



## UNDERSTANDING THE OBSTRUCTIVE ROLE OF LINGUAL DIFFERENCES IN INCLUSIVE EDUCATION

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### Abstract

*The issue of teachers' perception and its impact upon the required inclusion of marginalised students acquires added significance on two counts. First, the teachers constitute a core group of those who make schooling what it is. Secondly, India's socio-economic scenario is highly stratified leaving vast room for the formulations and operation of perceptions emanating from language variations, socio-economic and religion based determinants. The question however remains whether these concerns stand true in regards to the inclusion of students belonging to marginalised sections of society studying in the state-run schools situated in metropolitan cities such as National Capital Delhi, State capital, etc where most of the persons come from somewhere else but retaining their own linguistic identity. With the express purpose of seeking answer to this question, the present study was undertaken in the Delhi and Bhopal State-run schools. In Bhopal, the State run schools are crowded with migrated tribal students in addition to other low SES children. The answer thus being provided is based on facts that the researcher gathered through a field survey of selected schools. In this study, the 'perception' is determined by ascertaining teachers' views on the language and expression of the marginalised children hailing from lower segments of society. The overall discussion with the teachers leads us to infer that teachers' perception for the overall, particularly lingual behaviour of children is neither sympathetic nor positive. It is discriminatory and even derogatory and, above all, hardly disguised. Teachers passed judgements on the ability of students to communicate with reference to 'standard language' that is the language used by middle class the teachers belonged to. The teachers assert rather arrogantly that the children remained deprived of the ability of using 'mannered communication' on account of the 'unhealthy environment' in which they were being brought up. The overstress on 'standard' deflects the enormity of its wider meaning, essence and purpose. In this, the frame is oftentimes determined by the teachers holding the power who perceive the import of value rather narrowly and apply it with parochial rigidity. The monolingual child faces cognitive and communicative problems where the instruction is in the major regional language. Such children suffer for speaking in their mother tongue and not being able to speak the school language. They neither understand the language of the text nor of the teacher. As the teacher does not know the language of the learner and the parents neither know the language of the textbook nor of the teacher, the break is almost complete. The education loses its meaning and falls down to becoming merely symbolic.*



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### ***Introduction***

Multilingualism is the norm rather than the exception in India (Pattanayak 1990). It is beauty of India that generally people use two or more languages to accomplish their everyday language functions, making India both socially and individually multilingual at the grassroots level. Many Indians switch from one language to another depending on role relationships and topics discussed. One attempt by policy makers to recognise and value a few aspects of this many-splendored language use resulted in the three-language formula (Hindi, English and the regional/state languages).

This description would make it seem that the three-language formula works very well and that all languages spoken in India are covered through it, but that is not the case; while the state languages are given some importance in regional medium schools, which are unfortunately decreasing in number, English and Hindi are vying for space as the 'value-added' languages (Geetha Durairajan 2013).

As Geetha Durairajan (2013) observed in her paper that languages are more than mere communicative tools. They may be learnt (with the help of caregivers and more abled peers) and used without any formal teaching but they are also taught and learnt in educational contexts; language is the medium through which subjects are taught in schools. In multilingual contexts, therefore, where more than one language is taught and learnt, the value given to the different languages by the country/state/educational institution/teachers and other adults (various communities of practice) will be automatically passed on to students.

It is a well established fact that neither learning in general, nor language learning in particular, happens instinctively; all learning occurs within communities of practice through social participation and apprenticeship (Lave 1991). The development of language, its vocabulary, proficiency is also socially and culturally mediated. The family is the primary speech community; more than the wider speech community at large, the school is the secondary speech community, for a child's language life is shaped by it. The shift from oracy to literacy happens in school and this acquisition of literacy also modifies ways of thinking and being. Oral, context-dependent ways of thinking give way to free logical thinking, reasoning and problem solving, and eventually critical thinking skills are added. Thus, a child's attitudes, discourses and language/literacy practices are affected and influenced

(reshaped) through discursive practices in school. In multilingual contexts, along with learning how to learn, attitudes to languages are also influenced and shaped by these schooling practices, but these influences are never perceived or accounted for. One tenuous yet tangible but rarely accounted method of attitude shaping is the school timetable; teachers and students also carry their own baggage of attitudes.

The middle class teacher usually expects and also passed judgements on the ability of students to communicate with reference to 'standard language' which is the language of teachers that is the language used by middle class. The dominated tribal language speakers are bi-lingual or multilingual depending on the local linguistic situation. They are invaded by outsiders in various spheres viz., socio-economic and cultural, though they are locally in numerical majority they are turned into a minority under the regional pressures. They are discriminated against by non-recognition of their languages and cultural traits. The attitude of dominant ethnic groups towards tribal languages consists of outright rejection of a tribal/native language in a bilingual context and ridiculing the tribal for using their mother tongue in a public place. The attitude of tribal natives towards the majority languages is total recognition and learning it for inter-group communication and acceptance as a language of social mobility, economic emancipation and status. The tribal identify themselves with majority language of their area. The tribal child is not unique or deficient. A tribal child is born into a culture which uses a language different from others. Like any other culture, the tribal child also uses language, grammar and dialect in the same manner as others do. Tribal education is not opposed to mainstream education.

As per the 2011 census, scheduled tribe comprise about 8.6 percent of India's population. Madhya Pradesh holds 1st rank among all the States/Union Territories (UTs) in terms of 'Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups and 12th rank in respect of the proportion of ST population to total population The population of Scheduled Tribals (ST) is 21.1% of the state population (15.31 million out of 72.62 million), according to the 2011 census. As a matter of fact Scheduled Tribes who have been, historically, out of the mainstream development initiatives partly due to the still continuing socio-economic barriers and partly due to the inadequacy of the Government programmes in reaching these disadvantaged groups. They still find themselves too difficult to compete with other sections of the society. As per 2011 census the male literacy rate of tribal population in Madhya Pradesh is 53.55 and female literacy rate is 28.44. Government of India initiated a number of schemes for the uplifting educational status of tribal population. But still it is a wild goose chase.

All the effort to improve the rate of enrolment, retention and achievement level of tribal children in school education has not yielded results that may be characterized as being up to the mark. The accessibility to school within a reachable distance and increased awareness among the tribal towards education has resulted in increased rate of enrolment. It needs much more efforts on the part of both government and private stakeholders. Most of the studies (Mishra,(2000), Anitha (2000), Kanungo on Dungaria Kandho(2005) and Mohanty (2012) show that there are factors related to physical infrastructure, medium of instruction, teachers and socio-cultural background of children which have negatively been affecting the schooling of tribal.

Teacher plays crucial role in the successful schooling of tribal children. His/her attitude towards children along with related factors greatly influences his/her involvement in this noble activity (DPEP 2000). National Curriculum Framework (NCF) 2005 says there exist certain stereotypes regarding children of marginalized groups, including Dalit's and tribes, who traditionally have not had access to schooling or literacy. Some learners have been historically viewed as uneducated, slow learner of less educated and even scared of learning. These perceptions are grounded in the notion that inferiority and inequality are inherent in Castes/social identities. Teachers need proper training to address such issue. Right to Education Act (RtE) 2009 asks to respect the individual pace of learning followed by Continuous Comprehensive evaluation, fearless and joyful environment and critical pedagogy in the school, which in turn demand much dedication, motivation, positive attitude towards the education of tribal children and efficiency on the part of the teacher.

It does not need to over-emphasize the fact that primary school-age children are in a formative stage. At this stage teacher's role is central as it is crucial in the over all development of children. The hole at the heart of the RTE is that there is no pipeline of supplies of competent and committed teachers to enable it to work. Teachers are one of the key elements not only in the school systems but also among the ones who influence the lives and personalities of children. Their influence on children goes far beyond the formal academic areas and much more than what can be measured by achievement tests. Researches indicate that in addition to the school and classroom environment, teachers' beliefs, attitude and expectations may have direct bearing even on children's ability to perform (Newman, Rutter and Smith, 1989; Good, 1981; Smith, 1989).

Very recently, teachers and their problems have attracted a great deal of attention and concern all over the country. Teachers' efficiency, professional commitment, their

perception, attitudes, stress and burnout, and motivations have become topics of increasing public and professional concern. One of the most recent concerns is the perception of teachers of educating children coming from deprived and disadvantaged homes. The teachers' overall perception of children coming from low SES, and tribal population to a large extent, governs the performance and achievement levels of these children. The teachers' role, therefore, assumes a far greater significance for such children. It is mainly due to their debilitating life circumstances, children stand to benefit the most from supportive teacher–student relationship. A number of researches have shown that.

Some researchers (e.g., Alexander, Entwisle, & Thompson, 1987) have suggested that low expectations are a factor in low socioeconomic status and minority children's persistently low academic performance. Alexander et al. (1987) found that among urban first grades, achievement discrepancies between African-American and White children were greatest in classrooms taught by high socioeconomic status teachers and that this effect was stronger for teacher-determined grades than for scores on standardized tests. Other researchers have documented race-based teacher perceptions of students. For example, Jackson (2002) found that Euro-American elementary teachers' expectations for the causes of school problems differ based on student ethnicity. Teachers tended to attribute Euro-American children's problem behaviours to situational factors (e.g., child has problems at home) and African-American and Hispanic children's problem behaviours to within-child factors (i.e. personality and motivation). Previous studies found that teachers are less accurate in rating minority children's academic ability than the ability of Caucasian children and react differently to the same behaviours exhibited by African-American and Caucasian children (Murray, 1996; Partenio & Taylor, 1985). These findings take on increased significance in light of research indicating that the effects of student-teacher relationship dynamics on achievement are stronger for African American and low SES children than for majority children and higher SES children (Gill & Reynolds, 1999; Jussim et al., 1996).

Teacher-child relationships in the primary grades have the potential to provide children with social support and emotional security. Children with more positive teacher-child relationships appear more able to exploit the learning opportunities available in classroom (Hoves & Smith 1995), construct positive peer relationship (Howes, Matheson & Hamilton, 1994), and adjust to the demands of formal schooling (Birch & Ladd, 1997; Lynch & Cicchetti, 1992, Pianta & Steinberg 1992). With a few exceptions (see Howes & Hamilton, 1992; Howes et al., 1994, Pianta, Steinberg & Rollins 1997), the research on children's relationship with teachers has

been cross sectional rather than longitudinal. Howes, Phillipsen and Feinberg (2000) examined the children's relationship with their teachers in a three-year longitudinal study beginning in their next to last year of preschool and continuing through kindergarten. Path analysis suggested that perception of teacher-child relationship quality, particularly conflictual relationship quality, were consistent from preschool to kindergartens. Children who enter first grade with below average literacy skills are at increased risk of low academic performance throughout their school career (Alexander, Entwisle, & Horsey, 1997; Entwisle & Alexander, 1988, Finn 1989). Minority and low socioeconomic status children often enter school with lower academic competencies as well as social and emotional readiness competencies, (Evans, 2004; Stipek, 1997).

It is a matter of general understanding that much of the stress in children and youth emanates from school problems (cf. Spirito, Stark, Grace & Stamoulis, 1991). The researchers have studied effects of stress on children. They have identified short term and long term effects of persistent stress in context of transactional stress-models (Lazarus, 1966, 1986). The researchers formulated indicators for studying effects of stress and took up certain variables which are depressed or depressive mood, emotional instability, psychosomatic complaints and low or instable self-esteem. From the Kauai longitudinal study we know aspects and factors of resilience. Besides emotional well-being, emotional support and social integration are main factors for health. There are then a number of personal resources such as self-concept, self-esteem and self-efficacy (Werner, 1993; Werner & Smith, 1989). Transactional stress-models consider self-concept as one of the major personal resources in the process of coping with developmental tasks and daily hassles. That applies not only for adults, but increasingly for adolescents and even children. If these resources are not effective, the probability of diseases increases.

Some researchers suggest that dominant discourses of low expectations may 'seep into the consciousnesses of low income residents (Canvin et al, 2009: 238-242) and make it difficult to build self-esteem and a positive self-narrative (Davidson, 2008: 123).

It is a matter of effective concern of educational psychologist to look into the psychological state of mind or attitude and behaviour of teacher towards tribals students and especially for their language This seems to be worth probing as to what is the perception of teachers of such children and how this attitude is reflected in their behaviour while dealing with such children.



**Objectives of the study:**

- To study the teachers' perception of language of the students enrolled in state run schools.
- To find out teachers' perception of expression of the students enrolled in state run schools.

**Methodology:**

The study was qualitative in nature. The data was collected from the state run schools of Delhi and Bhopal.

**The Sample:**

The study was conducted in the five schools in Government school in Bhopal and three schools in National capital Delhi. In Delhi one NDMC School and two MCD school were selected for the sample. All the primary teachers of the same schools served the sample of the study.

**Tools of the study:**

1. To measure the teachers' perception: an interview schedule was prepared by the researcher to study the Perception of Teachers of the children's language and expression.

**Data Collection:**

For data collection interview model was chosen. This enabled and facilitated asking questions, elicit answers, uncover perspectives and notions, and give the subjects the opportunity in which to give meaning to their respective roles.

**Analysis and Discussion**

After conducting the interviews and taking field notes a number of issues emerged, amongst them the prominent one is that the teachers have typically negative perception of and low expectations from the students hailing from tribal marginalised--relatively poor segments of society. In its turn the teachers' perception affects the nature and quality of their attitude towards students thus adversely affecting their overall personality.

**Perception of Language/Expressions**

Teachers passed judgements on the ability of students to communicate with reference to 'standard language' that is the language used by middle class the teachers belonged to. The teachers assert rather arrogantly that the children remained deprived of the ability of using 'mannered communication' on account of the 'unhealthy environment' in which they were being brought up.

Teachers' reactions on the language and expressions used by their students came in terms of sheepish smile with the heads waving in a disapproving way. Some of the teachers asked: Do you think if they are able to communicate in appropriate language! To the contrary, nearly three- fourths of them claimed that these children were habituated to using filthy language due to their 'poor family background' and 'educational status of their parents'. All the teachers asserted that they have to make a lot of efforts for bringing about improvement in their mode and manner of expressions.

Teachers found the use of native expressions 'frustrating'. The students would 'not differentiate with whom they are talking. 'When they talk with the teachers or elders, respect and regard part is lacking. When they talk in their peer groups the style and language is very disgusting'. 'At times we feel very sorry and ask ourselves: to whom we are teaching'. It is very odd to put it this way but fact is that that they represent their 'class character'. To them, language used by these students lacks in respect not because they intended disrespect but because the style itself was disrespectful, from the middleclass parameter. Therefore, the teachers objected at the use of their native expressions and way of talking and tried to stop it. This move surprised the students who might have countered by asking (feeling) rather surprisingly: What is wrong in our way of talking ...Our parents talk only like that'.

Somehow, some teachers expressed optimism stating that under the rigorous efforts, exercise and advice they could bring about considerable 'improvement' in the modes and manners of their expressions. But the change was effected by undermining rather disrespecting students' cultural-linguistic identity. The teachers asked the students to adopt standard language because their home-language-expressions were not acceptable by other sections of society and, therefore, they were advised, rather ordered, to use the expressions their teacher used and suggested to them. Still, most of the teachers were not satisfied with their students' spoken language for which deficiency they blamed the students 'nativity. In this, the teachers regarded 'different' as being on the wrong side. Teachers' such attitude towards students' family-native language and their approach amounted to suppressing students' budding ability to express besides smashing their cultural identity and degrading self-respect-in-making.

The cause of low SES students' use of non-standard forms is also attributed to their 'restricted' language and 'limited' vocabulary, which problem is commonly associated with working class speech (Creber, 1972; Hughes, 1992) and with dialect speakers (Van Calcar et al., 1989). From the way the primary teachers described the situation, it would seem that the vocabulary valued at school does not match that of the children's homes, essentially because



they come from a different social and cultural background. This would imply that the cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1974, 1991), in the form of lexical knowledge, which children bring to school, is neither recognized nor valued.

To illustrate this difference Bernstein offers two vignettes of a mother and a child riding a bus. In the lower socioeconomic pair, the mother's mode of control relies on commands with little explanation (e.g., "Hold on tight") and reflects the hierarchical view of the adult-child relationship ("I told you to hold on tight, didn't I?"). In the middle Socioeconomic group the interactions are less hierarchical, and the mother provides a learning opportunity by using language to explore the situation ("If you don't hold on tight, you will be thrown forward and you will fall," "If the bus stops suddenly, you'll jerk forward on to the seat in front."). Bernstein notes that an important educational consequence of these two different approaches to language is that the relatively context-independent style used by the middle-class parent matches that expected by school teacher.

Speakers are monolingual. The dominated tribal language speakers are bi-lingual or multilingual depending on the local linguistic situation. They are invaded by outsiders in various spheres viz., socio-economic and cultural, though they are locally in numerical majority they are turned into a minority under the regional pressures. They are discriminated against by non-recognition of their languages and cultural traits. The attitude of dominant ethnic groups towards tribal languages consists of outright rejection of a tribal/native language in a bilingual context and ridiculing the tribal for using their mother tongue in a public place. The attitude of tribal natives towards the majority languages is total recognition and learning it for inter-group communication and acceptance as a language of social mobility, economic emancipation and status. The tribal identify themselves with majority language of their area. The tribal child is not unique or deficient. A tribal child is born into a culture which uses a language different from others. Like any other culture, the tribal child also uses language, grammar and dialect in the same manner as others do. Tribal education is not opposed to mainstream education.

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