

Chapter 2

Ethnic Language Education in Multilingual India: Community-Driven Santhali Language Education in Jharkhand

Emiko NOZAWA

1. Introduction

The designation of 1993 as the International Year for the World's Indigenous People signified a pivotal inflection point in the advancement of Indigenous language rights across the global stage. During this period, global attention was directed towards the challenges faced by Indigenous groups. These include the deprivation of their rights to land and natural resources, as well as their ongoing marginalization in sociopolitical, socioeconomic, and sociocultural contexts. This heightened awareness contributed to a broader recognition of the asymmetrical power relations between dominant and Indigenous groups, which in turn led to a shift towards social and political dynamics that are more conducive to achieving justice.

One of the key challenges in these struggles has been the protection and promotion of Indigenous languages and the associated rights. In numerous regions, Indigenous languages have been excluded from public domains, including formal educational settings. This has resulted in the risk of language decline and the obstruction of speakers from full social participation and self-determination. Linguistic decline also entails the loss of culture, as the language embodies a community's unique worldview and cultural practices. Once a language becomes

extinct, its associated perspectives, values, and traditions are often irretrievably lost. Scholars such as Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1994) have been highly critical of these exclusions, arguing that such language policies and practices are discriminatory and violate the linguistic human rights of marginalized populations.

In response to this situation, indigenous activism has emerged, advocating for the implementation of Indigenous-medium or bilingual education for better achievement and to reclaim control over the medium and content of education (McCarty and Nicholas 2015). In certain places, measures have been introduced, including the implementation of Quechua-medium education in Bolivia and Peru, as well as the establishment of the Language Nest Program (*Te Kōhanga Reo*) in New Zealand. This program teaches preschool children in their ancestral language, with the objective of safeguarding their linguistic rights and preserving their cultural heritage.

In the Indian context, despite constitutional endorsement of mother-tongue or local-language education, formal education is predominantly conducted in state official languages or regional dominant languages. While there are cases where Indigenous languages are implemented in some primary schools, the majority of Indigenous languages remain excluded from formal education. This dearth of linguistic support has been condemned for exacerbating the phenomenon of lower educational attainment, social exclusion, and the undermining of ethnic identity and languages (Mohanty 2009; Rao 2019). In response to these challenges, some Indigenous communities have established grassroots language education initiatives with the objective of preserving and promoting their languages, cultures, and ethnic identity.

This research project focuses on initiatives pertaining to the Santhali language, spoken by one of India's Scheduled Tribes, who are predominantly engaged in agricultural production. It examines

educational programs in civil society and language behaviors and attitudes among the young generation in Jharkhand. This is done through the lenses of the Linguistic Human Rights and Linguistic Citizenship frameworks. The Linguistic Human Rights framework provides a benchmark for evaluating the extent to which the Santhali language is officially recognized and institutionalized, as well as the achievements and challenges of the ethnic language movement. In contrast, the Linguistic Citizenship approach allows for the investigation of grassroots Santhali language education initiatives and the examination of language usage and attitudes among the younger generation in relation to these endeavors.

The purpose of this research is to gain insights into the functioning of community-driven Santhali language education initiatives and to examine the interconnections between young people's language behaviors and attitudes, their ethnic identity, and educational and career prospects, particularly in relation to their use of Santhali, Hindi, and English. This will be achieved through the use of participatory observation and surveys. As this study is part of a larger research project, and the latest survey was conducted in February and March 2024, the findings and analysis presented here are still preliminary. Nevertheless, this paper offers initial insights into the operation and impact of community-driven Santhali language education initiatives, suggesting that such efforts provide valuable spaces for fostering ethnic identity through the promotion of their culture and language. The findings also indicate the potential for a future language shift, underscoring the growing significance of Indigenous language activism, although further analysis is necessary to substantiate these trends.

2. Indian Context

India is a multiethnic and multilingual nation, home to a vast array of cultural heritages. The Indian Constitution recognizes 22 significant languages, including Hindi, the official language of the nation, alongside various state official and regional languages. However, some tribal languages, such as Santhali and Bodo, are also constitutionally recognized. India's states are largely defined by linguistic boundaries, yet the country is also inhabited by hundreds of smaller ethnic and Indigenous groups, each with its own unique language. According to Ethnologue (2024), there are 424 languages currently in use across India. Furthermore, the 2011 Census of India classifies 1,369 language variants as “rationalized mother tongues,” which are subcategories of recognized languages. Meanwhile, the government has recognized more than 700 ethnic groups as Scheduled Tribes,¹ collectively comprising 104.5 million individuals, or 8.6% of the total population, speaking 159 languages (GOI 2024; Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner 2011; Mohanty 2009). However, it is suggested that the actual number of marginalized ethnic and tribal groups and mother tongues is larger than official estimates, as many more remain unrecognized by the government (International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs 2023). This undeniably contributes to linguistic richness and complexity in India.

In this intricate multilingual setting, the selection of the medium of

¹ Scheduled Tribe is an administrative term the Indian government uses to designate Indigenous groups as defined by the Constitution. Indigenous activists often use the term *Adivasi*, meaning “Indigenous” in Hindi, to describe themselves, reflecting their political consciousness. While these terms—Scheduled Tribe, Indigenous, and Adivasi—carry different connotations regarding political awareness and administrative control, this paper uses them interchangeably, following the language usage of local Indigenous communities.

instruction in academic institutions, particularly at the preschool and primary levels, presents considerable challenges. In the majority of cases, government-run schools utilize the official language of the state or Union Territory in question for the delivery of instruction. This creates a problematic situation in areas where students from diverse linguistic communities share the same classroom. Such circumstances may result in the creation of language barriers for students whose native languages differ from the language of instruction, which could ultimately lead to a decline in academic achievement and an increased dropout rate among minority-language speakers. Consequently, these children may be excluded from the education system, which is widely considered to be one of the primary causes of the higher illiteracy rate (26.4%; 6.7 percentage points higher than the national average in 2022–2023) and the poverty rate (45.3% in rural area in 2011) among the Scheduled Tribe population (GOI 2021; 2024). In addition, there has been a lack of understanding among teachers and researchers, who sometimes mistakenly attribute the lower educational attainment of Indigenous children to presumed deficits in their cognitive abilities, unique cultural beliefs, or a lack of parental appreciation and support for education (Pattanayak 2023; Pramanik and Bag 2012; Rao 2019).

Article 350A of the Indian Constitution underscores that education, especially during the early years of primary education, should be provided in the child's home language. "Every State and every local authority within the State" is responsible for ensuring home language education. In alignment with the Constitutional mandate, a series of Education Policies—including the National Curriculum Framework (NCERT 2005), the Right to Education Act (GOI 2009), National Policy on Education Report (GOI 2016)—highlight multiculturalism as a key source of educational equality, and reiterate the administrative responsibility for native language instruction at least at the primary

level. The most recent National Education Policy 2020 (NEP 2020) (GOI 2020) extends the concept and makes local language instruction one of the central pillars of its policy framework.

Despite these mandates, implementation has been ineffective in many government schools, where the medium of instruction remains the state's official language. This exclusion of minority languages has been linked to higher dropout rates, lower academic achievement, and the erosion of identity and self-esteem among Indigenous children (Pattanayak 2023; Rao 2019). Additionally, the emphasis on “the home language/mother tongue/local language/regional language” in NEP 2020 has caused heated debates among experts and citizens. Some view it as mere lip service or even as an attempt by the Hindu nationalist right-wing government to promote Saffronization—or Indianization—in education by replacing “English-centric elitism with a Sanskrit-centric one” rather than a genuine effort to support linguistic diversity and equal educational rights across ethnic and linguistic groups (Pandey and Ozarkar 2024, 2).

Jharkhand, where this research project is conducted, is a “tribal state,” with a significant Scheduled Tribe population—33 Indigenous communities speaking around 20 distinct languages, who constitute 26% of its 33 million people (Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner 2011; Pattanayak 2023). It is also one of the richest regions in natural resources, with extensive mining and manufacturing industries. Large-scale mining and industrial development projects have caused massive displacement, relocation, and loss of land among Indigenous populations, leading to intense *Adivasi* (Hindi word for Indigenous) resistance and protests. Previously part of Bihar, Jharkhand achieved statehood in 2000 after prolonged and often violent struggles. The movement for Jharkhand's independence was driven by identity politics, with the goal of creating a “tribal state,” free from the

dominance of the northern Bihari government and securing their land and resources, as well as political and economic autonomy (Sen 2019; Shah 2011). The community-driven language education described in this paper needs to be understood within these complex political contexts.

3. Theoretical Framework - Language Rights and Linguistic Citizenship

The term “language rights” is used to describe the principle of ensuring that individuals have access to information and the ability to express themselves in their native language, both in public and private domains. Phillipson, Rannut, and Skutnabb-Kangas (1994) emphasize the necessity of linguistic human rights, which they define as fundamental human rights that every person is entitled to enjoy. Furthermore, they maintain that governments and legislation bear the responsibility to safeguard these rights for all citizens.

However, complex power structures frequently exert influence over the choice of a nation’s official language and the medium of instruction in its school system, reflecting underlying social and political dynamics. Phillipson (1992) presents a critique of the manner in which European languages, including English, French, Spanish, and Portuguese, have become dominant in formerly colonized regions of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. This domination has been achieved through the imperialistic economic, administrative, and academic systems. It is important to note, however, that the marginalization of Indigenous languages is not exclusive to European languages. In numerous instances, the dominant vernacular language has been designated as the official language of the nation-state, thereby displacing marginalized languages in public domains, including law, administration, media, and education. This has contributed to the further decline of these

marginalized languages. Monolingual education has become the standard practice, with instruction conducted exclusively in the official language, even when the majority of children do not speak it at home. This practice results in the deterioration of Indigenous languages and considerable educational disadvantages for Indigenous children (Phillipson, Rannut, and Skutnabb-Kangas 1994; Skutnabb-Kangas 2009; McCarty and Nicholas 2015; Rao 2019). For example, the Ainu language, which was once widely spoken in Hokkaido, Japan, was excluded from official domains in the 19th century as part of Japan's modern nation-building efforts. The Meiji government justified its policies of assimilation by invoking the concept of a modern nation-state, wherein citizens were presumed to share a common origin, tradition, and language. This notion has been critically reviewed in the context of Anderson's concept of "imagined communities" (1983; 2016). Ainu society was portrayed as "savage" and thus in need of modernization, including learning Japanese at schools. This resulted in a precipitous decline in the number of Ainu speakers from 15,000 in the late 18th century to only 304 by 2006. A 2017 survey revealed that only five out of 671 Ainu residents in Hokkaido were able to converse in their Indigenous language (Tanaka 2019; Muto 2024). In addition to linguistic marginalization, the Ainu people endured profound discrimination, which contributed to a disproportionately low level of educational attainment compared to the national average.

In response to this trend, numerous Indigenous groups have successfully engaged in resistance and initiated activism with the objective of preserving their distinct cultures and languages on a global scale. To illustrate this, as a consequence of indigenous activism, Quechua, a widely spoken Indigenous language in the Andean countries, has been officially recognized and integrated into the educational systems of Bolivia and Peru. Since the 1990s, there have been

governmental initiatives to implement intercultural bilingual education (Hornberger and Coronel-Molina 2004). In terms of the benefits of this bilingual approach, Hynsjö and Damon (2016) have demonstrated that Indigenous children who receive their education in Quechua in Peru outperform their peers who attend Spanish-medium schools.

While Linguistic Human Rights have been instrumental in establishing formal language rights, some scholars contend that this framework does not adequately encompass the dynamic social processes involved in language use within communities. Many activists aligned with Linguistic Human Rights typically seek the officialization and institutionalization of Indigenous languages. Nevertheless, some scholars have challenged this perspective, asserting that it is unduly static and formalized, frequently concentrating on the negative aspects, such as the absence of official status and the exclusion of certain languages from official domains. Such an approach, it is argued, fails to take account of the agency and the complex social dynamics of language users. Furthermore, the pursuit of linguistic human rights may result in the essentialization of the relationship between a language and the identity of its speakers. Moreover, the standardization of efforts to achieve official status may result in the marginalization of dialects and varieties other than the standard variety within the given group. This is where Linguistic Citizenship offers a different perspective. Lim, Stroud, and Wee (2018) introduce a Linguistic Citizenship perspective, which they assert is essential for grasping the evolution of identity, beliefs, and ownership among language users within intricate and dynamic power structures. Consequently, scholars should not focus solely on the formal status of a language; rather, they should provide comprehensive descriptions of how languages are used in everyday life to gain a more nuanced understanding. The Linguistic Citizenship approach allows researchers to examine popular culture,

performative arts, and interactions within civil society, analyzing emerging voices and subjects of rights through their engagement. To illustrate, Stroud (2018) delineates how the theatrical production *Afrikaaps*, featured in the documentary film *Afrikaaps* (2010), enables performers to reclaim the Afrikaans—a language shaped by colonial contact and domination—through which they express a multiplicity of voices and challenge colonial history in post-apartheid South Africa.

McCarty and Nicholas (2015) provide a critical perspective on educational practices, underscoring the crucial role of grassroots educational efforts, albeit without a direct alignment with the Linguistic Citizenship perspective. They critique the dichotomous notion of formal versus informal education, arguing that this Western-based conceptualization undermines the transmission of Indigenous knowledge, which often occurs in more informal settings. Among various grassroots language learning initiatives, the Language Nest Program (*Te Kōhanga Reo*), launched in 1982, stands out as one of the most well-known community-based language revitalization efforts, now implemented in many parts of the world. The objective of the Language Nest Program is to revitalize and ensure the transgenerational transmission of ancestral languages and cultures. This is achieved by elder members of the linguistic community creating an immersive environment for preschool second-language speakers whose parents may not speak the language fluently. As a result of this initiative, Māori-medium schooling was established, along with the development of official curricula at higher levels of education. In light of the success of the Language Nest Program for the Māori language in New Zealand, similar programs have been adapted in Hawai‘i and other regions where ancestral languages were on the brink of extinction.

(1) Applicability to Santhali Language Education

In the Indian context, the Adivasi populations have experienced significant challenges in their efforts to achieve official language status at the state and national levels. Furthermore, they have advocated for the establishment of autonomous states to ensure their land and resources, along with their political, economic, and cultural autonomy (Sen 2019; Shah 2011). Jharkhand, which was formed as a result of the Adivasi movement and separated from Bihar in 2000, serves as an illustrative example. Among the various Indigenous groups, the Santhali community, with 6.5 million members, has placed a particular emphasis on language issues as a central aspect of their cultural and political identity. In accordance with the tenets of Linguistic Human Rights, the Santhali community has pursued a persistent campaign to advance the status of their language. This effort was ultimately successful in 2003, when the Santhali language was officially recognized as one of the 22 significant languages listed in the Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution.

Despite the constitutional recognition accorded to Santhali, there is considerable variation in the implementation of this language in the public education systems across different states. In West Bengal and Odisha, Santhali, along with other Indigenous and regional languages, serves as the primary or supplementary medium of instruction. Nevertheless, in Jharkhand, where approximately half of the Santhali population resides, the introduction of Santhali at the primary education level has been a gradual process. In collaboration with M-TALL *Akhra*, a center for research and innovation in children's languages, the state government developed and piloted teaching materials in several tribal languages for Anganwadi, a pre-school institution. From 2016 onward, the state and M-TALL *Akhra* also published textbooks in tribal

languages for primary school (Pattanayak 2023). However, according to local contacts of the researcher, even in instances where textbooks were provided, effective instruction was often lacking due to a shortage of teachers proficient in the language. This situation places Indigenous children in a doubly vulnerable position: they struggle to understand subjects taught in an unfamiliar language, and the lack of empathy and understanding of Indigenous children's needs on the part of the teacher further inhibits their ability to build self-confidence and develop a strong ethnic identity. Consequently, Indigenous children are more likely to drop out of school at an earlier age, even at the primary level.

While Pattanayak's research offers valuable insights into Indigenous language education and contributes notably to the development of Indigenous language textbooks, it somewhat understates the critical role Indigenous communities play in asserting and promoting their linguistic and cultural heritage. In fact, in the absence of comprehensive state-run language programs, community-based initiatives have played a pivotal role in expanding Santhali education within civil society. These efforts, spearheaded by Indigenous individuals, demonstrate a strong commitment to advancing their language and culture. The involvement of these communities can be examined through the framework of Linguistic Citizenship, which emphasizes individual agency and the sustained pursuit of long-term goals, even when fully realized outcomes remain elusive.

4. Methods

This study encompasses both quantitative and qualitative research conducted in 2016, 2018, and 2024. The researcher observed two Santhali language classes: one in a secondary school setting and one run by the Tribal Cultural Society (TCS) in the East Singhbhum District,

Jharkhand. Three Santhali writing teachers, two program managers—one from the Adivasi Socio-Educational and Cultural Association (ASECA) and one from TCS—and a Santhali professor involved in both higher education and language teaching within civil society were interviewed. Following consent, the interviews were audio-recorded and focused on their teaching experiences and the motivations for continuing to be involved on a voluntary basis. However, a teacher and a program manager declined to be audio-recorded, a dynamic that may reflect the historical complexities inherent to the relationship between Indigenous and dominant communities. The transcribed interviews underwent content analysis, with several relevant codes applied, including those pertaining to teacher training, motivations, demands on the government, and future perspectives.

To gain deeper insight into the language attitudes among learners and their responses to the program, two surveys were conducted in 2018 and 2024, each comprising over 100 respondents aged 15-30. The questionnaire was developed in Hindi, the most widely taught language through public education. The survey data were subjected to descriptive statistical analysis to identify general trends in language use and attitudes among Santhali youth. In addition to examining general language attitudes, the survey also inquired about respondents' motivation for learning the Santhali script and their support for grassroots educational efforts within communities. While the analysis does not incorporate advanced quantitative techniques, it provides valuable insights into the language usage and attitudes of young people within the Santhali-speaking community. While the analysis of the 2024 survey is still in its preliminary stages, a comparison of the responses between the two surveys has begun to yield some insights.

5. Civil Society Language Education

In the period preceding its separation from Bihar, various Adivasi groups sought the recognition of their linguistic rights as part of a broader ethnic movement aimed at securing greater ethnic autonomy. The Santhal group, in particular, placed significant emphasis on language-related issues within its overarching strategy. Despite the richness of their oral traditions, many Indigenous languages were devoid of a writing form, rendering the documentation of their folktales and historical events challenging. In the 1920s, Raghunath Murmu developed a phonetic script for the Santhali language, known as Ol Chiki, with the aim of introducing Santhali as a medium of instruction in schools, addressing the exclusion of the language from formal schooling. Notwithstanding these initial efforts, Indigenous rights—including those pertaining to language—remained largely unacknowledged in the political domain even after India's independence. This was, in part, due to nationalist leaders focusing primarily on creating a unified, secular India, which often overshadowed the country's vast cultural, religious, and linguistic diversity.

As a state with a rich cultural heritage, Jharkhand recognizes the linguistic diversity of its population, with tribal languages coexisting alongside Hindi, the official state language. However, the state's language policy, particularly in the context of education, remains inconsistent with its broader goals of promoting cultural and linguistic diversity. Postgraduate courses in tribal languages are offered with the objective of training professionals in the preservation and promotion of cultural heritage. Additionally, several secondary schools provide classes in these languages within the three-language formula, which requires secondary schools to teach three language courses, including Hindi, English, and a modern Indian language (or their state's official

language), with the aim of enhancing mutual understanding among diverse linguistic groups. In a recent development, the Jharkhand Public Service Commission has incorporated several tribal languages into its civil service examinations.

While the incorporation of tribal languages into secondary and higher education and the state-level examinations is a laudable initiative, local educators have expressed discontent over the delayed integration of tribal language instruction in primary schools, citing the linguistic rights discourse and its constitutional endorsement. It is widely accepted that teaching children in their home language significantly enhances their comprehension of subjects. Furthermore, reliance on the official state language from an early stage can hinder their cognitive and academic development. Despite these benefits, tribal languages have yet to be adequately incorporated into primary education (Nozawa 2021). In 2015, it was reported that, in collaboration with UNICEF, language and mathematics textbooks for Classes I and II in five tribal languages—Santhali, Mundari, Ho, Kudukh and Khadia—would be printed and distributed in state-run schools from 2016 onwards. This initiative was designed to target areas where the majority of children speak one of the designated tribal languages (Pandey 2016; The Telegraph 2015). Subsequently, the Jharkhand state government, in alignment with the language principles in NEP 2020, announced the provision of primary education up to Class III through eight tribal and regional languages: Mundari, Khadia, Kudukh, Santhali, Nagpuri Panchpargania, Kurmali, and Khortha. This initiative was designed for communities where these languages are predominantly spoken (Ranjan 2022). However, even in schools where the textbooks were available, effective instruction remained lacking.

In view of these shortcomings of formal schooling, ethnic organizations have assumed the responsibility of addressing the need for

Indigenous language promotion. As previously discussed by Nozawa (2021), these community-driven efforts have played a crucial role in the promotion of Indigenous languages and the fostering of ethnic identity. To illustrate this, the contributions of two key organizations in Jharkhand—ASECA and TCS—will be examined.

ASECA, an autonomous ethnic organization, has thrived for nearly four decades without external assistance. Founded in 1965 under the leadership of Raghunath Murmu and his followers, ASECA focuses primarily on teaching Ol Chiki, the unique script of the Santhali language, in communities across Jharkhand, West Bengal, and Odisha. With approximately 6.5 million speakers across state borders, the Santhali language remains vibrant. ASECA's instructional activities take place on weekends and are designed to help individuals proficient in Santhali acquire the script. Local Santhali intellectuals volunteer as instructors, motivated by their passion for promoting their language and culture. By 2016–2017, approximately 600 classes were in operation, serving 2,000–3,000 learners, most of whom were children and youth attending regular schools or colleges during the week and learning Ol Chiki on weekends. An annual examination is administered, and those who demonstrate proficiency are awarded certificates.

In contrast to ASECA's volunteer-driven model, TCS benefits from the support of a corporation, which allows for the implementation of more structured programs and the acquisition of additional resources. TCS operates as part of TATA Steel's Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) initiatives, with a particular focus on improving the welfare of tribal communities. In 2011, TCS launched a language-teaching program, offering instruction in six languages, including Santhali, Ho, Oraon, and Munda, at the community level. Although the headquarters are located in Jamshedpur, East Singhbhum District, the program operates across district borders and has expanded into neighboring

Odisha. TCS has formed a collaborative partnership with the Guru Gomkey Pandit Raghunath Murmu Academy (GGPRMA), through which it provides textbooks. With the financial support of TATA Steel, these textbooks are distributed free of charge to approximately 7,000 learners. TCS facilitates various cultural and sporting events that actively engage young learners. TCS members acknowledge the pivotal role these activities play in sustaining the viability of their language program, though this may inadvertently limit or slow down ASECA's operations.

Moreover, TCS offers a five-day training session for educators on an annual basis, aimed at enhancing their pedagogical skills. In contrast to ASECA volunteer teachers, TCS instructors receive a modest honorarium, which provides a financial incentive for their work. Their choice of organization between ASECA and TCS depends on the proximity of the teaching site to their residences, and their participation is motivated by a commitment to their ethnic community. While some instructors are unemployed, many from both ASECA and TCS are professional educators employed in government and private schools. The educational backgrounds and professional competence of these instructors significantly contribute to the quality of teaching in these community-based language classes.

TCS provides instruction at three distinct levels: Primary, Basic, and Advanced. Each level is accompanied by a textbook published by GGPRMA. The textbook for the Primary level begins with an introduction to the Santhali alphabet and progresses to cover the writing of the names of animals and everyday objects, along with short stories and poems. The textbooks for the Basic and Advanced Courses contain longer and more complex texts. Notably, each textbook introduces lessons in subjects beyond language, including mathematics and geography. To illustrate, the Primary Course introduces fundamental

mathematical operations, whereas the Basic Course progresses to more complex mathematical concepts, such as three-digit multiplication. The Advanced Course introduces students to abstract concepts, such as percentages and square roots. Overall, the textbooks reflect the typical progression observed in conventional educational institutions.

The content of the textbooks aligns with the concerns of Santhali educators regarding the dearth of tribal language instruction in government schools and the educational challenges faced by Indigenous children. Interviews with educators indicate a long-standing frustration with the repeated delays in integrating tribal languages into primary education. These concerns stem from the ongoing language barriers experienced by children who are deprived of the right to receive an education in their native language. As previously outlined in Nozawa (2021), the lack of state interest and financial support has been identified as a significant barrier to the appointment of tribal teachers. Concurrently, their disquiet may be intensified by the unmet anticipation that the appointment of tribal teachers would enhance the stability of employment prospects for educated Indigenous youth.

In conclusion, civil society organizations such as ASECA and TCS are paramount in facilitating the advancement of Indigenous language education in Jharkhand. They fill the gap left by the inadequate state support for integrating tribal languages into primary education. TCS's incorporation of a wide range of subjects in its textbooks demonstrates a commitment to addressing the educational needs of the Adivasi community. Both ASECA and TCS play vital roles in the promotion of the Santhali language and the advancement of future generations' educational development. Their dedicated efforts, along with the involvement of volunteer instructors, contribute to the community's cultural and intellectual growth.

6. Survey Results: Language Use, Language Attitudes, and Support for Santhali Education

Building on the discussion of Indigenous language education initiatives within civil society, this section explores the linguistic landscape in Jharkhand by presenting preliminary findings from the survey research. Although part of a broader research project, this analysis specifically examines the prevalence of the Santhali language among young people and their attitudes towards different languages.

The survey was conducted in the East Singhbhum District of Jharkhand in two phases: 2018 with 131 respondents and again in 2024 with 281 respondents.² The majority of participants are between the ages of 15 and 30. Respondents were recruited through a network of Santhali teachers who teach either in community language classes or in secondary schools. This suggests that most respondents have some experience with the Santhali writing system and, presumably, an interest in promoting their ethnic language. The survey has slightly different sample sizes for certain questions because some respondents left them blank. Preliminary data suggests that the Santhali language is widely used among young people, although there may be a slight shift in usage patterns. In addition, respondents show varied values associated with Santhali, Hindi, and English. Notably, there is general support for community-led Santhali education and optimism about the future of language preservation and promotion.

(1) The Language Use among Santhali Youth

The survey data suggests a high degree of multilingualism in the

² Out of 281, 10 responses were excluded from the analysis due to incomplete survey participation. They did not answer beyond the initial questions.

study area, where people regularly use Santhali, Hindi, other tribal and regional languages, and occasionally English. As shown in Table 1, young people continue to speak Santhali daily, particularly within their households. In 2024, 94% of respondents reported using Santhali to communicate with their mothers. Conversations with fathers were slightly different: 86% spoke exclusively in Santhali, while 11% used both Santhali and Hindi. Compared to 2018, the high use of Santhali with mothers (97%) remained consistent, but exclusive use with fathers decreased by 10 percentage points, while bilingualism (Santhali and Hindi) increased from 3% to 11%. These trends may reflect gender differences in social mobility, as men tend to have more social opportunities to engage with communities outside their own.

Table 1. Comparison of Language Use (2018 vs. 2024)

Language Use	Year	
	2018 (%)	2024 (%)
Santhali with Mother	97%	94%
Santhali with Father	96%	86%
Bilingual (Santhali & Hindi) with Father	3%	11%
Santhali with Siblings	59%	42%
Bilingual with Siblings	38%	51%
Hindi Only with Siblings	1.7%	3.3%
Santhali with Friends	13%	11%
Bilingual with Friends	75%	73%
Hindi Only with Friends	6.3%	13%
Santhali Only at Work	15%	13%
Bilingual at Work	37%	32%
Hindi Only at Work	35%	51%

Communication with siblings, however, reveals a more distinct pattern that may signal a language shift. While most respondents still primarily use Santhali with their parents, more than half now speak

both Santhali and Hindi with their siblings, with 42% using Santhali exclusively. This marks a significant shift from 2018, when bilingualism was at 38% and exclusive use of Santhali was at 59%. There has also been a slight increase in respondents using Hindi exclusively, from 1.7% to 3.3%. A similar trend is evident in communication with school friends. While the exclusive use of Santhali and bilingualism remained consistent between 2018 and 2024, the exclusive use of Hindi among friends more than doubled, increasing from 6.3% to 13%.

The increase in bilingualism and exclusive Hindi use with siblings and friends may indicate a broader language shift among younger Santhali speakers. The greater use of Hindi with school friends could reflect higher school enrollment rates among Indigenous youth, particularly at more advanced levels where the student body is more diverse. Between 2018-19 and 2021-22, the nationwide gross enrolment rates for Scheduled Tribe students rose from 93.7% to 98.0% in upper-primary (Class 6–8), from 73.0% to 78.1% in secondary (Class 9–10), from 39.4% to 52.0% in senior-secondary (Class 11–12), and from 15.9% to 21.2% in higher education (GOI 2024). The growing use of Hindi among siblings may reflect these educational trends and signal a shift in language preferences. While Santhali is prevalent, particularly in family communication, the rise in bilingualism and reliance on Hindi in peer interactions suggests potential future shifts in language use.

(2) Language Attitudes towards Santhali, Hindi, and English

Mirroring their linguistic behaviors, the survey results suggest that young Santhali respondents tend to associate varied values with different languages. In the 2024 survey, as shown in Table 2, about two-thirds of respondents reported that their knowledge of Santhali helped them form close family ties, while 17% felt that Santhali contributed to forming

friendships. In contrast, 57% of respondents felt that knowing Hindi strengthened their friendship. Notably, half of the participants believed that Hindi also benefited their family relationships, a significant increase from just 8.3% in 2018. Only a small number of participants associated English with building personal relationships. These findings highlight the growing importance of Hindi in social interactions, even within families. This trend is consistent with the language choices discussed in the previous section, where bilingualism and the exclusive use of Hindi increased in interactions with siblings and school friends, while Santhali remained the primary language spoken with parents. Thus, shifts in linguistic behavior may influence the roles that respondents associate with the Santhali and Hindi languages.

Table 2. Benefits of Knowing the Languages (2024)

Language	Family	Friendships	Academic	Future	Culture
Santhali	66%	17%	58%	59%	66%
Hindi	50%	57%	70%	66%	57%
English	4%	6%	67%	49%	28%

All three languages—Santhali, Hindi, and English—were considered beneficial for academic performance and future prospects, although Hindi and English were rated higher in terms of academic value. While 58% of respondents felt that knowledge of Santhali contributed to academic success, 70% felt that Hindi was important for academics, and 67% associated English with better academic performance. Interestingly, 59% associated Santhali with broadening future opportunities, while only 49% believed that English would do so, despite its strong academic association. In contrast, Hindi was seen as the most important language for career prospects, with 66% linking it to future opportunities.

These findings reflect the medium of instruction and regional career paths. In government schools, Hindi is the primary medium of instruction, except for tribal languages, Sanskrit, and English. Proficiency in Hindi is, therefore, crucial for academic success, while higher education is largely conducted in English, requiring a high level of proficiency in this language. Although both Hindi and English are essential for academic competitiveness, most jobs after graduation do not necessarily require English. This linguistic discrepancy—common among many young people in India—may explain the respondents’ high regard for English in academia and their lower expectation of its impact on future opportunities.

Moreover, the association between Hindi and business has grown from 2018 to 2024, as shown in Table 1. In 2018, only 35% of respondents reported using Hindi exclusively in the workplace, but by 2024, more than half expected to do so. Compared to English, Hindi is perceived as more versatile, which will contribute to both academic success and job opportunities. Besides its official status, Hindi serves as a lingua franca in the linguistically diverse region of Jharkhand, where various ethnic groups, including Indigenous populations, Bengali, and Odias, coexist.

About two-thirds of respondents felt that knowing Santhali was beneficial for cultural preservation, a higher percentage than felt the same about Hindi (57%) or English (28%). This is consistent with their responses regarding their motivations for learning Santhali, as shown in Table 3. 68% of the respondents were motivated by a desire to preserve their ethnic culture. In addition to cultural preservation, just over half of respondents cited learning for a certificate, and about a quarter for academic success. A notable 18% of respondents continued to learn Santhali for business purposes, indicating its active use in some business contexts. Additionally, 17% cited preparation for civil service

exams, reflecting the recent inclusion of tribal languages in these exams. The association of Santhali with serious pursuits such as business and government service suggests that it is becoming increasingly institutionalized, even if not yet fully integrated into the public education system.

Table 3. Reasons for Learning Santhali Scripts (2024)

Reasons	%
Cultural Preservation	68%
Certificate	51%
Academic Success	25%
Business Use	18%
Civil Service Exams	17%

As Nozawa (2021) discusses, interviews with educators revealed a sense of accomplishment following the state's policy change to include tribal languages in the state's civil service exams. Since this change, several Santhali individuals have successfully passed these exams, creating excitement and pride within the community. This success has inspired younger generations, who now see proficiency in their native language as a potential path to career advancement. Educators believe that these individuals' contributions to public service will lead to more inclusive policymaking, elevating the collective status of the Santhali community. This achievement marks a significant milestone in their broader political and social movements.

Respondents expressed strong support for Ol Chiki education within civil society, with 86% in favor. Over 90% believed that Santhali children should learn how to speak Santhali and write in Ol Chiki script. In addition, 87% expected that more people would speak Santhali in the future. This strong support reflects a shared belief that preserving their language and ensuring active community involvement in language

education are critical to its promotion. These civil society efforts contribute to a sense of optimism among Santhali youth about the future of their ethnic language. These findings suggest that respondents viewed learning Santhali as part of a larger effort to promote their ethnic identity and their social status, which fueled their active participation in Indigenous language education.

In summary, while the Santhali language remains a vibrant aspect of family discourse, there is an increasing prevalence of bilingualism, particularly in interactions with siblings and friends. This indicates the possibility of a future increase in bilingualism among the younger generation. In addition, the survey results reveal different attitudes towards Santhali, Hindi, and English. Santhali is primarily associated with family relationships and cultural preservation, emphasizing its central role in maintaining ethnic identity. In contrast, Hindi is viewed as a means to make friends and achieve academic and career success, while English is seen as a tool for pursuing academic opportunities.

The inclusion of tribal languages in state civil service exams is perceived as elevating the status of Santhali and indicating a potential avenue for career advancement. As a result, younger generations increasingly view their native language as both a cultural asset and a practical means to success. This policy change is regarded as an affirmation of the community's broader strategy, in which community-driven language education serves to promote cultural heritage, strengthen solidarity, and advance Indigenous rights in political and social spheres.

7. Discussion

The present research employs the framework of Linguistic Human Rights and Linguistic Citizenship to analyze Santhali language

education initiatives within Indian civil society. Both approaches are rooted in the principle that individuals should have the unrestricted right to use their native language in private and public domains. Scholars of Linguistic Human Rights argue that these rights are fundamental to the human condition and assert that governments and legal systems must protect them as inalienable. While case studies vary in methodology, research grounded in Linguistic Human Rights often questions government failures in providing adequate support for the official recognition of minority languages. In contrast, proponents of the Linguistic Citizenship approach, while also emphasizing individual linguistic rights, prioritize grassroots movements and activities. This perspective explores how linguistic landscapes and power dynamics are disrupted and mediated by language practices that are contingent on specific circumstances. Unlike the more static focus of Linguistic Human Rights on legislation and status, Linguistic Citizenship places an emphasis on informal language use in civil society and popular culture.

As previously mentioned, although Santhali lacks official status, it has been institutionalized in certain areas, including its recognition in the Indian Constitution, availability of postgraduate programs, elective language courses in secondary schools, and its inclusion in the Jharkhand state civil service examinations. However, despite the publication and distribution of textbooks in tribal languages for preschool and primary school students in some areas, the effectiveness of instruction in these languages remains limited because of a shortage of qualified teachers. An examination of this situation through the Linguistic Human Rights framework offers important insights into the current status and achievements of the Santhali ethnic group and their language activism. It also highlights the obstacles they face in seeking broader legal recognition. The frustration of Santhali educators regarding the slow implementation of tribal language education in primary schools

reflects the absence of adequate linguistic human rights. These findings can be compared with the experiences of other Indigenous languages, thereby fostering opportunities for wider collaboration and collective strategies to enhance their status at the local, national, or global levels. Moreover, it underscores the need for governments and institutions to recognize marginalized languages, support a more linguistically diverse society, and promote mutual understanding.

In contrast, the Linguistic Citizenship approach allows the researchers to track civil society initiatives in Indigenous language education, as well as language behaviors and attitudes among younger generations. Since the invention of the Ol Chiki script and the community-driven language education movement of the 1960s, ASECA has provided grassroots-level education in the Ol Chiki script without government or external support. More recently, TATA Steel's CSR initiative has also facilitated Ol Chiki classes in local communities through the TCS. Whereas these endeavors may not represent formal legal or administrative accomplishments, they have yielded numerous tangible and intangible outcomes. These initiatives have led to an increase in Ol Chiki learners and improvements in Santhali literacy. ASECA's community-based activism has raised awareness of the educational needs of tribal languages, as evidenced by TATA Steel's involvement in Indigenous language education as part of its community services. The incorporation of lessons beyond the Santhali language in textbooks published by GGPRMA further reflects their efforts to bridge the language gap and provide students with a broader curriculum that addresses both linguistic and academic needs in formal education. Moreover, these activities have supported Indigenous movements to enhance the status of tribal languages in official contexts. This is evidenced by the expansion of postgraduate courses in tribal languages and the inclusion of tribal languages in state

civil service examinations. This indicates that civil society activism and the gradual institutionalization of the language in official domains are interconnected and exist on a continuum.

In addition, these community-driven programs appear to have fostered positive attitudes toward the language among younger generations. In surveys, younger respondents indicated that their motivation for learning Ol Chiki stemmed from a desire for cultural preservation, reflecting a profound connection to their ethnic culture. Many respondents expressed the conviction that Santhali children should be encouraged to speak the language, with the expectation that this practice will become more prevalent in the future. These findings suggest that young Santhali respondents have developed a positive sense of ethnic identity and self-esteem, supported by a stable language community. Given Pattanayak's (2023) observations that government school educators are likely to hold negative perceptions of tribal children's academic capabilities, it is imperative to establish a linguistic environment where proficiency in their ethnic language is unconditionally valued. As Hindi-Santhali bilingualism is becoming more prevalent in everyday interactions among younger generations, community-led language initiatives will play an increasingly significant role in fostering this positive linguistic environment. However, while civil society initiatives play a crucial role in raising awareness and promoting Santhali, they cannot substitute for the institutionalization of indigenous-language education within formal schooling—a commitment that has been endorsed by the Constitution and a series of national educational policies. From a Linguistic Human Rights perspective, Santhali-speaking children continue to be denied their right to receive education in their mother tongue at the primary level.

The contrasting operational models of ASECA and TCS illustrate the intricate nature of Indigenous language education initiatives,

reflecting diverse approaches to community engagement, resource allocation, and ethnic community autonomy. ASECA, which has operated independently for nearly four decades without external support, has placed an emphasis on volunteer-based efforts to teach the Ol Chiki script at the grassroots level. In contrast, TCS, a more recent initiative, has leveraged substantial corporate resources to provide structured programs, teacher training, and cultural and sports events that have successfully attracted young learners. Both programs have undoubtedly contributed to the growth of Indigenous language education and raised awareness of the broader needs of these communities. However, the dynamic between the two approaches underscores an inherent tension: ASECA's independence ensures local autonomy, whereas TCS's reliance on external resources, while providing immediate opportunities, raises concerns about the long-term autonomy and self-determination of the ethnic community. This tension highlights both the potential and challenges involved in the broader realm of Indigenous language education.

8. Conclusion

This research project examined the functioning and impact of Santhali grassroots educational initiatives on their ethnic community through the lenses of the Linguistic Human Rights and Linguistic Citizenship approaches. The objective of the study was to ascertain how community-based language initiatives, in the absence of comprehensive instruction in the tribal language medium in formal primary schools, have contributed to the advancement of ethnic identity, cultural heritage, and linguistic awareness among Santhali youth.

Preliminary findings suggest that these initiatives have expanded Santhali script education and have coincided with a growing awareness

of the significance of preserving and promoting cultural and linguistic heritage. Moreover, local educators have underscored the necessity of state support for the comprehensive implementation of tribal language instruction in primary education. This support is deemed essential for fulfilling children's educational needs, nurturing Indigenous identity and self-respect, and advancing diversity.

While young people express a strong appreciation for the cultural preservation and familial benefits of knowing Santhali, the survey data reveals a nuanced attitude towards multilingualism. In addition to their optimistic outlook on the future of Santhali, they acknowledge the value of Hindi and English for academic and professional advancement in a diverse, multilingual society. Bilingualism and multilingualism are likely to become increasingly normative among Indigenous youth, with community-driven language initiatives continuing to play a pivotal role in preserving their ethnic identity and heritage.

The two distinct operational models of Santhali community-based education, one independent and the other supported by external resources, offer valuable insights into the sustainability of grassroots Indigenous language movements in contexts of limited public support. Although the findings are preliminary, this study contributes to the understanding of the challenges and potential of Indigenous language initiatives in civil society. Further research is needed to examine the long-term impacts of these initiatives on promoting ethnic culture and advancing the self-determination of Indigenous communities.

Acknowledgements

This work was supported by a Special Grant for Research (Tokutei Kadai Kenkyu-hi) from Chuo University.

References

- Anderson, B. 1983; 2016. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Revised Edition. London and New York: Verso.
- Ethnologue. 2024. Republic of India. <<https://www.ethnologue.com/country/IN/>> (retrieved September 27, 2024)
- Government of India. 2009. *The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act, 2009*. Ministry of Human Resource Development. <https://www.education.gov.in/sites/upload_files/mhrd/files/upload_document/RTE_Section_wise_rationale_rev_0.pdf>
- . 2016. *National Policy on Education Report: Report of the Committee for Evolution of the New Education Policy*. Ministry of Human Resource Development. <<https://niepa.ac.in/download/NEP2016/ReportNEP.pdf>> (retrieved September 12, 2024)
- . 2020. *National Education Policy 2020*. Ministry of Education. <https://www.education.gov.in/sites/upload_files/mhrd/files/NEP_Final_English_0.pdf>
- . 2021. *There have been Considerable Improvements in Quality of Life of Scheduled Tribes Over the Years*. Ministry of Tribal Affairs. <<https://pib.gov.in/PressReleasePage.aspx?PRID=1778541>> (retrieved September 10, 2024)
- . 2024. *ST Statistical Profile – At a Glance*. Ministry of Tribal Affairs. <<https://tribal.nic.in/Statistics.aspx>> (retrieved September 29, 2024)
- . n.d. *State/Union Territory-wise List of Scheduled Tribes in India*. <https://tribal.nic.in/downloads/Statistics/StatewiseListofScheduledTribesinIndia_09072024.pdf> (retrieved October 6, 2024)

- Hornberger, Nancy H. and Serafin M. Coronel-Molina. 2004. Quechua Language Shift, Maintenance, and Revitalization in the Andes: The Case for Language Planning. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 167, 9–67
- Hynsjö D. and A. Damon. 2016. Bilingual Education in Peru: Evidence on How Quechua-Medium Education Affects Indigenous Children's Academic Achievement. *Economics of Education Review*, 53, 116–132 <<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.econedurev.2016.05.006>>
- International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs. 2023. Indigenous People in India. <<https://www.iwgia.org/en/india/5117-iw-2023-india.html>> (retrieved September 11, 2024)
- Leighton, M. 2022. Mother-tongue Reading Materials as a Bridge to Literacy. *Economics of Education Review*, 91. <<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.econedurev.2022.102312>>
- Lim, L., C. Stroud, and L. Wee. 2018. *The Multilingual Citizen: Towards a Politics of Language for Agency and Change*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters
- McCarty, T. L. and S. E. Nicholas. 2015. Indigenous Education: Local and Global Perspectives. In M. Martin-Jones, A. Blackledge, and A. Creese (eds.), *A. The Routledge Handbook of Multilingualism*. London and New York: Routledge, 145–166.
- Mohanty, A. K. 2009. Multilingual Education: A Bridge too Far? In T. Skutnabb-Kangas, R. Phillipson, A. K. Mohanty, and M. Panda (eds.), *Social Justice through Multilingual Education*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 3–15.
- . 2010. Languages, Inequality and Marginalization: Implications of the Double Divide in Indian Multilingualism. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 205(2010), 131–154. <DOI: 10.1515/IJSL.2010.042>

- Mohanty, A. K. and M. Panda. 2016. Language Policy and Education in the Indian Subcontinent. In T. McCarty and S. May (eds.), *Language Policy and Political Issues in Education, Encyclopedia of Language and Education*. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 507–518. <DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-02320-5_37-1>
- Muto, S. 2024. “Shometsu Kiki” no Ainu-go Fukko Dekiruka <Tane Okaan ushike~Ainu Sinpo 5-nen> Jo. *Hokkaido Shimbun*, May 18, 2024. (in Japanese) <<https://www.hokkaido-np.co.jp/article/1012299/>> (retrieved September 10, 2024)
- National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT). 2005. *National Curriculum Framework*. Government of India. <<https://ncert.nic.in/pdf/nc-framework/nf2005-english.pdf>>
- Nozawa, E. 2017. Bunka no Jizoku Kanosei to Buzoku Gengo: Indo Santhal-go no Jirei wo Toshite (Cultural Sustainability and Tribal Languages: A Case Study of the Santal Language in India). In S. Miyazaki and T. Sugino. *Gurobaru-ka to Gengo Seisaku: Sasuteinaburu na Kyoseishakai, Gengo Kyoiku no Kochiku ni Mukete*. Tokyo: Akashi-shoten, 164–177. (in Japanese)
- . 2021. Minzoku Gengo wo Tsujite Kochiku suru Tsunagari: Shimin Shakai ni okeru Indo Senjumin Gengo Kyoiku eno Sanka (Building Connections Through Indigenous Languages: Participation in Indigenous Language Education in Jharkhand, India). In T. Sugino, E. Nozawa, and F. Tanaka. *“Tsunagaru” Tameno Gengo Kyoiku: Afuta Corona no Kotoba to Shakai*. Tokyo: Akashi-shoten, 95–108. (in Japanese)
- Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner. 2011. *Census of India 2011*. Government of India.
- Pandey, A. and R. Ozarkar. 2024. Reworking the Aesthetics of Language Use: The Multilingual Challenge for NEP 2020. *Contemporary Education Dialogue*, 22(1), 75–101. <DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40315-024-00000-0>>

doi.org/10.1177/09731849241273730>

- Pandey, P. 2016. Jharkhand School Books to Go Local: Tribal Students to Start with Text in Own Languages. *The Indian Express*. January 16, 2016. <<http://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-news-india/jharkhand-school-books-to-go-local/>> (retrieved September 2, 2016)
- Pattanayak, B. 2013. *Language Diversity in Jharkhand: A Study of Sociolinguistic Pattern and Its Impact on Children's Learning in Jharkhand*. Ranchi: JTWRI
- . 2023. Towards a Mother-Language Based Multi-Lingual Education in Jharkhand, India. *Journal of Productive Discourse*, 1(1), 33–42. <<https://typeset.io/pdf/towards-a-mother-language-based-multi-lingual-education-in-3s2fe2x5.pdf>> (retrieved September 12, 2024)
- Phillipson, R. 1992. *Linguistic Imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Phillipson, R., M. Rannut, and T. Skutnabb-Kangas. 1994. Introduction. In T. Skutnabb-Kangas and R. Phillipson (eds.) in collaboration with Mart Rannut, *Linguistic Human Rights. Overcoming Linguistic Discrimination*. (Contributions to the Sociology of Language 67). Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1–22.
- Pramanik, R. and M. Bag. 2012. Educational Performance of Tribal Students in Schools Managed by the State Government in Western Orissa, India. In D. P. Rao (ed.), *Development of Scheduled Tribes in India: Politics and Programmes*. New Delhi: Serials, 291–311.
- Ranjan, M. 2022. Tribal Kids in Jharkhand to Get Lessons in Their Own Language. *The New Indian Express*. Updated on April 25, 2022. <<https://www.newindianexpress.com/nation/2022/Apr/25/tribal-kids-in-jharkhand-to-get-lessons-in-their-own-language-2446174.html>> (retrieved September 19, 2024)

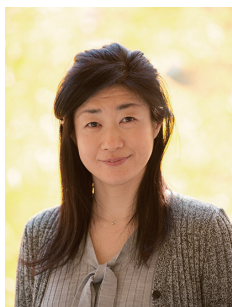
- Rao, V. S. 2019. Language and Schooling of Adivasi Children in India: Issues Relating to Their Rights to Education. In Rao V. S. (ed.), *Adivasi Rights and Exclusion in India*. London and New York: Routledge, 297–310.
- Sen, A. K. 2019. *Indigeneity, Landscape and History: Adivasi Self-fashioning in India*. London and New York: Routledge
- Shah, A. 2011. Who Cares for a New State? The Imaginary Institution of Jharkhand. In D. Rycroft and S. Dasgupta. *The Politics of Belonging in India: Becoming Adivasi*. London and New York: Routledge, 217–230.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. 2009. Multilingual Education for Global Justice: Issues, Approaches, and Opportunities. In T. Skutnabb-Kangas, R. Phillipson, A. K. Mohanty, and M. Panda (eds.), *Social Justice through Multilingual Education*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 36–62.
- Stroud, C. 2018. Introduction. In L. Lim, C. Stroud, and L. Wee (eds), *The Multilingual Citizen: Towards a Politics of Language for Agency and Change*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 1–14.
- . 2018. Linguistic Citizenship. In L. Lim, C. Stroud, and L. Wee (eds), *The Multilingual Citizen: Towards a Politics of Language for Agency and Change*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 17–39
- Tanaka, K. 2019. The Saga of the Ainu Language. *UNESCO*. <<https://courier.unesco.org/en/articles/saga-ainu-language>> (retrieved September 12, 2024)
- The Telegraph. 2015. Governor, Tribal Textbooks in Sight- Ethnic Kids of Classes I & II to Open New Page Next Year. November 27, 2015. <<https://www.telegraphindia.com/jharkhand/governor-tribal-textbooks-in-sight/cid/1379337>> (retrieved January 11, 2026)
- Tribal Cultural Society. 2019. *Annual Report 2018–19*.

Chapter 2

*Ethnic Language Education in Multilingual India: Community-driven Santhali
Language Education in Jharkhand*

Wee, L. 2018. Essentialism and Language Rights. In L. Lim, C. Stroud, and L. Wee (eds), *The Multilingual Citizen: Towards a Politics of Language for Agency and Change*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 40–64

2. Dr. Emiko NOZAWA



Chapter 2. Ethnic Language Education in Multilingual India: Community-driven Santhali Language Education in Jharkhand

Dr. Emiko Nozawa is Associate Professor in the Faculty of Law at Chuo University. Her areas of expertise include comparative education, sociolinguistics, and gender studies, with a focus on school education in rural India and the ways in which gender ideologies are shaped and transformed through education. She is also interested in the preservation and transformation of minority languages in India, and her work explores the involvement and potential of non-governmental organizations in tribal language education.