp ascent in the development of "low-cost" non-public schools in India. Despite the fact that free government schools are accessible, parents have a tendency to send their children to expensive, tuition based, private schools (Muralidharan and Kremer, 2006). In India, there is a bay between regulation "on paper" and regulation "in practice". Dixon and Tooley (2005) show how genuine regulation on paper can smother development and business enterprise in the training division and that by and by the development of minimal effort non-public schools stays "extra-legal". Muralidharan and Kremer (2006) contend that almost 53% of tuition based schools are 'unrecognized' by the administration. In any case, the inquiry whether even the minimal effort tuition based schools is open to the monetarily and socially 'burdened' kids still stays important. It is demonstrated that low cost schools are still unreasonably expensive to the last two riches quintiles families and contend that "increased reliance on a market in education will not help to achieve equitable access to primary schooling for all".

1.6.3.. The impact of Caste on Education

The caste system assumes an immense role in deciding social expectations in India. Albeit in cutting edge times the impact of caste is fading fundamentally because of globalization and urbanization, despite everything it puts an imperative role in Indian culture. Borooah & Iyer (2005) show that, "when the parents are illiterate, the "community effects" are more pronounced on the educational outcomes of the student". The examinations of Munshi and Rosenzweig (2003), is an original commitment to the understanding the impact of caste on education in a hierarchized Indian culture. The study makes the accompanying conclusion:

"Caste continues to play a particular (gender-specific) role in shaping schooling choices in the new economy of the 1990s. But the overall increase in English schooling in recent years and the growing mismatch in education choices and hence occupational outcomes between boys and girls in the same caste, suggest that the remarkably resilient caste system might finally be starting to disintegrate"

In a globalized world English training is being seen as an instrument of social versatility. This is by all accounts the case over all caste based groups. A daily paper reported that the Dalits in Uttar Pradesh have developed a sanctuary devoted to the 'Goddess of the English Language'. Dalit lobbyist and intellectual, Chandra Bhan Prasad commented.

"She (Goddess of English) holds a pen in her right hand which shows she is literate. She is dressed well and sports a huge hat – it's a symbol of defiance that she is rejecting the old traditional dress code. In her left hand, she holds a book which is the constitution of India which gave Dalits equal rights. She stands on top of a computer which means we will use English to rise up the ladder and become free forever."

In spite of the fact that it is only a bit of recounted proof, it is typical of how the socially distraught groups see the estimation of English instruction.

1.6.4.. Schooling and the Urban Rural Divide in access to education

Albeit there is a reasonable divide between the rural and urban private school enrollment rates, Tilak (2001) contends that "the relative size of both the government and the government-aided sectors seem to be shrinking and that of the private unaided sector is increasing". Muralidharan and Kremer (2006) contend that more or less 28% of the provincial populace have entry to private schools and around 16.4% of youngsters matured 6 – 14 in rural India go to expense charging private schools. Dreze and Kingdon (2001) demonstrate that parental education and aspiration, the distance of the school, the nature of the school, work opportunities, town advancement, instructor postings, educator consistency and noontime suppers, as the essential elements which decides a child's investment in a school in India. Kochar (2004) contends that the difference between the rural and urban education can be clarified by conditions in the local village economy, as well as the working and size of the significant labour market. The study demonstrates that among the landless workers, the schooling choice mirrors the likelihood of livelihood in urban territories.

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Thus, we see that language is not merely an independent, secular or a technical aspect of communication. Language, whether in the past or in the present, revolves around 'power' and power, as Foucoult (1980) says, has an important constitutive role

of in the construction of hegemonic language. Thus, Power, owing to the constitutive role of language translates in to social facts. Social facts further translate in to institutional fact in to rigid structures of society deriving legitimacy from the religious texts, customs, laws, rules, folk tales, mores etc. Thus, a systematic exclusionary mechanism is fabricated in terms of institutional facts constituted by power by means of one hegemonic /political language.

Further, we see how politics of benefit attached with one particular language is used to generate the false impression of equality of opportunity for everyone. We see that how caste and gender has a role to play in Indian society, even in matters related to schooling, learning English language. At the helm of it, if at all one tries to learn English, he/she still remains far from learning a standard English- a privilege of the Power Elites.

CHAPTER II
POLITICS OF LANGUAGE IN INDIAN HISTORY: ROLE OF POWER ELITES

The previous chapter, having delved into the domain of theoretical standpoints regarding language, the political alignments of language and the manner in which language has become a tool of political interests, has clearly located this study in the larger domain of sociological enquiry. This chapter takes the argument further by shifting its focus to the manner in which language was historically used as a tool of political control and hegemonization in Ancient Indian Society, i.e. the later Vedic period (around 1000 B.C. to 500 B.C.). Who were the Power elites in Ancient Indian Society? What was their mechanism of social and economic control? In doing so, the historical role of the 'power elite' would also be reflected upon in substantial details.

2.1 Later Vedic Period and the Power Elites

'Power elites' refers to a group of political individuals who, owing to their common political and economic interest' exist in interwoven social linkages. Power elites in different societies have institutionalized themselves in different ways for instance Clergy and noblemen in the western societies, the hereditary priesthood in Indian history etc.

> "Power elites, are a group of individuals with interwoven interests such as the military, corporate, academia as well as the political elements of society and suggests that the ordinary citizen is a relatively powerless subject of manipulation by those entities". (C. Wright Mills 1956)

As Mills says, Power elites are marked by occupations of highest order of the societies such as the military, economic and the political and their decisions have

enormous impact on the socio-political fate of the country and for the underlying populations of the world. They legitimize their decision making by means of legal and cultural instruments.

In the context of ancient Indian history, particularly the later Vedic period, the power elites were none other than the twice born i.e. the *Brahmins,* the *Kshatriya* and the *Vaishya*. The elite social closure existed between these groups in terms of preservation of language and the knowledge that it disseminated. Particularly, the Brahmin caste maintained almost the monopolistic control of the control of sacred texts, Sanskrit language and other sources of knowledge. The later Vedic period witnessed much more stringent rules and regulations in terms of access to knowledge, education, and Sanskrit language. The *shudras* and the women were the social categories who were marginalized from learning Sanskrit.

> "The very acts of writing and creating (literary) texts what Pollock calls literization and literarization(2006: 499) were exercises in culture-power. They were based on particular choices people made at some point in time, choices absent using local languages for certain purposes (vernacularization) or, as in the case of Sanskrit, using a trans-local code for similar purposes (cosmopolitanism)" (Pollock 2006: 499).

Pollock makes a reference to the point that in the Vedic period, the Brahmins where the social category of 'power elites' who influenced manipulative power over the creation of literary texts as well the religious codification of myths, folk tales, epics, smritis, puranas etc. *'Manusmriti'* was one such codification of laws that constituted the political ambitions of the Brahmin caste by various rules and regulations by systematic marginalization of lower castes and women from enjoying their social, economic , political as a well as human rights (Doniger 1991). Thus, Power elites, in India, were none other than the "*Brahmins*" in particular who exercised control over the sources of knowledge and existed as its custodian.

2.2 About the Vedic Period:

The Vedic period (1500 B.C. – 500 B.C.) in Indian history, is marked by the advent of *Aryan* settlements in the Northern part of India. The Vedas were written around this period, which were one of the oldest sacred scriptures of the Hindus. The Vedic civilization was marked by pastoral mode of living with tribal ways of life and livelihood. The early Vedic Period particularly was similar to what Karl Marx had to say about the existence of primitive communism marked by pastoral life of hunter gatherers. Thus, Vedic Period in Indian history is one such departure from the subsequent developments of social and political organizational development around 'capital' and its mode of production as well as the relations of production. This started during the later Vedic period which was marked by the rise of political urbanized states called *"Mahajanpadas"* as well a hierarchical social order with no social mobility. The role of iron as 'capital' and the subsequent developments in the Vedic period in the form of various social and political organizational developments coupled with religious legitimization process is one interesting time period to study the phenomenon of 'social change' which occurred with the advent of 'iron' as 'capital'.

2.2.1 Early Vedic Period

This period existed between the time periods 1500 B.C. to 1000 B.C. The early Vedic period was characterised by pastoral mode of living, with tribal mode of social organization. The society was divided in to different occupational groups, however, there was enough mobility between various occupational groups with little possibility of existence of rigid caste structure. This period witnessed women as chiefs of the tribal *samitis* i.e. the official meetings. The chief of a tribe was not based on hereditary rights rather they facilitated proceedings of the meeting which used to have consensus based decision making in the interest of the tribal group.

This period didn't see the territorial political state, neither the abundance of agriculture produce. The independent role of women and the mobility among occupational groups and absence of private property characterised this time period as egalitarian in nature.

This period witnessed the advent of *Aryans* in the northern part of India where Rigveda was written. The Aryans brought with them, their social organization called clan system which was largely exogamous in nature. This clan system further amalgamated with Indian society and started to exist as the traditional social organization of the Hindus in India.

2.2.2 Later Vedic period

The later Vedic period in ancient Indian history stretched across the time frame 1000 B.C. to 500 B.C. just after the early Vedic period. The Vedic period has been divided in to early and later Vedic period because of the stark departure of the second phase of Vedic period from the earlier phase owing to the advent of Iron as a technological advancement in the mode of production. This change in the mode of production impacted the relations of production, thus, causing the sudden change in the social, economic, political and cultural life of the then existing society. The later Vedic period thus is a period marked by the advent of 'capital' resulting in to various types of relations of production and social organization.

The later phase of Rig Veda saw the transition of society from semi nomadic to agricultural settlers. The period, especially, after 1000 B.C. witnessed the advent of 'iron' and iron based tools for agricultural purposes. These tools were great weapons for hunting gathering as well as efficient tools for tillers in agriculture. This technology enhanced production in this period which led to a sudden rise in the

population. Malthus observes, with rise in production there is sudden rise in the population. Thus, the rise in agricultural produce led to the development of newere urban centers around Gangetic plain. This Period witnessed the *Aryan* spread across the Gangetic belt and the rise of 16 *Mahajanpadas.* The rise of territorial state, the hereditary system of kingship, the complexity in social organization and the in terms of stringent social categories with no mobility, diminishing role of the women in the economic, religious and political sphere were the social changes that occurred in later Vedic period as compared to the early Vedic period.

2.2.3 Second Urbanization:

The second phase of urbanization in ancient Indian history refers to the time period when, owing to excessive production in the later Vedic period, the urban centres started to mushroom up along the reaches of the Ganga River. The fertile land along with the advanced iron agricultural tools added to the rise in production led to a massive rise in production and as a consequence massive rise in the population. This led to developments of urban centres where 'market' as an entity came to be seen. The artisan class flourished in this period and social categories increasingly became more widespread and stratified.

These urban centres after 6th century B.C. developed in to the 16 Mahajanpadas as massive territorial units and powerful kingship. Some of them were *Magadha, Anga, Vatsa, Kausambi* etc.

2.2.4 Social Organization:

The early Vedic period was characterised by pastoral mode of living, with tribal mode of social organization. The society was divided in to different occupational

groups; however, there was enough mobility between various occupational groups with little possibility of existence of rigid caste structure. This period witnessed women as chiefs of the tribal *samitis* i.e. the official meetings. The chief of a tribe was not based on hereditary rights rather they facilitated proceedings of the meeting which used to have consensus based decision making in the interest of the tribal group.

Thus, Vedic Period in Indian history is one such departure from the subsequent developments of social and political organizational development around 'capital' and its mode of production as well as the relations of production. This started during the later Vedic period which was marked by the rise of political urbanized states called *"Mahajanpadas"* as well a hierarchical social order with no social mobility. The role of iron as 'capital' and the subsequent developments in the Vedic period in the form of various social and political organizational developments coupled with religious legitimization process is one interesting time period to study the phenomenon of 'social change' which occurred with the advent of 'iron' as 'capital'

In all, the early Vedic society was kind was closer to an egalitarian society with enough instances of social mobility whereas such a system didn't exist during the later Vedic period as mentioned above. In the early Vedic period the various verses of Rigveda provide for the evidences that justify the claim of the presence of a society with greater social mobility. As per Rig Vedic accounts the family unit was based on the lines of patriarchy and also was patrilineal in descent. There were various kinds of marriage relations that existed such as polygamy, polyandry and monogamy as well.

The rise of the large territorial kingdoms and the rising importance given to the 'Rajan' separated him from the larger masses. The kingdom became more political and the idea of citizenship began to gain ground giving rise to various regional

identities. This was the time when an individual`s life was divided in to four *parts i.e. Brahmacharya, Grihastha, Vanaprastha and Sanyasa.* The society was also divided in to four *Varna* i.e. *Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra* as per the accounts given in the *Purushsukta* of the Rigveda .

Thus, social organization in the later Vedic period was more organized and regulated unlike the pastoral society of the early Vedic Period. However, the political advent of manipulative power was also a distinguishing feature of this period which led to the diminishing social mobility resulting to the categories of caste, class and gender hierarchy and inequality. In spite of the expanding social stratification in the later Vedic times, songs like Rig Veda IX.112, propose some measure of social portability: "I am a reciter of psalms, my dad a doctor, and my mom drudgeries (corn) with stones." However, it's certain that the social mobility as a social phenomenon became quite limited to intra occupational groups and not inter-occupational groups in the later Vedic period.

2.2.5 Political Organization:

Vedic Period in Indian history is one such departure from the subsequent developments of social and political organizational development around 'capital' and its mode of production as well as the relations of production. This started during the later Vedic period which was marked by the rise of political urbanized states called *"Mahajanpadas"* as well a hierarchical social order with no social mobility. This Period witnessed the *Aryan* spread across the Gangetic belt and the rise of 16 *Mahajanpadas.* The rise of territorial state, the hereditary system of kingship became increasingly away from the common masses in to an elitist aristocratic tradition. These urban centres after 6th century B.C. developed in to the 16 Mahajanpadas as massive territorial units and powerful kingship. Some of them were *Magadha, Anga, Vatsa, Kausambi* etc

Early Vedic Aryans was marked by the presence of a tribal political organization which was antithetical to the existence of larger political kingdoms. The political life was characterised by the existence of *Sabhas* and *Samitis* that were headed by the oldest man of the tribe usually on the basis of consensus. The hereditary system in the selection of tribal chief was absent and even a woman could be a member of the chief of the tribe. Thus, early Vedic period and the political organization in this period was much different to what developed as a system of social political life in later Vedic Period.

With the advent of 'capital' in the form of 'iron' in the later Vedic period and the accumulation of wealth, rise of urban centres and growth of larger population led to the organization of people in to kingdoms with solid political territorial identities. This also led to a new social order marking its separation from the past societies. In order to maintain the social order and status quo , the *Brahmin Ministers* orchestrated the Vedic songs and skilfully brought new customs, laws etc. The religious texts, the Brahminical sermons, the advent of *smiritis* and *puranas etc* legitimized the unequal and hierarchical social order which larger masses accepted as the God`s decry. The end of the later Vedic period witnessed the rise of various kinds of political organizations such as monarchical states (rajya), oligarchical states (gana or sangha) etc.

Thus, one can see how the political life of people changed in the later Vedic period and how it never stopped rather kept growing in to different other kinds of political boundaries and system of state functioning.

2.2.6 Economy:

The early Vedic period and the later Vedic period differed in the context of economic organization and ways of livelihood. The early Vedic period was

marked by semi- nomadic and pastoral ways of life with little instances of farming as well. The move of Vedic culture from semi–nomadic life to settled agribusiness in the later Vedic age lead to an increment in exchange and rivalry for assets. Agribusiness commanded the monetary action along the Ganges valley amid this period. Rural operations developed in many-sided quality and use of iron executes (krishna–ayas or shyama–ayas, truly dark metal or dull metal) expanded. Harvests of wheat, rice, and grain were developed. Surplus generation served to bolster the incorporated kingdoms that were developing as of now. New specialties and occupations, for example, carpentry, calfskin work, tanning, stoneware, soothsaying, gems, kicking the bucket, and winemaking emerged. Aside from copper, bronze, and gold, later Vedic messages additionally specify tin, lead, and silver.

The advent of 'iron' in the later Vedic period gave birth to the settled agricultural practices and with that greater level of agricultural produce. This excess in production thus created a need for market economy where barter exchanges as a system of exchange came in to being. The intent for accumulation of wealth in terms of agricultural produce and cattle came in to being in this particular period thus giving rise to the 'political man' As D.N. Jha observes, the later Vedic period witnessed the first instance of 'capital' where land , cattle, agricultural produce were increasingly seen as private property.

This economic mode of functioning greatly impacted the social relations where women were increasingly targeted and bound in to endogamous marriage practices, thus, giving rise to the different social categories. As Ambedkar observes, this was to limit the circulation of economic and social capital. Thus, caste groups were manifestations of power which facilitated the linear flow of cultural capital and restrict that in turn by means of 'endogamy;

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2.2.7 Religion:

The Vedic types of conviction are one of the antecedents to present day Hinduism. Writings considered to date to the Vedic period are primarily the four Vedas, however the Brahmanas, Aranyakas and the more established Upanishads and in addition the oldestShrautasutras are likewise thought to be Vedic. The Vedas record the sacrament associated with the customs and penances performed by the 16 or 17 Shrauta ministers and the purohitas. The rishis, the authors of the psalms of the Rigveda, were viewed as motivated writers and diviners (in post-Vedic times saw as "listeners" of an unceasingly existing Veda, Śrauta signifies "what is listened").

The method of love was the execution of penances (Yajna) which incorporated the droning of Rigvedic verses (seeVedic serenade), singing of Samans and "murmuring" of conciliatory mantras (Yajus). Yajna included penance and sublimation of the havana sámagri (home grown arrangements) in the flame joined by the droning of the Vedic mantras. The grand significance of the word yajna is gotten from the Sanskrit verb yaj, which has a three-fold importance of love of divinities (devapujana), solidarity (saògatikaraña) and philanthropy (dána). A key component was the conciliatory flame - the perfect Agni - into which oblations were poured, as everything offered into the flame was accepted to achieve God. Individuals appealed to God for wealth of downpour, cows, children, long life and picking up 'paradise'.

Vedic individuals put stock in the transmigration of the spirit and the peepul tree and bovine were blessed when of the Atharva Veda. A significant number of the ideas of Indian reasoning upheld later like Dharma, Karma and so forth follow their root to the Vedas. The primary gods of the Vedic pantheon were Indra, Agni (the conciliatory flame), and Soma and a few divinities of social request, for example, Mitra–Varuna, Aryaman, Bhaga and Amsa, further nature gods, for

example, Surya (the Sun), Vayu (the wind), Prithivi (the earth). Goddesses included Ushas (the first light), Prithvi and Aditi (the mother of the Aditya divine beings or once in a while the dairy animals). Waterways, particularly Saraswati, were likewise considered goddesses. Gods were not saw as almighty. The relationship in the middle of people and the divinity was one of exchange, with Agni (the conciliatory flame) taking the part of flag-bearer between the two. Solid hints of a typical Indo-Iranian religion stay unmistakable, particularly in the Soma clique and the flame love, both of which are safeguarded in Zoroastrianism.

Vedic religion advanced into the Hindu ways of Yoga and Vedanta, a religious way seeing itself as the "pith" of the Vedas, translating the Vedic pantheon as a unitary perspective of the universe with "God" (Brahman) seen as innate and otherworldly in the types of Ishvara and Brahman. These post-Vedic frameworks of thought, alongside later messages like Upanishads, legends (specifically Gita of Mahabharat), have been completely protected and structure the premise of current Hinduism.

Thus religion in, especially, later Vedic period was a mechanism in the hands of brahminical elites to orchestrate social order by means of religious texts, symbols, Vedic hymns , customs, folk tales etc. The exclusion of lower castes and women from Sanskrit language and the advent of endogamous marriage practices were the major political mechanisms through which the brahminical political elites functioned on order to serve their own interests i.e. to control property and polity.

2.3 Later Vedic Period: Socio-Political and Economic changes:

The year between 1500 and 500 B.C. has witnessed major political and social transformations with the rise of newer systems of social political and economic

organization. This century was known as later Vedic period and Iron as a technological revolution came in to being in this period. During this period the Aryans moved out of the north-western plains and into Punjab and the Western Gangetic Valley and in year 1000, they shifted to the Middle and Eastern Gangetic Valley. Their society changed from **'tribal organization'** to **'caste organization'** and their polity changed from tribes ruled by **elected chiefs** to **little kingdoms** ruled for the most part by semi-divine kings and then to larger monarchical states.

Romila Thapar, has written extensively on this period, calls the transition from "lineage to state." During this time the Aryans shifted their livelihood from **nomad pastoralism** to a combination of pastoralism and farming by 1000, and then, in the next five hundred years to **agriculture and trade**. The Later Vedic Age witnessed the emergence of towns, both as political centres and commercial centres.

Before going further, it is necessary to say a few words about caste based social organization- a segmented form social organization. People in the same caste share a common social and political identity and believe that they have a common, founding ancestor, the person they originally descended from. Caste-based societies are a major site of political activity. **Marriages are political events and the common way in which political alliances are formed**. By the time a stronger state developed after 500 B.C., *Varna* social organization had become widely institutionalized in north India. The varnas themselves were made up into smaller descent groups in castes (known as *jatis*).

With the switch to agriculture, however, social organization became more stratified and castes became more unequal in status. With the increasing significance of agriculture and the growth of trade, **power** came to be based on greater control over the *jana* (people), the tribe, and its territory. The territory came to be named after a dominant *rajanya* lineage.

Thus the later Vedic Age was earmarked by rigid caste structure based on endogamy, clan structure based on exogamy, rise of 'state' in India in the form of monarchy and the accumulation of wealth in a rising culture of urbanization. All these points out at the advent of 'power' and the rise of power elites i.e. Brahmins in Ancient Indian Society

2.4 Origin of 'Capital': The Iron Age:

Around 1000-800 iron began to be used more frequently, allowing the intensification of plough agriculture and increasing the surplus from cultivation. Iron led to increased production that in turn led to increase in wealth production and accumulation. The first account of "capital" can be seen in such period of Indian History leading to the rise of the political man who machinated in favour of systematic process leading to economic gains and its sustenance. (D.N. Jha 2001). The availability of land, labour and irrigation could support a larger population and it could intensify the social base of stratification. Society became even more unequal in wealth and status.

> "With the increase in the size of landed holdings, a hierarchy of control over the resources and their management -a co-ordinating group invested with authority - was required. There was a desire among elite Aryans for greater political concentration. The system of tribal republics did continue in some places--the gana-sangha system of chiefs of ruling clans" (Romila Thapar, 1990)

2.4.1 Status of Women in the Later Vedic Period

The Rig-Vedic or the early Vedic society was a free society. The Aryans evidently preferred male child to female child. However, females were as free as

their male counterparts. Education was equally open for boys and girls. Girls studied the Veda and fine arts.

> "Women never observed *purdha* in the Vedic period. They enjoyed freedom in selecting their mates. In the family, they enjoyed complete freedom and were treated as *Ardhanginis.* In domestic life women were considered to be supreme and enjoyed freedom. Home was the place of production. Daughter had full legal rights in the property of her father in the absence of any son. Mother's property, after her death, was equally divided among sons and unmarried daughters" (Thapar 1990)

However, the **later Vedic Period** witnessed a massive socio-political change, owing to the advent of "capital" in the form of Iron and the subsequent change in the mode of production. The status of women, owing to such economic change, was also largely affected and institutionalized in the form of religious scriptures and various laws of the land. For Instance, Manu assigns to the Women of Vedic age, a position of dependence, if not of subordination. The Arthasastra attests to considerable restraints placed on their movements. It appears that Manu had a very poor opinion about women. According to him women should be guarded against her evil inclinations. Otherwise she will bring sorrow to both the families.

Thus, we observe that in the early Vedic Period the women`s status were of equal and she could enjoy all rights social, political or economic. However, in the later Vedic period, with the advent of iron and the subsequent rise in the concept of private property and the political intention to control it, gave birth to an extremely rigid society based on the ideas of endogamy and hierarchy. Thus women became a victim of the political ambitions of the Brahmin males and their patriarchal domination what Uma Chakravarty calls as 'Brahminical Patriarchy'.

2.5 Sanskrit Language and the role of Power Elites-The Brahmins:

We first need to look at the status and politics around Sanskrit in the ancient Indian Society in order to understand the real paradox of hierarchical Indian society owing to its rigid caste and class structure and gender based inequality. During Rig Vedic Period and later, the verses sung by the Aryan tribes during their settlement in North India and development of their ritual sacrifices in a royal set up were later collected into four Vedas. After their settlement across the North, they set up a social structure based on Varna and made the oppression of fellow human beings as the very foundation of Hinduism through the *Smritis* and *Shastras*, particularly the *Manu Smriti*:

1. "The *Shudhras* and women had no right to listen or speak Sanskrit, nor did they have the right to study *Vedas*. Manu said, "He (the twice born) must never read (the *Veda*s) in the presence of the *Shudhras*." Chapter 4, verse 99

2. "Women have no business with the text of the *Veda*."—Chapter-9, Verse 18,

3. "If the *Shudhra* intentionally listens for committing to memory the *Veda*, then his ears should be filled with (molten) lead and lac; if he utters the *Veda*, then his tongue should be cut off; if he has mastered the *Veda* his body should be cut to pieces."—Chapter 13, Verse4.

Sharmila Rege in her work *Against the Madness of Manu* adding to the above discussion categorically brings out the fact that it is in this period that the women were barred from studying Sanskrit language along with the lower castes and the Untouchables. Thus Sharmila Rege establishes the direct correlation of, what Ambedkar, Chakravarti and D.N jha have written about, the private capital, social structures, patriarchy and the exclusion from Sanskrit language of the lower castes, Untouchables and women. Thus, it is established that Sanskrit language in

the later Vedic period was a great tool in the hands of the Powerful elites (Brahmins) which was craftily operationalized in order to serve their own political purpose i.e. control of cultural, social and economic capital.

After these Vedas and Smritis developed the classical Sanskrit in which the "epics" Ramayana and Mahabharata, grammars, dramas and commentaries were written approximately up to the tenth century AD. Sanskrit also sustained its hegemonic status with Brahminical Hinduism as its representative language. But it continued to be the exclusive property of Brahmins and upper-castes.

Even though it was not the spoken language of the common mass at any historical juncture, literary works, grammatical treatises and commentaries were produced in Sanskrit up to the 8th-9th century. Thus hegemony of Sanskrit language was constructed and sustained over a considerable period of length in Indian history. The circulation of knowledge by means of selective access to Sanskrit education, thus, helped in the circulation of wealth and prestige among elites (the Brahmins) causing sustained exclusion of the larger masses.

B.R. Ambedkar, in his work *Castes in India: Their Mechanism, Genesis and Development*, argues that the mechanism behind caste based hierarchies is the control of social and cultural capital by means of endogamous marriage practices. He further maintains that for smooth functioning of the endogamous marriage practices, there has to be equilibrium between the numerical presence of marriageable units of both men and women. However, there were times when there occurred numerical disparity between the marriageable units of both the sexes thus result in to:

1.	Burning the widow with her deceased husband, Sati burning;
2.	Compulsory widowhood a milder form of burning;

3.   Imposing celibacy on the widower; and

4.   Wedding him to a girl not yet marriageable.

'Endogamy' is the only and very important characteristic based onwhich the entire notion of caste revolves and if we succeed in showing how endogamy is maintained, we shall practically have proved the genesis and also the mechanism of caste. Ambedkar further maintains that these practices derive their legitimacy from the religious scriptures such as the Dharmashastras, the Smritis, the Vedas etc. Thus we see, how the legitimacy of the traditional Indian social structures are derived by the holy scriptures and how those written scriptures are operationalized by means of Sanskrit Language ensuring its sustenance.

Uma Chakravarti in her work *Gendering Caste: Through a Feminist Lens* goes little further and hits the core essence of what Ambedkar formalized in his work by giving it the term "Brahminical Patriarchy" which is the root cause of formation of caste and gender based inequalities in traditional Indian society. The various political linkages of caste and gender and their interrelationships were examined for the first time by Uma Chakravarty who, indeed uncovers the political consensus of caste system and reveal the underlying violence and force that leads to the sustenance of an extremely hierarchical and unequal social organization. The political and social subordination of women, by means of brahminical political consensus legitimizing through religious texts and customs, and the control of female sexuality are crucial to the maintenance of the caste system, creating what she calls "brahmanical patriarchy". Thus Uma Chakravarti substantiates to Ambedkar`s analysis that origin of endogamy and exploitation of women by means of Sati, girl marriage, widowhood etc. are inextricably interlinked.

However, it is **D.N. Jha,** who in his work *Ancient India in Historical Outline,* brings out the advent of Iron as a revolutionary power of production in the later

Vedic period. He maintains that the advent of Iron transformed the economy from pastoral to an agricultural one. It was the later Vedic period when land and cattle were first crystallized as Private capital. He points point the rigidity of caste structure during this period as well as the marginalization of women from structures of power and authority and subsequent rise of territorial monarchy based on inheritance. D.N. Jha also writes that the three Vedas i.e. Atharvaveda, Samaveda and Yazurveda, the Dharmashastras, the smritis such as Manu smriti, the Puranas and Upanishads all were written during this period. Thus, D.N. Jha has beautifully brought out the relationship between the advent of private capital in the form of Iron and the subsequent changes in social structures with the rise of brahminical patriarchy and exclusion of other castes and women. Thus the scriptures and the use of language were used in this period to establish and ensure the social closures formed by the powerful elites i.e. the Brahmins in this period.

Thus, the entire idea that revolves around Sanaskrit Language as a political instrument in the hands of Brahmins in the traditional Brahminical Hinduism is dependent of various factors and didn't came in to existence of its own. The factors that have come out explicitly after all these studies specific to the later Vedic period are:

1. Rise in accumulation of wealth (capital) as a consequence of technological advancement and a shift in the mode of production by the advent of 'iron' in the later Vedic Period

2. The Rise of political nature of man (Brahmins) which developed as a consequence of the advent of 'capital' and the intent to control it. As a result this political fact was made to institutionalise in to institutional facts by means of Language, religion and social structures, mores, tales etc.

Thus we see a strong correlation between language, capital and the role of Power elites that wants to systematically control resources and sustainably maintain the status quo.

2.6 Mechanism of Exclusion: Sanskrit Language as Political Instrument

Sanskrit Language as a language of the **Brahmins** (Power Elite in ancient India) became increasingly sectarian with fewer people having rights to learn and benefit from its usage. Lower castes and women were disallowed to learn Sanskrit language and were kept outside the domain of 'knowledge' and 'Public sphere'. Sanskrit Language derived its 'superior' status by dint of being the language of various religious scriptures such as *Vedas, Smritis*, *Puranas*. Two things can be observed from the same:

1. Sanskrit language was developed and legitimized as a language of religious scriptures, of the few power elites such as the Brahmans and

2. The women and lower castes were kept away from the ambit of learning Sanskrit language. This was legitimized by means of religious scriptures.

Idea of exclusion based on language and class is not a secular phenomenon in India i.e. it inveterately imbibes the caste and gender based historical legacies of hierarchy and exclusion. To my mind, this entire process of systematic exclusion from the domains of 'knowledge' and 'power' and its legitimization by means of religion cannot be a simple, isolated social phenomenon and has to be necessarily seen as being 'political in nature'. Thus, the entire idea of my dissertation was to arrive at a conclusion wherein the interrelationship between '**capital**', 'political interest of **Power elites**' and the '**mechanism** of its operation' can be established taking ancient India particularly the Later Vedic period as a time frame of reference. More so, because this was the period which observed a sudden paradigm shift in social and political structures owing to the advent of capital i.e. Iron.

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Thus we have seen that 'power elites' in ancient Indian history were the Brahmins who, by means of manipulative power, constituted the social structures and codified them all with the help of Sanskrit language. The Sanskrit language was highly revered and was called as the language of the Gods with only Brahmins having the rights to learn and impart knowledge. The lower castes and the women were systematically marginalized from learning. Thus, the power manifested itself in the form of sacred text, religion, language in the hands of the power elites.

CHAPTER III:

CONTEMPORARY INDIA: LANGUAGE BASED EXCLUSION AND RECENT DEBATES

In the previous chapter, we saw how capital emerged as a prime factor which led to the transformation of a social man in to a political one. The economic resources at the base of such activity does, indeed, confirm to the Marxian idea of base structure giving rise to the superstructure such as culture, religion, language and so on. What Gramsci says about "hegemony" and Althusser about the sustenance of hegemony through status apparatus, ideology, culture etc. are quite important concepts to understand the mechanism behind the maintenance of its status quoist character. Power elites in ancient India, indeed, were the Brahmins, whereas in modern India, their character transformed in to a neoliberal advocate. It seems, quite likely, that the Indian neoliberal advocates of modern day India are increasingly using English Language as a political Instrument in order to grind their own axe. The questions around education, prestige, status, employability etc. around English Language in Modern day India are questions of greater significance in the interest of the larger masses, in general, and in academics in particular. How languages are institutionalized and justified too has much to do with power.

"In the case of **English,** for instance, it was standardized not because it was structurally or intrinsically any better than the non-standardized, region-bound varieties of the languages we stigmatize as dialects. It was standardized by complex processes in which powerful elites, clerks of the chancellery and the clergy had a hand" (John Honey 1997).

3.1 LPG Reforms and English Language post 1991:

The Indian economy, owing to its slow growth and dilapidated framework of economic functioning, opened up its markets to the world in the year 1991. These have had huge impact over the socio-economic and political fabric of Indian society. For over two decades, researchers have bantered about the effects of globalization on the economy, society, governmental issues and society. One of the critical results of globalization is the development of English as the most widely used language of the whole world. "In recent years, scholars have concentrated on the impact of globalization on the language policy in the developing world" (Chang, 2006). Without any doubt, the development of English as the 'worldwide language' posits both social and financial difficulties and strategy makers around the globe are starting to ponder over this change.

The developing interest for learning English medium schools1 is incompletely determined by the desire of acquiring a "pay premium" in the work market. From an open arrangement point of view, enhancing the entrance to English training is critical for two principle reasons. In the first place, English speaking skills upgrades the capacity of people to take an interest in the worldwide economy. Second, it can address the developing pay disparity which emerges because of differential access to quality English preparing. On the other hand, the inquiry still remains whether the administration ought to grow open English medium schools. The contention for growing English medium schools is that it can enhance the entrance to learning English. Then again, there are bona fide concerns over moving language strategy for advancing English medium schools. For example, education

By definition an "English Medium School" is one in which "English" is the essential medium of teaching method. The same rationale applies to the Regional Medium Schools too. Data gathered by the National University for Education Planning and Administration shows that those choosing English Medium Education have expanded by 150% between the years 2003 to 2008.

Therefore, English medium education has indicated to have unfriendly impacts on learning results. English education, today in India, has been paradoxical in nature. In the first hand it has become indispensable for employment and on the other hand it causes exclusion to the larger lasses who could not afford to benefit from it, owing to their, lower socio-economic conditions.

3.2 Background:

3.2.1 Provincial History and Post-Independence Language Policy in India:

India's tryst with English goes back to the mid nineteenth century, when the British formally presented English education. Viswanathan (2014) contends that the British training approach was "set out to make a working class serving as an officer of colonialist economy and organization and, through it, to start social change by a slow process of separation". During the British Raj, English developed as the language of the Indian Elite class and it came to be connected with power and benefit. Consequently, communicating in English language has had a gigantic role in forming India's political, social and financial structure.

The "English Raj" finished in 1947. Post-Independence, the Constitution Assembly discussed the part of English in free India. There was a general feeling that an Indic language ought to be made the official language. There were calls for Hindi, which was talked by the greater part, to be made the national language however it was not acknowledged by the non-Hindi talking individuals from the Constituent Assembly. The individuals came to a bargain and it was chosen that both English and Hindi might be the official languages of the Central Government, every state should have its own particular authority language and the correspondence between the Center and States might be in English and Hindi. The ramifications of this choice was that as a matter of course all civil servants were relied upon to have a working learning of English Moreover, practically speaking, English keeps on being the connection language between the Hindi talking and non-Hindi talking populace in India.

3.2.2 English Language and Politics Post Liberalization:

India destroyed the "Permit Raj"6 and moved to a more open economy in the mid 1990's. In the course of recent decades, there has been a huge development in India's Information innovation segment. It has developed from contributing around 2% of the GDP in the late nineties to 4.8% toward the end of 2006 and now stands about around 7.5%. This development was filled by an English-talking instructed white collar class, which is right now evaluated to be around 300 million.

Since the administration area has been the primary driver of India's financial development and produces generally lucrative occupations, the interest for English training has expanded hugely. The post-liberalization period of India's financial strategy was additionally checked by the

disappointment of the administration to give general quality government funded training. This filled a fast extension in private procurement of grade schools all through India. The condition of state funded school was abysmal to the point that the PROBE Team (1999) study reported that "even among poor families and distraught groups, one discovers folks who make awesome penances to send some or the greater part of their kids to tuition based schools, so baffled are they with government schools". This lead to a circumstance when folks began to send their youngsters to expense charging non-public schools as opposed to the free of expense government funded schools

3.2.3 English Language and Education: Private Vs Public Schools Debate

Some studies reveal that despite the fact private schools in India use fewer resources, students who attend private schools outperform their counterparts in public schools on almost all parameters. A recent study revealed that the rate of teacher absenteeism in public schools is higher than that of private schools (Kremer, Chaudhury, Rogers, Muralidharan, & Hammer, 2005). In this way "educator truancy" and poor educational quality could be among the most imperative variables that clarify the execution hole in the middle of private and state funded schools in India. "A randomized control trial study to evaluate the effect of teacher performance pay incentive seems to indicate that those students who are assigned to the incentive classroom performed much better than those students in the control group" (Muralidharan & Sundararaman, 2009)

Thus, tuition fee, performance etc. are increasingly getting linked with the acquisition process of education. This again serves as a barrier to socio-educational mobility.

3.2.4 Social Capital, English Language and Exclusion:

In India, "English continues to be the language in which the elite is educated and through which one climbs into positions of power, affluence, and cultural significance", (Agnihotri & Khanna 1997).

"In India, even in Varanasi which is the heart of the Hindi movement (the movement to promote the use of Sanskritized Hindi which is a symbol of the Hindu identity and part of Hindu nationalism), the citizens vote for Hindi education, yet send their own children to English-medium schools" (Laitin 1992: 69)

Thus, it is vivid from the abovementioned statements that "English language is a deep rooted sociological phenomenon. Coleman showed that social capital in the long run prompted the making of human capital for the future era. Human capital, a private asset, could be gotten to through what the past era amassed through social capital. Field recommended that such a procedure could prompt the very imbalance social capital endeavours to determine. While Coleman saw social capital as a moderately nonpartisan asset, he didn't deny the class propagation that could come about because of getting to such capital; given that people progressed in the direction they could call their own advantage. So also, Bourdieu contends as far as Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture. Bourdieu and Coleman were on a very basic level diverse at the hypothetical level (as Bourdieu accepted the activities of people were once in a while ever cognizant, yet all the more so just a consequence of their habitus being sanctioned inside of a specific field, however this acknowledgment by both appears to evidently associate their comprehension of the more idle parts of social capital.

According to Bourdieu, "habitus refers to the social context within which a social actor is socialized". In this way, it is the social stage, itself, that outfits one with the social reality they get to be acclimated to. Out of habitus comes field, the way in which one incorporates and presentations his or her habitus. To this end, it is the social trade and cooperation between two or more social performing artists. To show this, we accept that an individual wishes to better his place in the public arena. He along these lines gathers social capital by including himself in an informal organization, holding fast to the standards of that gathering, permitting him to later get to the assets (e.g. social connections) increased after some time. On the off chance that, on account of training, he utilizes these assets to better his instructive results, subsequently empowering him to wind up socially versatile, he successfully has attempted to repeat and imitate the stratification of society, as social capital has done little to lighten the framework all in all. This may be one negative part of social capital, yet is by all accounts an unavoidable one all by itself, just like all types of capital

A great many people marginalized by the spectacle created around English Education and employability concedes that the English language is seriously a systematic tool to marginalize them. The politics of equality of opportunity with no real scope for equality of outcome has posed greater questions in front of the larger masses and also the policy makers. It takes after that any battle against the misuse of language is a nostalgic oldness, such as inclining toward candles to electric light or hansom taxis to planes. Underneath this lies the half-cognizant conviction that language is a characteristic development and not an instrument which we shape for our own reasons.

Presently, it is clear that the decay of a language should eventually have political and financial reasons: it is not because of the awful impact of either individual essayist. In any case, an impact can turn into a reason, fortifying the first cause and creating the same impact in a strengthened shape, thus on uncertainly. Be that as it may, if thought undermines language, language can likewise degenerate thought. An awful use can spread by custom and impersonation, even among individuals who ought to contentions which are excessively severe for a great many people, making it impossible to face, and which don't square with the claimed points of political gatherings. Subsequently political language needs to comprise to a great extent of code word, inquiry asking and sheer overcast unclearness.

Language is an apparatus of correspondence as well as a savvy social and social marker; a gage that mirrors the conviction and quality arrangement of the society. Hypothetically, as social orders develop and get to be refined, the vocabulary of its language, as well, advances to better speak to the general public's shifting flow and evolving sensibilities, and gives more noteworthy power of expression to the language. Not extraordinarily, we in India acquired a social framework that is dug in, and routinely propagates, biased demeanours and convictions about sexual orientation, ethnic and religious gatherings. Languages are intended to grasp and reflect differing qualities, as gatherings which have been avoided figure out how to reject prohibition and act from an enabled spot. Shockingly, Urdu and our local languages have not uncovered any adjustments in social demeanours, particularly on account of sexual orientation stereotyping. What our language has methodically neglected to represent is that history, be it Western or Eastern, is loaded with courageous ladies, who resisted every one of the generalizations, expressed previously. Language has the ability to impact the contemplations of a country and mould

the way of life of the society. India's varied and rich languages must evolve to reflect and, in fact, inspire a culture proud of its women.

3.3 English Language and Language Policy in India:

The language strategy in India had been fixated on two issues of a typical national language and of the language equation to be embraced in essential and optional training. The civil argument about the national language has seen a split between those that back Hindi and those that advocate English as this basic language. The Hindi backers construct their supplication with respect to social and nationalistic reasons while the English supporters construct their position in light of realism – contending for the financial need and worldwide unavoidability of English utilization.

Two parts of English appropriation and use have, on the other hand, not got adequate scholastic consideration. While hills of printed material have been created on rank order in India; the English language class chain of command, ordinarily experienced in ordinary urban India, has barely justified scholarly consideration. The relative lack of investigations of the human science of the English-based Class System in India social stratification taking into account learning of English and communicated in English "intonations" with comparing social separation and segregation is striking.

Also, while English medium education has been dubiously identified with monetary great there is minimal experimental exploration that really sets up the causality of English medium training and financial great. Case in point, does the spread of English-medium training in India help or ruin GDP development? While various studies endeavour to relate proficiency rates and

all-inclusive essential training with financial great, there are barely any that particularly take a gander at the medium of direction and its relationship to other monetary information.

At the point when English turns into the official language of a nation, does it help or upset financial advancement? To concentrate on how financial aspects sway language, we thought about nations by GNP and authority language – and concocted some amazing results. Give us a chance to investigate the top and base nations on the planet by GNP per capita and analyse its relationship with authority language. In utilizing per capita measures nations with a little populace may prompt less important results, so we sifted through nations with populaces under 5 million. At that point, we sorted the outcomes by per capita GNP and took a gander at the main 20 and the bottom 20 nations.

In countries like Switzerland, which has numerous regular languages, the medium of essential education takes after the overwhelming phonetic gathering on a for every canton level with various authority languages mirroring the major semantic gatherings, without a characteristic class structure privileging a pilgrim language. Likewise, in the greater part of the nations over, the most elevated amount of training is accessible in the mass languages. The quest for higher studies continues impeccably well in a substantial number of non-English local languages, since just 4 out of the top 20 nations of the world positioned by GNP per capita have English-based frameworks. The top 20 are additionally not limited to European languages alone – Japan and Korea have done superbly well monetarily by utilizing their local languages as the medium of education, incorporating in the sciences, over picking a non-mass language, for example, English. Switzerland and

Israel are both multi-lingual nations, yet diverse essentially from India in that they don't experience the ill effects of a comparative class framework and saw predominance of an outside language, talked just by a minority of individuals. The instance of Israel's decision of language is especially enlightening and we should take a gander at it in more noteworthy detail assist on.

The lion's share of the rundown of the poorest nations in this table has a class framework like the one in India, where the language and society of the provincial bosses is viewed as better than the local languages. Quite a bit of advanced education, business, government and legal are executed in this language, frequently not the same as the languages talked inside the home by the greater part of individuals.

Not all nations are poor basically due to this language class detachment. Connection does not build up causality. Regardless in this investigation of colonization, concentrating on the subjection of language, with its resultant class-detachment and long haul monetary and social outcomes, is plainly a vital issue. This language based class partition harms the individuals in various ways:

(1) It benefits a remote culture over the local society, accordingly disintegrating self-regard and an essential faith in individuals.

(2) It separates the scholarly and arrangement talk of the nation, frequently completed in the pioneer language utilizing a provincial perspective, from wide investment by the individuals.

(3) It powers the expense of re-education of a whole populace into an alternate language with the end goal of higher studies, hence making a biased based impediment for advancement for those informed in the local languages, and it hold up the colonized exclusive classes as the benchmarks for the rest to hope for. Additionally surprising, then again, is the lack of investigation on this subject. There is a feeling of inescapability among the tip top with respect to the appropriation of English. Indeed, even India's late financial development and the accomplishment of its product industry has regularly been connected to the appropriation of English.

3.3.1 English language: Is it indispensable for growth?

English-medium training is frequently touted as one of India's game changers and an explanation behind its late financial advancement. These claims parade as evident truths, so clear that no study need be done to set up their premise indeed. Is worldwide business achievement connected to the learning of English?

   The significant East Asian economies Japan, South Korea, Taiwan are all non-English talking. Business colleges, much the same as other advanced education in these nations, are directed in Japanese, Korean and Chinese, not in English. Yet these nations have delivered worldwide multi-nationals in everything from cars to customer gadgets Honda, Toyota, Sony, Samsung and various others. Of the main 1000 organizations in Asia 792 are from these 3 nations (India has 20) with joined offers of about 4.5 trillion dollars (India's consolidated aggregate is not even 2% of these).

   A kid from a town in Japan, South Korea or Taiwan can seek to be a specialist, a designer or a business pioneer without having a weakening constrained language medium movement for advanced education. This permits

the abilities of the whole country to be tackled, dissimilar to in nations with a high level of language class partition. In a late investigation of town schools in India, we discovered a school in the town of Khandodra in Haryana where about 33% of the kids in the school scored over the 90th percentile on the insight test that we regulated. The youngsters were all contemplating in Hindi medium.

Correspondingly, the thought that India's product achievement is because of the information of English bears inspecting. On the off chance that it were genuine, then English-talking nations must show this favorable position reliably. Nations like Kenya, with practically identical histories to India of colonization, an English-based pioneer class framework and an extensive English work power, should likewise be excessively fruitful in programming. This swings out to not be the situation. Moreover, this hypothesis additionally neglects to clarify why Israel, which takes after to a great extent Hebrew and Arabic-medium educating, is a striking programming achievement.

Individuals in Israel moved from all parts of the world in the twentieth century. These individuals talked a wide range of languages, yet Israel picked Hebrew, not English as their official language, resuscitating for cutting edge times what had been announce a "dead" or traditional language. This would be what might as well be called India picking Sanskrit as its authority and connection language, rather than the provincial decision of English.

With India's obsession with English-based advanced education, it has the capacity influence the ability of a far littler rate of its populace. Along these lines India acts like a nation with an ability pool which is not as much as a tenth of its populace. The brilliant kids from the town of Khandodra in

Haryana, constantly hit against the unfair limitation of English in their journey for specialized and expert training in India.

The Common Admission Tests for access to the Indian Institutes of Management is in English medium as well as English language verbal capacity and perusing cognizance shape a critical extent of the test. English is required to be a legal counselor or judge in the state High Courts or the Supreme Court in India. To turn into a specialist or a designer, the best state-subsidized establishments remain only English medium. English remains an obligatory qualifying subject for the Civil Service Examinations that chooses India's administrators.

Subsequently the English Class System exists in the social area as well as state strategy. The message is clear and reliable. Indian languages are "lower", English is "higher". You can hone in lower courts in Indian languages, however high courts oblige English. You can turn into a customary trooper or jawan in the armed power by giving the test in an Indian language. To turn into an officer, the test is in English.

The pioneer outlook and talk changes formally authorized separation and the class order of language into stories of the worldwide "certainty" and the normal prevalence of English. To contend generally would be to contend for backwardness over advancement; for trenchant patriotism (or regionalism) over clear financial great. Yet this financial great is a long way from self-evident. Forcing a compulsory language shift for advanced education for the greater part of Indians has noteworthy financial expenses—it neglects to add to the ability of unlimited quantities of Indians for the new economy and turns

into an extreme pivot of segregation and proceeded with impoverishment. English, then, can be all the more precisely recognized as the language of India's backwardness as opposed to as its advancement.

English selection has regularly been denounced for its social expenses in the annihilation of local languages. However its utilization has frequently been legitimized on down to earth financial grounds. Apart from the social pulverization in the far reaching appropriation of a remote language, the financial premise of the contention for English education should be analyzed with more prominent incredulity. The support of English frequently depends on contentions of the "certainty" of its reception for advancement and advancement. Part II of this paper looks at the relationship of these contentions of inexorability to the progressive English Class System predominant in Indian culture and in addition its recorded beginnings.

The Indian scholarly elites and administration, regularly educated in English-medium schools and universities, are taken by the "undeniable unavoidability" of English-medium expert and advanced education. The truths specified in the past areas are not elusive. Yet, the general concept that somebody would turn into a skilled specialist, designer or business expert contemplating in Hindi or Tamil medium pretty much as they can in Japanese, Hebrew or even Turkish appears to be fairly limitless in contemporary Indian talk.

This idea of the prevalence of English additionally holds influence in Indian social connections where the "accent" of communicated in English has turn into a key marker in the social chain of importance. "Cloister school"

English inflection is the most noteworthy in this chain of command, trailed by "less-refined" private or government school English, down to those that are uncomfortable in the English phrase—and are effectively denounced as uncouth or ignorant. School graduates without "religious community school" English that I talked with griped of this inclination in the employment business sector; despite the fact that they may be very equipped in performing the obliged occupation. Of course then, there is a spiraling interest for English and "religious circle" training. Some of this interest is unnaturally made with express inclination in state strategy for English language advanced education.

To be clear the issue is not about learning English or notwithstanding talking it well. The issue emerges when medium of training itself is changed from the normal mass-languages to English; when communicated in English inflections turn into a marker of class pecking order; and where pervasive predisposition exists in expert and advanced education and in addition in the employment market against the mass languages. While the Japanese may line up to learn English as a second or third language for the purpose of business or set out or to bolster their interest with America, English talking does not turn into a social class marker in communication inside Japanese society; nor do they transform English learning into an entire scale movement of higher and expert education into English medium.

Gauri Vishawanathan of Columbia University, in her book "Masks of Conquest", has done an investigation of the foundation of English language and writing in India. The establishment of the English-speaking elite in India took a 3-pronged approach:

1. "The destruction and/or denigration of native education"

2. "The requirement of English for becoming part of the governing elite'

3. "The establishment of English only, i.e. English medium schools, along with the cessation of teaching English as a language in native-language schools"

The languages and writing of a country is a noteworthy bearer of its way of life. In dismissing a country from their languages and writing, the pioneer experience reared obliviousness and scorn of the local experience, while setting the thought of the "ideal" Englishman, helped through the English writing, on the local platform. This made a class of local "chestnut sahibs" more alright with the English figure of speech and qualities than with their own and the foundation of an abstract and social tip top that related to the English and looked downward on the non-English talking "locals" as Englishmen would.

The point of English education was complex – one was to secure a "cradle zone" of prepared civil servants who could be controlled and who might govern over the masses, and further more to utilize training as a method for building up intelligent administration over this class by a blend of stigmatizing the local culture all the more imperatively, to have this exclusive class relate to the estimations of the victors as opposed to the prevailed.

The degree to which this mission succeeded in the arrangement of the present-day tip top makes for an entrancing study. A few "Orientalists" dissented against the elimination of local state literary works, and the express production of a language based rank chain of command, in view of state arrangement:

By demolishing local writing, by clearing far from all wellsprings of pride and joy in their own particular mental endeavours, by rendering an entire individuals subordinate upon a remote and obscure nation for every one of their thoughts and for the very words in which to dress them, we ought to corrupt their character, discourage their energies and render them unequipped for trying to any learned qualification.

In any case, the Orientalists, in spite of their claimed investigation of Indian writing were just as complicit in setting up British Hegemony. According to Vishwanathan(1998:167),

"a curriculum may incorporate systems of learning of a sub-ordinate population and still be an instrument of hegemonic activity… both the Anglicist and the Orientalist factions were equally complicit in the project of domination, British Indian education having been conceived in India as part and parcel of the act of securing and consolidating power".

Note that British managers disallowed the instruction of English as a language outside of English-medium schools. By the 1835 English Education act, the instructing of English was taken out of local language schools – on the grounds that learning English as a language, while holding the local medium of training would permits the locals to comprehend the British on their own (local) terms. This is on account of a local raised thinking in their own language and only learning English as a remote language, would have the capacity to impartially contemplate the British, outside of the pioneer structure introduced to them as goal and unbiased. Hence the change of medium, and the foundation in the local personality of an English based class structure, was an essential piece of the colonizing mission.

3.3.2 English Language and the contemporary Indian University System

The foundation by the British of schools and colleges, sorted out on the lines of the London University, for preparing a scholarly class in the colonizer's perspective was all that much piece of the colonizing mission. Macaulay's successor, Charles Cameron who campaigned vigorously for a centralized university system, "went so far as to call for the total exclusion of the classical languages of India i.e. Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian on the grounds that they were inextricably bound with system of 'pagan theology'."(Viswanathan, 1998:113)

Notwithstanding when investigations of established Indian languages and writings were completed under "Oriental studies" this was a piece of keeping up a dominion of power and control. While the Orientalist Horace Wilson contended for the protection of local languages, he suggested co-selecting the maulvis and the savants as educators and interpreters of Western tests. Viswanathan(1998:113) suggests, "Wilson refined the 'Trojan horse' strategy of destruction from within, to urge that the traditional men of learning of India also be co-opted as 'additional instruments in our power'." Even while tolerating Wilson's contentions to a limited degree, "by no means was the Bentinck organization or whatever other organization taking after his readiness to bolster Oriental learning on the off chance that it implied the propagation of Oriental languages and writing as the wellspring of scholarly values, ethics and religion."

The accomplishment of the deliberate endeavors of the British overseers in making a tip top English class in these colleges who follow their scholarly establishes exclusively in the Western human advancement can without much of a stretch be watched today. Having disguised the negative generalizations

about their own roots, their just mental resistance stays to separate themselves from these roots however much as could be expected by assaulting them as their heroes taught. At the point when the colonized relate to the mental perspective of the colonizer, the subjugation of their brain is finished. This disposition of the psyche, above everything else, is the thing that we discuss in discussing the "colonized."

3.3.3 UPSC Debate: English Vs Vernacular Language:

Far reaching feedback of the progressions told as of late by the Union Public Service Commission including the language segment in the Civil Services examination has constrained the Union government to put those arrangements on hold pending survey. The "language predisposition" assertion that has been made by every one of the depreciators is fixated on the recognition that English has been given a more unmistakable place in the plan of things contrasted with territorial languages, including Hindi. Some of them call attention to that a paper that conveys 100 imprints in English cognizance and précis will now influence the legitimacy positioning of hopefuls where prior her or his office in English was tried just at the qualifying stage. This, it is contended, favors urban, English-medium taught hopefuls, at the expense of those from country and hindered foundations. Other questionable changes, however typically to a lesser degree a red cloth for our standard English-baiters, include the inconspicuous minimizing of India's local languages in the UPSC exam. For instance, understudies who concentrate on in any language other than English or Hindi will never again have the capacity to compose a urgent paper in that language unless their college degree additionally happened to be in that medium of guideline.

The push since Independence has been on giving the Indian Administrative Service and associated frameworks the stamp of a comprehensive and agent stream, destroying the elitism that was the prevalent component of the Indian Civil Service that went before it. It is this method of reasoning that prompted a determination process where competitors having a place with poorer and denied classes or from until now under-spoke to areas are likewise ready to make their imprint. This methodology is vital to guaranteeing that officers who lead the organization have the right introduction to offer supremacy to the standards of value in choice making. Any open deliberation that places the "language inclination" contention to make light of the requirement for verbal and composed familiarity with English is full of peril. In today's India, heads must have the capacity to impart viably in English. To that degree, the UPSC exam must guarantee that a fruitful competitor has a base level of capability in the language. That said, utilizing English as a legitimacy positioning gadget may not deliver an ideal result. While applicants who examine in English-medium schools are liable to know the language superior to anything others, there is no motivation to expect their general information base or aptitude set is superior to the individuals who have concentrated on in different languages. Permitting contender to answer a typical arrangement of inquiries in the language they are most agreeable in is the most ideal approach to survey their suitability. Obviously, the post-passage preparing procedure can and must be utilized to enhance measures of English.

Language serves two parts—as a method for correspondence and as a transporter of society. While English can serve as a method for correspondence, it is not the essential bearer of local society. This is something that was definitely acknowledged by the British managers in India also when they noted, for occurrence, that English training was "loaded with Christian references" pretty much as the vocabulary of Indian languages was

pervaded with their premise in Indian philosophical and religious thought. Edward Thornton, British parliamentarian ventured to say – "When (the Indians) turn out to be top notch European researchers, they must stop to be Hindoos." While Indian society is as yet battling with this striking attestation, the adequacy of this social denigration and devastation is clear in scholarly, journalistic and anecdotal India writing in English.

Language and Socialization: While language is general, the distinction of a language and the sounds and images it picks, mirrors the disposition of a social ordeal. "In this manner a particular society is not transmitted through language in its comprehensiveness but rather in its disposition as the language of a particular group with a particular history."

A small kid is compelled to experience the dichotomy between his/her external and inward universes – the language talked at school and at home, the language of talked expression and the language of outer composition, till the youngster gradually and unquestionably begins to think and see his reality through the eyes of the colonizer.

For a pioneer youngster, the congruity existing between languages as a medium of correspondence was permanently broken. This brought about the disassociation of the sensibility from his normal and social environment, what we may call pilgrim estrangement. (Thiong'o 1986). The distance got to be fortified in the instructing of history, geology, music, where. Europe was dependably at the focal point of the universe.

A definitive effect of utilizing an outside medium as the essential medium for study is a profound provincial distance on an individual and societal level.

Frontier estrangement takes two interlinked structures; a dynamic (or detached) removing of oneself from the truth around; and a dynamic (or latent) recognizable proof with that which is most outer to one's surroundings (Thiong'o 1986: 28). It begins with a purposeful disassociation of the language of conceptualization, of considering, of formal training, of mental improvement; shape the language of day by day communication in the home and in the group. It is similar to isolating the psyche from the body with the goal that they are involving two disconnected semantic circles in the same individual. On a bigger social scale it is similar to delivering a general public of incorporeal heads and headless bodies.

Impact of Language Politics on modern day India : It is maybe because of this separation that multitudes of civil servants and scholastics can compose volumes about "social issues" in India; however those social issues stay everlastingly hopeless. By and by the scholastics are totally separated from the general public in their study. When they do mull over the general public, they do this under frontier classes from a pilgrim perspective, disengaged from a real individual ordeal. These studies are regularly used to art government approaches, managed by civil servants in a pioneer setup, and by confused activists and NGO's, prompting determined hopelessness about the "issues of Indian culture and its backwardness", where the issues may well lie in the look—the way the general public is seen and problematized and the specific attitude that specialties the answers for these issues. Thiong'o briefly catches the present states of mind of the colonized exclusive class with respect to pilgrim establishments and languages, condensing that "it is the last triumph of an arrangement of command when the ruled begin singing its ethics." This for sure is the situation in India, where everything of quality is consequently ascribed to the "edifying power" of the European vanquishers, pretty much as financial achievement is to English; while every one of the issues are

discredited and caricaturized as coming about because of the indigenous society, perpetually the wellspring of despicable backwardness..

3.4 De-colonizing the Indian mind

Despite the fact that this exposition speaks the truth the effect of English training, we don't plan to infer that English-language tip top education is the sole purpose behind the class partition or the main wellspring of the class separate. Nor will we consequently unite with our social roots basically by exchanging the language and interpreting the instructive material right now written in English into Indian languages. There is a basic qualification between the learning of English as a language for outside correspondence to utilizing English as an essential language in tip top schools and advanced education. While learning English as a language subject can today be an engaging instrument and should be energized, when it is transformed into the essential medium of world class education its dangerous impacts in the making of a separated exclusive class far exceed any putative advantages.

This situation has been realized as an after-effect of cognizant state arrangement, and therefore cognizant state approach is obliged to cure this. Colonization is propagated through the state-upheld foundations that are the legacy of British principle and it is these establishments that should be changed to cure its belongings. While it is not in the extent of his paper to analyze a thorough new language strategy, we investigate here a few thoughts for exchange.

Late models of exchanging state organizations and the medium of education out of English, for example, the case of Malaysia can be a valuable

study. Changes must start as a "draw"— where access is expanded for Indian languages, as opposed to as a "push" where individuals are compelled to learn Indian languages while access, into higher and expert training and employments, keeps on being denied to them.

Measures to check the hegemonic nature of English Language in India: In the draw display a thorough study should be possible of examinations, for example, that for choices of officers into the Indian military and IIM selection tests that propagate the English predisposition. Essentially, Malaysia actualized a wholesale change of its court framework far from English. In India, the High Courts remain English-based, rendering those with familiarity with Indian languages not able to practice in them. Administration, designing, therapeutic and other expert training should be made accessible at the most abnormal amount in Indian languages. The obstruction to passage to proficient and advanced education is a noteworthy motivation behind why interest for English education at the essential and optional level is developing. Unless the issue in advanced education is settled, again a circumstance to a great extent sustained by the state, driving Indian languages at the essential level is going to benefit little.

A further step would a prerequisite for changing over all English-medium schools into, in any event, double medium schools, through changes at the focal board level in CBSE and ICSE. Specifically, there is almost no reason that societies should be examined in English. This will permit composite capability to grow in Indian languages that will expand interest for composed materials in local languages.

A hefty portion of these strides may be seen as "going in reverse" by the world class Indians. As this paper has contended, this backwardness is in the brain. The issue, rather, is of going ahead by making expansive based access to the advanced economy from all areas of society and through all languages and unleashing the inventive capability of numerous as opposed to the few. While ceaseless consideration has been paid to the issue of rank based access in India; moderately little has been paid to semantic access that may, truth be told, be the greater determiner of social and monetary class in India today and a greater obstruction to expansive based societal access and flourishing. The fixation on station as the issue to get to is itself a consequence of the provincial look, the same look that neglects to think about the issues of the English-based class framework and of etymological obstructions and preference. Taking an interest in the advanced worldwide economy does not oblige English-medium training. Maybe the necessities of English-medium, powered by state arrangements and private partialities, make a hindrance to support in this economy for the dominant part of Indians.

The investigation of humanities and sociologies in Indian languages, especially in advanced education, additionally should be efficiently favoured. The divisions of humanities and sociologies in schools and colleges in India are the deny of frontier approaches, and have had little, if any, quantifiable positive commitment to Indian culture, other than in delivering new eras of detached neo-colonized who show scorn and contempt for indigenous society and conventions. Thus there is almost no net worth being made in these studies in Indian colleges. The state ought to inspect current financing to these organizations and thump down a couple ivory towers. Specifically, Indian language and Indian classics study prerequisites should be made piece of any best in class degrees in sociologies. State financing for advanced education in sociologies should be inspected for its viability and positive effect on true

social issues. In the meantime, grants ought to be made accessible to the individuals who decide to seek after these studies, and compose their exposition in Indian languages and that draw from Indic roots.

Recognizing a language learnt as a specialized apparatus from a remote language that usurps the part of an essential medium, a suitable language arrangement ought to bolster the educating of English as a second language while disintegrating its impact as an essential language.. Specifically, occupations for showing English as a second and third language ought to be made in rustic groups. This would give vocation to the multitudes of English-language instructors, while serving to separate the crippling institutional exclusive class-structure that has been made by privileging the information of English in India.

3.5 Politics of English Language and the Mechanism of its operation:

The mechanism of operation of English language is largely orthodox and rigid in terms of its conventional existence; both in the Indian psyche as well the pattern of education that we are following. The power in the hands of power elites today in India constitutes the entire framework of English education system, thus, creating barriers for non-elites. How English language is hegemonized and made indispensable to avenues of education, employment, livelihood has to do with power.

> "In the case of **English,** for instance, it was standardized not because it was structurally or intrinsically any better than the non-standardized, region-bound varieties of the languages we stigmatize as dialects. It was standardized by complex processes in which powerful elites, clerks of the chancellery and the clergy had a hand" (John Honey 1997).

"English continues to be the language in which the elite is educated and through which one climbs into positions of power, affluence, and cultural significance", (Agnihotri & Khanna 1997). "In India, even in Varanasi which is the heart of the Hindi movement (the movement to promote the use of Sanskritized Hindi which is a symbol of the Hindu identity and part of Hindu nationalism), the citizens vote for Hindi education, yet send their own children to English-medium schools" (Laitin 1992: 69).

"English language, in contemporary India, is being legitimized as a notion of 'merit' by means of examination system", (Deshpande 2006). The system of examination itself is so archaic and orthodox that it disallows the students to develop his/her own original thinking. Thus English language as a mechanism of archaic socialization process i.e. that conditions the mind in a particular way has been hampering liberation of Indian psyche even after decades of independence.

Further, the politics of equality of opportunity, in a modern democratic state, had been an alluding factor for the larger masses but with no real benefits. The cost of crossing the barrier and enter in to the domains of elitist education is way beyond the capacity of the poor and so the equality of opportunity seems to be a farce for the real progress of the larger masses. Thus, as Breen argues, equality of opportunity without equality of outcome is useless and serves no purpose for the upliftment of the poor in a modern democratic state.

> "Equality of opportunity is a principle that commands almost universal popular support and which many governments seek to promote. Social mobility – the degree to which people and families move between positions of social and economic advantage and disadvantage – is sometimes proposed as a way of assessing the extent of equality of opportunity. However, once we pay close attention to how social mobility is defined and measured and how equality of

opportunity is conceptualized, we find that there is, in fact, no straightforward relationship between them. Contrary to claims made by politicians and sometimes by social scientists, differences in social mobility do not necessarily reflect differences in the extent to which equality of opportunity has been realized",

(Breen 2010)

All these factors points out at the conclusion that the mechanism of the operation of English language is not alienated from the exercise of power as its constituent element. English language, serves the vested interest of the power elites i.e. the business houses, the corporates, the middle classes and the bureaucracies. These power elites form their own social class and exercise elite social closure thus disallowing the entry of the poor and the incapable to send their children to English medium schools and thus restrict their entry in to the mainstream society. The exaggerated notion of 'merit' and the subsequent legitimization of the same in the form of examination system only confirms to the desires of the power elites in India who, owing to their historical cultural and educational legacies by means of higher class, caste status, want to maintain the status quo by means of English language as a barrier to social mobility.

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Thus, we can conclude that power is an important constituent element in the social processes that tend to maintain the status quo. Sanskrit language and the barrier to social mobility in the past as well as English language and the similar tendencies to maintain status quo points out at the manipulative power of the power elites who want to serve their own interests. The recent UPSC debate around the English language in the CSAT format does have some links with politics that is played around language. The social barrier to mobility, that it created to many students from vernacular medium background cannot be seen in isolation as a secular phenomenon. The politics and the interest oriented behaviour of the power elites needs to be meticulously scrutinized.

CONCLUSION

Language, as a part of human progress and evolution has been an inherent part of social and political life. Language has been more than just symbolic interaction and a means of secular communication i.e. it has been a political instrument in the hands of the power elites right from the inception of time when man evolved in to a political animal; who wanted to control economic resources by means of religion, culture, language, hegemony, political ideology etc.

Origin of the Political nature of man in India:

In ancient Indian history, one can trace the roots of the evolution of man in to a political animal, more explicitly, in the later Vedic Age (1000 B.C. -500 B.C) at the time when "Iron" came to be used as a means of production. Iron was an important technological innovation of the period that transformed the economic and subsequently the social and political fabric of the human civilization. Prior to "Iron age" i.e. in the Early Vedic Period, human society was based on the principles of fluid social mobility. Caste as a well gender relations in terms of stringent hierarchical status symbols were absent rather social mobility between various social locations was a common phenomenon. Karl Marx in this idea of primitive communism has perhaps referred to such a society as having existed in India prior to the later Vedic Period of hunters, food gatherers etc. However, the later Vedic Period saw a separation of social relations and solidification of various social facts in to institutional facts in the form of stringent and opaque hierarchical social relations with decreasing social mobility.

D.N. Jha argues that it was with the advent of iron as a means of production that changed the very notion of production with the invention of Iron wheel, iron cart, Iron plough and other tools. This marked a sudden shift in the mode of production causing a change in social relations of production. The subsequent abundance of

production in the fields of agriculture, art and craft etc., led to a massive accumulation of wealth i.e. it was the first sight of the "capital" that came in to being in human society in India.

The accumulation of wealth, further, transformed man in to political animal from social animal that it was. This period was the first sight of the history when men started to plot and fabricate the norms, rules, rituals, codifying them in to religious texts giving legitimacy to it. There are numerous evidences to show that the later Vedic period and the Iron Age civilization was the origin of the first group of political men in the history of India:

1. It was in this period, as B.R. Ambedkar argues, that "caste" as a social relation came into existence as a more solidified hierarchical and exploitative social structure. This means, social mobility as a marker of fluid social relations became absent and "endogamy" as a means of controlling the sexuality of women and which kept intact the structure of the segmental society came in to existence. Thus, the entire paradigm shift in the social structure in Indian history was earmarked by the advent of "capital" for the first time in the form of Iron in the ancient history of India.

2. It was in this period, as D.N. Jha argues that the idea of political state and private property came in to existence. The sixteen "Mahajanapadas' such as Magadha, Kosala etc., i.e. the states with political boundaries came into existence in this period. Prior to this period kingship primarily existed in the form of chiefdom of the tribal groups, wherein their election or selection was based on democratic processes of consensus and election. However, in the later Vedic Period the king ship as a hierarchical and hereditary system developed and the idea of states with specified political boundaries began to gain ground. Thus, one can see the direct correlation between the advent of

"capital" in the form of iron in the Later Vedic Period and the sudden paradigm shift in the ideas of social and political structures.

3. It was in this period, as Sharmila Rege and Uma Chakravarty argue that women were consistently kept out of political realm of social functioning. Prior to Later Vedic Period, women were chiefs of tribal society. There are accounts of women as great scholars such as Gargi, Maitreyi etc. However, in the later Vedic Period no such accounts are available; rather in this period women were controlled by means of "endogamous" marriage practices disallowing them from marrying as per their choices. Thus, undemocratic ideas began to gain ground in the political sphere in this period and women as a social group accompanied by lower castes were exposed to exploitative mechanism deriving its legitimacy from the religious texts like *Puranas, Smritis* that were written mostly in the period following the later Vedic Period.

Mechanism of Exclusion: Language as Political Instrument in ancient India:

Sanskrit Language as a language of the ***Brahmins*** (Power Elite in ancient India) became increasingly sectarian with fewer people having rights to learn and benefit from its usage. Lower castes and women were disallowed to learn Sanskrit language and were kept outside the domain of 'knowledge' and 'Public sphere'. Sanskrit Language derived its 'superior' status by dint of being the language of various religious scriptures such as *Vedas, Smritis*, *Puranas*. Two things can be observed from the same:

1. Sanskrit language was developed and legitimized as a language of religious scriptures, of the few power elites such as the Brahmans and

2. The women and lower castes were kept away from the ambit of learning Sanskrit language. This was legitimized by means of religious scriptures.

Idea of exclusion based on language and class is not a secular phenomenon in India i.e. it inveterately imbibes the caste and gender based historical legacies of hierarchy and exclusion. To my mind, this entire process of systematic exclusion from the domains of 'knowledge' and 'power' and its legitimization by means of religion cannot be a simple, isolated social phenomenon and has to be necessarily seen as being 'political in nature'. Thus, the entire idea of my dissertation was to arrive at a conclusion wherein the interrelationship between '**capital**', 'political interest of **Power elites**' and the '**mechanism** of its operation' can be established taking ancient India particularly the Later Vedic period as a time frame of reference. More so, because this was the period which observed a sudden paradigm shift in social and political structures owing to the advent of capital i.e. Iron.

Explaining the Contemporary Indian Society vis-à-vis English Language:

Modern Indian history, owing to its colonial past has not been able to do away with the colonial hangover and its legacy of carrying on its shoulder what Rudyard Kipling called, "*The White Man's burden*". The existence of English language, which is also known as a global language today, is not 'given', rather its contemporary status has a sound interrelationship with politics and imperialistic-expansionist tendencies of an erstwhile global power i.e. the Great Britain. India, too, was once a colony of Great Britain (between: 1757-1947). And, undoubtedly, the colonial memory has left deep imprint over the collective Indian Psyche.

During colonial rule, English language, as a matter of fact, was one avenue for sound social mobility amidst the conditions of its own immobile society. Thus, English Language at that time was linked with economic power, social prestige and enhanced status and therefore, was widely accepted amongst the emerging middle class that was actually indifferent to the India`s struggle for freedom till late. After independence, it is the same middle class of the colonial past who turned into the modern Indian 'power elites' in higher echelons of the society i.e. business, media

houses, bureaucracy, and politics etc. It is often said that the British, indeed, left India but left behind a battalion of *Babus* with whom the notion that English Speaking was a sign of 'superiority' continued its legacy. The colonial memory and the subconscious acceptance of 'prolonged slavery' added to the legitimization of such status attached with English speaking in India.

This, sort of, gives me an explanation of my questions that I came across while thinking of my childhood and the experience with English language learning process. This idea of a socially constructed 'superiority' was not an immediate/personal construction of the concerns of contemporary Indian society rather it was a product and reflection of a deeper historical process that dates back to India's colonial past, or even long before that.

The LPG reforms and English Language:

The economic reforms in India in the year 1991 and the subsequent structural adjustments led to a massive opening of Indian society to the ideas of globalization, privatization and liberalization. This was again a major shift in the then existing mode of production that, despite the claims of a mixed economy, was largely 'socialistic' in nature. With all hopes and optimism, it also brought back the colonial memory of the past in new forms and dimensions i.e. neocolonialism and neoliberalism. Alongside, Indian society also got exposed to the "Global Capital" that seeks profits and attracts all those who could share this profit. Thus, Indian society has its own set of power elites today that has evolved by harnessing over the historical legacies of higher caste status, superior class status during colonial period and acceptance of English culture and language. The LPG reforms opened for them a plethora of opportunities and outcomes wherein they could exercise their cultural educational legacies and draw benefits from the same. English language increasingly became indispensable for employability and employment generation increasingly started coming from the private sector. The post liberalization era has seen the massive upsurge in the number of middle class with higher aspirations and

inclination towards English education. For instance the analytical report on education in Karnataka, released by the *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan*, states that the number of English medium schools has grown almost 1.75 times in the past five years, stating further that the English medium schools have almost doubled in 5 years in Karnataka i.e. from 2006-07 to 2012-13.

The educational sector has also seen a massive shift in the medium of imparting knowledge from vernacular to English. Vernacular language medium along with Hindi medium is limited to Government schools which are fewer and almost stagnant in their spread. Whereas, the post liberalization has seen the massive increase in the number of private – convent English medium schools. The English language has developed into the idea of merit, legitimizing itself through the examination system and generation of employability. The Premium Institutes of the country impart skills and knowledge particularly in English and the students that are selected are mostly English Educated from private-convent schools.

Thus, we see a massive shift towards English language in post liberalized India. The role of power elites today i.e. those who can afford to study English – the middle class along with the Business houses, the global capitalists cannot be overseen. More than 27% of India is still under poverty line (official estimates by Planning commission) and more than 50% of rural India is still without land ownership (socio-economic and caste census 2011). In this scenario, English Education with higher opacity to lower sections of the society, marginalized by the dual menace of caste and class, is not a boon but a bane indeed. To the women, who are doubly and are triply marginalized i.e. by caste class, class and gender relations, English education is a greater menace.

Way Forward:

Thus, English Education, unless made available to all with greater accessibility and quality education, the ideas of inclusive growth and participative citizenship, in its truest sense, will remain a distant dream. It is mandatory for the policy makers to keep in view the political trends around English Language and the subsequent marginalization of a majority of people. It is also important that in a country like India with no indigenous links with English language, it is absolutely undesirable that vernacular languages (along with Hindi) be undermined from the avenues of employment and education. The standardization of quality education system along with universal access to the same irrespective of class, caste, region, religion or gender is a possible step to deconstruct what the power elites have constructed over a historical time frame, as a product of their interrelationship with 'capital'.

Limitations and scope of the study:

This study has focused on two time periods i.e. the Ancient Indian Society (the later Vedic Period) and the Modern Indian Society (the Colonial and post-colonial period) and tried to draw a link between 'Capital', 'Power Elites' and 'Language'. However, it is a loose theoretical analysis, as the scope of the topic of my dissertation i.e. ***The politics of language in India; its origin mechanism and exclusion*** is really vast and so is the history of India. One can refer to other societies both within and outside India; Chinese, Greek, Egyptian history and try to validate what I am trying to put forth in this dissertation. Also, being a secondary research, it ought to have its own shortcomings and limitations. After all, it is not about finding 'correct' answers or long-standing solutions, rather as R.W. Emerson would remind us: "The reward of a thing well done is having done it".

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