



The issue of multi-linguality and challenges faced by working class students studying in an English medium school in Hyderabad

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Abstract

Entrapped in the parental aspiration of acquiring elite like proficiency in English pupils from the underprivileged sections appear to be precariously positioned in coping with the complexities involved in classroom pedagogical processes where, undue emphasis is given on the learning of English. Many of them happen to be first generation learners, and owing to which they find themselves overburdened by parental expectations. The pressure to perform is more intense from their parents' side than from their teachers' side. These parents themselves never went to schools but they seem to be well informed about the significance of good education and the benefits accruing from such education.

The students, on the other hand, find a disjunction between the language of instruction and their MT (which also happens to be the community language). With English as the medium of instruction, most students struggle with an inherent incomprehensibility in the learning process. Consequently, the whole learning process appears to them as tardy, burdensome and 'joyless'. By contrast, students from well off families have good exposure to the English language even outside school. Furthermore, they have access to internet, journals, magazines, newspapers, storybooks, movies and English speaking peer group and relatives. Their social capital enhances their linguistic capital-they are more likely to become proficient in the English language than their underprivileged counterparts.

The paper tries to bring forth challenges faced by these students from working class background by conducting ethnographic interviews.

Keywords: MLE (multilingual education), L1 and L2, scholastic performance, linguistic capital, competence, parental aspiration, anticipatory socialization

Introduction

In any educational system, the medium of instruction plays a crucial role. The question of prioritizing one language over the other in a multilingual society such as the India is politically highly contentious. As is known that languages are repositories of culture; it therefore becomes difficult to disconnect language and culture. Together they serve as the most salient dimensions of identities of social groups. Unsurprisingly then, even after more than six decades of sovereignty, the debates over language and education remain inconclusive. The question over the suitability of a language for imparting education through the native language (s) or the English language' which started with Macaulay's insistence on English-education, and saw the formation of many commissions (Wood's Despatch 1854, Hunter Commission 1882, Indian Universities Commission 1902, Hartog Committee 1928-29, Zakir Hussain/Wardha Committee 1938, the Seargent Report 1944-during the colonial regime and KG Kher Committee 1951, Official Languages Commission 1956, Kothari Commission 1964-66, National Policy on Education 1986, Acharya Ramamurti Commission 1990, National Knowledge Commission 2007-8-under the sovereign government) remains unanswered even after more than six decades of Independence.

Privileging Proficiency in the English Language

The condescending remarks of Lord Macaulay on the Oriental languages and education system left many natives wanting to be associated with the 'alleged superiority' of the British culture and their language. Technically, Macaulay's Minute of 1835 was instrumental in establishing English as the medium of instruction in educational institutions for higher learning. Ironically though, the demands for English education were constantly made at regular intervals by the natives even prior to Macaulay's intervention. For instance, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, social reformer in the nineteenth century, was the first Indian to have strongly advocated for modern education through the English language. In 1823 he wrote to the Governor General Lord Amherst pleading for a school for English education rather for Sanskrit education (Ghosh 1885:469-73). Many other Indians followed him in their plea for English education. For example, another native, Vennelacuntly Soob Row in Guntur, a petty clerk, who himself was illiterate in English, requested for English education for his province in the early nineteenth century (Frykenberg 1988). Similarly, in the North Western Provinces, Syed Ahmad Khan, a judge in the subordinate judicial administration, did not know English till he was in his late fifties. However this limitation on his part did not deter him

from becoming the pioneer of English education for Muslims in colonial India (Muhammad 1969) ^[15]. He relentlessly persuaded his co-religionists to embrace English and modern education to be able to become employable in the new power regime.

Subsequently various policies of the colonial government coupled, with the demand for English education by the native Indians and the voluntary initiatives taken by missionaries in the spread of English education in India, were instrumental in anchoring the English language so intensely that uprooting it later would prove to be a Herculean task.

Macaulay's Prophecy and Independent India

English got well established as the language of power and administration by the time India gained independence. Nehru's 'Tryst with destiny' exemplified the role of English in the newly born nation (Dixon 1967). English gradually penetrated almost all domains in an irrevocable manner. It dominated the domains of administration, business, education, mass media, science and technology and research and development wings in most of the government establishments. In many upper and middle class families English has replaced native languages as their first language.

Many studies have documented an unprecedented and meteoric rise of English in the recent decades due to globalization (Francis and Ryan 1998, Montaut 2010) ^[5]. It is now the second most widely used language in India (Census of India 2001). The indispensable significance of English in employment opportunities can be gauged from the fact that even in frontline jobs in hospitality, airlines, banking, tourism and marketing (Graddol 2010) proficiency in English is a pre requisite.

Many scholars have highlighted the instrumentality of the English language as an important avenue for upward mobility and social advancement (Annamalai 1992, Dua 1994, Fishman 1996, Kachru 1986) ^[10]. It was, and is still, the language of modern-secular education, the 'invisible career tongue' and a potent language of inter-group communications (Nilekani 2009: 92). 'English post-Independence has emerged as India's main career language – the language of India's university and college education, central government institutions, as well as the working language of India's corporations' (ibid). English, undeniably, has emerged as the lingua franca of the globalized economy, creating an almost 'hegemonic status' for the language (Dua 1994, Crystal 2003). It is the language of most scientific and academic journals, of tourism, banking and telecommunications (Kaplan 1993).

However, despite these perceived benefits of competence in English, the ill effects of hegemony of English are too severe to be ignored.

If English has provided 'power for the mobility and advancement' (Kachru 1986) ^[10], it has, at the same time created fissures within social formations. English has been blamed for excluding large populations from vital social processes, such as education, employment and participation in various (e.g., legal, political) discourses.

Unlike the Anglicists (those who acknowledge the indispensability of English language in the education system such as, Kachru 1965, 1983 & 1986; Rahman 1999 & 2004; Ramanathan 1999 and others) ^[10, 19, 20] the Vernacularists

(those who vouch for multilingual education through MT/L1 such as, Skutnabb-Kangas 1988 ^[24], Piker 1991, Phillipson 1992 and others) appear to be skeptical about the functions of the English language in various domains. They apprehend that the unprecedented spread of English across the globe is at the cost of many indigenous languages, where many of them have been marginalized even to the extent of becoming extinct. English, in the global world has emerged as a 'killer language' (Pakir 1991), a '*lingua frankensteinia*' rather than a '*lingua franca*' (Phillipson 2008) ^[18].

According to Skutnabb-Kangas (2011) ^[25], a leading promoter of multilingualism, the linguistic homogenization of education is good neither for the learner, nor for the society at large. She further elaborates that education through dominant- language-medium such as English leads to subtractive education and may curtail the cognitive development of children, thereby affecting their overall scholastic performance. By contrast Multi Lingual Education or MLE leads to additive education, a fair chance of achieving competence in both (or three) languages, an enhanced world view, and a better understanding with the members of L2/L3 linguistic groups.

However, despite the linguistic imbalances created by the alleged hegemony of English, there seems to be no slump in the demand for English medium education. On the contrary, according to an estimate (DISE 2014) there has been many fold increase in enrolment in English medium schools in 2010-2014. What is interesting about these figures is that a good percentage of these enrolments are from the lower income brackets. The emergent trend as far as English medium schooling is concerned is that the working class parents appear to be enthusiastic about sending their children to English medium schools, irrespective of the fact that they themselves might be unlettered. No wonder that low budget English medium schools have mushroomed in working class localities across India.

The unchallenged dominance of English language has been critiqued by scholars such as, Cumins 2001, Mohanty 1994, Skutnabb- Kangas 2000. The line of argument provided by these scholars and their likes is that bilingual education can in no way adversely affect the academic development of minority language students or students from underprivileged sections. Multilingual education too, as is argued by its proponents, helps develop students academically. It is quite obvious that students are at the receiving end of the tirade between monolingual education (in the dominant language-such as English) and multilingual education, and are often treated as experimental dopes by academicians, politicians and by their own parents.

It is in this background that the paper attempts to address the challenges faced by the students of an English medium school from economically backward communities, many of whom happen to be the first generation learners. Caught between the inspirational dreams of their poor parents and the ever mounting institutional pressure to perform, these students seem to be struggling with 'joyless' learning and academic incomprehensibility. Much of this academic incomprehensibility is due to the fact that there is hardly any similarity between the school language (English) and community language (Telugu/Urdu). Furthermore, English learnt in school is rarely used in day to day conversation,

given the socio-economic background of these students. It is quite rare to find any substantial work on the suitability of language as a medium of instruction from pupils' perspectives in the disciplines of sociology, education, and sociolinguistics. The present study aims to fill this research gap and it is in this direction that an attempt has been made through this paper, to give voice to the concerns of these students who happen to be torn between parental aspirations and scholastic performance and both of these are very much contingent upon the medium of instruction (e.g. English).

Home and School-the linguistic debate

Differences between classroom language and home or community language and cultural traditions have become issues of interest for the educationists and linguists. Many studies have found that students who have had no or limited exposure in the language for instruction used in school suffered with the problem of incomprehension. The deficit approach of Basil Bernstein recognizes the difficulties faced by students from working class in their classrooms, primarily because of the difference between the languages used at home (L1) and at school (L2). The study found that the working class parents, in their bid to live their dreams vicariously, strive hard to get their children admitted to English medium schools. They believe English competence to be an 'escape route' from poverty. These parents exhibit an unflinching faith in the miraculous powers of English medium education which, they believe, will help secure 'respectable and highly paid' jobs for their children. A sense of dismissiveness for L1 prevails among them as according to them, competence in L1 'is of no good'. By contrast, competence in English, as believed by them, is highly essential and will help them combat social discrimination at various levels. It is thus argued that English-proficiency ensures not only academic and professional success but also an elevated social status.

Context of the Study

The present study aims primarily at capturing an ever increasing anxiety faced by working class students studying in a private English medium school, many of whom happen to be first generation learners.

This paper is based on a preliminary study (with a very small sample) of a larger research work in progress.

The preliminary study was conducted in a school located at the outskirts of Hyderabad, in Moinabad Mandal, Ranga Reddy district of Telangana. Due to its strategic location Moinabad, in a short span, has emerged as one of the most commercially viable places for establishing educational institutions.

The founders of this school for which I use the pseudonym 'Cambridge International School' run many educational institutions through an Islamic Trust. They claim that their institutions are more philanthropically oriented than other corporate educational institutions. Though the Trust is registered as Muslim minority community trust, special care is taken to enroll students from other faiths also. Other faith students comprise roughly 40 percent of the total students' population. The rationale behind maintaining a heterogeneous population of students from all walks of life is to ensure their educational socialization in a composite cultural environment-

the very ethos of plural-cultural India.

The school was founded in 2007, almost a year later when findings of the Sachar Commission Report were made public. The campus is spread over 4000 sq yards and has all modern amenities such as indoor games hall, auditorium, lush green, sprawling playground, well stacked library, technically well-equipped laboratories, computer laboratory; and the classrooms are spacious, well-ventilated and well-furnished. In the school prospectus, emphasis is laid on the objective of the school, i.e., 'to enhance students' skills and talents and to make them learn socialization skills'.

Demographic profile of students

The total strength of students is approximately 600 and of these almost 250 students are from economically weaker families (EWF) that are mostly self-employed, daily wagers, hawkers, auto drivers, garage workers, piece rate workers, house help, carpenters, iron smiths, petty shop-owners and butchers. According to the Principal of the school, 60 per cent students of these EWF are first generation learners. These EWF send their children to this school with an aspiration of making their children educated, sophisticated, and well equipped in linguistic skills (English). They have firm belief that English medium education will translate into gainful employment sooner or later. They do not want their children to take up their occupation. Hence for them, English education is assuredly an escape route from poverty and undignified occupations. Also they take pride in the fact that they, even with their limited means, are able to provide English medium education to their children.

Besides EWF students there are many students from economically well off families. These families prefer to send their children to such schools where modern English medium education is provided in an ambience where Islamic ethos is emphasized. For them it is like killing two birds with one stone. The school claims to be the first of its kind, i.e., minority 'international' school where Arabic is taught as a foreign language. The other languages taught are Telugu and Hindi. Interestingly Urdu is conspicuous by its absence. When I inquired about whether non-Muslim students were also forced to learn Arabic I was informed that for such students Arabic was substituted by Moral Science. This further indicated that Arabic was taught more as theology than as a language, thereby undergirding the fact that through Arabic Islamic mores were imparted to the students.

This means that a Muslim student has to learn four languages, viz. English, Telugu, Hindi, and Arabic whereas a non-Muslim student has to learn only three languages.

The most used language is English as it happens to be the medium of instruction and the school authorities make it mandatory that English is used for all inter communication purposes.

Methodology

Ethnography of schools helps researchers get a broader perspective on the distinctive features of not only of the pedagogical processes but also of students, teachers, parents and administrative staff (Sarangapani 2003; Balagopalan 2014; Thapan 2014) [2, 26]. It emphasizes the fact that people not only interpret and understand their cultural worlds but also

try to construct them accordingly. The main purpose of ethnographic study is to unfold the perceived world of the 'subjects' (Woods 1979, Day 2002) [27].

If ethnography provides a deeper understanding of the research subject, then life history allows researchers to see how an actor attaches meaning to his lived experiences (Behar 1990) [3]. Life history emphasizes on situating the narratives in social, cultural, historical, political and economic contexts.

Unlike interviews, life history research is often a dialogic event. It emerges over time, hence cannot be rushed to meet deadlines (Goodson and Sikes 2001) [6].

Theoretical perspectives such as symbolic interaction (Woods 1986) and post-structuralism (Day 2002) are used frequently in ethnographic studies of educational institutions (c.f, Thapan 1991). Additionally, Bourdieu's framework of reproduction of social inequality and capitals (economic, social and cultural) is used at arriving at an understanding of the interplay of power relations between the privileged and the non-privileged. His framework helps understand the ways in which educational institutions become sites for the reproduction of social inequalities (Donner 2005; Scrase and Scrase 2009) [22].

The field work being preliminary in nature focused only on a very small sample of students of class V. The rationale for choosing them was to test the viability of the research methods for a full scale study that would, later on, involve many schools, both public and private. While doing so, it was safely assumed that five years of formal schooling would be good enough measure to assess the learning outcome of working class students. The life history research was carried on five students-all from working class backgrounds. Of these five students, four were boys (3 Muslims and 1 Hindu) and one girl (Muslim). Interviews were also conducted with parents and school staff members, as and when required.

Findings and Discussion

Mainstream (English) schooling for EWS students is not easily available. Yet underprivileged parents want their children to acquire native like competence in the English language. One of the key reasons for underperformance of EWS children is the difficulty in understanding what is being taught in school. Scrase (2002) in her study highlighted how despite West Bengal government's attempt to abolish the teaching of English as a compulsory language at primary level, middle class parents opposed vehemently such policy blunder. In the current scenario, not only middle class parents, but even working class, economically weaker parents too want to have a touch of the 'Alchemy of English'

However, more often than not, the lure of English medium education proves detrimental for students with restricted code due to their distinct habitus.

Life History 1

Taheer [1] is a 10 year old, class V student. His mother works as a house help in the middle class neighbourhood and father is a daily wage labourer. The only consistent source of income is his mother's meager four thousand rupees that she earns by working as domestic-help in four houses. She also has to take care of her own household chores. She begot a son finally after four daughters. Needless to say Taheer is the most pampered of all children and is also the one through whom his

parents are trying vicariously to live their dreams of a decent, poverty free life. It is with this intention that they got him admitted in Cambridge International School. Though they got admission fee waived off but other hidden expenses are exorbitant for Taheer's family. But the mother is determined to see to it that Taheer receives the best schooling possible. She takes pride in her son's smattering of English and insists him to recite a piece of poetry before me. He obliges his mother and recites a poem with not much clarity (see Mohan 2014).

I checked his notebooks and found that they were unkempt, dog-eared from both the corners, and many scribbled pages in between. Instantly one could make out his disorientation towards studies. I asked him to narrate a day in school...what was it that he liked the most, of all the teachers who was her favourite teacher...what subjects did he like the most and what he did not like.

It took time for him to become comfortable enough to share his school experiences.

I do not like sitting in the class because I do not feel like studying. I like to make sketches hence I like the drawing period and my teacher is also very nice. She does not force us to read. She makes us draw and paint.

I have a look at his drawing notebook and the sketches are very typical of a 10 year old. I appreciate his efforts and I notice streaks of happiness on his face.

He finds science and mathematics interesting but he does not like social science as he has to cram portions from each chapter.

I often forget the mugged up lines due to which I fail term exams. Madam has asked me to attend tuition classes at her house like other students. I will start going to her house once Ammi allows me to.

I inquired his mother about tuition classes. She expressed her inability to fend for private tuitions as she has five more mouths to feed.

Life History 2

Ayesha, an eleven year old orphan stays at the care house run by the organization. She is a sincere student and aspires to become a Civil Servant.

Her favorite subject is Math and she likes Hindi but not English. She finds it difficult as there is lot of confusion regarding spellings and tenses. She scored better than many of her classmates in the mid- term exam. Since she stays on the campus, her academic needs too are taken care of by the warden who offers tutorials to the residents students (orphans and semi-orphans).

I start my conversation with Ayesha in Urdu but she ensures that she reciprocates in English. The presence of her class teacher and the Principal is intimidating. I am informed later by the Principal that they are very particular about students' communication skills in English. Every student, while on the school premises is required to communicate only in English; and if anyone is found violating the communication norms, he/she may be taken to task.

Sensing her discomfort in the presence of her teachers I then express my desire to have a glimpse of her note books and text books.

She has kept them meticulously arranged in her school bag, and neatly covered with brown sheets. Equally organized are her class notes in written in a beautiful hand. As I flip through the text books, I notice rather difficult words in English that may be too incomprehensible for level 5 students-for example- restitution, disposition, etc.

Post school hours I meet her in the playground and try to probe further about the pedagogical practices followed and the expectations of her teachers, especially the principal.

She then confides in me how at times it becomes difficult for her to cram long sentences in English and has to struggle while recollecting History and English (Literature) answers during exams. She finds writing in Hindi easier than in English. But since she is an orphan and is in the care of the organization, she feels obligated to give in to their demands to perform well and to be extremely fluent in English. Her skills are showcased during school promotion which is generally scheduled towards the end of each academic session. Aimed at attracting parents' attention towards the uniqueness of the school, the school management treats Ayesha as the poster student of school's efficiency in delivering quality education at par with that of many elite schools in Hyderabad.

Life History 3

Harish is one of the three rank holders. He topped the exam in his previous standards and it is predicted that he will top this academic year also. He is a medium-built, bespectacled kid of 11 years of age. He stays with his parents, an elder sister and grandmother. His sister studies in the same school in the seventh standard and helps him in studies. Their father is a security guard at an MNC office and is a school drop-out; mother is a home maker.

Harish is a sincere student and is too mature for his age. He knows the financial limitations of his parents and hence works harder to retain the top position so that he gets scholarship. He has his goal set and it leaves me awestruck when he reveals that he wants to get into Indian Institute of Technology, which is why he practices Math for two hours daily. He finds English easier than Hindi and Telugu.

Of all the subjects, he too finds Math more engaging and he acknowledges the commitment of their Math teacher for making the discipline so interesting.

Harish's family qualifies as nuclear family, and the home environment is conducive for self-study. Furthermore, both the parents keep harping upon them the significance of quality education and the importance of proficiency in English. Harish and his sister are second generation learners as despite being a school drop-out himself, their father is a voracious reader; he buys old books from flea market. He also ensures that his children read these informative books in English and Telugu (their L1).

Studies have established that proficiency in L2 (Target Language/TL) is contingent upon exposure to the TL and the motivation to learn it, besides other sociolinguistic factors. In Harish's case, his relatively good fluency in English could also be explained by the fact that he has exposure to English through print and electronic media in home environment.

Life History 4

Afzal

He hails from a family of butchers. His father has three brothers and all the four of them stay together as a big joint family. It is a huge household of thirty members, all staying in a three storeyed house. Financially they are relatively well off, but educationally they are backward. Afzal's father and uncle dropped out of school in primary school itself.

They subsequently took to their family trade-butchery which did not require much academic skill. Their limited educational skills proved to be an eye opener and made them realize the importance of modern education. As a result, they want to give the best education to their children.

Afzal is an average performer.

'Initially he use to flunk in almost all subjects-this issue was later taken up with his parents as it was found that he barely studied at home after school,' informs the class teacher. She further reveals that it was only when the management intervened that, Afzal's performance started showing signs of improvement. The reason for Afzal's poor performance was his home environment which was not conducive to self-study as there were many distractive elements like wailing cousins, talkative aunts, television addict grandmother and the sacrificial goats. Furthermore, in the absence of any educated elder to guide him in his study, it was difficult for him to indulge efficiently in his studies at home.

It was then that the school decided to introduce tutorial hour for those students who did not have any academic help at home. The teachers were asked to stay back for an hour post-school to help academically weaker students.

Afzal's grades started improving in math and science. His English and Telugu, both did not show much improvement.

On being asked about his difficulties in language learning, he admitted the fact that he found both English and Telugu difficult as both were not his native tongue.

Life History 5

Mariam

Her story is different in the sense that she was asked to join the school by the management. Mariam's father is a tailor by profession and wants his son, Miraj (younger than Mariam) to study in an English medium school as he wants him to become a doctor. He got him admitted to this school as it claims to offer modern education through English medium. Prior to joining this school, Maraim used to study in a regional medium government neighbourhood school. It so happened that during the time of admission of Miraj in this school the Principal came to know about his sister Mariam. The Principal could sense discrimination being practised towards Mariam as unlike her brother she was sent to a regional medium government school. The Principal convinced her parents of giving fee concession to Miraj if they admitted Mariam also in the same school.

Once Mariam joined the school, she proved to be helpful for her brother as she could guide him in his study. Mariam is both hard working and intelligent. She is aware of her family's struggle in providing for expensive education now for two children. She does not want to take this opportunity for granted, hence studies sincerely and has better linguistic skills than some of her fellow classmates. I saw her English

composition which was relatively good with hardly any spelling errors. But there were few grammatical errors. When I probed her further, she revealed that she was good at cramming sentences, an old habit which she picked up in her previous school. She further confided that often the teacher would avoid explaining in the regional language. Many a time she interrupted the teacher concerned, and requested her to explain in the regional language. But there were times when Mariam was not obliged. Sometimes, the teacher would rebuke her for not paying attention and then disturbing the whole class. But those teachers who explain them in Hindi or Telugu appear to be her favourite teachers.

When I cross examined few teachers on their lecturing in English to these students, who barely knew English, the teachers expressed their own limitations. According to them, it was not an easy task to explain the same portion first in Hindi and then in Telugu as there were students who did not know either of the two languages. The solution to this problem was already in place-tutorial hour. Students could get their doubts cleared during tutorial hour. However, the students have their side of the story and it seems that they are left with no other option but to gradually start join private tuitions, provided their families are willing to shell extra money on private tuitions.

Conclusion

Entrapped in the parental aspiration of acquiring elite like proficiency in English pupils from the underprivileged sections appear to be precariously positioned in coping with the complexities involved in classroom pedagogical processes where, undue emphasis is given on the learning of English. Many of them happen to be first generation learners, and owing to which they find themselves overburdened by parental expectations. The pressure to perform is more intense from their parents' side than from their teachers' side. These parents themselves never went to schools but they seem to be well informed about the significance of good education^[2] and the benefits accruing from such education.

Even in Muslim households sons are given preference over daughters when it comes to securing admission in an English medium (private) school. My findings corroborate the findings of other studies (Hasan and Menon 2004, Shaban 2016). Among lower class families there is a very prevalent perception about English medium education-it is easily translated into gainful employment). Hence with limited resources, parents prefer to get their sons well educated through the English language hoping for a better future for them, pinning all their hopes on English education for rescuing them from the clutches of poverty.

The students, on the other hand, find a disjunction between the language of instruction and their MT (which also happens to be the community language). With English as the medium of instruction, most students struggle with an inherent incomprehensibility in the learning process. Consequently, the whole learning process appears to them as tardy, burdensome and 'joyless'. By contrast, students from well off families have good exposure to the English language even outside school. Furthermore, they have access to internet, journals, magazines, newspapers, storybooks, movies and English speaking peer group and relatives. Their social capital

enhances their linguist capital-they are more likely to become proficient in the English language than their underprivileged counterparts.

The paradox is that, for these working class parents the referential frame for scholastic performance is the fluent English speaking children of their respective employees. It is quite likely that they may be allured by the life style of their employees. Some of these employees would have become 'wealthy' by the sheer dint of their labour. Such self-made people and their stories of struggle invoke a deep sense of optimism among the working class people. These success stories help instill firm belief in the benefits of good education through the English language. They see English language as an 'escape route' from poverty and ill fortune. Hence despite financial difficulties, they are willing to walk extra mile to appropriate the 'language of opportunities.'

Teachers too were not very forthcoming in helping these students with comprehension related issues (see also Karopady 2014). In fact they wanted these students to take private tuitions from them. With teachers being insensitive and insincere towards the needs of working class students' education related problems, it would be of crucial significance if trained teachers are instructed to handle the challenges of disadvantaged children with dedication and caution.

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