

# Multilingualism, Education Policy and Inequality of Educational Opportunities: The Goan Case

Afonso Botelho

*Many parents in post-liberation Goa exhibit a pronounced preference for English medium early schooling for their children. The enrolment in the English medium schools, however, is much lower than in the Marathi and Konkani medium schools. This educational situation seems to be the outcome of such factors as mobility aspirations, identity politics, education policy, financial constraints and inaccessibility of English medium schools. This paper examines the language patterns at home and school in Goa and argues that the denial of grants-in-aid to the English medium early schools deprives the poor of the equality of educational opportunities.*

## Introduction

Multilingualism has been a salient characteristic of the socio-linguistic reality in Goa,<sup>1</sup> and a shared cultural value. The nature of Goan multilingualism is, however, changing today.<sup>2</sup> Due to the heterogeneity of languages and language controversies, languages in Goa are valued differently. The Education Policy of Goa (1990) decreed that only primary schools conducted in the regional languages, and not in English, will be eligible for grants-in-aid from the government. As a result, many schools switched over to regional languages, but some schools preferred to continue with English as the medium of instruction, but charged exorbitant fees to make up for the denial of grants-in-aid. Many such schools have been established and are still mushrooming, both in urban and in rural areas. The education policy, thus, has made English primary education inaccessible to those with limited financial capabilities and especially to the socially and economically backward classes and tribes.

This paper begins with a discussion on multilingualism in Goa, tracing its roots from colonialism and migration to post-liberation developments. Next, it examines the declared mother tongue, the spoken language, and the medium of instruction desired in an attempt to explain the lower enrolment in English medium primary schools as compared to their Marathi and Konkani counterparts. It also argues that the restriction of grants-in-aid to early schools conducted in the regional languages negatively impacts equality of educational opportunities.

**SOCIOLOGICAL BULLETIN, 55 (3), September-December 2006, Pp. 383-405**

An attempt is made to achieve these objectives with the help of data from secondary sources, besides empirical data collected in the year 2002 through canvassing questionnaires on a sample of households in the talukas of Salcete and Quepem, representing the population of the Old and New Conquests<sup>3</sup> respectively. In all 810 parents – from 500 household in Salcete and 310 households in Quepem – responded to the questionnaire. They involved a cross section of the Goan population representing the different religious communities in Goa: the 500 households from Salcete comprised ‘347 Christians, 123 Hindus, 25 Muslims and 5 of other religions’, and ‘of the 310 households from Quepem, 151 were Hindus, Christians numbered 135 and Muslims and others 24’. Similarly, the households were from different socio-economic levels (Botelho 2002: 227-28).

### Multilingualism in Goa

Tome Pires, in one of the earliest references to the spoken language of the Goans, in the year 1514, wrote thus, ‘the language spoken in this kingdom (of Goa) is *concanim*’ (cited in T. D’Souza 1977: 14). As far as the medium of instruction was concerned, in pre-Portuguese Goa, while primary schooling was held in *Pathshalas* or village schools through the Konkani medium, higher education was imparted in *Agraharas*, *Brahmapuris* and *Maths*, through the Sanskrit medium (B.G. D’Souza 1975: 46-49 and 157; Nicolau Pereira 1979). The Portuguese conquest sounded a death knell of these educational institutions and there emerged parochial schools, conducted generally through the Portuguese medium. T.B. Cunha would later remark that Konkani schools were closed to make place for the Christian languages – Latin and Portuguese (Coutinho 1987: 154). In the first flush of religious zeal, the Portuguese burnt or destroyed literary records in Konkani, suspecting them of containing precepts and doctrines of a pagan culture and religion.

The latter half of the sixteenth century witnessed a revival of Konkani, as the Portuguese realised that persuasion rather than force would further their cause of conversion and spread of Christianity in Goa. By 1608, there were as many as 15 Jesuit schools in Goa, where Konkani was taught (Almeida 2000). However, missionary efforts to learn Konkani and teach the Christian doctrine through the local language, Konkani, lasted only for a century (B.G. D’Souza 1975: 157). With the waning of religious zeal, the Portuguese followed a programme of active hostility to Konkani studies in Goa. The Franciscans pressed for the suppression of Konkani and their efforts were rewarded when, in 1684, Viceroy Conde de Alvor banned Konkani, and schoolmasters were ordered to teach only

in the colonial language. Again, in 1731, the Inquisition resolved that the Konkani-speaking Christians give up their language and speak only Portuguese. In 1745, Archbishop Lourenco de Santa Maria made speaking Portuguese a compulsory requisite to enter the sacraments of matrimony and priesthood. In 1812, Archbishop Manuel de S. Galdino decreed that children should be prevented from speaking Konkani in schools.

Cunha Rivara, a renowned Portuguese scholar summarised, the plight of the Konkani language during the colonial period thus:

‘In spite of the great impulse which the language received in the first century of Portuguese dominion, there was waged against it an implacable war with attempts to entirely extinguish and proscribe it. Although it was not possible to achieve this end fully, ... it has, however, been corrupted and adulterated and its literary records practically destroyed ...’ (cited in Jose Pereira 1971: 19).

In such a political set-up, many Konkani speakers got demoralised. Many Goans, especially the Catholic elite, considered themselves to be Portuguese (or non-Indians) and Portuguese speakers. As Jose Pereira writes, ‘many Christian families began to call Portuguese their mother tongue and speak that language even at home’ (*ibid.*: 20). Konkani was alienated in its own habitat. The term ‘Konknno’ was used derogatively for Hindus who were discriminated against by the Portuguese colonial rulers. The discriminatory attitude of the rulers forced the educated Hindus to adopt the culture of the neighbouring present-day Maharashtra. Many identified themselves with the intricate traditions of Maharashtra and with Marathi. Both ‘Marathisation’ (Goans identifying themselves with Maharashtra) and ‘Lusitanisation’ (Goans considering themselves Portuguese) seem to be the by-products of the divide and rule policy of the Portuguese. However, in spite of the Portuguese policy of suppressing Konkani, which succeeded in preventing the development of Konkani literature and the establishment of Konkani schools, the majority of Goans, both Hindus and the Catholics, spoke their native language, Konkani.

Soon after liberation, several factors influenced the linguistic scenario in primary education in Goa. Portuguese medium schools suffered a sudden demise. Marathi schools catering to the cultural and religious needs of the Hindus in the pre-liberation era increased tremendously as the pro-Marathi Maharastrawadi Gomantak Party (MGP) government went about establishing Marathi primary schools in Goa. English education was becoming increasingly popular among many Goans during

the Portuguese period as that prepared them for migration to British India, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Mozambique, etc. (Newman 2001: 16-17). Migration to British India brought Goans in contact with Hindi also. After liberation, many English schools were set up. At the same time, more and more parents felt compelled to provide English education to their children due to its perceived mobility potentials. Konkani schools, however, remained unpopular and limited to few insignificant efforts by Konkani lovers as Goans favoured either English or Marathi.

Liberation and the initial encounter with non-Goans developed among Goans ideas about their own identity (*ibid.*: 68). The Opinion Poll conducted by the Government of India was in favour of Goa's separate geo-political identity.<sup>4</sup> With the influx of outsiders into Goa and these others competing with the locals for employment, there emerged a demand to make Konkani the prime criterion for employment. 'Sons of the soil', 'Goa for Goans', sentiments led to the demand that Konkani be made the official language of the state. A prolonged agitation rocked Goa and resulted in the Goa Legislative Assembly passing the Official Language Bill, and thus Konkani acquired the Official Language status on 4 February 1987. Newman writes, 'Konkani Mai (Mother Konkani) ascended her rightful throne at last' (*ibid.*: 71-73). The fact that Goans speak Konkani or, at least, consider it as their mother tongue was recognised and accepted by the state. Later, when the Lok Sabha approved the Constitutional Amendment Bill in August 1992, Konkani was incorporated into the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. The Official Language Bill raised Konkani on the linguistic hierarchy in Goa. It, however, also allowed Marathi to 'be used for all or any of the official purposes' at the discretion of the administrator (*ibid.*: 71 and Frederick Noronha 1999: 45).

Owing to the colonial legacy and the post-liberation developments, the two main religious communities – Hindus (65.78 per cent) and Catholics (26.68 per cent) – in Goa (Government of Goa 2004) are ambivalent regarding the use of the Konkani language. Many Hindus speak rather than study it, choosing instead Marathi for early childhood formal education. Many Catholics recognise it as their mother tongue, but shun it as the medium of instruction. This is, perhaps, due to the scepticism regarding its suitability for education in general, and higher education in particular. The Catholics prefer to communicate in English or a few in the colonial Portuguese, languages considered socially (also academically in the case of English) more prestigious than Konkani and thought to be superior or their use, a mark of elitism (Martinho Noronha 1995; Newman 2001: 30).

Konkani, whether in the spoken or the written form, is not a homogenised entity. Konkani-speaking Goans belong to different geographical regions, castes, creed and tribes, and speak many and varied dialects. Many differences among the Konkani dialects may be traced to the policies of the erstwhile Portuguese regime. According to Almeida, there must have been two important dialects in Goa prior to the sixteenth century: 'the northern or Bardes (N) dialect and the southern or Salcete (S) one' (1989: 8). Religious persecution and the many other not-so-favourable social and economic reasons during the early years of the Portuguese rule forced many Hindus speaking these dialects to migrate to the neighbouring present-day Maharashtra in the north and Kanara (now part of Karnataka) in the south. Later, when religious persecution ended, many of the migrants returned to their homeland. Almeida claims that 'the Hindus of N came back to Goa and some of these families settled down in South Goa. As a result, a remarkable blend of dialects can be observed today' (*ibid.*). Jose Pereira observes that 'large number of dialects pullulates in the Northern and Southern areas' (1992: 57). J. Gerson Da Cunha writes, 'Goadesi or Gomantaki, spoken in the territory, with considerable variations in words and sounds in the Old and New conquests as in the three provinces of the former, Ilhas, Bardez and Salcete' (1991: 5) is one of the three distinct dialects of Konkani. The other two being 'the northern known as Kudali, spoken in Sawantwadi and the southern or that spoken by the Konkani colony settled in Kannada (*sic*), in such places as Honavar and Mangalore' (*ibid.*).

The dialects have been strongly influenced by the contact which Konkani had with other languages. The Portuguese language has affected the spoken and written Konkani in the mainland of Goa, especially as far as the borrowing and incorporation of Portuguese words into its vocabulary is concerned. Marathi also has had a considerable influence on Konkani, since for most educated Hindus it is a literary language they learnt at school. Catholics speaking Konkani make use of Romanised, at times Portuguese, words to express Konkani vocables and also write in the Roman script. Due to the initiative of the Catholic Church in standardising Konkani for religious needs, the Bardes Christian dialect has emerged as the accepted dialect among Christians in Goa. The Hindus are more at home in the Devanagari script. Due to this, pronunciation among Catholics and Hindus has been largely affected and it differs considerably from each other. 'Christian Konkani and Hindu Konkani do not only differ in script but also in style, structure, grammar and lexicography' (Sinha 2002: 218-19). Thus, Konkani in Goa differs as one moves from Canacona in the south to Pednem in the north. There are caste-based dialectal differences noticeable especially at the extremes,

that is, between higher and lower castes. The scheduled castes, tribes and OBCs also have distinctive patterns.

In Goa, a child is admitted into the first standard when he/she is five-and-a-half years old. By this age, s/he is well grounded in the language or dialectal form of Konkani peculiar to the caste, creed, region, etc., and spoken in the household. The child is habituated to speak in a certain manner and even if the strictly linguistic differences between the standard and the dialectal forms of language are trivial, abandoning one's speech and switching over to the school version of the standard language does not seem to be an easy task. The pupils are confronted by a language considerably different from the variety they speak at home, which their parents are not familiar with and hence find it difficult to tutor them. Moreover, most of the parents, having had English schooling, are more at ease in English than in Devanagari Konkani, the dialect of Saraswat Hindus, followed in educational institutions.<sup>5</sup> These dialectal differences and a lack of common standard dialect make the choice of Konkani medium at the primary level difficult.

### **Mother Tongue**

The Census of India (1961, 1971, 1981 and 1991) provide details concerning the distribution of the population according to the mother tongues spoken by individuals in which primary level schooling is presently available in Goa. The remaining languages have been clubbed under the category of 'Other Languages'. The Census data, adapted in Table 1, indicate an enormous increase in the percentage of those who returned Marathi as mother tongue: from a mere 2 per cent in 1961 to 33.36 per cent in the 1991. There is also a substantial decrease in the percentage of those who returned Konkani as their mother tongue: from 84.3 per cent in 1961 to 51.51 per cent in 1991 census.

The percentage for Marathi mother-tongue speakers, in comparison with that of Konkani, was very low in 1961 when the anti-Konkani, pro-Marathi, caste and religion-based merger-oriented propaganda of the MGP had not yet begun. The giant leaps in the percentages of Marathi mother-tongue speakers in the subsequent censuses seem to be an outcome of the pro-Marathi communal and merger campaign unleashed by the MGP. The MGP won the 1963 elections on the communal and merger platform. The linguistic tensions observed later, during the Opinion Poll, the official language agitation and the medium of instruction controversy are apparently the offshoots of the politicisation of language by the MGP. Although the MGP lost the Opinion Poll, its government conveniently believed that the language of Goa was Marathi

Table 1: Languages spoken by individuals as their mother tongue

| Languages spoken as mother tongue | 1961    |        | 1971    |        | 1981      |        | 1991     |        |
|-----------------------------------|---------|--------|---------|--------|-----------|--------|----------|--------|
|                                   | No.     | %      | No.     | %      | No.       | %      | No.      | %      |
| English                           | 450     | 0.08   | 2,654   | 0.33   | 6,367     | 0.63   | 4,816    | 0.41   |
| Hindi                             | 1,147   | 0.19   | 11,375  | 1.43   | 20,498    | 2.03   | 37,073   | 3.17   |
| Kannada                           | 813     | 0.14   | 16,504  | 2.08   | 33,473    | 3.32   | 54,323   | 4.64   |
| Konkani                           | 497,373 | 84.30  | 556,237 | 69.96  | 600,004   | 59.54  | 602,626  | 51.52  |
| Malayalam                         | 126     | 0.02   | 5,620   | 0.71   | 7,562     | 0.75   | 12,962   | 1.11   |
| Marathi                           | 9,333   | 1.58   | 168,339 | 21.17  | 265,803   | 26.38  | 390,270  | 33.36  |
| Telugu                            | 162     | 0.03   | 3,870   | 0.49   | 5,501     | 0.55   | 7,949    | 0.68   |
| Urdu                              | 7,970   | 1.35   | 18,910  | 2.37   | 27,580    | 2.74   | 39,944   | 3.41   |
| Other languages                   | 72,623  | 12.31  | 11,611  | 1.46   | 40,961    | 4.06   | 19,830   | 1.70   |
| Total                             | 589,997 | 100.00 | 795,120 | 100.00 | 1,007,749 | 100.00 | 1169,793 | 100.00 |

Source: Adapted from (i) *Statistical Year Book, 1961*, Goa Daman and Diu, Panjim, pp.24-25; (ii) *Census of India. 1971*.

Series 28- Goa Daman and Diu, Part II C, Social and Cultural Tables; (iii) *Census of India 1981*, Series - 29, Goa, Daman and Diu, Part I of 1987. Household and Household Population by Language Mainly Spoken in the Household; and (iv) *Census of India, 1991*, State Profile 1991 India.

and labelled Konkani as a dialect of Marathi, dismissing all claims of Konkani protagonists. It went about establishing as many Marathi schools as possible, assiduously taking over the primary education in Goa. Consequently, today there are many Goans who can read and write Marathi better than Konkani, and return Marathi as their mother tongue, especially to the census enumerators. Bewildered by the behaviour of some Goans, Vinayak Naik, a Goan writer, says, 'it has me wondering as to how can any worthy Goan claim Marathi to be his mother tongue. I can say with cent per cent certainty that the language of thought of every local Marathi votary is Konkani' (2003: 3). He also comments thus:

Merely excelling in a language does not make a case for its adoption as one's mother tongue. Why should one go for an ersatz mother tongue by dumping one's own? True, there are lots of Goans who can read and write Marathi, and very well at that. Likewise, it is also true that there is an even bigger number of Goans who can do the same in English (*ibid.*).

Many Hindus, especially from the New Conquest areas and from the Bahujan Samaj (backward communities) declare Marathi as their mother tongue. Such a response to the mother tongue question is a result of the pre-liberation historical circumstances as well as the post-liberation politicisation of languages. What D. Kertzer and Dominique Arel (2002: 27) said about mother tongue is pertinent to understand the reasons for the higher percentage of Marathi mother-tongue speakers in the later censuses in Goa. Many Goans declare a language as mother tongue not because they speak it in their homes or because it is the language spoken in childhood by the person's mother to the person, but because it is 'the language of the nation to whom the individual is supposed to belong' (*ibid.*). As Probal Dasgupta says, for many Goans, mother tongue is the language that 'marks identity rather than realities of linguistic usage' (2001: 14).

The Konkani officially written today is Saraswat Konkani, and is in essence different from the colloquial Konkani or the Konkani used by the Hindu Bahujan Samaj. The Hindu Bahujan Samaj is critical of the Saraswat Konkani and favours the dual language formula. Members of the Bahujan Samaj declare Marathi as their 'mother tongue' with a clear political motive of securing equal status to Marathi language. The Census or official statistics are the 'technologies of truth production' (Jacqueline Urla cited in Kertzer and Arel 2002: 20) utilised by the political groups to engrave their numerical weight in the political space.

However, the combined figures for the Old and New Conquests obtained from a comparatively small-scale study (see Table 2) show that, as far as mother tongue is concerned, Konkani stands tallest with 78.52

per cent declaring it as their mother tongue, followed by Marathi with 8.27 per cent and English with 3.58 per cent.

Divergence in the percentages of Konkani mother-tongue speakers in the 1991 Census and in the data collected by the author in 2002 needs to be explained. Apparently, this may be attributed to the relatively higher percentage of Christian respondents in the sample. However, the source of divergence, though not easily identified, may lie elsewhere. It is crucial to remember that a number of years have passed since the Opinion Poll politics of language, official language agitation and the medium of instruction controversy rocked the otherwise peaceful atmosphere of Goa. The emotions aroused by the political parties on either side of the language divide have considerably subsided. The data were collected at a juncture when the flames of the linguistic tensions had been significantly smothered. A number of college students personally administered the questionnaires, and the meaning of mother tongue as 'the language spoken in childhood by the person's mother to the person or mainly spoken in the household' was explained to the respondents. One must also acknowledge that the respondents tend to be less wary and more genuine in their responses when the data are collected by private individuals purely for academic reasons than by government officials for administrative purposes. In all probability then, the actual linguistic reality, far from being different from, may be closer to the percentage of Konkani mother-tongue speakers in the data collected by the author. That is also in conformity with the perception of the author who lives in the same socio-cultural milieu as that of the respondents.

### **Spoken Language**

Konkani is the lingua franca in Goa, but many Goans now prefer to speak, read and write in English. Among the Goan Catholics, the tendency to speak English, instead of Konkani, at home is increasing. They think the speakers of Portuguese or English language command more respect and social status. The parents think speaking in English will help their children speak it better and will enable them to take off on their professional flight. For the Goan Hindus, Konkani is the language of the household and, as such, they speak Konkani at home.

As seen from Table 2, Konkani occupies an important place in both the Conquests as a spoken language, followed by English and Marathi. The interchange between English and Marathi may be explained by the fact that many whose mother tongue is Konkani speak English in the household. More than an identity marker, the mother tongue has been seen more like a way of life, which one does not change so easily, much

Table 2: Distribution of parents by language (a) declared as mother tongue, (b) spoken to children at home, and (c) desired as medium in school

| Language        | Mother tongue |       |         |       |       |       | Language spoken to the child |       |         |       |       |       | Desired medium of instruction |       |         |       |       |       |
|-----------------|---------------|-------|---------|-------|-------|-------|------------------------------|-------|---------|-------|-------|-------|-------------------------------|-------|---------|-------|-------|-------|
|                 | Quepem        |       | Salcete |       | Total |       | Quepem                       |       | Salcete |       | Total |       | Quepem                        |       | Salcete |       | Total |       |
|                 | No.           | %     | No.     | %     | No.   | %     | No.                          | %     | No.     | %     | No.   | %     | No.                           | %     | No.     | %     | No.   | %     |
| English         | 9             | 2.90  | 20      | 4.00  | 29    | 3.58  | 27                           | 8.71  | 103     | 20.60 | 130   | 16.05 | 182                           | 58.71 | 349     | 69.80 | 531   | 65.56 |
| Konkani         | 233           | 75.16 | 403     | 80.60 | 636   | 78.52 | 195                          | 62.90 | 314     | 62.80 | 509   | 62.84 | 34                            | 10.97 | 88      | 17.60 | 122   | 15.06 |
| Marathi         | 40            | 12.90 | 27      | 5.40  | 67    | 8.27  | 32                           | 10.32 | 29      | 5.80  | 61    | 7.53  | 68                            | 21.94 | 35      | 7.00  | 103   | 12.72 |
| Other Languages | 28            | 9.04  | 50      | 10.00 | 78    | 9.63  | 56                           | 18.07 | 54      | 10.80 | 110   | 13.58 | 26                            | 8.38  | 28      | 5.60  | 54    | 6.66  |
| Total           | 310           | 100   | 500     | 100   | 810   | 100   | 310                          | 100   | 500     | 100   | 810   | 100   | 310                           | 100   | 500     | 100   | 810   | 100   |

Source: Botelho 2002: 229-30

as one's food habits or living habits. This does not mean, however, that they do not want to speak or learn other languages or that they have any hatred towards other languages. Claiming a language to be one's mother tongue, however, is different from actually using it. Often, a sense of inferiority, awareness of the lowly status of the mother tongue, and the desire to be associated with the elite of the society who speak English force many Goans to speak in English. They conduct weddings in English; they invariably print their baptism, communion and wedding invitations in English, and celebrate mass at these occasions in English.

As regards the relationship between the languages spoken to the child from childhood and the mother tongue, Table 2 reveals that the percentage of Konkani-speaking respondents has decreased almost by 16 per cent, and that of English-speaking respondents has increased by 12 per cent as compared to the declared mother tongue percentage. Many have also declared Konkani as their mother tongue, despite the use of English in the household all through their life. A feeling of alienation has led sections of the Catholic middle class to claim Konkani as their mother tongue. These sections of Goans, by declaring their mother tongue as Konkani, are eager to maintain at least the language link to 'genuine' Indianness, which is, otherwise questioned (Frederick Noronha 1999: 47). Others feel they may be considered as traitors, betraying their 'Goanness', if they do not declare Konkani as their mother tongue. They have spoken to their children in English from the cradle and are convinced that only English will equip them to succeed academically and socially, enhance their employment opportunities, and give them an edge over others in the competitive world. Furthermore, a pronounced preference of Goans for English education has led to the emergence of 'a brand new generation of parents born and raised in post-liberation era in English medium homes and schools' (Martins 1990: 2). These parents, convinced that speaking English to their children from babyhood will help them master the language, have had a remarkable influence on the multilingual reality and socialisation in many Goan homes. One would like to agree with Arun Sinha that in the coming years 'more and more Goans will prefer to read, write and speak English' (2002: 218).

Dennis Kurzon, an Israeli linguist, admits that there are 'some indications of a diglossic situation' (2004: 69) prevailing in Goa. However, he does not seem to favour the diglossia model to explain the linguistic situation in the state. People use more than one code to communicate to one another and there are clear functional differences governing their use. In the Goan society, individual speakers switch from one code to another as societal norms dictate. Most children in Goa learn Konkani at home. They consider Konkani to be their mother tongue and use it in

casual ordinary conversations with familiars, with family members, for giving instruction to domestic servants, etc. However, it being stigmatised as a low-status language, many of its speakers use English outside the familiar environment and even feel embarrassed to accept that they speak Konkani at home. Children learn the language informally in a normal unselfconscious way, often not from their parents – who often speak to their children in English at home, as they want them to learn English – but from the grandparents or servants looking after them and from other children at school. As noted earlier, English, Konkani and Marathi are taught in primary schools. But, English is used in almost all secondary and higher secondary schools and in the university studies. One finds an overwhelming use of English as the public language in streets, on road signs, advertising billboards, shop signs, invoices and receipts used by commercial enterprises, etc. As the language of higher education, newspapers, and commercial, legal and administrative transactions or official government business, English assumes the status of higher variety. The high variety enjoys prestige and allows social mobility.

### **Medium of Instruction**

The Portuguese rulers did not do much to develop the educational system in Goa. In 1961, when Goa was liberated, there was only one higher secondary school known as *Lyceum*, and that too in the Portuguese medium. There was also a Medical and a Pharmacy College. Students from well-to-do families would go to Portugal for further studies. Others, aspiring for a good future would study in private English medium primary and secondary schools and cross the borders for further studies in that language. English education prepared them to migrate. Many Goans did migrate to British India, Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, Mozambique, Angola, etc. Unfortunately, after liberation, jobs have not increased along with educational expansion at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels. Migration, therefore, still continues to be a major factor in Goan life. Educated Goans and those with some technical knowledge and skill migrate to the Gulf countries, and of late to America, Canada, Australia, Britain, and New Zealand. Kurzon offers a possible explanation for the success of Goans in TOEFL examinations thus: ‘though they may be in the east... they have been looking west for centuries and still do’ (2004: 147). In a classic neo-colonial pattern, many Goans still consider places outside India, particularly the West, as ‘the centres’ where things really happen.

Prior to liberation, there were Portuguese, Marathi and English medium primary schools in Goa. However, there were claims in one

local newspaper that there were, even before liberation, a few Konkani medium schools run by the Pilar Society in Sanguem Taluka which are believed to function even today (*Navhind Times*, Panaji, 18 June 1990: 1). With liberation, there was an enormous increase in the number of government primary schools and in the enrolment within them. From 176 in 1961-62, the number of schools increased to 601 in 1962-63, and the enrolment shot up from 17,028 in 1961-62 to 55,020 at the end of the academic year 1962-63 (Varde 1977: 101). In 1963, the MGP, an anti-Konkani party, claiming Konkani to be a dialect, a mere variant of Marathi, won the elections and formed the government. As expected, the pro-Marathi MGP government established numerous Marathi primary schools in the different talukas of Goa. Konkani medium schools never took off. In 1965, Loyola High School, Holy Spirit Institute and two other convent schools in Margao started Konkani medium schools. Later, Konkani Bhasha Mandal and two other schools did likewise. These were the only efforts made to establish Konkani medium schools with the result that even a dozen years after the liberation of Goa, that is, in the academic year 1974-75, the total enrolment in all Konkani primary schools in Goa, Daman and Diu was a mere 1,427. In the same year, the total enrolments in Marathi and English primary schools were 78,414 and 34,642 respectively (*ibid.*: 142). Even as late as 1987, as Goans fiercely agitated to make Konkani the official language of Goa, they had no compunctions sending their children to English medium and Marathi medium primary schools. There were no takers for Konkani medium primary schools.

The Konkani movement, satisfied with obtaining the official language status to Konkani in 1987, quietened down and chugged along unobtrusively, only to be disturbed, three years later, by the 1990 education policy of the Progressive Democratic Front (PDF) government. The pro-Marathi Education Minister in the PDF government introduced the new education policy encouraging primary education in regional languages, at the same time depriving primary schools conducted in English of any grants-in-aid from the state. The education policy was evidently politically motivated, as it sought to address the declining enrolment in Marathi schools – from 82,400 in 1983-84 to 58,310 in 1989-90, immediately prior to the introduction of the new education policy (see Table 3). There was, however, a steady decline in the overall enrolment also, but the figures for enrolment in English initially increased and later remained more or less constant.

The downward curve in the enrolment graph is a manifestation of the low birth rate in the decade 1981-91 in Goa. A comparative study of the age distribution of population reveals that, between 1981 and 1991, the

Table 3: Enrolment by medium of instruction: 1982-83 to 2001-02

| Year    | Medium of instruction |       |         |       |         |       |                 |      | Total  |
|---------|-----------------------|-------|---------|-------|---------|-------|-----------------|------|--------|
|         | Marathi               |       | English |       | Konkani |       | Other languages |      |        |
|         | No.                   | %     | No.     | %     | No.     | %     | No.             | %    |        |
| 1982-83 | 81598                 | 64.14 | 42318   | 33.26 | 1337    | 1.05  | 1971            | 1.55 | 127224 |
| 1983-84 | 82400                 | 63.75 | 43960   | 34.01 | 640     | 0.50  | 2250            | 1.74 | 129250 |
| 1984-85 | 76584                 | 62.20 | 44474   | 36.12 | 410     | 0.33  | 1655            | 1.35 | 123123 |
| 1985-86 | 73514                 | 60.20 | 46036   | 37.70 | 314     | 0.25  | 2259            | 1.85 | 122123 |
| 1986-87 | 70734                 | 59.88 | 45596   | 38.59 | 221     | 0.19  | 1577            | 1.34 | 118128 |
| 1987-88 | 65867                 | 57.32 | 45571   | 39.66 | 248     | 0.22  | 3229            | 2.80 | 114915 |
| 1988-89 | 63099                 | 56.16 | 45560   | 40.55 | 257     | 0.22  | 3446            | 3.07 | 112362 |
| 1989-90 | 58310                 | 54.39 | 45204   | 42.16 | 216     | 0.20  | 3486            | 3.25 | 107216 |
| 1990-91 | 57000                 | 54.20 | 42798   | 40.69 | 1644    | 1.56  | 3731            | 3.55 | 105173 |
| 1991-92 | 56759                 | 53.99 | 34626   | 32.94 | 9818    | 9.34  | 3920            | 3.73 | 105123 |
| 1992-93 | 57258                 | 54.51 | 26566   | 25.29 | 16787   | 15.98 | 4436            | 4.22 | 105047 |
| 1993-94 | 57051                 | 55.03 | 17627   | 17.00 | 24333   | 23.47 | 4662            | 4.50 | 103673 |
| 1994-95 | 55122                 | 55.25 | 10793   | 10.82 | 29288   | 29.36 | 4557            | 4.57 | 99760  |
| 1995-96 | 52858                 | 53.41 | 11630   | 11.75 | 29763   | 30.08 | 4715            | 4.76 | 98966  |
| 1996-97 | 51042                 | 51.52 | 13429   | 13.55 | 29601   | 29.88 | 5007            | 5.05 | 99079  |
| 1997-98 | 50137                 | 50.16 | 14800   | 14.81 | 29847   | 29.85 | 5179            | 5.18 | 99963  |
| 1998-99 | 50087                 | 49.56 | 15706   | 15.54 | 30108   | 29.79 | 5167            | 5.11 | 101068 |
| 1999-00 | 47533                 | 48.83 | 15687   | 16.11 | 29468   | 30.28 | 4657            | 4.78 | 97345  |
| 2000-01 | 46512                 | 47.73 | 16474   | 16.90 | 29691   | 30.47 | 4780            | 4.90 | 97457  |
| 2001-02 | 44422                 | 47.24 | 16887   | 17.96 | 28378   | 30.18 | 4341            | 4.62 | 94028  |

Source: Adapted from Educational Statistics at a Glance for the years 1982-83 to 1986-87, Statistics Section, Directorate of Education, Government of Goa, Daman and Diu, and for the years 1987-99 to 2001-02, Statistics Section, Directorate of Education, Government of Goa.

population in the age group 0-9 decreased by 4.86 percentage points. This is 'attributed to the cumulative effect of low fertility observed in the Goan population' (see Government of India 1991: 24, 79-80). This downward trend has continued from 1981 through 1991 and 2001 with the total numbers of persons in the primary level age group of 5-9

decreasing from 121,496 in 1981 to 109,797 in 1991 and 107,390 in 2001.

The education policy was more of a political bargain intended to maintain the status quo of Marathi schools, the historical accident of the stranglehold that Marathi acquired due to the Portuguese policy of suppression of Konkani and Konkani schools in Goa. Over 40 per cent of the total children in all primary schools in Goa in 1989-90 were in English medium schools. The children, their parents, and the management of these schools were placed in an awkward position. Parents desiring English education for their children protested and challenged the education policy. The Church at first seemed determined to challenge the policy and obtain grants for all its English-medium schools, but later changed its stance and agreed to switch over to Konkani from the following academic year. An unprecedented agitation followed in which the Church itself was pitted against the pro-English medium parents, as the Church agreed to the change in the medium of instruction, but the government did not yield to the pressures of the public and stuck to its policy. The education policy ignored the educational reality of the time, striking a deathblow to the very schools that were popular and desired for their children by the majority of the parents of the post-liberation era, who were educated in English medium schools. Many of these parents had spoken to their children in English to enable them pick up the language of status and upward mobility. The education policy made English medium primary schooling inaccessible to all those unable to pay hefty fees.

Instead of establishing 'the regional language as a universal medium of education', language policies introduced in several states have 'allowed the market principle of demand and supply to prevail over policy which, in effect has given rise to a dual system of schooling in every state' (Sheth 1995: 189): The private schools cater only to those who can afford to pay hefty fees; where all learning, from play school and nursery to higher education, is in English, and where home language is discouraged. The government schools use the mother tongue or regional language as medium of instruction. A vast majority of children frequent these schools, as their parents have no other alternative but to admit their children in such schools.

More than a decade after the implementation of the education policy (1990), there was still a pronounced preference for English medium institutions of early schooling among the respondents (see Table 2). The medium of instruction that is most desired in both the Conquests is English. Marathi medium of instruction seems to be preferred in the New Conquest, while Konkani medium in the Old Conquest. The percentage of people desiring English education in both the Old and the New

Conquests is 65.56. This means that many among these would confront English for the first time in schools, as only 16.05 per cent spoke English, unless many who returned Konkani as the spoken language were also bilinguals, speaking both Konkani and English. It may also mean that a large section of the 65.56 per cent of people desiring English education for their children might have spoken to their children in English from childhood, due to mobility aspirations they nurture for their children. They returned Konkani as their mother tongue and the language spoken in the household to the Census authorities and to the mother tongue question in the questionnaire. Their reply stems from their belief that Konkani and Goa are interchangeable; they identify Konkani with being Goan and find no contradiction in their responses – or they are bilinguals. Moreover, while 69.4 per cent opined that grants should be given to all schools irrespective of the medium of instruction, 16.42 per cent opted for restriction of grants to English medium schools only. Perhaps the latter are conscious of the necessity of skills in and knowledge of English to raise the living standards of Goans and make them comparable to those in the developed world. A much lower percentage of respondents (7.16) said grants should be given exclusively for Konkani schools and an even lower percentage (4.19) favoured grants to Marathi medium schools only.

Data revealed respondents' awareness of the importance of different schools run by different managements. In fact, people soon realise the existence of hierarchy among educational institutions and rank them based specifically on the medium of instruction used. Typically, government schools in regional languages are placed lower in hierarchy than the private schools in English medium. Many respondents revealed that they could not admit their children into English medium schools due to financial constraints. Some respondents said that they admitted their children in Konkani or Marathi medium schools as there were no English schools in the vicinity (see Table 4).

English occupies the highest position and enjoys maximum prestige in the hierarchy of the desired medium of instruction. Globalisation has accelerated the symbolic domination of English, even as Konkani has become the official language and Marathi has acquired the status of a language that can be used for all purposes at the discretion of the government. Konkani and Marathi enjoy considerable state patronage, but like other regional languages they have to compete with one another and with English, which has emerged as a language of 'symbolic domination' (Singh 2000: 171). In India, people prefer the symbolically dominant language, English, to other regional languages so as to improve their competitive edge. Joseph Di Bona and R.P. Singh (1987: 237) state that

Table 4: Taluka-wise distribution of primary schools by medium of instruction (Goa, 2002-03)

| Taluka   | Marathi | Konkani | English | Others | Total |
|----------|---------|---------|---------|--------|-------|
| Pernem   | 95      | 4       | 4       | -      | 103   |
| Bardez   | 88      | 33      | 13      | 9      | 143   |
| Bicholim | 94      | 3       | 3       | 3      | 103   |
| Sattari  | 115     | 1       | 2       | 2      | 120   |
| Tiswadi  | 49      | 18      | 16      | 14     | 97    |
| Ponda    | 158     | 6       | 3       | 5      | 172   |
| Sanguem  | 121     | 4       | -       | 2      | 127   |
| Quepem   | 84      | 10      | -       | 4      | 98    |
| Canacona | 73      | 5       | -       | 3      | 81    |
| Salcete  | 33      | 66      | 18      | 25     | 142   |
| Mormugao | 15      | 25      | 13      | 17     | 70    |
| Total    | 925     | 175     | 72      | 7      | 1256  |

Source: Adapted from *List of Educational Institutions in Goa as on 30-9-2002* (2002-03). Directorate of Higher Education, Statistics Section, Government of Goa.

the man-in-the-street perceives English medium education as entitling him 'to a life of superior status'. To Philip G. Altbach English 'remains the key language of higher education' and 'important for entry into the elite sector of society' and he is not surprised by the very strong demand for education in English in India (quoted in Zachariah 1987: 290). English offers an advantage in the socio-economic domain due to its dominance 'in professions, higher education, high level management in business and administration, in government and broadening opportunities at national and international levels' (Annamalai 2001: 166). The respondents attributed the following reasons for the choice of English medium institutions for their children during early schooling: (a) awareness of the fact that English is the link language to the region, nation-state and the world at large, (b) all higher education is through English, and (c) the overall administration in Goa is carried on in the same language.

The data showing a marked preference for English medium early schooling seems to be in contradiction to the higher enrolment in Marathi and Konkani medium schools. Marathi medium schools have the highest enrolment because of their accessibility or there being *only* Marathi schools in the vicinity (see Table 3), and their being free.

Apart from the fact that Konkani schooling is free and English schools charge exorbitant fees, the following reasons are attributed for a greater number of enrolments in Konkani: (a) there are no English schools in the vicinity, (b) even if there are, there are no good schools around, since most of the established schools, Diocesan and others,<sup>6</sup> have opted for

Konkani medium from the first up to the fourth standard so as to be eligible for the grants-in-aid from the state government and/or to teach children in their mother tongue, (c) the desire to get admissions in the established schools at the secondary level, which becomes very difficult otherwise, (d) catholic parents send their children to Catholic/convent run schools to get good education as well as Christian values, and (e) the Kindergarten (KG) is conducted in English medium in most of the established schools – by conducting KG I and KG II in English medium the very aim of teaching in mother tongue seems to be destroyed unless it is presumed that these children are bilinguals, and for many parents the first to fourth standard of Konkani is a transitional period to be tolerated.

Today, 15 years after the education policy was introduced to promote early schooling and/or regional languages, English schools have not died down but are mushrooming everywhere and enrolment in them is escalating rapidly, while vernacular schools are losing out to English medium schools both quantitatively and qualitatively. In 1994-95, there were in all thirteen institutions of early schooling with English medium with an enrolment of 10,793 students. By 1990-2000, the number of such schools had shot up to thirty-seven with an enrolment of 15,687. As Sanjay Srivastava (2003: 1024-25) says, the Indian educational scenario depicts a clear trend of rapid proliferation of private schools meant to cater for the demands of an emerging middle class. The English medium schools can pick and choose their students, as there are many parents who want to enrol their children in these schools. This is despite the fact that some such schools often demand and obtain donations ranging from Rs 10,000 to Rs 50,000. In Goa, some schools which had earlier switched over to Marathi, have, in recent years, opened English sections in response to the demands of the parents.

Probably the notion of linguistic capital, related to Pierre Bourdieu's cultural capital, is more apposite in accounting for the behaviour of parents scrambling to admit their children into expensive English medium schools, despite free education in regional languages and the pedagogical discourse concerning the advantages of education in the mother tongue. Linguistic capital may be defined as 'fluency in, and comfort with, a high status world-wide language which is used by groups who possess economic, social, cultural and political power and status in local and global society' (Morrison 2000: 472). According to the linguistic capital thesis, those who possess linguistic capital have access to better life-chances, as such advantages are cumulative, the initial choices of school determining future education irreversibly. The medium of instruction interpreted in terms of linguistic capital, thus, is an example of Anthony Giddens' structuration theory where in the agency of parental aspirations combines with the

structural aspects of the parental cultural background and the school system to produce and reproduce inequality and differential life chances.

Apart from the Goan Hindus and Catholics, English is the most favoured language among the middle-class migrants in Goa as far as medium of instruction is concerned. Poorer migrants, however, are forced to educate their children in primary schools conducted through their own mother tongue or patronise the government primary schools in Konkani and Marathi. Obviously, many of the government schools survive on the children of lower working-class migrant population who are coaxed and cajoled by the teachers to send their children to schools so that the schools are not shut down.

### **Conclusion**

From 1990, the government primary schools in Goa were forced to conduct education of children only in Konkani, the official language of the state or Marathi or some other regional language. Educational institutions in Goa were confronted by the 'teach-regional-languages-or-do-not-get-grants' policy of the government. The policy has aggravated unequal opportunities in education in that the poor children are deprived of quality schooling, available to the economically and socially privileged sections of society.

In Goa's contemporary multilingual environment, the mother tongue, the spoken language and the medium of instruction at primary level may or may not be the same language. While due to primordial identification, the majority in both Conquests has declared Konkani as their mother tongue, for instrumental reasons, not everyone desires Konkani medium at the primary level. Majority of the respondents in both conquests has returned Konkani as their spoken language, but many, especially in the Old Conquest, due to an inferiority complex, refrain from talking in Konkani. And, for reasons of upward mobility, English stands much higher than Konkani and Marathi in both Conquests as far as the desired medium of instruction is concerned. Data suggest that parents are aware of the advantages of education, especially English education from the primary level. This is not surprising, as Goa has always been a migration-oriented society. Expatriate Goans who have returned from Africa, Karachi or Mumbai, or those who still have ambitions for their children to settle in countries like the USA, Canada, Australia or England, or at least to work there and make some fast money, have clear linguistic preferences. Besides, all recognise English as the global language today. Enrolment in the English medium primary schools is not as high as in their Marathi or Konkani medium counterparts, as access to

the English medium schools remains highly uneven. Non-availability of English medium schools, for whatever reasons, places children in an inferior position vis-à-vis the privileged as regards admissions and performance in higher levels of education, raising doubts that education will ever help emergence of a more egalitarian society. On the contrary, as studies indicate, inequality of educational opportunities would only lead to 'status retention' (Jayaram 1977: 186) or status enhancement on the part of the socially, economically, and educationally privileged, and perpetuation of inequalities.

Marathi is declared as the mother tongue, as spoken language and as the medium desired by a greater number of people, especially in the New Conquest as compared to the Old Conquest. At the state level, though Marathi medium is not the most desired medium, the enrolments in Marathi medium are the highest. The simple reason is that, besides not charging any fees, almost 75 per cent of the primary level schools in the state are in Marathi.

D.P. Pattanayak, referring to Sindhis, wrote, 'If the Sindhis in India do not wish to send their children to Sindhi medium schools, it is ridiculous on the part of the government to force Sindhi education on them' (1985: 222). This is equally applicable with reference to the marginalised people who desire English education and are forced to study in Konkani or Marathi medium in Goa. The National Curriculum Framework for School Education reiterates the need to provide for 'equal opportunity not only in access but also in conditions of success' (NCERT 2000). Such curricular and pedagogic concerns have remained ineffective in Goa, as equality of opportunity is denied to the weaker sections to study in English medium primary schools.

To sum up, in multilingual Goa, there prevails a definite preference for English in both the Old and the New Conquest talukas. However, while the desire to learn through the symbolically dominant language from the time of early schooling is largely apparent from the data collected, its fulfilment remains elusive and slippery for the less privileged masses of the society due to identity politics, financial constraints and inaccessibility of English medium schools. Acquiring education through the symbolically dominant language, perched at the top of the linguistic ladder, is costly and available exclusively to those belonging to the upper strata of the social hierarchy. Thus, the choice of the linguistic medium of education desired by the parents for their children during early schooling is inextricably and reciprocally linked to and shaped by the inequality prevalent in the Goan society.

## Notes

My sincere thanks to the anonymous referee for the constructive criticism and suggestions offered on the earlier drafts of the paper. I also acknowledge with gratitude the extremely valuable comments and suggestions made by some other experts on the earlier versions of the paper. I am indebted to Dr. Charlotte Lobo without whose support, encouragement and constant prodding this paper would not have been written.

1. The state of Goa is a small region with an area of only 3,702 sq km and a population of 1347,668 people (Government of Goa 2004). Goa is divided into two districts, North Goa and South Goa, and eleven talukas.
2. Goa is a multilingual and multicultural state with the number of minority-language speakers ever increasing and adding to the number of languages spoken in Goa. The number of Kannada speakers has risen from 16,504 in 1971 to 54,323 in 1991. Urdu speakers also have registered an increase from 18,919 in 1971 to 39,944 in 1991. Hindi mother-tongue speakers have increased to 37,073 in 1991 from 11,375 in 1971. Malayalam, Telugu, Tamil, Gujarati, Bengali and Punjabi speakers are also increasing in Goa (Sinha 2002: 220).
3. The Portuguese conquered the 'Old Conquest' talukas (namely, Tiswadi, Bardez, Salcete, and Mormugao) by 1543. These areas are predominantly Christian. The Portuguese took over the 'New Conquest' taluka (namely, Pednem, Bicholim, Sattari, Ponda, Sanguem, Canacona, and Quepem) in the late 1700s. These areas are largely Hindu, as the Portuguese did not carry on large-scale conversions during the later period. Often generalisations and stereotypical images of Goa are based on the culture of only the three talukas, namely, Ilhas, Bardez and Salcete of the Old Conquest. To obtain a complete picture of the language patterns in Goan homes, the respondents were deliberately chosen from the Old and New Conquest talukas.
4. The crucial issue at the time of liberation was whether Goa should remain a separate region or whether it should be merged with Maharashtra. The Government of India held an Opinion Poll on 16 January 1967 wherein 54 per cent of the people of Goa voted to remain a separate union territory. Sixteen out of the total 28 electoral districts voted for Union Territory status (Newman 2001: 67).
5. Recently, there have been demands by the Dalgado Konkani Akademi, established in Goa for the promotion of Konkani in Roman script, urging the President of the Sahitya Akademi, Delhi, to recognise Konkani literary works in the Roman script for literary awards and other related benefits.
6. In Goa, there are many schools run by the Archdiocese of Goa and by other religious societies under the Archdiocesan Board of Education.

## References

- Almeida, M. 1989. *A description of Konkani*. Panaji: Thomas Stephens Konkani Kendr.
- . 2000. *Konkani education: The present condition and future prospects*. Online <http://www.Konkani2000.com/>
- Annamalai, E. 2001. *Managing multilingualism in India: Political and linguistic manifestations*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Botelho, Afonso. 2002. 'Primary education and language in Goa: Colonial legacy and post-colonial conflicts', *Journal of social and economic development*, 4 (2): 213-34.
- Coutinho, V. 1987. *Education and development in Goa*. Rome: ICSS

- Da Cunha, J. Gerson. 1991. *The Konkani language and literature*. New Delhi: Asian Educational Services (originally 1881).
- Dasgupta, Probal. 2001. 'Introduction by the series editor', in E. Annamalai: *Managing multilingualism in India: Political and linguistic manifestations* (9-29). New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Di Bona, J. and R. P. Singh. 1987. 'Modernity of tradition in Indian education: The revival of Indian languages and indigenous systems of education', in R. Ghosh and M. Zachariah (eds.): *Education and the process of change* (225-42). New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- D'Souza, B.G. 1975. *Goan society in transition: A study in social change*. Bombay: Popular Prakashan
- D' Souza, T. 1977. 'The language of Goans: Historical approach', *Goa today*, 11 (8): 13-14.
- Government of Goa, Daman and Diu. 1983-87. *Educational statistics at a glance*. Panaji: Directorate of Education, Statistics Section.
- Government of Goa. 1988-2002. *Educational statistics at a glance*. Panaji: Directorate of Education, Statistics Section.
- . 1989. *Statistical pocket book of Goa, 1988-89*. Panaji: Directorate of Planning, Statistic and Evaluation.
- . 1997. *Goa: A portrait of population*. Directorate of Census Operations, Goa.
- . 2002. *List of recognised educational institutions in Goa as on 30-9-2002 (2002-2003)*. Panaji: Directorate of Education, Statistics Section.
- . 2004. Census of India 2001, Series 31: Goa, Final Population Totals (State, District, Taluk and Town). Panaji: Directorate of Census Operations.
- Jayaram, N. 1977. 'Higher education as status stabilizer: Students in Bangalore', *Contributions to Indian sociology*, 11 (1): 169-91.
- Kertzner, D. and Dominique Arel. 2002. 'Censuses, identity formation, and the struggle for political power', in David I. Kertzner and Dominique Arel (eds.): *Census and identity: The politics of race, ethnicity, and language in national censuses* (1-42). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kurzon, Dennis. 2004. *Where east looks west: Success in English in Goa and on the Konkani coast*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Martins, J. 1990. 'Medium of instruction: Whose responsibility?' *Herald*, 23 July (Part I) and 24 July (Part II).
- Morrison, Keith. 2000. 'Ideology, linguistic capital and the medium of instruction in Hong Kong', *Journal of multilingual and multicultural development*, 21 (6): 470-86.
- Naik, Vinayak. 2003. 'Wiles of Marathiphiles'. *Goa today*, 37 (7): 3.
- Nation Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT). 2000. *National curriculum framework for school education*. New Delhi: NCERT.
- Newman, R. S. 2001. *Of umbrellas, goddesses & dreams: Essays on Goan culture and society*. Mapusa: Other India Press.
- Noronha, Frederick. 1999. 'Of forked tongues and the mother tongue', in Norman Dantas (ed.): *The transforming of Goa* (43-52). Mapusa: The Other India Press.
- Noronha, Martinho. 1995. 'The hour of Konkani'. *Renovacao*, 1-15 October.
- Pattanayak, D.P. 1985. 'Perspectives on tribal education with special reference to bilingual education for tribals', in J. Veera Raghavan (ed.): *Higher education in the eighties: Opportunities and objectives* (221-29). New Delhi: Lancer International.
- Pereira, Jose. 1971. *Konkani: A language. A history of the Konkani Marathi controversy*. Dharwar: Sharda Press
- . 1992. *Literary Konkani: A brief history*. Panaji: Goa Konkani Akademi.

- Pereira, Nicolau. 1979. 'Education in Goa before liberation in 1961', in *Boletim do Instituto Menezes Braganca*, 122: 15-24.
- Sheth, D.L. 1995. 'The great language debate: Politics of metropolitan versus vernacular India', in Baxi, Upendra and Bhikhu, Parekh (ed.): *Crisis and change in contemporary India* (187-213). New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Singh, Yogendra. 2000. *Culture change in India: Identity and globalisation*. New Delhi: Rawat Publications.
- Sinha, Arun. 2002. *Goa Indica: A critical portrait of postcolonial Goa*. New Delhi: Bibliophile South Asia in association with Promilla and Co. Publishers.
- Srivastava, Sanjay. 2003. 'Schooling, culture, and modernity', in Veena Das (ed.): *The Oxford India companion to sociology and anthropology* (998-1031). New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Varde, P.S. 1977. *History of education in Goa: From 1510 to the present day*. Panaji: Goa Vidya Pratisthan
- Zachariah, M. 1987. 'Conclusion: Theses, antitheses and syntheses', in R. Ghosh and M. Zachariah (eds.): *Education and the process of change* (270-97). New Delhi: Sage Publications.

---

**Afonso Botelho**, Lecturer in Sociology, Rosary College of Commerce and Arts, Navelim, Salcete, Goa – 403 707  
Email: <abotelho30@rediffmail.com>

---