Students’ ethnolinguistic identities in multiethnic, Bilingual Education classrooms in Sri Lanka

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Abstract

The Sri Lankan public school system is ethnolinguistically segregated as Sinhala medium schools and Tamil medium schools. Even in a few schools where both mediums are available (bi-media schools) and are attended by all ethnic groups, students are ethnically segregated into Sinhala medium and Tamil medium classrooms. This polarization, along the politicisation of ethno-linguistic differences, continues to alienate Sinhala and Tamil speaking children and may have exacerbated the ethnic conflict. Though its initial aim was to improve English language proficiency, Sri Lanka's Bilingual Education (BE) programme now enables students of diverse ethnicities to study in the same class in bi-media multiethnic schools, since they do some subjects through English medium while other subjects are done in their respective mother tongues, Sinhala or Tamil. This thesis examines the multiethnic BE pedagogy in this trilingual context – Sinhala, Tamil and English – in present day Sri Lanka. The aim was to explore the ethnolinguistic identity orientations associated with ethnically diverse students when they study together in English in the multiethnic BE classrooms in Sri Lanka, and how these ethnolinguistic orientations come about.

This qualitative, interpretivist study was conducted in three schools attended by Sinhala, Tamil and Muslim children in 2016. Deploying Bourdieu's Theory of Practice, multiple data were gathered through classroom observations and classroom audio-recordings, focus group discussions with students and semi-structured interviews with teachers, parents and government stakeholders over a six-month period. Data were analysed using thematic content analysis employing the Bourdieusian conceptual tools: *habitus, capital and field*.

The findings suggest a realignment of previously held ethnocentric identities towards more ethnically inclusive supraethnic identities. This study confirms that ethnically segregated schools assure the perpetuation and reproduction of ethnocentric identities that children acquire through primary socialization in monoethnic families. Furthermore, the study illuminates the fact that even in so-called multiethnic schools Sinhala-speaking and Tamil-speaking students are alienated from each other due to linguistically segregated classrooms that further reinforce stereotypical misconceptions about ethnically diverse others. These revelations provide evidence

that the goals of Sri Lankan education, for example, that of achieving social cohesion, are challenged by its own system. The findings also indicate that the exception is the Bilingual Education classroom in multiethnic schools where students of all ethnicities study together. Analysis of the data conclusively shows BE students' identity reorientation towards more inclusive supraethnic identities, and that this repositioning occurs in dialectic relation to "socially situated conditions" in the BE pedagogic field. These "socially situated conditions" in the BE classroom include constant inter-group contacts, mutual interdependence and respect for each other's languages through a heteroglossic language environment. The findings also suggest that the English language, as an 'equalizer', neutralizes symbolic power hierarchies between the two competing languages, Sinhala and Tamil, in the context of this study. However, findings also identify some resentment on the part of teachers and students of Mother Tongue Instruction (MTI) classes towards BE students based on perceived "elitism" in BE students to which the school authorities also contribute. This indicates that English as a linguistic capital may also act as a weapon that relegates groups as "English-knowing" and "English un/less-knowing". Such a divide creates socially-situated conditions not conducive for interethnic relations or intra-ethnic relations. Moreover, it was found that the heteroglossic language milieu encourages students to invest in the ethnic other's language, as well as in English language improvement, and that these moves are convertible to cultural, social, economic and symbolic capital. The study also identifies lack of awareness among some BE teachers about the programme's theoretical underpinnings and associated classroom practices, which leads to variation in terms of implementation in different schools.

Based on the above findings a range of implications are identified and recommendations proposed. The study invites education policy makers to rethink the school system in terms of its vision, mission and its very existence as an ethnically and linguistically segregated system, and to rethink teacher education. It also invites school authorities and teachers to reflect on their practices, especially with regard to creating school environments that respond to ethnic diversity. On the whole, this study contributes to closing the scientific knowledge gap in relation to the Sri Lankan BE programme while contributing to the growing literature in relation to identity and language and bilingual education.

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List of Abbreviations

BE	Bilingual Education
EM	English Medium
EMI	English Medium Instruction
ESL/L2	English as a Second Language
L1/MT	First language/Mother tongue
MOE	Ministry of Education, Sri Lanka
MOI	Medium of Instruction
MT	Mother Tongue
MTI	Mother Tongue Instruction (MTI) – Sinhala or Tamil
2NL	Second National language (Tamil Language for Sinhalese and Sinhala for Tamils)
NEC	National Education Commission
NIE	National Institute of Education

Statement of Original Authorship

The work contained in this thesis has not been previously submitted to meet requirements for an award at this or any other higher education institution. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made.

Signature: QUT Verified Signature

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis explores multiethnic Bilingual Education (BE) pedagogic practices and how these practices shape ethnic identity orientations of school students. In particular, this qualitative study examines BE pedagogy involving students from three different ethnolinguistic communities in Sri Lanka: Sinhala, Tamil and Muslim, where some selected core subjects in the national curriculum are delivered in English language while other subjects are delivered through students' native languages (L1), either Sinhala or Tamil. This thesis uses Bourdieu's (1977) theory of practice as its theoretical framework. Consequently, I conceptualized BE pedagogy as a field, and ethnic identity as ethnic habitus, which are discussed in Chapter 3, the theoretical framework. Identity as a concept is discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.6.

This introductory chapter begins by outlining the research context, and then presents the background to the research problem by discussing the historical, socio-political and educational contexts in 1.2. I then provide details of impetus for my interest in this study. Next, I define the purpose of the study in 1.4, followed by introducing the research design in 1.5. Then, I explain the significance of this study in 1.6. Finally, I conclude the chapter presenting the structure of the remaining chapters of the thesis.

1.1 THE RESEARCH CONTEXT: SRI LANKA

This study was conducted in Sri Lankan multiethnic BE classrooms. The Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka is a multiethnic, multi-religious and multilingual country inhabited by 21.2 million people. Sri Lanka claims chronicled history that goes back to 2nd century BC. Situated on a strategic sea route, historically it had been a hot spot for invaders in addition to the constant south Indian invasions. Before independence in 1948, the British, who succeeded Portuguese and Dutch, ruled the country. Discussing once prevalent "considerable ethnic accommodation and intermingling" where linguistic and ethnic differences were not obvious criteria for exclusion and inclusion in pre-colonial era of Sri Lanka, Hassan (2011) asserted,

> [t]he genesis of the present conflict between Sinhalese[1] and Tamils is thus rooted not in the ancient historical past but in recent history, and more specifically in colonial and post-colonial developments in Sri Lanka (p. 148)

Today, demarcated by two main social constructs, language and religion, its population comprises three major ethnic groups: Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims. According to Chandra (2006), "[s]ome ethnic groups certainly have common language, which distinguishes them from other groups in the same partition of the population" (p. 14), and among the few examples for such groups in the world, he depicts "Tamils and Sinhalese in Sri Lanka" as two groups who are demarcated as two distinct ethnic groups based mainly on language. The Sinhalese represents 74.9% of the population while Sri Lankan Tamils, Indian Tamils and Moors (Muslims) represent 11.2%, 4.2% and 9.2% respectively. Other small ethnic groups such as Burghers and Malays represent 0.5% of the population. The Sinhalese are mostly Buddhists while Tamils are mostly Hindus. However, there are considerable percentages of Christians and other denominations of Christianity among both Sinhalese and Tamils. Islam is the religion of Moors or Muslims. Sinhala is the language of Sinhalese people while the language of Tamils is Tamil. Tamil is recognized as their first language by most Muslims while some use Sinhala language as their native language. English is considered as their home language by a small segment of upper class people of all these ethnicities. Table 1.1 summarizes the ethnic composition of three major groups in Sri Lanka (Census & Statistics, 2012).

Table 1.1 Distribution of Sri Lankan population – three major ethnic groups

Ethnicity	Population in %	Language	Religion
Sinhalese	74.9	Sinhala	Buddhism (main), Christianity
Sri Lankan Tamils	11.2	Tamil	Hindu (main), Christianity
Indian Tamils	4.1	Tamil	Hindu (main), Christianity
Sri Lankan Moors (Muslim)	9.3	Tamil	Islam

The Constitution of Sri Lanka (2015) guarantees the strengthening of

> national unity by promoting co-operation and mutual confidence among all sections of the People of Sri Lanka, including the racial, religious, linguistic and other groups, and shall, take effective steps in the fields of teaching,

[1] Sinhalese refer to people who speak Sinhala

> education and information in order to eliminate discrimination and prejudice" (Chapter VI - Article 5, p. 18).

The Sri Lankan Constitution, by Articles 18 and 19 in Chapter IV, designates Sinhala and Tamil National Language status, and English as a link language between these two speech communities as well as an international language. In the same Chapter under Article 21 it sets rules for Medium of Instructions (MOI) in education. "(1) [a] person shall be entitled to be educated through the medium of either of the National Languages". As such, general education curriculum is delivered through two main national languages, Sinhala and Tamil. It is compulsory to deliver primary curriculum (*i.e.,* from Grade 1 to Grade 5) through students' native or first language (L1).

The Sri Lankan formal education system offers its centralized national curriculum from Grade 1 to 13 (5 – 18 years). Primary education is from Grade 1-5 and MOI in these primary grades is compulsorily child's mother tongue, either Sinhala or Tamil. The junior and the secondary education are from Grade 6-9 and from Grade 10-11 respectively. At Grade 6 students can select to do some subjects in English if their school offers BE. At the end of Grade 11 all students sit for the first main public examination – General Certificate of Examination (Ordinary Level). Senior Secondary education (Grade 12/13) includes three main streams - Science, Commerce and Arts. Depending on the GCE (O/L) results students can select a stream and choose the subjects pertaining to that stream. These students then sit for General Certificate in Advanced Level which is the selection examination for universities and other higher education institutions. At these public examinations BE students can select their preferred language to write the answers i.e., either in English or in their respective mother tongue.

The World Bank (2017) defines Sri Lanka as a lower middle-income country. According to UNESCO statistics, country's average literacy rate is 98.2 % of people ages 15-24) in 2010 (as cited in World Bank, 2017), one of the highest literacy rates in the region. Sri Lanka offers free education for its citizenry from primary to university level along with other ancillary facilities such as free textbooks, uniforms, concessionary travelling, and free mid-day meals for underprivileged schools. Yet, inequitable allocation of resources among the urban and the rural schools and the 'big' and the 'small' schools still predominates (NEC, 2003). The public school system is

hierarchically categorized according to facilities they offer- *viz.,* 1AB, 1C, Type 2 and Type 3. 1AB schools which are at the apex offer Advanced Level science subjects (School Census 2016: http://www.moe.gov.lk/english/images/Statistics). Among these 1AB schools there are 'National Schools" which come under the direct purview of the central government while other 1AB schools are under the Provincial Councils. Almost ten percent (9.9%) of all schools are 1 AB schools which are attended by 39.0% of Sri Lankan student population. Coming under the direct preview of the MOE, 1AB "National Schools" are comparatively better resourced. Although they are only 3.5% of all the schools they cater 16.0% of Sri Lankan student population (MOE, 2016). In addition, there are semi-government/government assisted and private schools which offer Advanced Level Science subjects. School Census 2016 shows 80 such private schools in their statistics. Similar to "National Schools" – most of these semi-government schools are usually well-resourced and mostly attended by socially, economically and academically above the average students in Sri Lanka. All three schools that participated in this study are 1AB schools.

i. 1AB school (Provincial Council school)

ii. "National School" 1AB school

iii. Government assisted semi-government school (1AB)

Starting from Grade 6, the BE programme is available in a limited number of public and semi-government schools in the Sri Lanka, whose main objective is to improve English language proficiency. Even though the present official name of the programme is BE, "English Medium" is the common name used not only by the general public but also the students, parents, teachers and school authorities. According to census (MOE, 2016), out of the 10, 162 government schools in Sri Lanka BE is available in 769 schools. Out of these 769 schools only 47 schools are attended by all ethnicities, where students can learn in all three mediums: Sinhala, Tamil and English. Out of these 47 schools 31 are 1AB, 7 are 1C, 5 are Type 2 and 4 are Type 3 schools (MOE, 2016). Selecting to follow BE is an open choice of students and their parents. The choice may also depend on English language proficiency because some schools use English proficiency as a gatekeeping mechanism due to the high demand for BE. In addition, English as a Second Language (ESL) is taught in all schools commencing from Grade 3 (Age 7 years) to Grade 13 (Age 18) as a subject in the core-curriculum. Adhering to recent government policy for a trilingual Sri Lanka, the

Second National Language (2NL) is also taught in schools, that is, Sinhala for Tamils and Tamil for Sinhalese. A child's first language is also a compulsory subject taught from Grade 1 to 11.

1.2 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Throughout history, language has been an "arena for struggle, as social groups seek to exercise power through their control of language" (Tollefson, 1991, p.13), and a matter of conflict in many lands. So has it been in Sri Lanka. Today, Sri Lanka looks forward to reconciliation after a three-decade long civil conflict, a direct result of ethnic bigotry starting from post-colonial era, late 1940s. One of the root causes of the conflict is considered to be the British language policy on the Medium of Instruction (MOI), which was later used for political outbidding by politicians of all ethnic groups. Since independence in 1948 from the British invaders, Sri Lankan history provides many examples of communal tensions based on ethno-lingualism (in 1951, 1971, 1977, 1983, and 2013). In fact, with language being the primary demarcation of two major ethnic groups[2], the recently ended war in Sri Lanka has been defined as an "ethno-linguistic conflict" (Perera, 2003; Saunders, 2007).

Education has both mediating powers to reconcile conflicts as well as to subsidise conflicts (Bickmore, 2012; Buckland, 2005; Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Tawil & Harley, 2003; Weinstein, Freedman & Hughson, 2007). Sri Lanka offers a vivid example of the change in MOI in education to the national languages (Sinhala and Tamil) as one main root cause that exacerbated the ethnic conflict. This change was later utilized by conflict entrepreneurs for cadre mobilizing (Bannon, 2003; Buckland, 2005; De Votta, 2007; Sandagomi 2009; Saunders, 2007). The British language policy on English Medium Instruction (EMI) in education in Sri Lanka created intense socio-economic stratification (Bickmore, 2008; Kandiah, 1984; Stewart, Brown & Langer, 2007), especially among the majority - the rural Sinhalese (Soulbury Commission, 1945). This resulted in nationalist, social upheaval that demanded Mother Tongue as MOI. Consequently, Sinhala and Tamil were declared national languages and MOI in education under "Swabasha" (own language) policy. Though this move expedited

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[2] Most in the Muslim community in Sri Lanka share Tamil with the Tamil community while some Muslims use Sinhala as their first or home language. Both groups together can be considered as "high vitality" groups (Giles & Johnsons, 1987) who maintain their distinctive language and cultural traits.

social mobility irrespective of ethnicity, it was counter-productive (Buckland, 2005; Coleman, 2007; Davis, 2015), and generated ethnically exclusive schools in Tamil medium and Sinhala medium (Kandiah, 1984). This polarization further segregated Sinhalese and Tamils who "…increasingly lost the ability to communicate […] leading to alienation and mutual suspicion" (Wickrema and Colenso, 2003, p. 5), resulting in "…narrow formulation of identity" (Cohen, 2007, p.172) based on ethnic bigotry. Unfortunately, even after independence in 1948, Sri Lanka failed to correct its divisive educational policies. For instance, the World Bank found that conflict-affected countries including Sri Lanka had followed "…either assimilationist or a separatist approach in dealing with identity" (Buckland, 2005, p.52). However, we cannot directly relate ethnic segregation to MTI or mother tongue education rights even though it can be attributed as a 'by-product' of MTI. The right to education in the most comfortable language or mother tongue is vital so that access to education and equity is established.

Now that armed conflict has officially ended in 2009, Sri Lanka has initiated sustainable development programme to rebuild the war-torn nation. The development programme has two main goals: economic progress and social cohesion. One important way to promote social cohesion and reconciliation is to create a 'sense of solidarity' among the peoples irrespective of their ethnicities (European Council, 2005), building a supraethnic national identity (Rubdy, 2005; Wodak & Boukala, 2015) amongst the peoples. In this regard, the country's education system plays a key role (Lopes & Hoeks, 2015). Realizing this, Sri Lanka introduced curriculum innovations aiming to promote social cohesion and integration (Buckland, 2007; MOE, 2008; Wijesekera, 2011). These new reforms include the introduction of new subjects such as Citizenship Education (CE), and new topics in Social Studies such as democracy, human rights. However, these innovations can do little if students of different ethnicities cannot interact due to a polarized schooling system because they are deprived of practical knowledge to be together due to ethnically homogeneous classrooms (Wijesekera, 2011). The newest addition to the Sri Lankan education system is teaching of the Second National Language (2NL), that is teaching of Tamil to Sinhala children and vice versa to promote social cohesion among different ethnicities in the country. Yet, given the lesser economic values for two national languages- Sinhala and Tamil in the increasingly neoliberal global market, it is

doubtful that teaching of Tamil for Sinhalese and Sinhala for Tamils would be successful (Davis, 2015). Instead, in spite of the constitutional recognition and prominence given to Sinhala and Tamil as national languages, English continues to consolidate its higher status in Sri Lanka (Raheem & Ratwatte, 2004).

Wijesekera (2011) found that Sri Lankan students of diverse ethnicities are unable to practice concepts such as acceptance of pluralism and tolerance towards 'others' that they learn through core subjects in the curriculum such as CE. Social Studies, English. due to ethnically polarized classrooms: Sinhala medium and Tamil medium. In contrast, the present BE programme in multiethnic schools can bring the students of different ethnicities together when they learn some subjects through English in the BE classroom. In fact, some authorities see BE as a means of promoting social cohesion since BE in multiethnic schools creates opportunities for students of different ethnicities to study together (Aturupane & Wickramanayake, 2011; MOE, 2008; MOE & et al, 2010; NEC, 2003; NEREC, 2004; NIE, 2009), although the programme's initial aim was to promote English language for instrumental purposes (NEC, 1997; 2003; 2007a & 2007b). The practical or lived experience of ethnic diversity in the BE classroom in multiethnic schools may allow the students to practice what they learn through subjects such as CE. This can contribute to transmutation of ethnocentric identities, and facilitate identity positioning towards a more 'supra-ethnic identity' which transcends ethnicity rather than endorsing it (Erikson, 2010, p. 116). It is this idea of the BE classroom possibly enabling the transmuting of ethnocentric identities that this study seeks to explore.

It is of national importance to examine how students' ethnolinguistic identities, and their ethnic group memberships are shaped when the BE pedagogy in multiethnic schools in Sri Lanka is enacted. This study has analysed these explorations relating to wider social existences. The findings provide insights into how BE classrooms as social spaces and the practices therein contribute to create more pluralistic and ethnically cohesive individuals, and how it has done so or not.

1.3 MY PERSONAL JOURNEY TO THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

My personal story that urged me to embark on the study came from my twenty-three years' experience as a teacher. I started my journey as an ESL teacher, initially in remote single media monoethnic schools and later in bi-media (Sinhala medium and

Tamil medium) multiethnic schools in urban areas followed by teaching in several higher education institutions: private, semi-government and government. During this period I engaged with primary, secondary, and upper secondary teachers, undergraduates, professionals (both civil and military), and postgraduate students that comprised heterogeneous cohorts from all walks of life. Through this exposure, I witnessed intergroup misunderstanding and suspicion, especially between Sinhalese and Tamil students and occasionally Tamils and Muslims, and Sinhalese and Muslims. I had the opportunity to teach all ethnic groups in two multiethnic schools, a rare experience for many teachers since the students are segregated by MOI even inside schools: the Sinhala medium and the Tamil medium classes. In these two contexts, students' detachment and mistrust towards the 'other' was prominently visible in school environments and explicitly surfaced during discussions I facilitated with students.

In centrally prescribed national ESL textbooks, themes such as multiculturalism and human rights are introduced in recent reforms on a par with National Goals of Education (Gunawardena, 2010/2011; MOE, (n.d); NEC, 1997; NEC, 2003; NIE, 2015) whose aims are to facilitate social cohesion in the Sri Lankan pluralistic society. As such, teachers are supposed to enact the curriculum in such a manner that these messages are successfully recontextualized (Bernstein, 2000) in varied pedagogical contexts. Yet, in a context where teacher education programmes have focussed little on teaching in multicultural societies, that the curriculum would be recontextualized in such a manner that it achieves expected aims has always been questionable to me. It is with this doubt I sought to conduct an Action Research (AR) project. This AR was conducted to investigate whether ESL teachers' personal ideologies on ethnic conflict impacted students. The AR context was when the lesson "War & Peace" in the General English textbook was taught in two parallel classrooms in Grade 12 by two individual ESL teachers, one of whom was pro-war and the other antiwar. The results exposed that teacher attitudes strongly impacted on shaping students' attitudes towards the ethnic conflict. This showed that teachers can either perpetuate or reproduce their own personal ideology in facilitating ESL lessons.

Later, when I started my career as a lecturer in higher education institutions, my duties involved preparation of teaching materials. Influenced by previous experience, I took this new opportunity to design material to discuss war, peace and nationality.

My intention was to develop consensus between different groups of students I taught, through debate and discussion. During classroom discussions, I witnessed ethnocentric attitudes of the students in two higher education institutions. In one of these institutions my students were mostly professionals, and in the other military undergraduates. These observations encouraged me to investigate students' views on power-sharing among different ethnicities as the dissertation of my Postgraduate Diploma in International Relations. The participants were students in Sinhala Medium and Tamil Medium classes and their teachers in a multiethnic school. The findings revealed: a) intolerance and lack of empathy towards the ethnic others; b) the disinclination of the majority ethnic group to equal power sharing rights; and c) difference in the perceptions of Muslim students in Tamil medium classes and Muslim students in Sinhala medium classes towards Sinhala students with regard to the social interaction and trustworthiness of Sinhala students (Wijesekera, 2011). This made me interested in examining the ethnolinguistic orientations of students in the multiethnic BE classroom where the students of all ethnicities study together. Thus, in addition to its national importance, the motivation to conduct the present study sprung from the above experiences and my professional and personal conscience towards the country's future generations.

1.4 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The Sri Lankan BE programme follows the local curriculum delivered via two languages: some subjects in English and others in Mother Tongue (Sinhala/Tamil). The Sri Lankan BE programme can be considered as unique because usually in other trilingual BE programmes, national, indigenous and international languages are utilized. But in the Sri Lankan programme two national and official languages (Sinhala and Tamil), and an international language (English) are involved. Against the above backdrop, this thesis explores, documents and interprets the practices in the BE pedagogy in multi-ethnic schools in terms of students' ethnic identity orientations. The interest is in whether it promotes (or not) supraethnic identity that moves away from ethnocentrism on the identity positioning continuum. Therefore, this study is concerned mainly about the 2nd aim of the Sri Lankan BE programme that is, promoting social cohesion among different ethnic groups. Accordingly, the central or overarching research question that drives this study is:

- *What and how ethnic group re/orientations take place among the ethnically diverse students when they study together in the multiethnic BE classrooms in Sri Lanka?*

To answer this primary question, the following sub-questions were formulated, the main aim being to bring data from different perspectives to add credibility and trustworthiness to the findings.

1. What feelings, perceptions and dispositions towards ethnically diverse "others" do the students have before and after joining the multiethnic BE classrooms?
2. How do the overall environment and practices in the multiethnic BE classroom shape ethnic identity orientations of students?
3. How do languages in the multiethnic BE pedagogy shape the ethnic identity orientations of the students?

1.5 RESEARCH DESIGN

To undertake this ethnographically-informed qualitative research project, I adopt a Bourdieusian epistemological and ontological stance using 'structural constructivism' or 'constructive structuralism' (Grenfell & Lebaron, 2014, p.2). As will be explained in Chapter 3, this study is situated on the premise that practice within a social space is the sum of the interplay between subjective dispositions of individuals who inhabit that space, and the objective structures that govern a particular social space (Bourdieu, 1990b; 2004). Drawing on Pierre Bourdieu's three conceptual tools: field, habitus, and capital, the BE pedagogy is conceptualized as a sub-field in the field of Education. Ethnic identity is conceptualized as ethnic habitus, the subjective dispositions of individuals which are durable yet transposable and not immutable (Bourdieu, 1990b). The field's objective structures are shaped by the capitals or resources valued in that field, which in turn shape habitus.

These conceptual tools are utilized as the theoretical lens for the data analysis to explore how students' ethnic identity orientations transform in dialectical relation to "socially situated conditions" (Bourdieu, 1990b) in the multiethnic BE pedagogy. To analyse these relations, data were collected over a 6-month period via semi-structured interviews with teachers, parents and Principals; Focus Group Discussions with

students; and classroom observations. I outline, explain, and justify the research design in Chapter 4.

1.6 SIGNIFICANCE

Many multilingual countries, including Sri Lanka, have learnt that language policy in education is a decisive factor that can either alienate people or bond people together (Hassan, 2011; Kandiah, 1984; Kennet, 2011; Nadesan, 1957; Wickrema & Colenso, 2003). This phenomenon has been a major focus of research. Its importance has never been felt as it is today due to intensive and extensive demographic changes around the globe. The present study contributes to this growing knowledge pool by proposing factors that should be considered in language policy in educational planning in multi-ethnolinguistic contexts. The education authorities in Sri Lanka believe that respect for pluralism could be inculcated if multiethnic students learn together (NEREC, 2004, p. 109). However, these are unverified policy assumptions and there may be a gap between broad policy assumptions and grassroots practices. The study offers new insights into the transformative expectations of BE pedagogy *i.e.,* social cohesion at the macro-level while informing language policy planning in education at the micro-level. The study also sheds light on teacher training for multiethnic pedagogies to "avoid replication of educational structures that may have contributed to conflict" (EFA, 2002, p.161).

Achieving the aims of the BE programme envisioned at policy level depends on grassroots level practitioners; hence, examining these practices in the pedagogy is vital to see what happens at the implementation level. Such research is lacking in the Sri Lankan educational or sociological studies. Further, the present study focuses on a BE programme that involves the two national languages in the country (Sinhala and Tamil), and an international/Second language (English) where Tamil and Sinhala are brought together through English, which is a unique situation compared with most BE programmes in the world. Also, the findings of this study might help other countries experiencing similar language-based conflict in using education as a tool of reconciliation.

Given the uniqueness and relative newness, few studies have been done on the Sri Lankan BE programme (MOE, 2012; NEC, 2003; Perera & Kularatne, 2014), especially qualitative research on socio-cultural aspects of BE (MOE, 2012; NIE,

2009; Tucker, 1999). Furthermore, existing studies were conducted in the ‘centre’ contexts such as Canada, the UK and the USA where English is the main language not ‘periphery’ contexts (Canagarajah, 1999) *i.e.,* in countries where English is learnt as a Second/Foreign Language, and English is not a main language of day-to-day communication such as Sri Lanka. Additionally, most studies focus on so-called “minority” students in the countries such as Canada, and the USA. Instead, this study included the identity processes of majority students (Fenton, 2011) in the ethnolinguistically diverse classroom. Moreover, it was expected this study would allow participants to “… explore questions of language, identity and representation” (Burwell & Lenters, 2015, p.2).

1.7 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

This chapter has delineated the background to the foci of the study and the research context, its significance and my impetus for this study. Chapter two presents a review of literature that includes both empirical and conceptual work deemed best to provide the premise for this study. Chapter three outlines the theoretical framework underpinning this study, which is based on Bourdieusian theory of practice (1977). Chapter four presents the methodology, research design, specific research sites and participants, data collection methods and tools. It also includes methods of data analysis, and ethical considerations. The next three chapters present analysis of the findings based on interpretations using the conceptual framing and tools discussed in Chapter 3. That is, Chapter 5 addresses the first research question regarding what ethnic habitus reorientations take place in the students in the BE pedagogy by comparing their dispositions towards the ethnic others before and after coming to BE pedagogy. Chapter 6 addresses research question two - how practices in the BE pedagogic field shape the ethnic habitus orientations of students. Chapter 7 addresses research question three in analysing linguistic orientations in the BE pedagogy and how these shape students’ ethnic habitus orientations. Finally, Chapter 8 outlines the key conclusions and implications of the study, its limitations, recommendations, and makes suggestions for possible future research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents a critical review of existing empirical and theoretical literature perceived as most relevant to this study and identification of where the gaps exist. I begin with historical, social and educational contexts of the issue investigated in this study: language and ethnicity in Sri Lanka. I then review educational reforms implemented in Sri Lanka aiming at national cohesion in 2.3. I next evaluate the Bi/Multilingual educational programmes in general, and Sri Lankan BE programme in 2.4. Then, I mainly focus on the hegemonic impact of English Language, and its special status as a medium of instruction (MOI) in education in both the local Sri Lankan context and elsewhere in 2.5. In 2.6, I discuss the main concepts underpinning the study as defined by relevant literature: Identity, language and ethnolinguistic identity to obtain an overarching broader knowledge of them. I also direct the discussion to interrelations and interdependence of language practices in multilingual BE pedagogy, and ethnolinguistic identity. Finally, I sum up major propositions made in the literature and also indicate the gaps this study fills.

2.2 HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE RESEARCH CONTEXT

I begin this section discussing historical circumstances that led Sri Lanka to a civil conflict based mainly on ethnicity and language. It includes the impact of the education system of the country on the conflict. I illuminate the discussion, with language policy, medium of instruction (MOI) in education including English as a Medium of Instruction (EMI), Mother-tongue instruction (MTI), and the consequences of such policies, taking examples of language planning in education from different social political contexts, especially from post-colonial contexts. This section concludes with a critical discussion on recent general educational reforms taken to rectify paucities.

2.2.1 Language, education and ethnic conflict

Ethnicities are usually differentiated by language, religion, race, caste, creed, and other similar social constructs. Geertz (1973) posited, "[t]he Tamil minority in

Ceylon [now known as Sri Lanka] is set off from the Sinhalese majority by religion, language, race, region, and social custom" (p. 532). Yet, my argument is that some religions such as Christianity are shared by both Sinhalese and Tamils. There are Tamils who are Buddhists though very few in number. When it comes to social-customs, Tamils and Sinhalese share similar customs to a greater extent. One important example is the New Year shared by both Tamils and Sinhalese. Even though there are areas predominantly populated by Tamils (North and East), a substantial population of Tamils live in other regions of the country especially Western Province. The most prominent differentiation between Sinhalese and Tamils is language, especially for it being politicized in Tamil-Sinhala ethnic division in Sri Lanka. Laitin (2000) holds the view that linguistic differences "help[s] to contain violence" but "linguistic difference alone between the dominant and minority groups in a country is not a predictor of intergroup violence" (Laitin, p. 536). With regards to ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, my observation is that linguistic differences appear to be the "most violence-prone" factor or at least that the "language issue provided a powerful symbolic rallying cry" (Laitin, 2000, p. 557). Contesting the common claim by researchers that religion is the most salient in civil conflicts, Bormann, Cederman and Vogt (2015; 2017) show language as the most conflict-fuelling. They claim this fact using data collected through Ethnic Power Relations-Ethnic Dimension (EPR-ED) that addressed multiple ethnic segments on the linguistic and religious dimensions that were obtained from more than 700 politically relevant ethnic groups in 130 states. They conclude that "intrastate conflict is more likely within linguistic dyads than among religious ones" (p. 744).

I posit that the introduction of MTI brought segregation in a more formal manner. It should be mentioned that it was mainly the politicization of the MTI "problem" that contributed more to the ethnic separation in Sri Lanka, not the introduction of MTI in the formal education system per se. Having said that, I emphasize that MTI blocked interethnic relations throughout the formal education, the only context where all ethnicities could have been brought together. It should also be mentioned that the interethnic relations in Sri Lanka have been progressively declining due to other social, political and cultural contentions both in pre and post-colonial settings. However, language contestation also contributed to these contentions. In post-colonial countries like Sri Lanka, the language policy in education has been a highly sensitive issue. In most cases, language policies of colonial rulers were divisive and

subsidized conflicts (Bickmore, 2012; Buckland, 2005; Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; ; Tawil & Harley, 2003; Weinstein, Freedman & Hughson, 2007). Referring to Brisk (2006) Hinkel (2009) asserted “Language education policies in various countries are complicated by colonial histories, political changes, and ideological factors” (p.6). Adding to this, the present urge for English in every sphere of life - a subtle way of imperialism – which Phillipson (1992) called “linguistic imperialism” has made a great impact on language in education, and inequality in society (Lo Bianco, 1999).

Education as an institutional structure is central to the development of a tolerant society (Coleman & White, 2011) given its capacity of socialisation of young children and thereby identity formation (UNICEF, 2011). Through its socialization process, education is expected to play a mediating role between different ethnic and religious groups in multicultural societies. Education can also reduce the risks of conflict by decreasing inequalities in the society through economic development (Brinkman, Attree & Hezir, 2013). Conversely, an education system of a country can also deepen “…ethnic, religious and other identity based conflicts (World Bank, 2005, p.7). The World Bank (2005) contended, “[T]here has been a growing recognition of the role that schools and education systems can play in reproducing many of the factors that underlie much civil conflict (p.9)” contrary to the expected role of healing them. Undesirably, Sri Lanka sets an illustration for the latter, whose education policies harboured linguistic nationalism and partition. For instance, the issue of lack of equity in education together with language policy is recognized as one of the key causal factors of Sri Lankan ethnic conflict. These aspects were key tools in violent group mobilization and recruitment of cadres for separatist militant groups in Sri Lanka (Bannon, 2003; Buckland, 2005; De Votta, 2007; Sandagomi, 2009; Saunders, 2007). What follows is a contextualized overview of language policies in education and their impact in other contexts as well as Sri Lankan context, and how it contributed to ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka.

2.2.2 Language policy in education/MOI in multilingual societies and social impacts

It is vital to understand the social, political and cultural milieu of the issue or what wider social and cultural aspects surround the BE classroom in Sri Lanka. In fact, Lo Bianco (2008) views, “[b]ilingual education and socio-political issues are in few places as inextricably connected as in Sri Lanka” (p. 42). Furthermore, neither students

nor teachers can escape from beliefs and ideologies that they bring from outside to the classrooms. Tsui and Tollefson (2007) emphasized the need for careful analysis of surrounding socio, political and economic contexts that lead to policy on language of instruction since such policy is mostly politically-driven rather than educational. Because every situation where language involves "bears the traces of the social structure that it both expresses and helps to reproduce" power inequalities originated from those social and historical milieus (Bourdieu, 1991, p.2). Hence, this discussion will start with the past social, political and economic context that lead to policies and vice versa, followed by present context.

Referring to language in education in multilingual contexts, Tollefson (2015b) declared "A central issue in multilingual and multicultural education is the medium of instruction (MOI): Which language(s) should be adopted for language and subject content learning?" (P.132). He argued "MOI debates are not only about effective pedagogy – determining which policies best serve students' educational needs – but also about economic and political agendas that shape the distribution of economic resources and political power" (p.134). Hence, underneath the explicit wording of language policies, hidden processes of social and ideological hierarchies are inevitable. Tollefson (2015b) reiterated that MOI policies serve two main purposes: composition of the workforce and hence social class: who is to become workers, professionals or academics depending on their English [or dominant language] proficiency. So given the languages' role as a social marker (Roberts, 2013), MOI functions as a gate-keeper "…preserving systems of domination and privilege" (Tollefson, 2015, p. 134). Hence, "although 'policy' entails overt declarations such as official-languages laws, the term also must include covert and implicit social processes in which language serves to construct social hierarchies" (McCarty, 2011, (p. xii). In fact, according to Bourdieu education is a "mechanism for consolidating social separation. This separation was reinforced culturally by the language of instruction.

It appears that the main traditional 'identity' function of language in education has changed towards a more instrumental function due to neoliberalization (Tollefson, 2015a). Hence, MOI policies are influenced by many endogenous and the exogenous factors including international bodies such as the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and UNESCO as I will elaborate under English Language Status later in this review. Tollefson's view of language as an instrument is parallel to what Canagarajah

(2010, p.69) referred to as the "product-oriented, philological approach" Sri Lankans stick to in reacting to British English language policies, where Sri Lankans "separated the abstract sign system from the ideological constructs that came with it" and used it only as a communication tool. This aligns with Ruiz's (1984) orientation to language planning: Language as a problem, Language as a right and Language as a resource. Language as an instrument or resource is sought after for economic gains and social power which is inevitable in the face of globalization (Lo Bianco, 2010). This, along with their British colonial history, has led to the use of English as a MOI in many countries such as Bangladesh, India, Ghana, Japan, Indonesia, Malaysia, Hong Kong and Pakistan as well as countries on the African continent and in the European Union and also Sri Lanka (Albaugh, 2014; Dearden, 2015; Lo Bianco, 1999; 2010).

Tollefson (2015a) further argued that MOI continues to destabilize identities of students "…through new forms of social relations in classrooms and schools" (p. 183). These new forms can be attributed to the new processes of interaction created in bilingual or multilingual classrooms whose impact may either be negative or positive. While agreeing with Tollefson's views on changes of functions of language, I reserve my opinion on language as a discursive and ideological construct. And so I argue for the cyclic effect of the process causing "gate-keeping functions" against less privileged or less-proficient language users. For instance, not only minority languages even influential languages can be affected due to the hegemony of English Language with its attributed function as lingua franca, as was the case with language use in European Union that I will discuss later. The whole process can ultimately serve for devaluation of 'others' that may risk firstly linguistic diversity of societies, secondly cultural identity. Such a stance conceives "language as a problem" (Ruiz, 1984) especially when languages in a community experience linguistic hierarchy within them.

Those who take language as a problem orientation see multilingualism as a problem or threat to sovereignty and unity of a nation state, and hence encourage a monolingual approach to language policy in education so as to promote one national identity. This excludes the use of minority language in education where minority languages may be used only for a transitional period as in the USA in transitional bilingual programmes. In turn, these policies create a 'linguistic hierarchy', placing the dominant language at the apex, discriminating against marginalized minority language users. Such a monolingual approach to language in education functions as

‘gate-keeping’ for those who are not proficient in dominant language. Consequential to such policies is cultural devaluation and ultimately language attrition.

Whatever language policies are made at state level, Spolsky (2007, depicting Fishman, 1972), argues that different domains such as family, school, (and I add the multilingual BE classroom in this case) may have domain-specific language policies at the practice level that are influenced by both internal and external forces. In the Sri Lankan multiethnic BE classroom, for instance, internal forces can be teacher imposed sanctions on languages and proficiency levels of students, whereas external forces can be a school’s language policy which in turn is influenced by government policies as well as from parents and also the dominance of English. All these cannot be controlled by the students in a BE classroom if refer to the present context. The other important component of language policy at the domain level, is language users’ beliefs or perceptions about the value of language/s (Spolsky, 2007). This, again, may depend on one’s affiliation to a language group (for instance, Sinhala for Sinhalese people), and also the values given to languages in a society (for instance, English in the present global scenario). All these factors show the complexity of language practices or policy at the domain level in multilingual societies, irrespective of legitimate language policies imposed by the legitimate authorities such as the state. On a par with this, Wiley and Garcia (2016) call for rethinking of language policy in terms of translanguaging theory that “puts multilingualism at the center of language education policy” to provide students with opportunities to use their entire language repertoire […] critically and creatively (p. 58), going beyond the essentialist view of languages and discarding the concept of named languages which are mainly based on national, cultural and ethnic affiliation. As Spolsky (2011) stresses, such language policies have a range of benefits, and among them is nurturing “a multilingual population with knowledge and respect for other languages and cultures” (p. 5), which is the dire need of Sri Lanka at a time of reconciliation. In this respect, the Sri Lankan language policy for its BE programme should have been a two-way (rather three-way) programme where Sinhala students learn some subjects in Tamil and other subjects in Sinhala and vice versa, and some other subjects in English. However, such a progressive policy is yet to be fully imagined, given the lack of resources, especially the teaching workforce, along with the political will.

2.2.3 **MOI, curriculum and segregation: The local scenario**

Sri Lanka's three-tiered school system existed under the British; *viz*., English medium, bilingual and vernacular (Kandiah, 1984) was a gate-keeping process which twisted intense socio-economic stratification (Bickmore, 2008; Kandiah, 1984). It was a strategy of the imperialists to choose English-educated elite to fulfil the demands of the lower echelon of administrative positions (Sandagomi, 2009). Because the imperialist believed that social mobility through English Education should be restricted since it may inspire people for "a life other than that of agrarian labour" and affect economy. Basically, the imperialist made EMI limited to a few so that the stratified social structure continues without opening social mobility for masses. The then British Governor General's (1892) expression exemplifies the attitude of the imperialist that vehemently opposed EMI for the masses – "evil effects upon the country of a generation of half-educated idlers who deem that a little pigeon-English places them above honest work" (Brutt-Griffler, 2002, p. 214).

Imperialists used this strategy for political and economic control over the colonized. Irrespective of ethnicity, British policy on MOI, that is limited access English medium education, amplified socio-economic stratification since only the elite could afford fee-levying English Medium schools. More interestingly, it created discrimination particularly against Sinhalese, the majority ethnic group in Sri Lanka. For instance, the Sri Lankan Tamil minority was able to secure more benefits from the colonial language policy due to the availability of more EMI schools set up by missionaries in the areas predominantly occupied by Tamils. This local history gives a good example of "…colonial policy and, importantly missionary influence of strengthening one group over another modifying group boundaries, or even creating new groups altogether" - something Albaugh, (2005, p. 37) identifies in postcolonial African countries-Francophone and Anglophone alike. Likewise, the Soulbury Commission report on Sri Lanka (1945) admitted,

> The Ceylon Tamils appear, at any rate as late as 1938, to have occupied a disproportionate number of posts in Public Services… That they have won for themselves a much larger share is a consequence of higher standard of literacy and education which this community has so long enjoyed, and of its energy and efficiency. (p.49: in De Silva, 1997, p.279)

Therefore, it can be suggested that even before "giving effect to mother tongue (MT) education rights", implemented just before the post-colonial era, language policies in education, and the politicisation of the same contributed to ethnic divisions in Sri Lanka (Lo Bianco, 2011, p. 46).

In addition, discriminatory educational opportunities between the urban elite and the rural poor together with English language learning disparities resulted in vast socio-economic, educational and political inequality. Moreover, "Recognition of different languages often affects economic opportunities, as well as being important for the self-esteem of the group" (Stewart, Brown and Langer, 2007 p. 409). These disparities brought frustration to a larger proportion of the population, especially the Sinhalese. Consequently, the Sinhalese demanded that Sinhala, the language of the majority, be made the official national language in Sri Lanka. Against this backdrop, a motion on monolingual policy was brought in 1943 to make Sinhalese the sole official language in the country, replacing English. The basis for the argument was the threat of extinction of Sinhala, the language of the majority of the population, yet internationally a smaller minority language compared to Tamil which is spoken by nations other than Sri Lanka. This kind of rationalization in Skutnabb-Kangas words is "linguicism" – "ideologies and structures which are used to legitimate, effectuate, and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and non-material) between groups which are defined on the basis of language", and in this case the threat to Sinhala as mother tongue (cited in Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (2013/14; p. 1). There is another important aspect that is worth mentioning in relation to threat experienced by the so-called 'majority', the Sinhala community that was an "uneasy majority" (Dharmadasa, 1992, p. 246). This is suggestive, given the fact that Sinhalese are the minority compared to world Tamil population, especially in neighbouring India. "Because ethnic and other cultural minorities often have suffered from other (majoritarian) groups in the past, they have vivid memories of their tragedies and fears for the future" (International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, 2008). So do the Sinhalese who have been taught how they were frequently invaded by South Indian Kings in the past; how those invaders killed Sinhalese and destroyed Buddhism through subjects such as history in the general curriculum (Siriwardena, Indrapala, Bastian & Kottegoda, 1984).

Among the policy changes on the recommendation of the Special Committee in Education set up in 1943, MOI was a major aspect. A compromise between Tamil and Sinhala politicians saw the legislature declare both Tamil and Sinhalese as official languages (De Silva, 1981, p. 473). In Sri Lanka, akin to the introduction of free education, change in MOI from English to mother-tongue (MT) started from primary education in 1945. This was followed by MOI from English to MT at the secondary level from 1950 and then in Arts faculties of Universities from 1960. This resulted in reduction of disparities between urban and rural people, privileged and underprivileged and in gender, hence dramatic social mobilization (Kandiah, 1984; Saunders, 2007). Furthermore, many documents explaining Sri Lankan education system erroneously assume that 'free education' was introduced in 1945. Contrary to this view, free education was available during the colonial era too in vernacular schools in the mother tongue. What happened in 1945 was that the government took over most English Medium fee-levying schools that were under Christian denominations, and made them available for free, while some others became government-assisted schools. Parallel to all these developments, the nationalist movements of both Buddhist and Hindus formed their own schools aiming at revitalization of their own cultures and identities while providing education in MTI and EMI.

"Sinhala Only" as official language demand continued to harbour ethnolinguistic nationalism - Sinhala chauvinism while inviting Tamil chauvinistic mobilization in contest. In 1956, S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, a former Prime Minister, used this urge for political outbidding in his election campaign promising "Sinhala Only", which he brought into effect after his victory by Official Language Act, No. 33 of 1956, making Sinhala, the sole official language in the country. Even though Tamil was later accepted as an official language with the 1978 New Constitution, the extent of damage that the "Sinhala Only" act had done to the country was immense. Nadesan (1957) expressed: "As a result of all that has happened, the adoption of bilingualism (*i.e.,* the recognition of both Sinhalese and Tamil as official languages on the basis of complete equality does not appear to be feasible solution in the political climate prevailing in Ceylon [former British name for Sri Lanka] today" (n.d). The damage was long lasting and "provided a strong nationalist platform to unite the Tamil community" (Navaratna Bandara, 2002, p.63) in contest.

It is important to re-emphasize that the national policy of ‘Swabasha’ (own language or Mother Tongue Instruction (MTI) in education has been in effect since 1945 irrespective of different policy changes with regard to official language status. Both Sinhala and Tamil as the MOI enhanced more equity in education for Tamil/Muslim population even though the damage caused was irreparable in terms of official language status. Swabasha (MTI) also reduced much more power and privilege otherwise could have been enjoyed by the majority (Sinhalese) over the minority (Tamil) speech community (Cummins, 1996; Hornberger, 2008; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009) unlike in the event that majority language was only MOI. In addition, 54 Central Colleges with free EMI from secondary level was established during the period of 1943-1947.This development, together with MTI opened education for the masses and impressively expedited upward social mobility of the underprivileged irrespective of ethnicity and brought ‘greater social justice’ (Skutnabb-Kangas, Phillipson, Mohanty & Panda, 2009). Consequentially, Sri Lanka reported the highest literacy rate in South Asia at the time. Briefly, as Gunawardane (2010/11) confirms, Sri Lanka can be considered as a pioneer in “nationalist and egalitarian social policies” (p. 15).

Conversely, the Swabasha or MTI policy was counterproductive (Buckland, 2005; Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Coleman, 2007; Perera & Kularatne, 2014). It generated an ethnolinguistically exclusive school system except for a few schools (Kandiah, 1984). This polarization further parted Sinhalese and Tamils resulting in “…narrow formulation of identity” (Cohen, 2007, p. 172) based on ethnolingualism and annulled the possibility of the education system nurturing supraethnic identity in Sri Lankans or all-inclusive Sri Lankan identity. I borrow “narrow formulation of identity” here to contrast between “supraethnic identity” or “Sri Lankan national identity” that goes beyond ethnic-based identity or ethnically exclusive identity as Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims. Cohen (2007) affirmed, “...using local languages perpetuates–or even creates–ethnic enclaves and encourages the development of narrow formulation of identity and compromises the integrity of state” (p. 172). Similarly, opting for “Swabasha” compelled Sinhala children to attend ‘Sinhala Medium schools and Tamil speaking children to attend Tamil Medium schools. In fact, Wickrema and Colenso (2003) depict Sri Lanka as a good example that

> …offers the most vivid example of curriculum changes serving as an explicit issue in conflict, where a shift in medium of instruction to the national

> languages in the 1950s and 1960s […] resulted in fewer opportunities for interaction between Sinhalese and Tamil children and youth. (p.5)

This division was further widened by the policy decision taken in 1972 that considered a geographically-based criterion for university enrolments or the 'Policy of Standardization', which enabled underprivileged students to secure places proportionately in universities. The Standardization policy was to create balanced university entrance opportunities which were discriminatory against the students in underdeveloped districts who happened to be mostly Sinhala students. "In 1970, for instance, the Tamils had just over 35% of the admissions to the faculty of science; in engineering and medicine it was as high as 45%", yet they constituted only 11.1% of the population (De Silva, 1997, p.249). However, the minority of Tamils felt the standardization policy as a great injustice since it limited their access to higher education and employment opportunities and believed that they were systematically marginalized (Ross & Savada 1988) even though it benefited rural Tamil-speaking groups (Sorensen, 2008; Davis, 2015). As mentioned earlier too, all these factors encouraged creation of 'linguistic nationalism' in the country. The situation was aggregated since the politicians of all ethnic groups used ethnocentrism for political outbidding or gain over the rivals, which is a common occurrence in the Sri Lankan political arena even today after many decades of independence.

When it comes to curriculum or national syllabus, Bannon (2003) suggested that any national education curriculum in a multicultural nation should "…consider how diversity is represented in the content of teaching, *in the choice of language of instruction* [my emphasis], in the modes and content of teacher training, in pedagogical practice, and in the stereotypes that textbooks and reading materials convey, explicitly and implicitly." If these aspects are not cautiously considered when planning the curriculum, education can contribute to conflict and disintegration of society. For example, empirical studies by Barton and McCully (2005) in Northern Ireland showed students who initially identified themselves with a wide range of historical themes narrowed the conception of identity after studying the national curriculum in the first 3 years of secondary school especially in the schools in conflicted areas. As such, Barton and MaCully emphasized the need to provide a clearer alternative to the partisan histories in the curriculum. Furthermore, World Bank studies on the curriculum in conflict-affected countries, including Sri Lanka, show that these

countries had followed "either assimilationist or a separatist approach in dealing with identity" (Buckland, 2005, p.52). Buckland (2005) confirmed that producing attitudes, values, and social relations underlying civil conflict and violence is less well understood by the policy makers in the education systems of many countries which face violent combat today. Likewise, even after independence, Sri Lanka failed to correct its divisive educational policies. During the first four decades after independence, the Sri Lankan curriculum seemed to have not considered its responsibility for integration and to promote understanding among diverse ethnic groups. Bannon (2003) posited that the Sri Lankan curriculum appeared to be more harmful than enriching of ethnic unity because in most instances it depicted ethnically biased negative 'facts'. Nadesan, Senator and Queens Counsel of Sri Lanka, viewed the phenomenon as below

> Today, the children of these two different nationalities study in different schools in their respective languages and, while remembering the conflicts and wars between their kings and chieftains in the past, are growing up ignorant of one another's culture, language and achievements. In such a state of affairs, conflicts are bound to arise. This is not a feature peculiar to Ceylon [Sri Lanka]. Such conflicts have arisen in practically every multi-national country in the world. (February, 1984)

In fact, the Framework for General Education report admits

> Hardly any efforts have been made to eliminate ethnic stereotypes in the curriculum to emphasize the common elements of different cultures and to promote respect for diversity within the framework of national unity. Textbooks have continued to be mono-ethnic based or to transmit prejudices. (NEC, 2003, p.11).

In the centralized education system of Sri Lanka all textbooks are produced by the government and available free to students. They are language-specific, that is, separate books for Tamil medium and Sinhala medium, with the same areas/content to cover under each subject, yet highly divergent in perspective. A study conducted on textbooks with special focus on ethnic cohesion reveals that there is a great deviation between the ways that messages are conveyed to respective groups. The books contain, according to findings, "…an abundance of material which will strengthen communal attitudes and reinforce communal antagonisms" (Siriwardena et al, 1984). For

instance, critically analysing school textbooks and communal relations in Sri Lanka, Siriwardena et al argued course books for Sinhala medium students,

> project an image of a Sinhala–Buddhist identity which is defined fundamentally through opposition to and struggle against Tamil invaders in past history, and the existence of a multi–ethnic and multi–religious society in contemporary Sri Lanka is not merely ignored but denied, by representing even the Independence won in 1948 as freedom for the Sinhalese. (August, 1984)

In response to such discrepancies, Perera, Wijetunga and Balasooriya (2004) stressed the importance of consensus between all groups in Sri Lanka. Wijesekera (2011) recommended a more sensitive approach to different ethno-cultural aspects of the society in textbook writing to match the aspirations of respective communities. It should also be mentioned that studies could not be found, to my knowledge, on English Medium textbooks in Sri Lanka so far.

It is also pertinent that this discussion mentions not only the Tamil youth unrest in the North but incidents of Sinhala youth unrest in the South that occurred simultaneously and claimed more than 60,000 lives in 1971 and 1989. This also has its roots in disparities in education which resulted in unemployment of educated youth. This may also be attributed to lack of English language proficiency in Arts graduates who lead the insurrection especially in 1971, because, “English superseded university degrees to become the prime qualification for financially attractive positions” (Saunders, 2007). The National Education Commission (NEC) (2003) in Policy Framework for General Education mentions the previous failures of the education system in harnessing harmonious social existence of country’s plural society. NEC recognizes that

> Education has failed conspicuously to promote nation building by fostering mutual understanding and tolerance for the rich cultural diversity of Sri Lankan society, and in this process has made little contribution to ensuring social cohesion and stability. The intense emotions generated around these issues, the divisive macro policies and armed ethnic conflict appear to have overwhelmed the education process. (p.11)

I posit that the preceding discussion provides ample evidence that language policy in education has been “an arena of struggle” that has been utilized to achieve

mainly political agendas, and has contributed to ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. Consequently, the next part of the discussion reviews educational reforms introduced to rectify these anomalies.

2.3 RECENT GENERAL EDUCATION REFORMS IN SRI LANKA

With the aim of rectifying the pitfalls, the government in power in 1989 appointed a Youth Commission to investigate root causes of insurgencies both in the South and North in 1989. On the recommendation of Youth Commission, conjunction with World Declaration of 'Education for All' NEC introduced nine National Goals of Education, five of which are directly related to national social cohesion (NEC, 1997), namely - National cohesion, National integrity, National Unity; A pervasive pattern of social justice; A sustainable pattern of living; Partnership in nation building activities to ensure a sense of deep and abiding concern for one another; and Learn to adapt to changing situations.

The National Action Plan drawn to achieve these goals explains

> Sri Lanka being a multicultural society, and after experiencing the trauma of an ethnic conflict, peace and harmony should be an essential outcome of Education. Peace Education, conflict resolution, respect for others' viewpoint are encouraged through the curricula as well as co-curricular programmes. (MOE, n. d. p.11).

The National Curriculum Policy and Process Plan drawn up in 2000 emphasises the responsibility of the country's education reforms in establishing a nationally integrated society with pluralism as the motto. Therefore, it is evident that new curriculum reforms have been introduced in Sri Lanka with special attention to the deficiencies that caused national disintegration, and so needs for restructuring, (Aturupane, 2011; Aturupane & Wickramanayake, 2011; Buckland, 2007; NEC, 1997; NEC, 2003; NIE, 1998). Buckland (2007) confirmed that Sri Lanka has demonstrated respect for diversity review panels that progressively identified problem areas of textbooks. For instance, significant changes have been made to the Social Studies syllabus to address notions such as peace education, national harmony, democratic principles, and human rights, with a view to reinforcing the proper values and attitudes needed for pluralistic society. Another example is the reintroduction of Citizenship Education as a separate subject from Grade 7 in 2005. Moreover, in accordance with

the nation-building goals in the national curriculum, the objectives of teaching subjects were also changed. For instance, the ESL syllabus defines its objectives, two of which are directly related to social cohesion.

- Creating the need to learn English as a Second Language in a multilingual society
- Creating opportunities for the Sri Lankan child to achieve the competencies in a link language
- Creating facilities to learn a language that can be used to build ethnic harmony
- Enabling the students to learn an International language which could be made use of in their later life for employment purposes
- Empowering the learner to communicate confidently, fluently and effectively in the English Language. (NIE, 2015, p. ix)

It is noticeable that teaching English has been entrusted with extra objectives, which are of interest to the present study *i.e.,* as a tool of building ethnic harmony. It seems that the policy document has meant English as a second language. Nevertheless, discussion in earlier sections of this chapter has pointed to much potential in English as a "neutral language" between the two contesting languages, Sinhala and Tamil. However, this claim does not contest the power of English as a dominant language which could create social, economic and educational inequalities in the social universe. The discussion also showed that there is a vast social division between those who possess English as an 'elite' language and those who do not.

To sum up, the facts conspicuously shown in the above discussion are how education, curriculum and language, especially EMI and Vernacular as MOI, can affect a whole nation; how it can cause vast social stratification, long lasting irreparable damage to social integration in multiethnic and multilingual societies. What is explicitly evident in the above discussion was lack of clear theoretical foundations or educational principles in language/education policy planning. It is therefore pertinent to inquire as to what happens at the implementation or enactment level, *that is,* how these policies are realized at the ground level.

2.3.1 **Realization of policy goals**

The question of opportunity to 'practice' what is introduced in these reforms - the new subjects and aspects included in them such as democratic principles, tolerance

towards others - arises if the students do not get any chance to practice them through lived experience by interacting with each other within schools/classrooms being ethno-linguistically divided due to Language of Instruction.

The World Bank (2011a), referring to Hayneman (2010), proposes that education can contribute to social cohesion “by teaching students the basic principles of good citizenship and consequences of not adhering to those principle”, and emphasized the importance of providing students with “an *experience consistent with these principles in the context of ethnic and cultural diversity”* (p. 57, my emphasis). The Ministry of Education (MOE) has identified seven strategic areas through which the issue of national cohesion can be promoted. One strategy is integrated schools. The presentation of above is to foreground my argument set in the beginning of this paragraph. To raise my argument again, if the students do not have opportunities through ethnically integrated classrooms, how can the students have “experience consistent with these principles in the context of ethnic and cultural diversity” that the MOE proposes?

On a par with UNESCO, one of the main competencies that the Sri Lankan educational aims to develop is “Learning to Live Together”. This has two components

1. Discovery of others – learn “the diversity of human race and an awareness of the similarities between and the interdependence of, all humans”;
2. Experience of shared purposes – “…work together on rewarding projects which take” people “out of usual routine, differences and even conflicts between individuals tend to fade into the background and sometime disappear.” (UNESCO, 1996, p.92-93)

As questioned elsewhere in this discussion, can Sri Lanka achieve such competencies when children from different ethnolinguistic backgrounds are separated from each other by the very same institution that this separation meant to be eliminated – the education system? This is reiterated in the NEREC (2004) report which invites for promotion of integrated schools. The report emphasizes, respect for pluralism and mutual understanding could be inculcated “…if the students from different ethnic and religious groups learn together in classrooms”. The same report recommends “The promotion of ethnically integrated schools has been a specific strategy of the national policy for social cohesion” in Sri Lanka (NEREC, 2004, p. 109).

Given the above argument of integrated schools, it appears that multi-ethnic schools may provide lived experiences for the students of all ethnicities to study together. However, it is not so. Paradoxically, as NEC (2003) admits even in the few so-called multiethnic schools "...students have tended to be segregated [...], moving in disparate worlds" -two 'sections'- Tamil and Sinhala (Wijesekera, 2011). Wijesekera (2011) also conducted a study in a bi-media multiethnic school where Sinhala, Tamil and Muslim students and teachers in MTI classes expressed their opinions about the ethnic 'others' in the same school through a questionnaire that comprised both closed and open-ended questions. Her study confirmed that even the few multiethnic or bi-media public schools in Sri Lanka fail to promote understanding among the ethnically diverse students in the school. The study revealed that students of diverse ethnicities are divided by the MOI – Tamil medium and Sinhala medium, which harness negative ethnocentric attitudes towards each other. However, her study did not involve students in multiethnic BE classes. Therefore, it is essential to understand BE, particularly to see if the ethnically diverse BE classes provide lived experience consistent with the principles of good citizenship that harness pluralism and social cohesion (World Bank, 2011a). This study will shed light on this gap.

2.4 BILINGUAL/MULTILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAMMES

In this section, I will briefly examine bilingualism, and Bilingual Education (BE) programmes including a number of models followed by an evaluation of present BE programme in Sri Lanka, its aims, objectives, socio-political circumstances and its affordances and challenges. This section of the review will also attempt to explore research findings on bilingual education, especially its social, political and emotional impacts, with special reference to the Sri Lankan BE pedagogy and EMI. Consequently, this section will engage in a critical analysis of 'languaging' and 'translanguaging' practices of students and teachers, as well as teachers' roles in multiethnic/lingual BE pedagogy.

2.4.1 **Bilingualism- a current view**

Grosjean (1982) discussed two views of bilingualism: monolingual or monoglossic view and holistic view of bilingualism. Baker and Wright (2017) contended, "A monolingual view leads many teachers, administrators and politicians to treat the two languages of a bilingual as separate distinct systems, as if students are

two monolinguals in one" (p. 10). Contrary to monoglossic view of bilingualism, Baker and Wright have claimed that the bilingual is not "two monolinguals in one person" (p.9). It is neither "simply about two languages" nor multilingualism encompassing three or more languages (Baker, 2017). Earlier, Cummins (1981) had compared bilinguals' language proficiency to two separate icebergs joined at the base by common underlying proficiency. Similar to Baker, Garcia (2009) invites repositioning the view of bilingualism (and associated bilingual education) from a monoglossic view that languages as distinct systems or "unitary approach to language" (McKinney, 2017, p.26), to an "inclusive plural vision that goes beyond 'one plus one equals two'" (p.5). Garcia differentiated two theoretical perspectives on bilingualism using two metaphors: the bicycle and the banyan tree. Looking at bilingualism as a bicycle balanced by two separate wheels symbolizes the "ideology of additive monoglossic bilingual types" (p. 386) - two separate languages. In contrast, the banyan tree, complex like bilingualism, grows "in different directions at the same time grounded in the diverse social realities from which it emerges" (2009, p.7). The banyan tree metaphor symbolizes the dialogic and heteroglossic view of languages whose boundaries are fluid. Following Bakhtin (1981), McKinney (2017) describes heteroglossia as "an orientation to language as a diverse set of resources that is highly productive as a descriptive umbrella term for both specific practices such as code-meshing and poly [languaging] - and translanguaging" (p. 28, my addition). Promoting a heteroglossic view, Garcia says "…our complex multilingual and multimodal global communicative networks often reflect much more than two separate monolingual codes" (p.8), and bilinguals [and multilinguals] engage in "multiple discursive practices…in order to make sense of their bilingual [or multilingual] worlds (p. 45). Garcia's claims, and that of other researchers such as Wei's, arising from sociolinguistic backgrounds in the USA and the UK respectively. These are sociolinguistic contexts that differ from Sri Lanka. Nevertheless, phenomena such as translanguaging are practices that I have observed in many domains including multilingual schools in Sri Lanka. Though their nature may differ and they may not offer closely transferable lessons for the BE context in Sri Lanka, a fundamental concept of translanguaging – heteroglossia - and its impact on linguistic identities is an important aspect that offers a theoretical basis for the present study.

2.4.2 **Bilingual Education**

According to Cummins (1997), "The term bilingual education usually refers to the use of two (or more) languages of instruction at some point in the student's school career" (p. xii), where the particular languages are used to teach subject matter. BE pedagogy is of both learning of language alongside learning of content knowledge when the subjects are learnt through certain language/s in BE. It is a process of languaging - a "process of making meaning and shaping knowledge and experience through language" (Swain, 2006, p. 98). Canadian scholars such as Lambert (1983) and Cummins (1997) have divided BE programmes into two: additive and subtractive. In subtractive programmes a second language is added at the expense of first language and culture. In contrast, in additive programmes, students' first or indigenous language continues while another socially relevant language is added. Howard, Olague and Rogers (2003 in Hinkle, 2011) drew further distinctions between different categories of additive bilingual programmes- two-way immersion programmes and developmental bilingual programmes (Garcia & Baker, 2007). Within this distinction, the bilingual programme in Sri Lanka can be identified as a dual language program or developmental bilingual program (NIE, 2009, MOE, 2012). According to Center for Applied Linguistics dual language programmes aim at full bilingualism and biliteracy. However, according to Baker and Wright (2017) these models of programmes have been challenged since they "represent monolingual/monoglossic perspective ... where languages are simply subtracted or added". Instead, they asserted that the current shift is from effective *models* to effective *practice*" where "multilingual/heteroglossic perspectives are encouraged in classrooms irrespective of 'model' (Baker & Wright, 2017, p.198).

With regards to bilingual education, Garcia (2009) argues that only a heteroglossic approach to bi/multilingual learning creates equal languaging opportunities, "allow [ing] children to build multiple identities", and achieving transformative potentials towards social cohesion. Garcia asserted bilingual education is general education through more than a single language and so doing "…develop [s] multiple understanding about languages and cultures, and foster[s] appreciation for human diversity" (p. 6). She even asserts that "bilingual education should be the only option to teach all children in the twenty-first century in equitable ways" (p. 387). However, it is difficult to decide what approach the Sri Lankan BE programme takes.

The next part of the discussion attempts to analyse different theoretical frameworks of BE programmes so as to classify Sri Lankan programme.

Garcia (2009), defining differences between foreign/second language education and BE, listed characteristics of BE.

- Overarching Goal – Educate meaningfully and some type of bilingualism;
- Academic Goal – Educate bilingually and be able to function across cultures;
- Language Use – Languages used as Media of Instruction;
- Instructional Use of Language – Uses some form of two or more languages;
- Pedagogical Emphasis – Integration of language and content. (p.7)

The Sri Lanka BE programme, both official and enacted, seems to fulfil all these criteria in varying extents depending on contextual existences in schools, but as shown in the data analysis, it is more than the characteristics of a BE programme that are of interest; what they can and cannot achieve in complex multilingual societies such as Sri Lanka is more significant. Garcia and Wei (2015) also pointed out, that BE programmes have deviated from their initial objectives, that is from the practice of "…use of minority students' home language practices to provide more equitable education opportunity, thus affirming the social justice agenda" to "the addition of a prestigious language, usually, English" (p. 48) to deliver the curriculum. The ideological perspectives of the latter will be discussed later.

2.4.3 **Defining Sri Lanka's Bilingual Education (BE) programme**

At the outset it should be mentioned that there is no clear 'policy document' per se defining the BE programme in Sri Lanka. Referring to the Sri Lankan bilingual programme, the Director of BE, MOE says

> The purpose of the programme in the countries like Malaysia, Thailand and Sri Lanka is to use English as a tool for linking with the global while protecting and caring [for] local languages and cultural identity. Therefore, the developmental model is applied to these countries using English as a second language without jeopardizing the first languages in the country" (Nanayakkara (n.d.): MOE official website)

Hence, the Sri Lankan BE programme is different from two-way immersion programmes "where all students are native speakers of the minority language that is one of the languages of instruction" (Hinkel, 2011. p.4). In a Two-way immersion

programme, the speakers from two different language communities, the majority language and a minority language contribute to each other's language development. This process creates an opportunity for minority students to learn the language spoken by the majority and vice versa. Christian (in Hinkel, 2011, p.13 quoting de Jong & Howard, 2009. p. 85) argued that in addition to the language learning paybacks, the integration of two language groups "contributes to the development of positive intergroup relationships between language minority students and language majority students". There is also a strong link to identity of individuals whose language knowledge gives them a "sense of belonging that derives from linking one's own identity to the community of speakers of the language" (Cummins, 2008 as cited in Hinkel, 2011, p.5). Sri Lankan BE programme uses two languages to deliver the local curriculum – English and child's mother tongue (either of two national languages - Sinhala or Tamil). Here, the students are allowed to do some subjects in English while other subjects are taught in child's respective mother-tongue. My view is that whereas a two-way immersion programme, that is Sinhala and Tamil BE programme, would have been ideal for Sri Lanka, the exogenous, socio-economic values inherent in English language have outweighed the value of a two-way programme. This situation is similar to what Baker (2011) argues in relation to the United States of America's BE programme (p. 374).

Sri Lanka has opted to have English and Mother Tongue of the student in the present BE programme. As Hinkel (2005) asserted, referring to BE programme of Sri Lanka, "…*dual language* education conforms to local curriculum standards, but the curriculum is delivered through two languages, with special attention to second language development and content learning through a second language" (p, 6). Here, some selected subjects in the curriculum are delivered through English (EMI) while other subjects are delivered through child's mother tongue/native language (MTI), either Sinhala or Tamil hoping to promote *balanced bilingualism*. The latest circular allows students to choose maximum six subjects out of ten in EMI. Furthermore, if the present discussion refers to Baker and Jones (1998), Sri Lankan BE can be considered as a *'strong form'* as it aims to produce "students who are proficient in two languages (English and Mother Tongue) and *biliterate* as well" (p, 469). So much so, it appears difficult to categorize Sri Lanka BE programme along the criteria that Garcia (2009) and Baker (2011) have drawn. Garcia's (2009) criteria include: theoretical frameworks

of BE, language goal, literacy goal, cultural goal, initial linguistic position of children, language arrangement, models of bilingual pedagogy.

Table 2.1 Integrative Table Bilingual Education (Garcia, 2009)

Theoretical Framework	Subtractive	Additive	Recursive	Dynamic
Language Goal	Monolingualism monoglossic	Bilingualism monoglossic	Bilingualism heteroglossic	Bilingualism heteroglossic
Literacy Goal	Monoliteracy	Full biliteracy	Functional biliteracy	Functional biliteracy
Cultural Goal	Monocultural	Bicultural	Bicultural multiplicity	Transcultural
Initial Linguistic Position of Children	Monolingual	Monolingual	Different points of bilingual continuum	Different points of bilingual continuum
Language Arrangement	Flexible Convergent	Strict separation	Separation to flexible multiple	Flexible multiple to separation
Models of Bilingual Pedagogy	Convergent	Immersion	Immersion	Multiple
Models of Biliteracy Pedagogy	Convergent	Separation	Flexible multiple	Flexible multiple
Type of Bilingual Education	Transitional	Maintenance BI Prestigious BE Immersion BE	Immersion Revitalization BE Development BE	Poly-directional/two-way (dual language), CLIL and CLIL-type; Multiple Multilingual

If to define Sri Lanka's BE programme using the above model, the Sri Lankan BE programme is a dual language programme which aims to achieve balanced bilingualism and biliteracy. According to BE Director, Sri Lanka, biliteracy aims of the programme focus on students' ability to "think in two languages, it means at cognition level and higher order thinking levels [...] develop some soft skills like critical thinking, analysing", doing more cognitively demanding task in both languages (Dec, 2016 Interview). A recent policy document of the NEC (2016) defines the Sri Lankan BE programme as CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning),

> An important initiative of medium of instruction in a language other than mother tongue is to adopt the Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) as a model. CLIL has been defined as "situations where a subject or parts of subjects are taught through a foreign language with dual focused aims, namely the learning of content, and simultaneous learning of a foreign language." (p. 123-24)

Given the lack of proper definitions and instructions, it appears that the use of languages in the Sri Lankan BE may either be monoglossic or heteroglossic which

may depend on BE students' and BE teachers' English, Sinhala and Tamil language proficiencies. Its language and cultural goals are full biliteracy and bicultural, and all these come under an additive framework. However, children's initial linguistic position can be at different points of bilingual continuum. In terms of language arrangement, the Sri Lankan BE pedagogy can be either strict separation of different languages or heteroglossic where all three languages: Sinhala, Tamil and English are taken as symbols communication in one ecological linguistic system. It can also be determined by teachers' ability to speak other two national languages and English in multiethnic schools. It is also subject-determined because of the number of subjects available in EMI and what individuals choose. Also, it can be flexible but not convergent since Sri Lankan BE encourages translanguaging (Garcia, 2009), according to policy, which again may vary with how policy is implemented at grassroots level. As Baker (2011) affirmed, it is difficult to fit all real-life BE programmes into an exact categorization due to the "intrinsic limitation of typologies." My attempt to categorize Sri Lankan programme using Baker's typology is as below.

Table 2.2 Categorizing Sri Lanka BE programme (Adapted from Baker, 2011)

Type of program	**Typical type of child**	**Language of the classroom**	**Societal and Education Aim**	**Aim of Language outcome**
Strong form	Mixed – Language (Minority or/and Majority Sinhala and/or Tamil +English)	Bilingual in L1 and L2 with equal emphasis (L1- Sinhala/Tamil L2-English as a second Language)	Maintenance, Pluralism and Enrichment, Additive	Bilingualism & Biliteracy

2.4.4 **Initiation and progression of the Sri Lankan BE programme**

The Sri Lankan BE programme started without giving much attention to the system's capacity for implementation and monitoring. Therefore, the BE programme initially received much criticism from all stakeholders due to lack of teachers, resources, and textbooks to name a few issues. In fact, the introduction of BE certainly was a wrong start including its naming, which was initially named "English Medium Instruction." Admitting these shortcomings, the NIE says,

> In 2001, the practice of bilingual education was introduced to the school system without much planning and critical thinking. It was a wrong start. Initially, this was introduced to the science stream of GCE (A/L) classes in a few selected schools under the project called Amity School Program and then

> in 2002, from Grade 6 to Grade 11 recommending to learn a few subjects in English and the rest in Sinhala/Tamil after completing the first five years only in L1. (p.2)

From the above, it is suggested that the initial objective of the BE programme was to promote English as a second language for instructional purposes (NEC, 1997). This initiative also has a history. With the introduction of MTI after independence English Language Teaching in the country deteriorated as less importance was given to it at least at the policy level. Nonetheless, English, as the language of business and administration, continued to enjoy hegemony (Raheem & Ratwatte, 2004) due to 'invisible planning'(Kachru, 1986; 2006) – unplanned outcomes of language planning resulted by forces at the societal level. Later, towards the end of 1970s, with the introduction of the 'free economy', the country began to feel the importance of English more than ever. Lack of English proficiency was a key factor for the unemployment problem among job seekers, which again discriminated the rural educated youth who did not have access to proper English language learning. With this growing demand for English and the failure of teaching English as a Second Language (NEC, 1997), MOE reintroduced "English Medium Education"[3] in 2007. As clearly expressed in the NEC report, the BE programme was introduced solely as a means to improve English language proficiency in students.

> A Bilingual policy should be introduced in junior secondary classes to provide an enabling environment to ensure that all students, irrespective of socio-economic and/or regional disparities, have opportunity to acquire a level of English for higher education and career advancement. (NEC, 2003, xviii)

In the most recent (2013/14) global survey conducted in 55 countries by the Oxford University, the Sri Lankan BE programme is placed under EMI programmes (Dearden, 2015). NEC report (2003) also seems to have a similar attitude where it proposes "Bilingualism should be promoted by using English as the medium of instruction in selected subjects" (p. 116). Based on its operational definition, the Oxford study defines most BE programmes as EMI akin to its working definition of EMI as "[T]he use of the English language to teach academic subjects in countries or jurisdictions where the first language (L1) of the majority of the population is not

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3 The term was incorrectly used at the initial stage of the program and later corrected as Bilingual Education

English" (Dearden, 2015 p.4). This definition is not very apt for Sri Lankan BE programme since it involves not only English but also other national languages in teaching academic subjects. Yet, it can be considered a partly true and reasonable definition in that most BE and Multilingual programmes involve English as one of the languages of instruction (For instance, EU, countries in Asian and African contents, Iceland). The study recognizes EMI as a 'global phenomena' without a 'universally accepted definition' and also not as "…a fixed concept but one that is evolving as an increasing number of countries adopt it as a system of education" (p. 7). However, the study itself admits its limited 'bird's eye view' in the standpoint of one British Council representative and a local 'expert'. The summary of countries where EMI is allowed by sector level shows that Sri Lanka has not allowed EMI in primary level in the public sector but private sector, whereas in secondary and university level EMI is available both in public and private sectors. In most of the countries researched in this study including Japan, Malaysia, Hong Kong, Netherlands, Hungary, Indonesia, Bahrain, Cyprus, Uganda, Macedonia, India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka, the most noted purpose of EMI education found to be competing and surviving in the global market and internationalization of education. This aspect of English Language around the neoliberal globe will be discussed in a subsequent section.

In sum, based on these documentations, it is clear that the BE programme in Sri Lanka is mainly to fulfil the demands for English language proficiency in the market outside.

2.4.4.1. What "official" documents say about the BE programme

The BE programme does not have explicit or legitimized policy per se that can be called "the BE policy", but a collection of letters and circulars. In fact, in the BE Teacher Training Manual (NIE, 2007) it is mentioned that there is neither clarity nor policy on the BE programme. The diachronic analysis of these documents shows that EMI was first introduced in the General Certificate of Education Advanced Level (GCE (A/L), Grade 12/13 by Circular 2001/05 of 23/02/2001MOE to deliver content in EMI in GCE (A/L) Science stream. Later, Circular 2008/43 dated 3rd November 2008 granted permission to start English medium instructions in Arts and Commerce streams, in addition to Science stream of GCE (A/L). Initial official recommendation to introduce the present BE programme in Secondary classes was made by the NEC in

its 2003 report as cited above. Following these recommendations, permission was granted to schools by MOE circular 2003/18 of 05/05/2003 to deliver a few subjects using EMI starting from Grade 6 if relevant teachers are available.

The most vital point here is, in policy documents there is no mention about social cohesion or integration as it was in initial the EMI concept under the 'National Amity School Project'. Paradoxically, after 'English Medium Instruction' was changed to 'Bilingual Education', the programme objectives have now become more towards English language improvement with little emphasis on social cohesion. In contrast to other official documents thus far analysed, BE Teacher Development Manual designed by the teacher training body of the country, National Institute of Education (NIE) has a different view. The manual says BE should enable the learner's "understanding of other languages and cultures [...] appreciate and celebrate diversity in a pluralistic society at both local and global levels" so they neither be "too ethnocentric nor chauvinistic" (NIE, 2009, p. 53).

2.4.4.2. The present BE programme and objectives

As such, the sole objective of the BE programme which was introduced in the secondary grades was to promote English Language proficiency in students whose proficiency level was not sufficient enough to fulfil the demands in the job market and higher education requirements (NEC. 1997; 2003). Baker and Jones (1998), stressed,

> …strong forms of bilingualism aim to give children full bilingualism and biliteracy, where two languages and two cultures are seen as mutually enriching. The aim is for children to maintain their mother tongues, their minority languages and become culturally pluralistic. (p.466)

Similarly, the MOE later identified BE's potentials to contribute to ethnic reconciliation as an educational practice or pedagogic discourse. The revised objectives, according to Three Year Master Plan developed by the NIE and MOE are

1. To develop social harmony and social cohesion in a pluralistic society using English as a link language both locally and globally,
2. To provide opportunity to all students at secondary level, irrespective of socio-economic and regional disparities,

3. To acquire proficiency of both first language and English as a second Language without jettisoning Sinhala and Tamil as national and official languages,
4. To enable students to use local languages and English as a source and a means to reach knowledge society through information literacy' and
5. To link academic aspects with socio-economic political and cultural aspects of the world of work through national languages and the link language at local and global levels.

As discussed, the BE programme in Sri Lanka has two aims for its clientele and thereby the nation. The first aim is to improve English proficiency in order to produce school-leavers who have more bargaining powers in securing better paid employment in the local and global job market, in addition to essentiality of English in higher or tertiary education. The accomplishment of this first aim is evident in schools as well as in two major public examinations – GCE (O/L) and (A/L). The other main aim is to create social cohesion among students of different ethnolinguistic origins. However, it is unclear in official documents, if social cohesion is to be achieved by using English as a link language or else through the opportunities for regular contact among different ethnolinguistic groups learning together in BE pedagogy. Both reasons provide evidence for the venture of promoting English in the global market as "a tool of reconciliation", ironically the very same phenomenon that created division as described elsewhere.

2.4.4.3. Accessibility to BE

NEC (2003) recommendation mentioned "Access to English should be extended to all students over the next five years" (p.116), which was made in 2003. Nevertheless, even today, in 2017, this has not been achieved. For instance out of 10,162 schools in the country, BE is available only in 769 schools. Most inconsistently, NEC recommendations on 'equal access' to BE contradict with its own content. For instance, NEC while fantasising that all students should have equal access to BE, in the very same page of the document recommends BE must be introduced in the schools "identified as provincial centres of Excellences to which scholarship holders will also be sent" and where the teachers are available (NEC, 2003, p. 116). On the other hand, most schools that implement the programme happened to be above average schools. For instance, BE is available mostly in socially, economically and academically

advantaged 1 AB schools (see Chapter 1). Most secondary schools which implement BE are also better resourced schools because only the schools which have teachers who can teach in English, are granted permission to initiate the BE programme. This illuminates that policy itself legitimizes unequal access to BE. And all these factors may contribute to widening social disparities.

2.4.5 Availability of BE and multiethnic schools

In reality, unfortunately a larger percentage of schools are still mono-ethnic segregated by MOI, and no action to remedy this is far from ideal. It is only from Secondary education that BE is available. Out of 6,500 schools that have Secondary education BE is available only in 769 schools: 554 Sinhala & English, Tamil & English 168 and 47 Sinhala, Tamil & English (Multiethnic) schools. Also, in these schools the number of BE classes in a grade is limited to one. In particular, 80,993 students follow BE as per the statistics in 2016 (MOE) and given in Table 2.5. This is 2.0 per cent of the total student population. Positively, the number is substantially on the increase. For instance, compared to 2010, which was 512 now the number has increased to 769 as shown in Table 2.3 according to School Census (MOE, 2016).

Table 2.3 Schools by Medium of Instructions

School by available Medium	No of Schools
Sinhala Only	6,338
Tamil Only	2,989
Sinhala and Tamil	66
Sinhala & English	554
Tamil & English	168
Sinhala, Tamil & English	47
Total	10,162

Table 2.4 Number of Students in Bilingual Education Programme (MOE, 2013)

Year	No. of Students
2009	54,185
2010	**57,340**
2011	61,770
2012	**62,516**
2013	67,061

Table 2.5 Students by Medium of Study and Province

Province	Medium of study			
	Sinhala	Tamil	English	Total
Western	864,228	80,045	24,559	968,832
Central	350,796	180,825	12,587	544,208
Southern	502,745	14,784	8,741	526,270
Northern	5,127	234,781	3,406	243,314
Eastern	79,859	310,429	3,792	394,080
North Western	418,936	74,385	11,299	504,620
North Central	254,556	28,879	3,489	286,924
Uva	231,067	52,114	5,242	288,423
Sabaragamuwa	326,991	51,790	7,878	386,659
Sri Lanka	3,034,305	1,028,032	80,993	4,143,330
%	73.2	24.8	2.0	100.0

(School Census MOE, 2016 http://www.moe.gov.lk/english/)

As per Tables 2.4 and 2.5, the BE student population has increased from 54,185 in 2009 to 80,993 in 2016. Out of these 769 schools only 47 schools are attended by students of all ethnicities and hence get opportunity to study together in the BE classroom. In addition, according to MOE School census there are other 49 private schools that offer BE national curriculum, of which mostly are multiethnic schools. In the BE classrooms in these multiethnic schools, students of diverse ethnicities study some subjects in English together and go to mother tongue instruction classes (either Tamil or Sinhala) to learn the subjects that are taught through mother tongue. As such, bilingual classroom in multiethnic schools is a mix language class – minority and majority who speak two different languages brought together through the English language. Hence, the theory/knowledge they are taught about diversity and pluralism through subjects can be practiced in real life, an opportunity not available in monoethnic schools.

According to the Bilingual Education Unit of the MOE the lack of bilingual teachers, shortcomings in textbooks and lack of national policy for bilingual education have hindered the expansion of bilingual teaching all over the country at present. Nevertheless, this will potentially improve with the increasing number of teacher initial training programmes that emphasize on producing more bilingual teachers by the Colleges of Education (NIE, 2007a).

NEC in its newest report in 2016 blames schools for disregarding the ‘explicit’ policy. For example, the report criticises that in spite of compulsory mother tongue education in the primary classes some schools have implemented the BE programme from Grade 1. Another policy directive that is not adhered to by some schools,

according to NEC report, is that the BE students should not be allocated a separate classroom or physical space. Because according to NEC (2016), allocation of separate classrooms for BE students segregate the BE students and the MTI students "hampering the smooth functioning of language policy for school education" (p. 126) resulting from perceived elitist connotation given to English (discussed further later).

In sum, the main three discrepancies I discussed here are: a general lack of accessibility to BE; the limited nature of the schools attended by all ethnicities/multiethnic students; and stratification between BE students and MTI students. Combined, these illuminate social stratification caused by lack of access to "English education" or BE. Even though all students in Sri Lanka are supposed to learn ESL from Grade 3 to 13, it has created "highly stratified forms of acquisition of" English (Lo Bianco, 1999) between urban elite and rural. In his interview with Jill Kitson of ABC radio on Sri Lanka's bilingual education plan, Lo Bianco (1999) elaborates – "English was a really quite ambivalent factor in social progress. For some people it represented progress, no doubt, but for the great majority […] it wasn't at all". And his stratification is further strengthened due to limited access to English through BE. In the next section this phenomenon is further discussed.

2.5 POWER OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE & CULTURAL DEVALUATION

Given the extraordinary status of English Language in every sphere of the 21st century life in the neoliberal world the gate-keeping function of English Language could be even much more pervasive. In the linguistic environment of Sri Lanka that is hierarchical in character, the English language continues to enjoy the highest status, similar to most postcolonial countries (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas. 2014). Phillipson (2009) presents an instructive example from post-independent India quoting Nehru (1956): "I am anxious to prevent a new caste system being perpetuated in India – an English-knowing caste separated from the mass of our public" (p.86). As Nehru correctly pointed out, not knowing English for an ordinary Indian, is being "disenfranchised not merely politically, but also economically, academically, culturally and intellectually" (Chamaar, 2007, p145). In the Sri Lankan linguistic environment too, similar to its counterparts such as India, Pakistan and in postcolonial African countries, this situation is no different. English Language continues to spread wider social inequalities and create stigma in masses of the public while creating opportunities for the elites. For instance, many studies in Sri Lanka show that English

Language has been a social marker and enjoys power and prestige in the country (Raheem & Ratwatte, 2004, Wijesekera, 2012). Also, the Word Bank (2011b) study on Sri Lanka reveals that finding suitable jobs has been a frustrating and demoralizing act for educated youth who lack English language proficiency.

As discussed elsewhere, the main objective of the Sri Lankan BE programme is to promote English language proficiency in students. Given the perceived elitist nature of English in the country, will BE create more division and social disintegration and stratification between those who have access to it and those who do not is an aspect that should be carefully analysed. I will begin this part of the discussion with an anecdote since the present discussion would not be a balanced one if it does not explain what exactly happened in BE classrooms and schools in Sri Lanka when initially implemented, in terms of attitudinal problems. When 'English Medium Instruction' (EMI) was initially implemented the school authorities reported a social division between the EMI students and the MTI students in schools. One incident[4] in an influential prestigious girls' school raised concern among teachers and principals who alerted the MOE. Consequently, MOE in consultation with other stakeholders decided not to have separate classes for EMI students. Presently, EMI and MTI students study in common classrooms and mingle with each other in most of the schools. The above facts showed the probability of the present BE programme in re-creating elitism, denigrating one's own MT, and division between communities based on English as it was in the past. On the flip side, this also suggests that the EMI students appear to form a 'new community' that includes all ethnic groups. This recalls Tollefson's argument that MOI continues to destabilize identities of students "…through new forms of social relations in classrooms and schools" (p. 2015a, p. 183) however in this case most negatively.

The BE programme simultaneously both opens doors for some segments of lower socio-economic groups who cannot attend fee-levying international schools. And at the same time it limits access of some others from the same socio-economic groups. The introduction of BE in public schools, on the one hand, opens opportunities for students of low income families to study in English, an opportunity only enjoyed

[4] Girls from the EMI class have made a remark on a Sinhala medium girl "you Sinhala medium b....h" in the constant grudge they were having.

by the elite community or rather the rich who can afford International Schools. On the other hand, as explained earlier too under ‘accessibility’, given the smaller number of schools where BE is available, only a small percentage of students are able to attend BE programme. BE is mostly available in 1AB schools which are attended mostly by children from upper middle/middle class, but scholarship holders who comes to these schools from rural areas also have the opportunity. Hence, failure to establish more BE opportunities in rural areas will widen the socio-economic gap between those who know English and those who do not. This may increase MOI’s gate-keeping function, since those who know English will win over those who do not in the competitive job market in the better-paid corporate sector that highly values English communication skills (MOE, n.d; NEC, 1997; NEC, 2003; Raheem & Ratwatte, 2004). This phenomenon is already a concern of the stakeholders of the BE programme. As mentioned earlier, the recent Oxford University survey conducted in 55 countries including Sri Lanka through open-ended questionnaires reveals concerns “relate [ing] to the potentially social divisive nature of EMI because instruction through English may limit access from lower socio-economic groups and/or a fear that the first language or national identity will be undermined” (Dearden, 2015, p. 2). Yet, “despite the potential for cultural devaluation”, the same report depicts, Sri Lanka is one of the countries that has “moved in the opposite direction and sanctioned EMI provision”

Another school of thought considers that the BE programme can be a threat to national languages. This view has been confirmed in the Bilingual Teacher Training Manual itself (NIE, 2007). It emphasizes that the BE programme “[m]ay lead to the deterioration and the loss of opportunity for the development of the local languages (mother tongue)” (p. 54). Moreover, in the history of the Sri Lankan linguistic environment, there was a time when MT was considered ‘servant’s language’ whereas English was the language of the ‘master’. I present a piece of poetry by award winning Reggie Siriwardena (1922-2004) derived from the poet’s own real-life experience in school during colonial era, which gives a glimpse into what the situation in the country once was. The poet describes how ashamed he was of his language, and how other students laughed at him when his mother talked in Sinhala when she came to pick him from school which was an English medium prestige college attended by upper class people.

Colonial Cameo
In the evening my father used to make me read aloud
from Macaulay or Abbot's Napoleon
(he was short and Napoleon, his hero; I his hope for the future).
My mother, born in a village, had never been taught
the superior tongue. When I was six, we were moving house
she called at school to take me away.
She spoke to the teacher in sinhala. I sensed the shock
of the class, hearing the servant's language; in dismay

followed her out, as she said "Gihing ennang"*
I was glad it was my last day there. but then the
bell pealed a gang of boys came out sniggering
and shouted in chorus "Gihing vareng"as my farewell
My mother pretended not to hear the insult.
The snobbish little bastards! But how can I blame them?
That day I was deeply ashamed of my mother.
Now whenever I remember, I am ashamed of my shame

More recently, this was clearly evident in the denigrating remarks made by EMI students against her Sinhala medium colleague as discussed earlier. Nevertheless, it is also pertinent mentioning unlike countries such as US, Canada, Australia and the West Indies English has never been able to acquire the status of all purpose in Sri Lanka (de Souza, 2010 originally 1979). In the US and such other countries, the educational policies mainly adhered to the assimilation approach. In contrast, even before independence Sri Lankans enjoyed two main languages (Sinhala and Tamil) as MOI in education. Thus, most Sri Lankan people did not adapt English language to the culture but adopted it for instrumental purposes "in order to qualify for bureaucratic jobs, while distancing themselves from the ideological constructs that came with it (Canagarajah, 2010, p. 69)." Therefore, despite common perception, whether the BE programme may undervalue both national languages and culture is yet to be answered through scientific research. The present study may address this gap. However, the extreme views in the literature such as language attrition and language genocide may be ousted. Because, clearly the aim of the BE programme is not to assimilate other languages into a 'melting pot' but to promote bilingualism, biliteracy and multiculturalism where all varieties exist as separate entities but come together to make a wholesome "salad bowl".

2.5.1 Special status for English language as a Medium of Instruction (MOI)

English's 'unbridled spread" can be attributed "to a series of social vicissitudes from British colonialism […] to the contemporary ingrained economic, political, and scientific power of the United states (Mu et al., in press). Baker (2011) reiterates "It is nearly impossible to plan for a less dominant role for English or control its spread

across domains and dominions" (p. 53). He warns that "[W] here English has rapidly spread, the danger is that it does not encourage bilingualism but rather a shift towards English… especially in schools" (p.89). Given the invasiveness of the English Language which has "…transform[ed] from the language of colonization to neo-imperialism" (Mohanty, 2009), it is vital to discuss the status of English in the global context as well as local.

Many critical theorists such as Phillipson (2009) express that the threat continues to be created by English Language on other languages, even on influential languages such as German and French. Phillipson (2009) critiques the use of the all-encompassing term 'English as lingua franca'[5] whose purpose is promoting the "*project* of establishing English worldwide" (p. 85) through "...insidiously legitimating educational policies that see English as a panacea" (p.85). He emphasizes "The *product* is branded and marketed through a variety of overt and covert *processes*" which threaten other languages, and serve for the ultimate goal of the American empire. Implementation of EMI in education is one such process taking place worldwide causing threat to other languages in respective countries according to Phillipson. The European Union, with influential languages in use, provide fine example for this occurrence. Referring to multilingual policies in the EU Phillipson (2009) contends "There is manifestly a conflict between the rhetoric of supporting all languages and the realities of linguistic hierarchies and marginalization" (p.95). For instance, even though the other dominant languages of member states have equal status in policy, in reality English has affirmed its position in the EU system to the extent that "there is now European linguistic apartheid of three times, one may argue of which one is inequality between native speakers, particularly of English and other Europeans [such as French, German] in international communication and especially in EU institutions" (p. 91, my addition).

Precisely, what is more important here is irrespective of policy decisions English language in reality continues to promote its hegemony due to 'invisible planning' or unexpected outcomes of macro level language planning at societal level. A local example is provided by Canagarajah (2005a) referring to Liberation Tigers of Tamil

5 Lingua Franca: A language that is adopted as a common language between speakers whose native languages are different. (Oxford English Living Dictionary, 2017: Oxford University Press)

Elam, the Tamil separatist armed movement who were de facto rulers in the Northern and Eastern Provinces during the civil war. Canagarajah shows that the coercive efforts by LTTE carders to implement their language policy - "Tamil Only" - were not successful due to grassroots language practices of the common public who opted to code switch to English in day-to-day communications. Another example can be drawn from Republika Srpska, the Serbian part of Bosnia-Herzegovina to promote Ekavica and the Cyrillic script. In their efforts, the restrictions were legalized and even all media were compelled to adhere to those language policies by law. Yet, the project was a disaster and had to revert to the language used in the public domain – Jekavian. Both examples provide support for the fact that whatever the language management decision, what happens at the grassroots level may ultimately decide the success of such policies. Likewise, whether removal of the present status of English language would be successful is questionable due to grassroots attitudes towards it and its pervasive nature in every sphere of life, both globally and locally.

Moreover, education policy decisions, including language education, in sovereign states, particularly in developing post-colonial countries are influenced by many socio-political and economic factors. In addition, international institutions such as UNESCO and World Bank play key roles in education policies. The member countries, including Sri Lanka, design their educational policies on a par with UNESCO declarations emphasizing benefits of using mother-tongue as MOI in schools in cognitive, sociological and emotional development. The implementation of education policies and reforms, however, depends on funds and hence World Bank plays a more important role. Borjian (2014) asserts

> …both institutions are key players in the realm of global policies. Their differences, however, recline in their orientations, motives and power…Whereas the World Bank's policies for an alliance between language, education and as a means to eradicate poverty and achieve development, UNESCO's policies call for multiculturalism, multilingualism, and pluralism in education as a means to promote intercultural and international dialogues as a strategy to safeguard peace. (p.1)

Borjian, highlights the agency of both institutions in education sector policies including medium of instructions. Yet, she argues the World Bank that believes education as a "bottomless pit" (p.2). World Bank plays a more important role since

implementation depends on funds. Hence, neoliberal-driven educational policies of World Bank favour English Language especially as MOI (Altbach & Salmi, 2011; Gunawardena, 2010/11, NEC, 2003; World Bank, 2011). Clearly, Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas (2013/14) declare, "English has expanded through the imperialist and linguist policies of the UK, the USA and the World Bank" (p. 316). Depicting Perera and Canagarajah (2010)'s analysis on Sri Lanka they affirm that World Bank "channelled funds and "… coerce governments into strengthening English at the expense of local languages, for instance in Sri Lanka and Africa" (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 2013/14, p. 316). Similarly, Sri Lankan educational policy making has been influenced by the donor agencies especially World Bank and Asian Development Bank (Gunawardena, 2010/11).

2.5.2 Emphasis given to English language teaching/learning in Sri Lanka

Correspondingly, Sri Lankan educational reforms have given much prominence to teaching of English Language not only over the other national language of students but also their first language or mother tongue, given English's high economic value. In most education reform documents, English has been mentioned under specific clauses devoted to English language teaching itself in contrast to other subjects that have deserved just mentioning. Surprisingly, not even MT has been given such specificity irrespective of the fact that average of 20% of Sinhala students and average of 23% Tamil students fail their mother tongues in the two main public examinations in the country. (Calculated from 2008 to 2010 GCE Ordinary Level) official analysis of results: Department of Examination, Sri Lanka - http://www.doenets.lk/exam/docs/ebooks/Symposium-2011-new.pdf). Furthermore, a whole chapter (Chapter 8) of the Educational Reforms introduced in 1997 is devoted to "Strengthening of English Language" whereas neither of two national languages has been given such attention. Another example is the 1997 Presidential Task Force recommendations. Under the section on Primary school education, it recommends the "English language will be used as a means of communication from Grade 1 while the formal teaching of English will commence at Grade 3." It further says "Children will be encouraged also to use the other national language, in addition to their own" (NEC 1997, p.11). In the use of grammar in recommendations, it is noticeable how documents foreground the learning of English language against the other two national languages for which children are only encouraged. Chapter 8 of Presidential Task

Force recommendations emphasize students' inability write or speak English at an acceptable level after learning it from Grade 3 to Grade 13 and resulting in failure in finding employment as well as access to information. To ratify the situation, the report recommends the use of English for communication from Grade 1 in addition to mother tongue; Formal teaching of English starting from Grade 3 upwards; upgrade materials to motivate children; introduction of new methodology; promoting reading habits with special emphasis on spoken skills from Grade 6 to Grade 10; introduction of new subject General English in Grade 12 and 13 focusing on world of work and higher education; new teacher training programmes. (cf. http://nec.gov.lk/category/policies/). The proposals under EFA and Presidential Task Force went even on proposing extra incentives for English Language Teachers and recruiting retired teachers. In the same document under EFA it also encourages other national language in addition to child's mother-tongue, which I observed has only been mostly lip service and had not given due attention by the Ministry in implementation. The EFA Action plan suggests that other foreign languages should be promoted in a limited way so as "to have a number of Sri Lankans who are proficient in foreign languages for the purpose of maintaining effective diplomatic, cultural, technological and commercial links with foreign countries"

Moreover, National Policy on Education 2003 report too has special provision for English Language Teaching. It has allocated two and a half pages to discuss "Promotion of English Education" in addition to clauses devoted to English teaching under other categories through the introduction of English as a MOI in some selected subjects such as Mathematics, Science, Social Science. in state and state assisted schools starting from Grade 6 while mother tongue as MOI in rest of the subjects. It also provides option for secondary students to offer subjects in English as MOI in GCE (Advanced Level) subject to the availability of teachers in respective schools. The same grants permission to sit the examination in the medium of students' choice. This choice is to encourage students to take English MOI to ease away the problems students may encounter in answering the examinations since exam's highly competitiveness and its gate-keeping role in university admission due to limited places available in local universities (cf. http://nec.gov.lk/category/policies/)

Finally, however, I would like to end this portion of the discussion by depicting Tsui and Tollefson (2004) that MOI is "the most powerful means of maintaining and

revitalizing a language and culture" and "a key means of power (re) distribution and social (re) constructions, as well as a key arena in which political conflicts among countries and ethnolinguistic, social and political groups are realized (p. 34). To stress the later view, I would present Phillipson's view - "[t]he expansion of English and maintenance of its dominant position […] is about exploitation, injustice, inequality, and hierarchy that privileges those able to use…" (Phillipson 1992 as cited in Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas (2013/2014). Theoretically thinking, one aspect evident in this analysis is the question of legitimate language and who has the legitimate authority to nominate legitimate language/s. According to Bourdieu the legitimate language should be "the language --- the official definition of official language of a political unit" (1991, p. 45), authorized by powerful bodies in that specific field such as the government, nation state. But here the declared official as well as national languages are Sinhala and Tamil. Yet English has the greatest capital value in this neoglobalized context. The nation states are not only controlled by their inside policies but subjected to give into powerful forces outside. The power of English is so pervasive and strong that a single nation or political body seems not having the full privilege to decide whether to consider English as a legitimate language for them or not in their territories. The nation states' decisions are controlled by the interface of wielding power structures outside their purview. Here the best example is English language in Sri Lanka. Although Bourdieu's concept of legitimate language is from the context of France and cannot be transferable directly to the much more contested language setting of Sri Lanka, what I want to stress is that nobody now has the power to decide what the legitimate language is - even nation states, due to the pervasiveness of English. Even though the Sri Lankan constitution legitimates Sinhala and Tamil as legitimate languages, it is not so at the practice level, because the capital value that English has accrued is unbeatable. Briefly, in Bourdieusian terms, it is the *field* that legitimates English.

2.5.3 The other side of the story: English in BE can bring people together

There is another side of the story. As mentioned earlier, BE availability in public school opens opportunities for students from middle and lower middle or even working class, opportunity once confined only to upper middle and rich who could afford International Schools. This consequently might reduce inequalities and thereby contribute to social integration. If this is the scenario, Garcia's (2009) proclamation

‘[B]ilingual education is much more than a technique or a pedagogy. Bilingual education is education, and it is also a way of equalizing opportunities. It rests on principles of social justice…” (p. 386) will be valid for Sri Lanka in future. Because wider opportunities to enhance English proficiency through BE can facilitate social cohesion in another way also since it may reduce both horizontal and vertical inequalities in the Sri Lankan society, which in turn could contribute to harmony among different groups (Wijesekera, 2011).

Furthermore, Kachru (1986) defined English as a “neutral” (Kachru, 1986) or “unmarked code” Canagarajah (2000) may work as a conduit between contesting national languages. I use the word “neutral” with English with caution since English is never neutral given its dominance as discussed earlier. Here, what “neutral” means is different. This is not to claim that English is a neutral language and that is why the word “neutral” has been used within inverted commas. In fact, it can be suggested that this very same power of English might make power relations of the two national languages less important. Canagarajah (2005a) also argues that English may bring “value for people whose local languages and identities suffer from discriminatory markings of caste, ethnicity, and gender” (p. 428) and facilitate national identity acting as a lingua franca (Canagarajah & Ashraf (2013). Equally, Kennet (2011), in relation to Sri Lanka has claimed, English may act “as a tool of conflict transformation” as in other “conflict prone societies where national languages have traditionally become social and ethnic dividers” (p. 314) though this idea has been contested by some (Baker, 2011; Canagarajah, 2005). Indeed, in contrast to earlier claims of creating disparity by EMI, presently BE pedagogy creates opportunities for the students of different ethnolinguistic origins to interact using English as their lingua franca within the classroom in both intra and intergroup communication and thereby may promote interconnectedness.

2.6 IDENTITY, LANGUAGE AND ETHNOLINGUISTIC IDENTITY

In this section I discuss the main foci of the study – identity and language, and ethnic identity whose categorization is mainly based on language as applied to the present study’ context. Language and identity as concepts have different theoretical perspectives underpinning them. However, in the following constellation of ideas I am using some of these theoretical perspectives that I thought most suitable for the present

study. Further, I conceptualize ethnic identity as ethnic habitus using Bourdieusian theoretical tools in Chapter 3.

2.6.1 **Identity and ethnolinguistic identity**

As of identity and its related terms such as ethnolinguistic identity, it is important to look at them from different theoretical stances.

Eriksen defines ethnicity or ethnic identity as

> "…the application of systematic distinctions between insiders and outsiders; between Us and Them. [...] ethnicity presupposes an institutionalized relationship between delineated categories whose members consider each other to be culturally distinctive. From this principle, it follows that two or several groups who regard themselves as being distinctive may tend to become more similar and simultaneously increasingly concerned with their distinctiveness if their mutual contact increases. Ethnicity is thus constituted through social contact. (2010, p.23)

Constructivist standpoint is that an individual's 'identity' is a fusion of many, ever shifting and restyling intersecting with contexts, social constructs (e.g. religion, ethnicity), hence, its multiplicity, fluidity and hybridity (Block, 2006; Canagarajah, 2007; Crump, 2014; Gee, 2011; Holland, 2010; Kubota, 2010; Levinson & Holland, 1996; Pavlenko & Balckledge, 2004; Rampton, 1995; Skinner, Valsiner & Holland, 2001). It views identity positioning as an ongoing process involving interpreting one's self as a certain kind of person and being recognized by others constrained by the surrounding social structures where they exist. Language and ethnicity are such social constructs in positioning ethnolinguistic identity. Lo Bianco (2010) notes, "[i]dentity, both personal and social, and economic and national interests, as well as collective and individual memory are all constructed through language or are realized and negotiated in acts of communication" (p. 38). Ethnolinguistic identity is a social group identity where ethnicity and language are two main criteria that exclude or include group members (Giles & Johnson, 1987; Harwood & Vincze, 2012a; 2012b; 2015; Noels, Kil & Fang, 2014). According to Spolsky and Hult (2008), language is "fundamental to collective and personal identity" and inseparable from one's self. It constructs "ethicized construction of otherness" (Gabriel, 2014), and polarizes social groups. In Sri Lanka, language is the main classificatory criterion between the two most

contesting ethnic groups – the Sinhalese and the Tamils (Chandra, 2006). As such, this study uses the terms *ethnolinguistic identity* and *ethnic identity* interchangeably.

The phenomenon of ethnic identity can also be explained in Tajfel's (1972) socio-psychological views of social identity where he also considered identity as constantly negotiated by individuals. He differentiates between personal and social identity arranged in a continuum, and associating social identity with intergroup and the former with interpersonal behavior. The individual's social identity is his/her "knowledge that he belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of this group membership" (Tajfel, 1972 p. 292). According to Tajfel, individuals engage in three processes in social group identification – first categorization of things/people for the purpose of understanding the world around, then identification with similar people to find belongingness *i.e.,* our in-group, and then compare and see the different people as out-group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In his "minimal group studies" Tajfel randomly assigned individuals to groups and found individuals' tendency to prefer 'in-group' members (us) to 'out-group' (them). Based on these findings they came up with Social identity theory (SIT). According to SIT, individuals who assigned themselves to a group is a self-satisfying process of seeking belongingness, and they promote their own group while being prejudiced against out-groups. In attempting to enhance their own self-image, they develop negative stereotypical misconceptions about the 'others' (Linville, Fischer & Salovey, 1989). These findings show that individuals position and reposition their social identity according to the social circumstances around them – towards the most self-satisfying is becoming of a fitting member *i.e.,* accepted and recognized, and valued member of the society around them. However, Tajfel's findings have been critiqued by researchers such as Gudykunst and Kim (2003) for studies' participants being monolingual and mono-cultural, and results show identification reposition of individual towards full convergence and assimilation. Secondly, Tajfel's studies are also critiqued for not taking into consideration the socio-historical influences and the symbolic values of social constructs such as languages bring to out-grouping and in-grouping (Zhu, 2013). In contrast, the present study will shed light on these two lapses because the present study investigates ethnolinguistically diverse participants in multilingual and multicultural social spaces of the BE classroom where their

historically acquired dispositions that they bring might be at play when out-grouping or in-grouping process may occur.

According to a Bourdieusian theoretical perspective both processes discussed above *i.e.,* institutive urge for self-satisfying image of one's self or self-identification, as well as prejudice against the out-group members can happen, and they take place in relation to others or circumstances in a social space. According to Bourdieu, the agents in a social space struggle to accrue profits that are at stake in that particular social space (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p.97). That is, in other words, identity positioning takes place in dialectic relation to the social space. For instance, in the BE classroom the most self-satisfying self-image takes place in accordance with the multiethnic nature of the BE classroom so as to feel a fitting member of the new multiethnic BE community, a feeling like 'fish in water' which will be discussed further in the theoretical framework.

However, similar to Tajfel's idea, but in contrast to Bakhtin's fluid identity Pennycook (2010; 2017) argues that individuals perform not only fluid but fixed identities also. This is the material part of identity imposed on individuals by society in which the multiplicity or ephemeral nature of identity is concealed (Crump, 2014). Language and ethnicity are two such powerful social encryptions, among many, or 'categories imposed on individuals'. The present study is of the view that the categories either permit or constrain possibilities for transformation (Crump, 2014, p. 208). From a Bourdieusian perspective, it can be interpreted in terms of 'primary habitus', 'secondary habitus' - the durable nature of once historically acquired structured ways of thinking, seeing, being acting which are predisposed and felt at preconscious level (Bourdieu, 1990a), which I will further elaborate and justify in Chapter three. The students in this study in general have already acquired ethnolinguistic identities in the process of socialization through family, media, and society at large before they become the members of the new BE pedagogic society. This previous socialization can either be negative or positive i.e., ethnocentric or non-ethnocentric, which depends on the perspectives of the society they exposed and belonged to. These were to be explored through this study. For instance, an individual student's perspective can be ethnically chauvinistic or highly ethnocentric influenced by his/her family's ethnocentric perspectives. This kind of socialization is disadvantageous in terms of inclusivity.

The country's objective, as a nation state, is to socialize its offspring into 'supraethnic identity. The ability of transformation and fluidity of identity is supported by a large body of literature. Crafter and Abreu (2010), subsequent to their ethnographic studies with different age groups in multicultural contexts, outlined triple progressions in identity constructions over time and space, namely: "identifying the other, being identified and self-identification" (p. 202) where 'coupling' occurs when individuals move between different social spaces such as schools and homes. The new contexts (either actual or imagined) trigger transformation of existing identities towards 'desirable identities' (Norton & Toohey, 2011, p. 414), and the "identities are of key importance in social change" (Holland & Lachicotte, 2007). This post-structural perspective on language and identity in turn reflects Bourdieu's notion of "...two-way structured-structuring nature" or generative nature of social realities (Grenfell & Lebaron, 2014, p. 2) that is, our subjective process of identity positioning is shaped by the social structures around us and how we perceive the social structures in turn are shaped by those identity positioning. In fact, Duff says that poststructual scholars draw on Bourdieu. Talking about poststructuralist perspectives on language, identity and subjectivity of Bourdieu Duff argues,

> Bourdieu, caution us [poststructuralists] not to look for stable, singular, and essentialized connections between place, language, and identity. Rather, they suggest that we consider the subjectivities inculcated, invoked, performed, taken up or contested in particular discursive spaces and situations in a moment-by-moment". (p. 62)

There is another perspective that brings two contexts for the investigation of ethnicity and identity, *viz.* i) "consequences of social and political events [...] sprung from within the frameworks of ethnic diversity, ethno-nationalist sentiments and agendas; ii) "results of events orchestrated by competition and distrust between diverse ethnic groups"– the majority versus minority phenomenon (Omoniyi 2006, p. 15). Both contexts well exemplify the present research context. In his dynamic model of Hierarchy of Identity, Omoniyi (2006) differentiates identity as an end product whereas identification is the process that creates and manages hierarchies in identities. Yet he argues that one's identity is his/her presentation of self which is a moment to moment process, a moment away from pre-modalities such as ethnicity and gender. In this study, while arguing for the nonexistence of fixed identities, I still refer to 'Tamil'

or ‘Sinhala’ students. This is the ‘naming part’ or pre-modalities or fixed aspects of one’s identity that results from demographic categories, which are resultant from categories of “descriptors, concepts, theories or indicators through which we make sense or attach meaning to surrounding world” (Cross & Naidoo, 2012, p. 230). They assert that the individuals acquire these descriptors of categorizations through socialization when they pass through different social spaces such as family and educational experiences. In effect, these acquired descriptors of categorisation may change when they are no more relevant or valid in a new social space. And hence, identification becomes a continuous process.

What is important here is that this study rejects the essentialist categories to individual identity performances and invites identification of identity as progressive and performative act comprises of multilayered process (Omoniyi, 2006). What is most important is that all those social actions embedded in processes can be separated into ‘Moments’ in which both “competing and complementary multiple identities” exist (p.12). There are two senses of these multiplicities *viz.,* multiple roles and consciousness of other selves. Omoniyi elaborates that different experiences of people account for variations in identification process. In other words, identification process is an interactional process between a decoder (one’s self/me) and encoder/s (others). In the identification process, the presence of the encoder may or may not be present physically, yet the encoder is always present in the decoder’s perception of social reality. In other words, in the identity positioning externality is internalized (Bourdieu, 1992). The individual ‘choice’ of preferred identity positioning is actually not only present in one’s self or his agency because the ‘choice’ is determined, or at least influenced, by the actual or virtual presence of the encoder. Basically, this resonates that our identification process is shaped by the “socially situated conditions” where it takes place (Bourdieu, 1990b).

Tajfel (1974) postulated that the individuals constantly engage in “continuing process of self-definition” (in Omoniyi’s (2006) words ‘identification’) to accomplish self-fulfilling image of his/her own and this results in in-group and out-group processing (p.67). This results in multiple social group identities of an individual which Ng (2005) defined as “bundle of separate identities or hybrid identities. Even though Ng referred to migrants with regard to their host country’s identity and heritage country identity, they are analogous to ethnic groups in Sri Lanka as well. For instance,

Sri Lankan Tamils while having overarching identity as Sri Lankans – the national identity - they maintain their unique, ethnic identity as Tamils. The process does not actually stop there as Tamils distinguish among themselves as Hindus, Catholics, Christians, Jaffna Tamils, Baticaloa Tamils and Indian Tamils. So the identification process depends on various criteria – an endless continuing process of self-definition (Tajfel, 1974). Cross and Naidoo (2012), similarly argued that exclusion or distinction are resultant from the institutive process of categorization that the humans constantly engage because this facilitate them understand the world around. And, this categorization is the basis for named racial or ethnic groups that later becomes institutionalized category of exclusion and inclusion that decide 'our group' and 'their group'. Nevertheless, such exclusionary categorizations be unlearned through 'lived experiences' with 'others' where ethnocentric mental categorizations are in disequilibrium or dispositions of exclusion are at odd with, as Cross and Naidoo (2012) further argued.

Likewise, it may be suggested that engaging in teaching/learning activities in an ethnolinguistically diverse class may result in the appropriation of ethnocentric identities in synchronization with the social conditions, in this case multiethnic nature, of the BE class i.e., towards a more pluralistic identities with more 'collective conscience' of social integration (Barkan, 2012) regardless of ethnicity but Sri Lankan nationalism which Erikson defined as "supra-ethnic or non-ethnic community which encompasses or transcends ethnicity rather than endorsing it" (Eriksen, 2010, p. 116). In fact, according to Allport (1954) constant contact among individuals from different backgrounds helps overcome tensions arising from their different cultures and any prejudices they may hold. Through his studies Allport (1954) introduced four social conditions that equal status among the members of different groups, working together in cooperation, and personal interaction among the members together with authorities/social institutions help reduce intergroup biases and prejudice. These findings by Allport have been supported by many other studies up to date. For instance, quantitative studies by Harwood and Vencez (2012a & 2012b) suggest exposure to 'other' groups leads to positive perceptions, and empathy for 'others' particularly in the contexts of equal status and collaboration. Such contacts help disconfirm previously held stereotypes (Dixon, 2006), and reduce racial and ethnic tensions in the long run. And these conditions may or may not prevail in the multiethnic BE pedagogy.

Drawing on Eriksonian, Meadian and Vygotskyan theories, Holland and Lachicotte (2007) postulate that individuals construct identities not following the exact way that they observe in models or behaviours of others, but tenaciously and innovatively. Further, Holland and Lachicotte observe, by evolving community of practice "innovations may play out and regularize the semiotic means for new identities and activities that lie beyond existing structures of power" (p.135). This observation was very evident in Giroir's (2014) ethnographic study that involved adult migrant L2 female learner narratives. The results showed how participants discursively negotiated and reconstructed identities in new social spaces which were 'investments' for new membership of real or imagined in a new community of practice. Similarly, through identity narratives of Italian-Canadian youths Giampapa (2004) highlighted the propensity for identity positioning in view of profits in a given social context.

Likewise, BE pedagogy may also create a new space for students to reshape their identities. Here it may be to become accepted members in the new BE pedagogy which needs realigning existing ethnocentric self-concepts. However, according to Rational Choice Theory (Lewin, 1988), which Alvesson and Willmott (2002) called "identity regulation" and "identity work", the identity positioning is a choice that individuals rationally choose. It is here where a Bourdieusian perspective comes, my theoretical framework for study. In Bourdieusian lens this choice which is seemingly rational is neither intentional nor rational that one consciously sensed. This 'choice' is 'strategy without strategist' (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). It is sensed at pre-reflexive practical level in dialectic relations to the conditions in a given social space in appropriation to the objective structures that specify that space. The choices, inclinations, propensities are predisposed as a result of their predisposed ways of thinking, being and acting, and also the conditions of the social space they pass through. But transposable in relation to the new social spaces they come into being. This will be further discussed in Chapter three where I theorize ethnic identity as ethnic habitus and BE pedagogy as a field using Bourdieu's conceptual triad.

2.6.2 **Heteroglossia, translanguaging and identity**

Baker (2011) complains that some BE programmes, based on a monolithic view of language that languages are separate entities, take deliberate efforts to restrict or proscribe use of all linguistic repertoires available to students and teachers focussing

on promoting the preferred dominant languages. Yet, in spite of these embargoes and policies, it is, according to Garcia (2009), natural that students and teachers move among their linguistic repertoires to fulfil their communicative demands for the purpose of scaffolding in the absence of required proficiency in the language of medium or English in present context. This navigation among languages is called 'translanguaging' (Creese & Blackledge, 2015; Garcia, 2009; Garcia & Wei, 2014; Pennycook, 2017; Sayer, 2013). Clarifying the concept translanguaging, Otheguy, Garcia and Reid (2015) define it as "the deployment of a speaker's full linguistic repertoire without regard for watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named (and usually national and state) languages" (p. 281). They further elaborate translanguaging as

> an approach to the use of language, bilingualism and education of bilinguals that considers the language practices of bilinguals not as two autonomous language systems as has been traditionally the case, but as one linguistic repertoire with features that have been societally constructed as belonging to two separate languages. (p. 2).

Translanguaging considers linguistic systems as no separate entities but meaning making tools in a heteroglossia which is natural in bilingual or multilingual communities (Garcia, 2009). This approach to language "disrupt[s] the socially constructed language hierarchies" that contributes to conflicts between groups who speak different languages (Otheguy, Garcia and Reid, 2015, p. 283). Contrary to the monoglossic environment, in a transglossic environment the boundaries demarcating linguistic identities may blur. In such a context, teachers and students will shuttle between languages to achieve pedagogic communicative objectives in a more democratic and equitable approach. Hence, this heteroglossic cross-linguistic flexibility becomes potentially a path for mutual understanding (Creese and Blackledge, 2015). Wei (2017) asserts,

> Every time we say something in one language instead of another, we are reconnecting with people, situations, and power configurations from our history of past interactions and imprinting on that history our attitudes toward the people and languages concerned. Through language choice, we maintain and change ethnic group boundaries and personal relationships and construct and define "self" and "other" within a broader political economy and historical context. (p. 221)

This study presumes being together in the BE classroom might "open new identity options for" the students of different ethnicities through navigation between languages in absence of restrictions on languages (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004, p.13). Translanguaging creates fluid space for the interlocutors to shuttle between the languages (Garcia & et al, 2017; Garcia & Kleyn, 2016; Garcia & Wei, 2014; Pennycook, 2017; Zuniga, Henderson & Palmer, 2017). Hence, it defies existing dominant ideologies and resists powers it may have been subjugated to in monoglossic contexts where languages are considered as separate entities. On the other hand, as Richie and Bhatia (2010) argue this choice is not random but depends on several aspects such as "bilingual pragmatic competence, which consists in a complex set of implicit socio-psychological" determinants (p. 47). Taking examples from English-Hindi and English Swahili bilinguals, they contend that individuals switch to Hindi or Swahili to mark in-group local identity while switching to English to indicate "…neutrality, and identity as participants in the wider world" (p.48). This may happen in the Sri Lankan multiethnic BE pedagogy that English may act as a neutralizing media between the two historically competing languages – Sinhala and Tamil.

Garcia (2009) proposes that the term transglossia better describes "… societal bilingualism in a globalized world: a stable, and yet dynamic, communicative network with many languages in functional interrelationship, instead being assigned separate functions" [italics original] (p. 79). Such a transglossic approach would create a space for "...people with different histories, and releases histories and understanding that had been buried within fixed language identities constrained by nation-states" (Garcia & Wei, 2014). Garcia, Skutnabb-Kangas and Torres-Guzman, (2006) emphasize BE pedagogic discourse builds on diversity of languages that students and teachers bring to classes. Bagga-Gupta (2012) argues not only "…linguistic varieties and communication modalities linked and chained in human communication, but that they, in significant ways, shape human identity and culture" (p. 97). Working from such an argument, I will elaborate on the relationship between language and identity/ethnolinguistic identity.

In identity construction, individuals negotiate their own definitions of contexts and situations they experience. The reality of that situation is socially constructed relying on symbols with shared understanding of symbols (Block 2006; Crump, 2014; Holland, 2010; Levinson & Holland, 1996). One such main symbolic system is

language. Language is central to social categorization in situations where ethnolinguistic identity is at stake. According to Ethnolinguistic Identity Theory, the primary criterion for deciding group inclusion and exclusion is language (Giles & Johnson, 1987; Harward & Vincez 2012 a; Harwood & Vencez, 2012b; Noels, Kil & Fang, 2014). As explained in this literature review, generally language is the main criterion for ethnic categorization between Sinhalese and Tamils in Sri Lanka. Moreover, language is central to teaching/learning. Besides, it is through language that individuals' inner voices are surfaced. Cummins (2000) conceives that classroom micro-level relations between individuals, in this case teachers and students, reflect macro-level relations of power in the broader society. As elaborated previously, in BE pedagogy students being multilingual will naturally use whole linguistic repertoire available to them (in this case Sinhala, Tamil and English) to achieve communication purposes. In brief, they would translanguage, unless embargoes are imposed (Creese & Blackledge, 2015; Garcia, 2009; Sayer, 2013). Wei (2011) based on detailed multilingual practices of three Chinese multilingual undergraduates living in Britain where monolingual ideologies dominate defines "[t]ranslanguaging space as an intense social experience and emotional investment" where "...individual feels a sense of connectedness with others..." (p.1234), and "consciously construct and constantly modify their socio-cultural identities and values (1224).

Moving among linguistic repertoires is evident in both BE pedagogy (Medawattegedera, 2011), and in the mainstream English as a second language classroom in Sri Lanka (Karunaratna, 2009; Perera, 2003; Wijesekera, 2012). In her PhD case study research on code-switching practices in BE pedagogies in two schools in Sri Lanka, Medawattegedera investigated the role of mother tongue as a scaffolding tool. She concluded "...particular ways of using of mother tongue and code-switching can serve to provide Limited English Proficiency students access to science discourse as well as encourage participation by students in the EMI science classroom" (p. 239). She also found code switching "...was a pervasive occurrence" in both contexts (p.247). Similar to earlier studies (Johnson, 1983, 1985 cited in Medawattegedera, 2011), she confirmed that mother tongue is used mainly "for classroom management, marking the transition points of a lesson structure, encouragement, summary/review" (p. 247). My premise is that it is natural for the students and teachers use any language in the BE class. They may engage in translanguaging in the absence of restrictions. In

such contexts, languages are not considered as separate entities' when students and teachers freely navigate between linguistic symbols in their linguistic repertoires. In this context, their ethnic identities demarcated by languages may also become fluid. It is based on these premises that I formulated the research questions of this study to explore how language use shapes the ethnic identities of students in the multiethnic BE pedagogy.

This view is encouraged by many researchers in bi/multicultural education arena where they call for a 'translanguaging' approach for classroom interaction, an act defined also in different names as 'code-meshing'', 'translingual practices' (Canagarajah, 2013), 'flexible bilingualism (Creese & Blackledge, 2015). Baker (2011) reiterates "[F]or most bilingual children, and some bilingual teachers, it is cognitively, linguistically and operationally sensible to use both languages (p. 229). Formed in interaction, translanguaging not only "...maximizes both linguistic and cognitive resources, and helps achievement and progress" (ibid p. 229), but as a new space where individuals "...consciously construct and constantly modify their socio-cultural identities and values" (Wei, 201, p. 1224). Translanguaging is "both going between different linguistic structures and systems, [...] and going beyond them [...] for the purposes that transcend the combination of structures, the alternation between systems, the transmission of information, and representation of values, identities and relationships (Wei, 2011, p. 1223).

Theoretically, Garcia and Wei (2015) contend that languages are not monolithic, but make meanings in contexts, so meanings are situated and conceived dynamically. In effect, languages as separate entities are not a natural phenomenon as Makoni and Pennycook (2007) argue. Naming languages as different entities, such as English, Sinhala, Tamil or German, is an invention of Eurocentric thinking. In contrast, in a heteroglossic context when [named] languages are taken as one single system with different symbolic signs meant for communication in a social space the individuals who inhabit that social space may become a new linguistic community. As such, their ethnic identities, whose main criterion of differentiation is language, may also become fluid and heterogeneous. In other words, their identities may transcend beyond ethnocentricity characterised by languages. This may be similarly valid in multilingual, multicultural and multiethnic BE classrooms, especially where the

students of diverse ethnicities are required to study together and tend to utilize whatever the language to achieve their educational goals.

2.7 SUMMING UP MAJOR PROPOSITIONS FROM THE LITERATURE

Before summing up, I should emphasize the dearth of rigorous research that specifically examined Sri Lankan BE programme except for one PhD study (Medawattegedera, 2010/2011) and a study conducted by the NEC (2016). As evident in this chapter, not a single study that investigated sociolinguistic aspects of the BE programme was found by me. It was envisaged that this study would bridge this gap. This literature review also pointed out the contesting nature of 'policy decisions' and ground realities which are influenced by contextual existences. This research may fill this gap and provide a snapshot of 'ground realities.' Further, this literature review also pointed out the absence of a 'policy' on BE in Sri Lanka, and also dire need for scientific knowledge that support formulation of policy. In this regard, this study will provide a snapshot of micro language practices or language policy as practice (Spolsky, 2008) in classrooms or domains (Spolsky, 2008), and how they are shaped by macro level language planning and vice versa. This may help in formulating informed BE policies in Sri Lanka as well as language planning in education where empirical research on such aspects is few if not at all in relation to Sri Lanka sociolinguistic milieu. As discussed, this study also may contribute to Tajfel's minimal group theories which have been criticised for using monolingual and mono-cultural participants only as well as not taking their socio-historical aspects into consideration (Gudykunst & Kim, 2003; Zhu, 2013). In contrast, this study explores multicultural and multilingual ethnically diverse participants situating them in their respective socio-historical milieu, and how out-grouping and in-grouping might occur in such social microcosms.

I now sum up what is relevant for the study from the literature reviewed. Three possible positions may be encountered in BE pedagogy in multiethnic schools focusing on English language: The first is that English is a link or conduit between different linguistic communities in the BE pedagogy. The second position is emergence of a seemingly "neutral space" in Sri Lankan multiethnic BE classrooms. This may result from emerging socio-cultural and linguistic circumstances in the multiethnic BE classroom. Such circumstances may include contestation of the two competing

national languages becoming less important in the presence of English, given its higher capital value, as well as increasing interaction among the students, all of which may stimulate blurring linguistic centrality in individual and social group ethnic identity. And the third position is the probability of creating social stratification between students irrespective of their ethnicity and the emergence of new social groups within the pedagogy resulting from English's dominance and value. In these ways, English can be constructed as an important reconciliation tool. English may promote self-definitions of the individuals appropriate to the reconciliation phase of the post-conflict Sri Lanka. However, I also note that the use of English as a neutralizing tool in this study does not mean the "neutrality" of English. Instead, throughout my literature review I showed the pervasiveness of English and how it created socio, economic and educational disparities in both pre and post-colonial Sri Lanka. At the same time, English can play the role of a convenient lingua franca between the two linguistic communities – Sinhala and Tamil. Furthermore, it is also an asset that can provide economic, social and educational opportunities.

I support the idea that bilingual/multilingual pedagogy should promote heteroglossic ecology where no single language is seen as above the other. In such a context, different ethnolinguistic groups may not sense discrimination which is a positive social condition for reducing ethnocentrism and increasing supraethnic identity. The literature shows that identity is hybrid and more or less a fusion of many positions in which individuals have agency in deciding on positioning, yet constrained by social contexts. The space created by BE pedagogy in multiethnic schools as a new community may diversify or constrict ethnolinguistic centrality of identities. Hence, individuals may reposition and align their identities as an investment to become a member of the new conditions in the BE pedagogy where respect for difference is on demand. Furthermore, this section argued that the cross-linguistic flexibility and constant contact with 'others' in BE classrooms may enhance pluralistic attitudes in the students who study together.

The literature review also suggested that individual aspirations and their ethnolinguistic dispositions may alter in multilingual/multiethnic BE classrooms where individuals constantly process their self-definitions to achieve the most self-satisfying image of one 's self which is most appropriate to the context. Thus, when students of different ethnolinguistic orientations come together in one classroom

which is multiethnic, they may create a 'collective supraethnic conscience', thereby unlearning their ethnolinguistic roles (Barkan, 2012). Succinctly, that is changing the (ethnocentric) habitus and predispositions' that students may have acquired through socialization so far (Cross & Naidoo, 2012). Also, when students of different ethnicities come together in multiethnic BE classrooms they have the opportunity to contest their previously held generalized stereotypical hypotheses about the 'others'. They might come to know and understand the individuals in the "out-group" by working together while they all engage in fulfilling common educational goals (Allport, 1954).

Given the centrality of language in ethnolinguistic identities, BE pedagogy in multiethnic school contexts may promote use of different languages as a tool in producing appropriate identities that align towards collective consciences. Such a context would realize only when language policies in BE pedagogy as a domain (Garcia, 2009) take a heteroglossic stance where individuals feel a sense of connectedness. The use of students' own language would promote self-esteem of individuals and respect for mother tongue as well. In such circumstances the boundaries between ethnicity which is demarcated by language may become blurred, facilitating identity positioning towards a collective sense – an identity that goes beyond ethnocentrism, towards a supraethnic ones. This study seeks to contribute to growing trend of research on identity negotiation in heteroglossic classrooms, more specifically how heteroglossic language 'policies' at domain level of BE pedagogy may facilitate social group inclusion and exclusion.

The following chapter will outline the conceptual framework to situate the study on robust theoretical underpinnings. The framework will lay out the theoretical rationale for the social phenomena under investigation in relation to micro and macro contexts discussed.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I outline, explain, and justify the robust theoretical underpinnings while illustrating relations between major concepts introduced earlier, mainly BE, language, ethnicity and identity. This chapter lays out the theoretical framing for exploring the social phenomena under investigation.

Impacted by outer social, economic and political factors, education inside classrooms can be considered as ‘a process of living’ (Dewey, 1987, p. 78), awaiting a living of an imagined future or investing for future dividends. In fact, according to its aims, BE is an investment strategy directly in linguistic (English Language) dividends which are convertible to economic dividends that reflect the “dialectic relation between the school system and the labour market” (Bourdieu, 1991, p.49). In such a struggle, students’ identities may be shaped and reshaped in relation to the social conditions in the BE classrooms. The multiethnic, multilingual, multicultural BE pedagogy is different from other classrooms in Sri Lanka which are monolingual, and monoethnic. The study is premised on the hope that BE pedagogy in multiethnic schools might create a new social space with specific “socially situated conditions” – conditions of metanoia which Bourdieu calls a ‘field’ (2000) where “a transformation of one’s whole vision of the social world” [habitus] may occur (Cross & Naidoo, 2012, p. 228, my addition)). As such, this study is grounded on the theoretical premises of Bourdieusian Theory of Practice, and his theoretical triad: *habitus, capital* and *field*, to sustain and exemplify this overarching argument.

The present chapter comprises four main sections. Opening the discussion, I rationalize the theoretical framework utilized in this study to assist the reader to see analogies between the social reality in the BE pedagogy and the Bourdieu’s theory of practice and its conceptual tools. Next, I theorize the main foci of the present study using Bourdieu’s conceptual triad. I then continue to conceptualize the probable transformation of ethnocentric identities, followed by the chapter conclusion.

3.2 'THEORY OF PRACTICE': THE RATIONALE

The foci of the present study are ethnic group identities of the students of diverse ethnicities who study in the multiethnic BE classroom, and language is the main criteria of their ethnic group categorization, especially between Tamils and Sinhalese. Both identity and language are socially situated. Language delivers no meaning in independent existence but within the society when it is used by social beings (Bourdieu, 1991). As Bourdieu posited proclaimed that the social reality exists both in the context as well as in agents – "in things and in minds, in fields and in habitus, outside and inside of agents" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992. p. 127). According to Bourdieusian perspectives, language and ethnic identity can be considered as the "principles of selection, of inclusion and exclusion [...] it sets up an institutionalized and therefore conscious and organized process of segregation and discrimination" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 162). As such, divided by social constructs such as language, ethnicity, religion these groups may continue to engage in struggles to maintain the positions and homogeneity of their groups that accrue membership symbolic power. Social conflicts are the result of these power struggles.

The present study focuses on exploring the second accomplishment of the BE programme – BE's capacity to create social conditions that may enhance solidarity or cohesion among the students of different ethnicities when they participate in pedagogic activities in multiethnic schools using English Language as a medium of instruction in some subjects in the core curriculum. The task of reconciliation may be achieved, as I perceive, in four main ways. One way may be by providing for social mobility through English proficiency hence creating less likelihood for conflicts. Another may be by facilitating interaction through a more 'neutral' language that may foster egalitarian power relations since no one is a native speaker of English language. Through same way mutual trust can be enhanced since English language acting as a link language may facilitate intergroup interaction, and hence mutual understanding. The fourth may be through a heteroglossic context so that identity boundaries demarcated by languages become blurred and flexible. Nevertheless, in contrast to aims of BE, English Language may discriminate between students who can use it and who cannot. This can create a new 'class' of students irrespective of their ethnolinguistic origins resulting from the prestige attributed to English. The ethnolinguistic social conditions in the BE classrooms may also depend on ways of thinking, perceiving and acting that the

members of BE pedagogic community or students of diverse ethnicities bring with them, which is the main focus of the study. Furthermore, teachers in BE pedagogy may also shape social conditions in the BE classrooms through their institutionally ascribed authoritative powers. For instance, they may legitimate a certain language, or promote certain ways of student interaction through explicit rules imposed in the classroom.

The above discussion illustrates how power hierarchies come into being due to linguistic hierarchies and social groupings based on ethnicity. The multiethnic multilingual BE classroom cannot be exception to such hierarchies. How these existing social structures might transform or perpetuate is pertinent to this study. As such, it is important to situate BE pedagogy as a social structure to dissect the kind of power relations individuals/groups experience and potentially propagate. As McDonough and Nunez emphasize (2007) postulated,

> Bourdieu's theoretical framework brings a focus to the dynamics of everyday life and the subtle ways in which codes of distinction serves as forms of power to dominate individuals based on race and class status group patterns. (p. 142)

This study explored how "codes of distinctions", ethnicity and language, interplay in the multiethnic and multilingual BE social space. It was to see if BE as an arena perpetuates or reproduces exclusionary dispositions or if it provides opportunities for the students and their teachers to transform individual's/group's dispositions towards more inclusive dispositions where respect for pluralism is enhanced, and ethnocentric identities are reshaped towards supraethnic identities.

Therefore, it is pertinent to locate the BE classroom and related phenomena within one framework to have a panoramic view of the dialectic relations between the "socially situated conditions" in the BE pedagogy and the individuals/groups' who inhabit it as students. It is also necessary to locate BE pedagogy as a social structure in broader macro social existences since the consequences essentially are not only the result of interaction of social conditions and agents within the BE pedagogy. These relations are constantly being influenced by outside agents and social situations. The theoretical framework for this study should fulfil these requirements that are to explore relational consequences between the individuals/groups and the social space they occupy and then this social space in relation to wider spaces. Bourdieu's approach to sociology and theoretical concepts therein allows the exploration of these complex dialectic circumstances that are evolving in relation to ethnolinguistic dynamics in the

BE pedagogy. Moreover, Bourdieu's three main 'thinking tools': habitus, capital and field, which I elaborate later, provide a metalanguage to mesh the main constructs or foci of this study together, which help maintain more trustworthiness of my interpretations of the findings of this study, given its qualitative interpretive nature.

In brief, it was deemed that Bourdieu's theory of practice can fulfil these demands due to his explanation of the objective structuring structure of the field, the subjective structure -habitus, and the interplay between them which is determined by amounts and values of capitals at stake in the field. I now embark on more detailed discussion.

3.3 THEORIZING THE FOCI OF THE STUDY

Principally, Bourdieu maintains interaction between structuralist and poststructuralist approaches. He rejects the dichotomy of objective vs. subjective and proposes "...a new view of the social world" which he termed as 'structural constructivism' or 'constructive structuralism' and so doing, highlighted its two-way structured-structuring nature" (Grenfell & Lebaron, 2014 p. 2). Bourdieu's conceptual tools of field, capital and habitus delicately balance the structuralist and poststructuralist continuum. For instance, while habitus – historically acquired predisposed dispositions - represents the structured subjectivity of individual action (agency), the structured and rule governed field represents the objectivity. This amalgam of subjectivist and objectivist departure is analogous to epistemological stance I took at the very beginning of this study with regard to major social construct intended to explore, *viz.,* language and ethnolinguistic identity, that they are socially situated and historically informed. Bourdieu opposes objective reality, and argues that reality is a concept that exists socially in relation to others; hence what is real is relational (Bourdieu, 1998), and so do the social constructs such as language and identity.

Bourdieu's relational thinking informs my analysis of the BE pedagogy. I suggested that no pedagogic enactment in the BE pedagogy is void of macro social realities outside the classroom. Hence, the power relations within the BE pedagogy is not ubiquitous, but they are constantly evolving and recreated socially, culturally and symbolically within the social world resultant from relations between the objective structures (field) and subjective structures (habitus), which are shaped by resources

that individuals possess (capital). In Bourdieu's words, it is pertinent to explore the BE pedagogy as a field that "consists of a set of objectives, historical relations between positions anchored in certain forms of power (or capital)", and ethnic identity as habitus which "consists of a set of historical relations "deposited" within individual bodies in the form of mental and corporeal schemata of perceptions, appreciation, and action" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 16).

Importantly, these three thinking tools; habitus, capital and field, as Bourdieu said, are to be used as "dynamic epistemological matrices...not as mere metaphorical descriptors". And it is highly taken into conscious consideration that "when any single concept is used, an entire theory of practice – structuring structures, etc. – is invoked" (Grenfell, 2013, p. 284). The succeeding discussion does not treat Bourdieu's conceptual tools separately since they are so interconnected. To enhance the readability, I discuss them separately, but there will be overlaps when I engage in holistic analysis of the phenomena of focus using these tools.

The subsequent sub sections conceptualize the phenomena and its foci under investigation and bring the concepts central to the study as a one whole web vividly showing their intersecting correlations and interplay that ultimately locates them within the wider social realities in focus. First I conceptualize ethnic identity as ethnic habitus. This is followed by the conceptualization of the BE pedagogy as a field. Next, I explain social capital and its importance in relation to present study, followed by a discussion on linguistic habitus and linguistic market and symbolic power that the languages carry.

3.3.1 **Habitus**

Neither individual agent nor a social group can escape from struggles in the hierarchically patterned social reality since social order or 'distinction' is inscribed as 'a set of dispositions' in people's minds through socialization which we call here 'habitus' in Bourdieusian form. According to Bourdieu, social reality exists "twice, in things and in mind, in fields and in habitus, outside and inside of agents" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 27). Consequently, any exploration of social reality should explore relations between the habitus and the habitat. Bourdieu (1990b) defines habitus as a

> System of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which

> generate and organize practices and representations that can only be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends. (p.53)

It is these 'sets of dispositions' or *'habitus'* embodied in individuals that play the subjective part. The '*field*' individuals inhabit, governed by different values and weight given to *capital*s, accommodate the objective part or objective structuring and structured structures with which subjective structures are in constant interplay. Such interplay determines individual actions, practice or ways of thinking through a preconscious practical sense. It is "a socialized subjectivity and "the social embodied" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992) and "the dialectic of the internalization of eternality and the externalization of internality (Bourdieu 1977, p. 72, original emphasis). The internalization of social takes place when individual comes to this world through pedagogic work (PW). Firstly, by the exposure to "primary PW" in familial field the primacy habitus is acquired (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, p. 42). This primary habitus is "systems of schemata of perception, appreciation, and action that result from the institution of the social life [of parents] in the body". As Bourdieu said,

> those of the specific logic of strategies which groups, especially families, use to produce and reproduce themselves, that is, to create and perpetuate their unity and thus their existence as groups, which is almost always, and in all societies, the condition of the perpetuation of their position in the social space. (1990a, p.74)

And then through the secondary PW or socialization in schools and other institutions 'secondary habitus' is acquired, or habitus undergoes restructuring in dialectic relations to fields that in turn restructure all our ways of thinking, acting, being in a predisposed manner. However, erasing the histories acquired through primary PW and complete reversibility is not completely possible. The secondary habitus does not happen "ex nihilo" because new inculcations are perceived through previously acquired primary habitus. In other words, "the primary habitus inculcated by primary PW is the basis for the subsequent formation of any other habitus" (ibid, p. 45). The secondary habitus acquired during the socialization also depends on the field's subjective structures that those individuals inhabit, which in turn are shaped by resources or capital at stake in those fields. In this sense, I argue, if the field structures value ethnic and linguistic heterogeneity as a resource or capital the secondary habitus

transformation will take place in dialectic relation to such diversity responsive logic of practices.

3.3.1.1. The ethnic habitus

Building on the grounds of habitus, I understand ethnic habitus as "a way of being habituated state ... a predisposition, tendency, propensity or inclination" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, p. 214 Original emphasis) towards the ethnically diverse others through socialization or internalizing the external. I suggest, ethnic habitus is a system of propensities, inclinations and dispositions for ethnic group memberships, which are historically acquired, now embodied. It is in this way the mechanisms of inclusion of 'us' and exclusions of 'them' in the act of social groupings become predisposed in a preconscious practical sense in individuals (Bourdieu, 1991).

Let me further elaborate this. In the literature review ethnic identity was considered as an aspect of social group identity that is driven by an individual's endowed nature of classificatory schemata in the brain, and the instinctive nature for inclination to belonging to a group as a self-satisfying act (Allport, 1954; Tajfel, 1979). But, these classification criteria are socially constructed. As such, the individuals tend to belong to a group while out-grouping others based on these classifications which are socially constructed such as religion, ethnicity, language, gender. Bourdieu (1984), referring to social psychologists' stance of social grouping, postulated,

> Social identity lies in difference, and difference is asserted against what is closest, which represents the greatest threat. Analysis of stereotyping, the propensity to assume a correspondence between membership of a category [...], so that knowledge of a person's category strongly influences judgements of him, is in line with analysis of that sort of social stereotyping in which all the members of a social formation tend to concur in attributing certain properties to members of the different social classes. (pp. 478-79)

Further, in Bourdieu's perspective, the individuals who belong to a group may have similar ways of seeing, acting, being than that of the out-group members because they may have been exposed to "same conditioning" (Bourdieu 1990b, p. 59). Bourdieu (1977) asserted that

> *it is certain that each member of the same class* [here same ethnic group] *is more likely than any member of another class* [another ethnic group] to have

been confronted with the situations most frequent for members of that class" [ethnicity]. (p.85, my additions and emphasis)

Similarly, I suggest, students who belong to same ethnic group are more likely to acquire similar dispositions towards the ethnic others. Because they are exposed to similar social conditions in their families, and they may acquire similar dispositions that are promoted in those familial fields. For instance, students who are exposed to Tamil parents and relatives may "have been confronted with situations most frequent" of negative attitude towards Sinhalese, and acquired dispositions, inclinations, feelings and ways of acting negatively towards Sinhalese. This, in other words, is their 'primary habitus' acquired in dialectic relations to those monoethnic, and monolingual fields, domestic field in particular. Similarly, Sinhala and Muslim students may acquire the parents' ways of thinking, acting and being. And this may continue in their 'secondary habitus' formation during schooling and then universities or similar socialisation institutions. In this way, students and groups may acquire ethnocentric habitus during their primary and early secondary socialization. Hence, group specific habitus or ethnocentric habitus that favours one ethnic group as Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims against each other is historically acquired, now has become embodied.

The habitus is also "an infinite capacity for generating products – thoughts, perceptions, expressions and actions". However, "limits are set by the *historically and socially situated conditions* of its production" (Bourdieu 1990b, p. 55, my emphasis). Analogously, it is possible that the BE students' ethnic *habitus* may align in dialectic relation to "socially situated conditions" since though habitus is "a product of history, that is of social experiences and education, it may be changed by *history*, that is by new experiences, education and training" (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 45, original emphasis). Briefly, in a social space where multiethnic, multicultural and multilingual conditions are the logic of practice it may be suggested that ethnocentric exclusionary dispositions or ethnocentric habitus may need realigning towards inclusive or supraethnic habitus. What I suggest is not a total transformation into supraethnic habitus which is utopian and not feasible. But if the habitus aligning is a continuum, at one end highly ethnocentric exclusionism and at the other end inclusive supraethnic habitus, what I mean is repositioning towards supraethnic end. It is on these premises that this study is based. Supraethnic habitus, therefore, is considered as non/less ethnocentric inclusive habitus.

3.3.2 **BE pedagogy as a field**

According to Bourdieu (1985) "the social world can be represented as a space" (p. 724). Bourdieu names these social spaces as 'fields'. Similar to a magnetic field they have its internal logic that governs the power game of the *field*. Bourdieu defined *Field* as

> a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation (situs) in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relations to other positions (domination, subordination, homology, etc.). (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992:72-3)

Hence, field, in other words, is a network of historical accumulation with objective positions that are hierarchically situated according to the value and amount of capital that is historically generated and structuring the field. Hence, a field is 'structured', governed by the objective principles that pertain to it (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Different fields exist relationally to each other and are structured according to their purposes of existence and therefore with boundaries. These boundaries can consist of strong wall or be porous which in turn determines the field's autonomy and heteronomy. Thus, the power relations both between and within these fields regulate individuals' behaviours.

It is difficult to clearly define the BE pedagogy in multiethnic schools, or the object of the study under investigation, according to Bourdieusian perspective. Because to clearly define the field that is being investigated I should know the forms of specific capital/s at stake in that field and also its specific logic of practice (Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992), which I am still not aware of. I further elaborate this phenomenon in the next chapter under the sub-title – Construction of the research object. Correspondingly, whether the multiethnic and multilingual BE pedagogy is a relatively autonomous field or sub-field that is governed by the same logic of the practice in MTI classes in schools, and how to demarcate the boundaries is a difficult task. Nevertheless, here I illustrate the possible circumstances. Multiethnic BE pedagogy may have logic of practice or "socially situated conditions" specific to it

because it is different from other MTI classes which are monoethnic and monolingual. However, the BE pedagogy is also structured by the logic of practice of the school it is located. Therefore, both MTI classes and BE classes in multiethnic schools come under the same explicit or legitimate rules and regulations of that particular school. In this sense, the BE pedagogy may not be fully autonomous but a sub-field that is relatively autonomous 'microcosm' *i.e.,* space of objective relations that are of the site of a specific logic, and exists in relation to other microcosms such as the MTI classes located in the wider social microcosm of the particular school. The schools, with specific rules and regulations, visions and missions can also be considered as smaller fields located within the larger field of education in Sri Lanka. On the other hand, BE classroom in multiethnic schools may be different from the rest of the other microcosms surrounding it. Particularly, unlike MTI classes, the social conditions in the BE is multiethnic, multicultural and multilingual. These BE pedagogies require students to work with other ethnicities. The explicit rule is that the BE pedagogy requires to use English as a medium of instruction. To this field, students may come equip with different amounts of language resources that have different values. Moreover, values of the different capitals may change, and even new forms of capital may acquire recognition over time and space. In such a context, field specific power relations may occur. In this sense, BE pedagogy may be conceptualized as a field. As this discussion illustrates, it is difficult to define whether the multiethnic BE pedagogy is an autonomous field with its field specific logic of practice or boundaries.

Moreover, the autonomy that fields enjoy is also relational. The interrelations of positions in relations to positions of other fields are similarly vital since autonomy of a field in relation to other is also tentative. It is the unique sets of rules endemic to a field which makes it relatively autonomous separating from other fields (Bourdieu, 1993). Bourdieu (1993) postulated the degree of autonomy that a field gains through unique sets of rules is critical to the games played within the field. These rules heavily influence individuals on developing their own unique practices in a field while inflicting varied powers based on "capital" they possess, the values of which are in turn determined by logic of practice. Fields and sub-fields are not fixed concepts but relative to other fields that exist simultaneously. The strength of boundaries or insulation determines the autonomy of the field in relation to other "neighbouring or encroaching fields" (Wacquant, 2007, p. 269). McDonough and colleagues (2000)

explained "...fields are structured by their own histories of internal logics, patterns of recruitment, and reward as well as by external demands. [...] where aggregates of actors gain capital, and then those factors influence and eventually change the structures" (p375).

Similarly, the autonomy of the BE pedagogic field may be influenced by interactions between different fields in the universe of spaces. For example, practices in BE pedagogy may be influenced by monolingual pedagogy since they are interconnected within the larger field of school and even beyond since schools are governed by the larger field of education. For instance, the fact that the BE students have a separate physical space that gives them an identity of "students of BE class" also determines the weakness or solidness of the BE pedagogic field. As such this determine the autonomy or heteronomy of the BE field. Consequently, the individuals and /or groups inside a field (for instance, BE pedagogic field) are also influenced by other fields in addition to struggle inside the field. All these realities ultimately result in power struggles among individuals or groups for placements in the social hierarchy, given the fact that the differentiation is based on value of 'capitals' that appear in economic, cultural, social, linguistic and symbolic forms (Bourdieu, 1986, 1991).

3.3.3 **Capital and its forms**

The power individuals/groups have is never symmetrical because power is correlated to resources or wealth that the individuals possess, which Bourdieu defined as 'capital'. Capitals fundamentally determine the game of the social life of individuals and their positions in a given field (Bourdieu, 1986). Originally applied in the discipline of economics by Karl Marx, Bourdieu extended the economic conception of capital and theorized several types of capitals unevenly distributed among individuals and groups in any given field. It enables agents "to appropriate social energy" and produces profits either in identical or expanded forms as sub-types (Bourdieu, 1986. P. 241). Capitals determine powers and hence positions in the given field and in turn perpetuate inequality. It is for the accumulation of capitals that individuals and groups struggle in view of attaining hierarchically existing positions in a field, which results in never ending conflicts as it is with the ethnic groups in Sri Lanka.

Capital is a *vis insita*, a force inscribed in objective or subjective structure, but it is also a *lex insita*, a principle underlying the immanent regularities of the social world.

It is what makes the games of the society (Bourdieu, 1986, p.15). Agents/players may possess capitals as ‘piles of tokens’ (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 99) of different values and struggle to attain more. These capitals have different values in a given field which in turn is structured by other fields in the universe of spaces (i.e., within and outside). As Bourdieu reiterated, “each field simultaneously presupposes and generates a specific form of interest [or capitals, but] incommensurable with those that have currency elsewhere” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 117. my additions). The type and amount of capital decides the positions of individuals or groups in the hierarchically ordered field. This is very relevant to BE pedagogy in terms of linguistic capital. The individuals’ abilities to communicate in different languages may position the individuals in a hierarchical way. Most importantly, as Wacquant (2015) argued, in a new social space “the distribution of socially effective resources or capitals” (p.8) may occur quasi-instantaneously (Bourdieu, 1986). Capitals has capacity “...to reproduce itself in identical or *expanded form*” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 241, my emphasis). For instance, capitals appear in different forms *viz.,* economic, cultural, and social capitals which are usually inter-convertible (Bourdieu, 1995).

Bourdieu (1986) elaborated that economic capital can “immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights”. Individuals may accrue cultural capital unconsciously “to a varying extent, depending on the period, the society, and the social class [or ethnic group]” (Bourdieu, 1986, p.18) without any deliberate inculcation. Cultural capital has three forms: embodied, objectified and institutionalized. Embodied cultural capital is “in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body” (p.17). Colour of the skin, for instance, can be an embodied form recognised by multicultural societies that value inclusivity and diversity. Linguistic capital is also a form of cultural capital that is embodied. The acquisition or ability to use different languages is becoming resourceful that may confer the individual a certain recognition, acceptance and therefore a certain position in a field, like other capitals. The objectified form of cultural capital comes as books, collection of arts, or other tangible goods in possession. Doctoral qualification is an institutionalized form of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Bourdieu talking of social capital said that it is “made up of social obligations (“connections”)” – membership of a certain group that confer credentials.

The individuals' positions in the hierarchically ordered society are determined by the forms of capitals, values given to those capitals and the amounts that the individuals possess. Recognizing a certain capital over another legitimizes can happen as a result of explicit rules by the authority or implicit rule of a field. For instance, recognizing English as a compulsory medium of communication and banning the use of other two linguistic capitals, Sinhala and Tamil in the BE class, is legitimation of English. This confers more power to students who are more competent in English. Yet these powers are invisible and cannot be recognized, also they are misrecognized as 'natural' i.e., it is natural for students competent in English to perform better while those who are not competent to accept their inability or lower positioning. This subtle form of suppression or domination, Bourdieu defines as symbolic capital.

The most important types of capitals for this study are social capital, linguistic capital, and symbolic capital or power, all of which can be convertible to cultural capital. I now discuss these forms of capitals in the ensuing parts.

Social Capital

Bourdieu defined social capital as the

> "aggregate of actual or potential resources which are linked to the possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a 'credential' which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the world" [...] they may also be socially instituted and guaranteed by the application of common name (the name of a family, a class, or a tribe or of a school, a party, [ethnic group] etc.(Bourdieu, 1986: 248 my addition).

Bourdieu defined social capital in a much simpler way in the "Field of Cultural Production as "contacts and group membership, which, through the accumulation of exchanges, obligations, and shared identities, provide actual or potential support and access to valued resources" (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 143). For the purpose of this study I conceptualized social capital as a form of capital that one accrues by being a member of an ethnic group where one has credit. When one has mutual acquaintance only with the members of one ethnic group, she may be recognized as a member of that homogeneous ethnic group. This recognition, as a member of a group, confers social capital on the individuals which is "socially instituted and guaranteed by the

application of the common" names. In the present research context, these common names are Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims - the ethnic groups, a credential which entitles individuals/groups to credit in monoethnic, monolingual social spaces. The other sub-type the recognition and credential is granted for the membership or being mutual acquaintance with members of diverse ethnic groups, the membership in a heterogeneous group inclusive of all members of the ethnic groups. If such a social capital is valued and legitimized in a social space it may facilitate formation of less-ethnocentric or supra-ethnic habitus. If the BE pedagogic space promotes multiethnic inclusive logic of practice the social capital valued in there would be heterogeneous group membership.

Bourdieu added "[t]he profits which accrue from membership in a group are the basis of the solidarity which makes them possible". The profits the students in BE class may accrue are mutual help, cooperation where they require interdependence in achieving educational goals or accrual of cultural capital, which also include linguistic capitals. Moreover, BE students may also earn symbolic capital that is "derived from association with a ... prestigious group of 'English medium students". This shows the effectiveness of the social capital that the students may hold when they recognize each other and work in solidarity in classrooms where their educational goals are achieved. This is,

> [i]n other words the network of relationships [the student might make in multiethnic BE pedagogy] is the product of investment strategies, individual or collective, consciously or unconsciously aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationships that are directly usable in the short term or long term *i.e.,* at transforming contingent relations, [members of the English Medium (BE) class] into relationships that are at once necessary and elective, implying durable obligations subjectively felt (feelings of gratitude, respect, friendship, etc.)" (p. 248)

In the case of BE this may occur "through the alchemy of consecration, the symbolic constitution produced by social institution [institution as fellow BE students] exchange which it encourages and which presupposes and produces mutual knowledge and recognition" (Bourdieu, 1986, 248, my additions).

The linguistic habitus, linguistic capital and linguistic market

As elaborated in Chapter 2, language has been a key dividing instrument that demarcated borders between people of different ethnicities especially as in the case of Sri Lanka. Ethnocentric dispositions or habitus in individuals and groups thus emerged. As discussed in Chapter 2, socio-economic privileges enjoyed by the minority Tamils over majority Sinhalese resulting from access to English language education during the colonial era was a contributing factor in creating division between the two groups. This positioned Sinhalese at a relatively lower place than the minority Tamils who were able to obtain jobs in the public service. This, in other words, is linguistic capital accrued by the Tamil minority provided them with economic capital or material resources which in turn credited them with more symbolic power over the majority Sinhala population. Hence, ethnolinguistic division links not only to linguistic capital, but also the realities of socio-economic competition created by the linguistic market. The linguistic market linked to the material market through the conversion of symbolic resources.

The ethnolinguistically segregated school system was another key factor in alienating different social groups that ultimately made the whole social milieu of the country highly divided along ethnicity and language. In Bourdieusian terms this can be defined as a 'monolingual habitus' formation that can also be defined as a sub-set of ethnocentric habitus. However, what this study seeks to investigate is the recent possible change of this 'monolingual habitus' to a 'bilingual habitus' or a 'heterolingual habitus' in the BE field in multiethnic schools since multiple possibilities may occur in this field.

For Bourdieu "language is connected with, and symptomatic of, an entire cultural attitude, structural relation and lifestyle" and forms "...embodied state of being – *hexis*" (Grenfell, 2011, p.44). Bourdieu (1977) explicated that using language for communication is a socio-political act where 'right to speech' or 'power to impose reception' determines a legitimate (or illegitimate) speaker (p. 651). According to Bourdieu, linguistic ability is a capital and its value depends on the social context in which it is being used - the 'field'. This applies to multilingual BE field as well where different languages with a hierarchy of legitimacies at play, "representing and carrying a whole social dynamic, as well as occulting the processes that constitute it" (Grenfell, 2011, p. 2). In fact, given the importance of language across many fields, Bourdieu

argued that language usage itself constitutes a field and has a specific value with a particular field which he defined as linguistic market. Language, according to Bourdieu, is a form of cultural as well as symbolic capital, and their exchange values may place them hierarchically in a given multilingual linguistic market.

Bourdieu took the stance that any linguistic exchange involves "power relations between speakers or their respective groups" (Bourdieu, 1991, p.37), which is of vital importance to this study.

> On the one hand, there are the socially constructed dispositions of the linguistic habitus, which imply a certain propensity to speak and to say determinate things (the expressive interest) and a certain capacity to speak [...] On the other hand, there are the structures of the linguistic market, which impose themselves as a system of specific sanctions and censorships (ibid, p. 37)

As discussed earlier, Bourdieu defined symbolic power as the power that is invisible and operates in implicit, subtle ways in day-to-day social spaces unlike overt physical force. According to Bourdieu, to operate symbolic power, who are subjected to those powers should 'misrecognize' that such power is 'natural' and hence legitimate, and become complacent with their own destiny. Reiterating the symbolic power that languages carry, Bourdieu talked about relations of symbolic power instead of relations of communication: "in place of symbolic capital, [...] is inseparable from the speaker's position in the social structure" (Bourdieu 1977, p. 646 italics in the original). Because linguistic capital carries symbolic capital, it gives a certain recognition and reputation for one's linguistic capability over the others who are less competent (Bourdieu, 1989). In other words, to explore a linguistic marketplace is to see which language as a *capital* is more accepted, valued and gain more profit within the field, and ultimate effects of such realities for individuals/groups that play in the field.

The speakers of a certain language have a sub-set of habitus i.e., their collective group habitus: a set of dispositions – for example different ethnolinguistic groups in the BE pedagogy field in Sri Lanka. In Sri Lanka these groups are mainly distinguished by their first language i.e., Sinhala and Tamil. Among these groups one group may enjoy symbolic power over the other groups depending on the values ascribed to languages in a particular field, and hence their habitus may predispose them to take

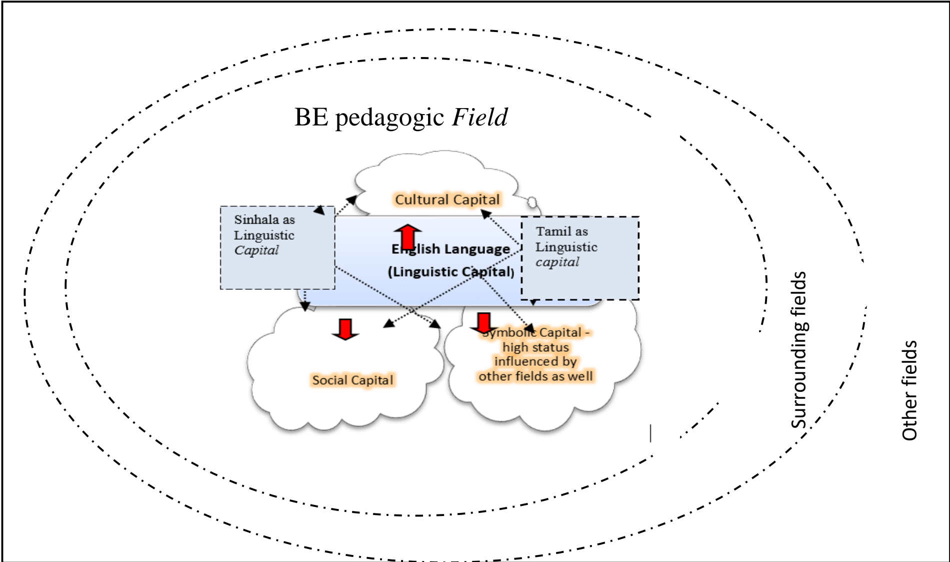
positions of superiority. Moreover, in terms of what languages to be used, a preconscious consensus may achieve in the BE pedagogy - a set of dispositions that a certain community in a field agrees upon. This becomes a part of the BE participants' inner consciousness, which Bourdieu (1984) calls *doxa* resulting from misrecognition or "false belief that society operates on reason and merit and the unquestioning adherence to its order" (Hanks, 2005, p. 72). *Doxa* forms an individual's own judgement of his/her place in a given field and therefore, a feeling of what is possible for him/her. In this manner the individuals and groups give into domination and so doing supports perpetuation of domination by complacent with the act of being dominated (Bourdieu, 1995).

Based on this distinction of language as symbolic power, Bourdieu contended that every linguistic interaction is a reflection of existing social structures of power relations that simultaneously reproduce such structures. This is a very important key premise for this study, and the theoretical underpinnings of other conceptual tools such as identity formation and languaging or act of language use are also based on this premise. This supports the heteroglossic view of language or multiplicity languaging and also the dialectic nature of identity construction. In the literature review it was explained languages are meaning making tools where bilinguals would utilize whatever the tools to achieve their communication targets. It was also explained that when translanguaging or navigating between meaning making tools the boundaries based on ethnolinguistic distinctions would become blurred, and hence ethnolinguistic identities too. There should prevail a heteroglossic environment in the BE pedagogy to enhance cohesion among social groups/individuals that are divided along ethnolinguistic demarcations. This promotes identity negotiations towards a more cohesive society in the BE pedagogy by neutralizing power hierarchies if only certain languages were allowed to use not others. As such, linguistic environment in the BE pedagogy becomes a vital artefact in this study to analyse relations between members of different ethnolinguistic groups that will reflect identity negotiations or habitus transformation in individuals.

Role of linguistic capital

As I have discussed, the existence of heteroglossic environment is a favourable social condition in the BE pedagogic field that promotes supraethnic habitus among students.

In such a context the linguistic market becomes balance since linguistic capital are equally legitimized.' The structures of the '*linguistic market'* in the BE class may also "...impose themselves as a system of specific sanctions and censorships" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 37). As I reiterated, the role played by the English Language in the BE pedagogic *field* in multiethnic schools tend to be multifaceted, contributing to develop a new *habitus* in conflictual ways. For instance, communication skills required by the neoliberal market demands together with its 'elitism' resulting from the British imperial past automatically endow English Language with the highest *capital* value as explained in the literature review. Furthermore, its convertibility to other capitals also gives it a high symbolic value as depicted and described below. Therefore, it may act as a status marker and hence unequal distribution of symbolic power. Conversely, it may also act as a 'tool of reconciliation' by linking ethnolinguistically divided social groups and neutralizing tensions arising from the competing nature of Sinhala and Tamil as depicted in the Figure 3.1.



3.1 Linguistic capitals in the BE pedagogy in Sri Lanka

As illustrated in the diagram, in the multiethnic BE pedagogy English, Sinhala and Tamil may act as resources or capitals for different students. These linguistic capitals are interconvertible to cultural, symbolic and social capital all of which ultimately will enhance accumulation of economic capital, as I discuss soon. The capital values or exchange rates of these different linguistic capital may be shaped not only by the practices and forces inside the BE pedagogy. Recognition, acceptance and use of these

languages may change over time when students improve their ability to use these languages or amount of capital they possess. Therefore, individuals will shape existing BE linguistic milieu or social structures and also shaped by the evolving landscape. Then, the structures of the BE themselves will be the "social logic organized around struggles for capital" (McDonough & Nunez, 2007, p. 144). For instance, in the field of BE pedagogy in multiethnic schools, teachers by their position have legitimate institutionalized power entrusted to them. And teachers' ideologies about languages or predispositions may shape their position. Furthermore, socio-political and economic fields outside the BE pedagogic field will also have impact on languages used inside BE pedagogy. For instance, English as a dominant global language would outweigh the other languages even if the teacher opts to equal treatment for both minority and majority languages.

Convertibility of linguistic capitals

Language as social capital – English Language may act as a link language between different ethnolinguistic groups and hence may enhance intergroup communication/interaction. This may make them acquaint with each other and act as a new resource that facilitates completion of their educational goals. This is in other words is accumulation of social capital. As discussed in the literature review the use of English may also create neutrality between the two contesting languages. In the event of Tamil students being able to speak Sinhala, as usually the case in multiethnic areas in Sri Lanka, it may be taken by the Sinhala students as a mark of respect that may create better recognition and acquaintance between the two communities, Tamil speaking and Sinhala speaking, and therefore these languages may facilitate accrual of social capital. Given the prevailing context it is mostly unanticipated that Sinhala students speak Tamil.

Languages as cultural capital – Languages can be taken as both embodied and institutionalized. They are institutionalized cultural capitals in the form of educational qualifications because passing these subjects in the public examinations in the school system is compulsory. Furthermore, English is the legitimized language in teaching/learning process, and academic success depends on English. Other two languages are also important in academic success in the subjects done in MT. The

embodied form of it - the way of pronouncing, way of articulating may also bring individuals either prestige or denigration.

Languages as economic capital – Acquisition of all the above capitals can contribute to economic capital and becomes resources which are required by other fields such as higher education and employment. Especially, in employment market having better English is having better career prospects. Furthermore, the other two languages are also valued languages within Sri Lanka. Hence, knowing more languages may bring more currency to individuals. Trilingual individuals will have better positioning not only in the employment market but also in the society at large.

Languages as symbolic capital – The importance of linguistic capital is already evident in its capacity of convertibility to other capitals, which accrue a value that earn recognition, respectability. Figure 3.1 shows that in the multiethnic BE pedagogy many languages may exist parallel to each other. However, they could have different values in the field. Also, students of diverse ethnicities may come to BE field with varying amounts of these linguistic capitals. For example, some may be already bilinguals who can communicate in English and MT, or some may even be trilingual who could communicate in all three languages. Furthermore, depending on explicit and/or implicit rules these languages may have different recognition or values and so they carry different symbolic capital/power. As the language spoken by the majority of Sri Lankans, Sinhala may have more recognition and symbolic value over Tamil. This confers more symbolic power to students who can speak Sinhala over those who cannot which may occur even among the Tamil speaking students. Furthermore, being able to speak in one's own mother tongue is also one of the most valued cultural capitals in an ethnic group which in turn confer the speakers with symbolic capital. On the other hand, as discussed in the literature review, English possesses more capital value. Being an elite language it is prestigious and brings status, respect and honour influenced by the requirements both inside and outside the BE field -English as a Medium of Instruction, employment, higher education, and communication. The value that English as a capital has not emerged from the BE pedagogy itself but it is the result of wider social spaces where English has been accrued more value as a language of international communication. Within these wider social contexts English acquires dominant status and hence those who possess it are endowed with more access to power and control over others who do not possess it. In this backdrop, English

language/s becomes symbolic capital that provides power and status for individuals to dominate those who do not have that much of capital (here proficiency). Conversely, when English gains legitimacy in the BE class the other two languages may become less regarded and so does symbolic power inequalities originate from them if they were the legitimate languages. Such a situation may result in shifting the exiting exclusionary ethnocentric habitus towards inclusive supraethnic habitus.

The recognition of utterances and the authority to speak such utterances are governed by linguistic system that is authorized in the BE pedagogy by virtue of regulations either formal or informal, the objective structures of the field. As such, who has the authority to speak would be determined by who can speak the legitimate linguistic system/s in the BE. Also, this legitimacy may not be static in the field but may be impacted by surrounding fields such as the school where BE pedagogy is located. For instance, even when BE students change fields *i.e.,* when they go to MTI classes to do subjects the most legitimate linguistic capital there is the mother tongue in contrast to English being the most legitimate in the BE pedagogy. And such circumstances may perpetuate existing symbolic power of a linguistic capital and its users that result in frustration among others and hence division. As such, the BE pedagogic field appears to be in a state of flux, riddled with tensions from multiple quarters and as are its inhabitants (players). I would like to conclude this part of discussion by citing Thompson (1995) who explains the following in writing editor's note to Bourdieu's *Language and Symbolic Power* (1991),

> efficacy of the performative utterance presupposes a set of social relations, an institution (which endow individuals with power and status and authority), by virtue of which a particular individual, who is authorized to speak and recognized as such by others, is able to speak in a way that others will regard as acceptable in the circumstances. (p. 9)

As such, in the multiethnic BE pedagogic field where multiple languages have varying legitimacies, given the assigned values to them in the linguistic market both inside and outside, the effects of such existences especially on building up collective conscience between groups are debatable.

Linguistic capital and symbolic violence - Given the fact that different languages have varying symbolic capital values, those who possess them in varying amounts may also enjoy varying symbolic power. For instance, those who possess

more symbolic capital may enjoy more symbolic power over those who do have less. For instance, if English becomes the most valued linguistic capital in the BE classroom those who possess it more will have the legitimate power to be heard. Conversely, those who do not possess or have less amounts of English linguistic capital may have to give into silence or to become least heard. They may become complacent that it is natural that they are not to be heard so that they give in to symbolic violence - "the violence which is exercised upon a social agent with his or her complicity" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), which is subtler than corporal violence, an unconscious mode of subjugation. In sum, what is important here is that in such a context of symbolic domination it is doubtful that a collective group conscience may develop. Conversely, if a heteroglossic linguistic landscape prevails in the BE classroom where all linguistic capitals may have equal symbolic values it might generate [at least] "an illusion of linguistic communism" (Thompson, 1995), and reduce symbolic violence. This might promote more collective group conscience among the students.

3.3.4 **The interplay between field, habitus and capitals**

There is continuous interplay between field, habitus and capitals. A change in one aspect changes all other aspects. For example, capitals and their associated values can change as result of struggles inside the field and also universe of fields. In Bourdieu's view, all of us are busily participating in a struggle in competing favourable positions within fields, "a locus of struggles" (Bourdieu, 1977,) by accumulating and using 'capitals' that are asymmetrical in power and unequally distributed. According to Bourdieusian perspectives, in such battles, our actions are shaped by 'habitus' or sets of dispositions enmeshed in us as a result of past, present and imagined future experiences, on which I will elaborate later. Our day-to-day actions can be preconscious and we act almost in a predetermined manner because the sets of historically accumulated dispositions (habitus) that determine actions are so much embedded and ingrained in us that they become part of our bodies or flesh and blood. What is most important in a Bourdieusian explanation is that even though individuals' strategic struggle is for their own advancement, the struggle is impinged by existing notions of social structures or an existing set of dispositions within them and objective structures in the field they inhabit. Thus, all who inhabit a field may be "united by habitus pursuing parallel strategies toward similar, but not collective ends" (DiMggio, 1979 cited in McDnough & Nunez, 2007). In this way the individuals' practices or

actions become the sum of interplay between habitus, capital and field as expressed by Bourdieu (1984, p. 101). The relational nature between habitus, capital, field, and how these relations are reflected through individual practices or actions are shown in the equation below.

[(habitus) (capital) + field] = practice

Consequently, the inter-relationship of positions in a particular field is vital in analysing a field. This is particularly true to this study. The inter-group contacts and relations in the BE pedagogy, and how these relations are facilitated or constrained by the dispositions that the students bring to BE pedagogy, and how these aspects undergone change in dialectic relation to each other become vital aspects.

3.4 CONCEPTUALIZING PROBABLE TRANSFORMATION

Habitus is a set of "durable, transposable dispositions" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 72). However, it is not immutable and undergoes never ending realignments in relations to the logic of practice that the agents pass through.

Referring to Bourdieu's field theory, Wacquant (2005) posits "...society becomes deposited in persons in the form of lasting dispositions, or trained capacities and structured propensities to think, feel and act in determinant ways, which then guide them" (p. 316) and constantly changed and (re)legitimized through interaction between agency of individuals and structure. Bourdieu (1990b) speculated that habitus is "an infinite capacity for generating products – thoughts, perceptions, expressions and actions" yet its "*limits are set by the historically and socially situated conditions* of its production" (p. 55, my emphasis). As such, it is of vital importance to examine these "socially situated conditions" or internal logic of practices specific to BE classroom field or the "rules of the game" that enabled the transformation of students' ethnolinguistic habitus.

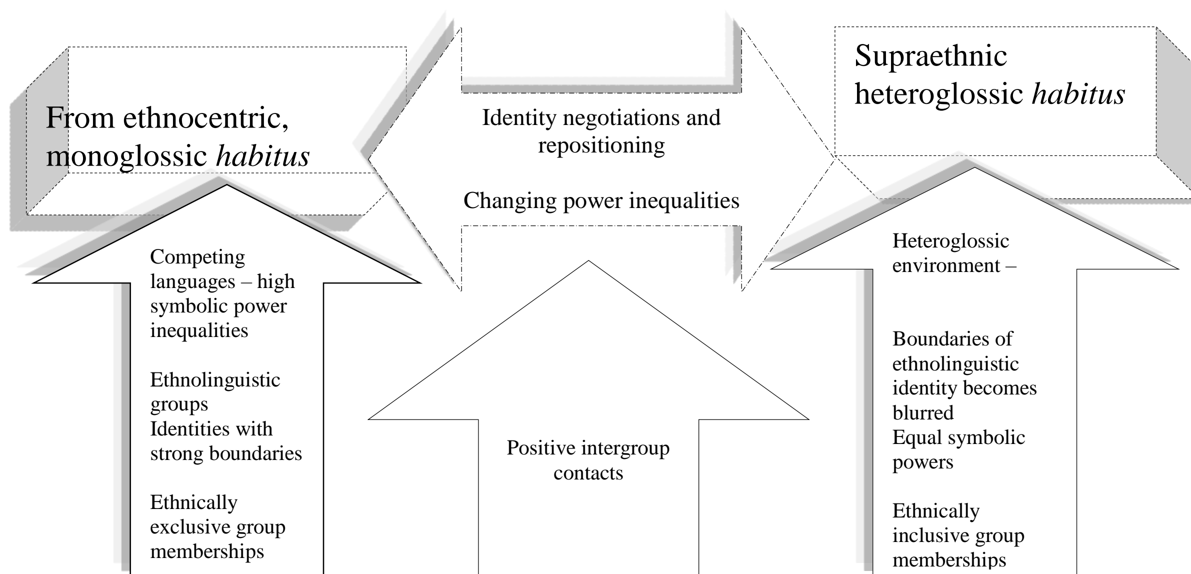
According to Bourdieusian theory of practice *habitus* is shaped by past and present experiences yet reshaped by *habitus* itself and the social conditions that individuals face. In brief, it is the result of interface between individual sense and social conditions that influence identity positioning or *habitus* evolution. If so, the ways of viewing the world as a particular ethnolinguistic group may also be reshaped by evolving dispositions as a result of new social conditions experienced by individuals in the BE class. In other words, *habitus* regulates thinking or feeling of

individuals and creates more legitimate dispositions suitable to a particular context (*field*). If so, the dispositions resulting from the socialization process in the past that may be more ethnocentric in a country divided by ethno based conflict might become illegitimate, irrelevant in the present plural social context (here BE pedagogy as a *field*). Therefore, such previous dispositions may be transformed into more 'isomorphic *habitus*' which is more pluralistic '*habitus*' with shared or collective group *habitus* (collective of all ethnolinguistic groups). This is because what is accepted as legitimate in the new BE *field* is this isomorphic *habitus* with shared or collective group *habitus* based on diversity (collective of all ethnolinguistic groups (Bourdieu, 1998). In Bourdieusian sense, this occurs because the "social reality exists....in fields and in habitus, outside and inside of agents. And when habitus encounters a social world of which it is the product, it is like a fish in water: it does not feel the weight of the world" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992. P.127). In contrast, when 'inside' does not resonate with the 'outside', habitus and field need realigning in synchronization with each other so that individuals feel like "fish in water".

The underlying argument for possible transformation of ethnocentric habitus is as follows. Just as the formation of ethnocentric habitus that "…accounts for the unity of style which unites the practices and goods of a single agent or class of agents [here ethnic groups]", [...] with "unifying principles which retranslate the intrinsic and relational characteristics of a position into a unitary set of choices of persons, goods, practices" (Bourdieu, 1998, p.8), this may be reversed by the BE pedagogic multiethnic, multilingual and multicultural logic of practices. This happens due to existing "disunity of style" between the ethnocentric habitus and the practices within the BE pedagogy. And therefore, to achieve the "unity of style" and a new "class", in here - a new social group that is inclusive of all ethnicities may emerge. In other words, when the agents who are with ethnocentric dispositions feel like they are "fish out of water" in the multiethnic BE pedagogy at a practical sense they feel the need to become "fish in water".

There is also a possibility, according to Bourdieu, that an individual may also self-exclude from the field. But in the context of this study the individuals may not have the 'privilege' to do so. Because it is not because of their 'choice' or agency that they feel to become congruent with BE field's logic of practice. But, to become synchronized with the BE field is felt at unconscious practical level in the game of

achieving their future educational goals. It is in this way that the possible transformation may occur. However, it also cannot be total transformation from ethnocentric habitus to supraethnic habitus. As said earlier too, the ethnic habitus or ethnic identity is considered as a continuum in this study. I argue transformation is the realigning of ethnic habitus towards the supraethnic habitus away from ethnocentrism, when habitus interplays with the new multiethnic BE field, as depicted in the following diagram, Figure 3.2.



3.2 Potential transformation of ethnic habitus

3.4.1 **What are "socially situated conditions" in ethnocentric habitus transformation**

Bourdieu's theory establishes the phenomenon that the habitus transformation occurs in dialectic relation to "socially situation conditions" or the subjective structures of the field that the individuals pass through. However, Bourdieu does not define what these "socially situated conditions" are. In fact, it is up to the researchers who investigate a social phenomenon to explore what these situated conditions are. As discussed in the literature review and illustrated in the above diagram, how languages are legitimated in the BE classrooms, how they are perceived and used by the students of diverse ethnic groups, whose inclusion and exclusion is determined by languages, may determine the restructuring of the "socially situated conditions" or objective structures of the BE pedagogy, and thereby students' ethnic habitus. This takes time. In this regard, Allport (1954) asserted that biases between the conflicting groups may reduce

when they have ***constant positive contacts*** with each other under several social conditions. Through his widely recognized empirical research he introduced four optimal conditions for these "positive" contacts. They are equal status between groups, achieving common goals together, cooperation between groups and institutional support. As such, to guide my research instruments or to delimit my focus during data collection I adopt Allport's (1954) four positive optimal conditions for intergroup relations. This is further discussed in Chapter 4.

3.5. CHAPTER CONCLUSION

The present study is particularly interested in examining whether and how individuals may change from ethnocentric habitus to a supraethnic habitus when they are in contact while trying to achieve common goals as one community in the BE teaching/learning process. The impact of this habitus change may yield varied results still depending on dynamic interplay between agency and power acting within and outside individuals - forces internal yet impacted by external – sources external yet impacted by internal. Moreover, I described that existing habitus or dispositions enmeshed in individuals as a result of past, present and future (imagine) would shape their present actions and practices.

The study also explores how available linguistic repertoires in the BE pedagogic field would be utilized by its agents as a one community, and how these language practices would impact on ethnolinguistic identities of individuals and groups, and vice versa. Officially, BE pedagogic field's aim is to facilitate democratic pluralistic language use or transglossic approach where students and teachers effortlessly shuttle between languages. I theorized BE pedagogy as a linguistic market and languaging/translanguaging that may occur within this market will be determined by capital values that reflect symbolic power and symbolic violence, drawing on Bourdieu's theory of practice. BE pedagogy is an investment to accumulate English linguistic capital which is convertible to other capitals through offering better positions in the employment market and the higher education sector as envisioned in the 'policy' level document as the very reason for implementing it. In this sense, English may become a link and also a neutral ground between the two competing linguistic communities, the Sinhala and Tamil people, reducing ethnocentric dispositions. On the other hand, if the BE pedagogic field's logic of practice becomes heteroglossic it

may ascribe similar symbolic capital values for these two competing languages. All these contribute to positive constant contacts among the students of diverse ethnicities.

In brief, the theoretical framework is to support answering the question how the practices in BE pedagogy in multiethnic school interplay with students' ethnolinguistic identity positioning when they shuttle between different habitus within the pedagogy and outside – shifting from monolingual pedagogy to a multilingual pedagogy when they study different subjects (some in English and some in mother tongue) – how would navigation between habitus – home and BE pedagogy impact their ethnolinguistic habitus. The findings will help understand individuals' affiliation to own ethnolinguistic group and positioning of the 'other', which are the foci of the present study. Of particular interest are the following overarching questions:

- What internal logic of practices exists in relation to student interethnic relations in the BE classroom field?
- What subjective structuring structured structures with regard to ethnic others (ethnolinguistic habitus) are sensed and practiced by students: are they towards ethnocentrism or supra-ethnicity?
- How do the agents/groups of different ethnolinguistic habitus accrete social capital (mutual acquaintance and recognition) that contributes to unlearning of ethnocentric habitus?
- How are different linguistic capitals legitimized and recognised with values in BE field?
- How does the linguistic market in BE field influence agents' ethnolinguistic habitus or accretion of social capital (and other capitals); who acquires symbolic capital and power as a result?

With these overarching questions in mind, in Chapter 4 I discuss the particular research questions that guided the study, the methodology, the data collection methods and the analytical tools that are based on the theoretical framework outlined above.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I provide a detailed rationale for the ethnographically-informed design and methodology/research design of this study framed through Bourdieu. I begin with a discussion of how Bourdieusian conceptual tools are utilized to define the object of the study, and my positionality as the researcher via "participant objectification" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). I discuss how such utilizations facilitate a new methodological basis for critical analysis of social realities by captivating 'a new gaze', "which unveils, unmasks, brings to light what is hidden" (Bourdieu, 2004, p.4). Such a stance unravels underlying structures and their relational interplay between objectivity and subjectivity, repelling "epistemological innocence" (Bourdieu, 1998; 2004). This methodological position aligns with the theoretical tools used in analysis, providing enhanced internal logic to this research project.

It will be recalled from Chapter 1 that the overarching interest of this study is to investigate how multiethnic bilingual education (English and Mother Tongue) classroom practices in Sri Lanka shape the ethnolinguistic identity orientations of Sinhala, Tamil and Muslim students who study together in these multiethnic BE classrooms. The central research question that guided this study is:

- *What and how ethnic group re/orientations take place among the ethnically diverse students when they study together in the multiethnic BE classrooms in Sri Lanka?*

To answer this primary question, this study investigated the following sub-questions.

1. What feelings, perceptions and dispositions towards ethnically diverse "others" do students have before and after joining the multiethnic BE classrooms?
2. How do the overall environment and practices in the multiethnic BE classroom shape ethnic identity orientations of students?
3. How do languages in the multiethnic BE pedagogy shape the ethnic identity orientations of the students?

This chapter outlines how the study was conducted in order to address these research questions with rigour and integrity. The chapter is organised as follows. First, I present the rationale for my epistemological and ontological stances and consequently the methodological approach I adopted in this study in 4.2. Then, I discuss the research design: the construction of the research object; participant objectivation; the participants involved; the research sites; data collection procedures, tools or methods and rationale; instruments, artefacts and the rationale for using different data through instruments in 4.3. Next, I explain the analysis procedures in 4.4. Finally, ethical considerations and the management of trustworthiness are discussed in 4.5 and 4.6 respectively followed by chapter conclusion in 4.7.

4.2 TAKING A STANCE: RESEARCH PARADIGM AND APPROACH

Among major paradigms, choosing a methodological approach for a social inquiry involves taking an ontological and epistemological stance consequently leading to an axiological standpoint. It is important to articulate the paradigmatic stance for the present study that not only guided my thinking, assumptions and actions throughout but also reflected the self-reflexivity that I tried to maintain throughout the study, whilst recognizing my human limitations as a researcher pursuing 'reality".

This thesis reports a research that took a methodological stance of qualitative interpretivist approach, yet through a new philosophical gaze - structural constructivism'. Mertens (2014) discussed four aspects that clarify a qualitative researchers' world view towards the phenomena under their study: ontological, epistemological, methodological and axiological stances. These stances respectively relate to the nature of reality – is there an objective reality or if the reality is subjective; the nature of knowledge – is reality objective and generalizable and what is the relationship between the knower and the would-be known; to how the knower obtains the desired knowledge and understanding; and to the nature of ethics. In contrast to structuralist objectivism that believe in objective reality, the subjectivism or social constructivist qualitative methodological approach holds that realities are subjective since they are socially constructed by the actors in a social space (Creswell, 2014b; Mertens, 2014). This stance emphasizes the individual agency in constructing social worlds or society– "an emergent product of the decisions, actions, and cognitions of conscious alert individuals to whom the world is given as immediately familiar and

meaningful" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 9). My stance in this study does not premise only on constructivism; it goes beyond mere constructivism. I take the Bourdieusian epistemological and ontological stance -'structural constructivism' or 'constructive structuralism' (Grenfell & Lebaron, 2014, p.2). Accordingly, my ontological stance did not fall into a subjective vs. objective dichotomy of reality, which Bourdieu (1990) declared as 'most ruinous' in analysing social realities. Following Bourdieu, I took an ontological stance that reality is the dialectic of objective structures in a field (social) and the subjective structures (habitus) of the agents who occupy that field. My intention was to look at the foci of the study, the dialectic of the objective structures of the BE pedagogic field and the subjective structures (habitus) of the BE students from different perspectives (cf. Mertens, 2014), through both emic and etic perspectives. Because, epistemologically, this thesis looks at multiple realities or knowledge jointly constructed by the participants and by myself as the interpreter and reporter of these realities and therefore essentially requires participant objectivation (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Accordingly, I embarked on an ethnographically-informed qualitative inquiry that enabled me to obtain holistic (Merriam, 2009) and open-ended perspectives (Geertz, 1973) in order to understand foci of the present study which are dynamic and socially occurring. This was to establish a new gaze in an unexpected manner, in line with Bourdieusian theory. Such an enterprise aligns with Bourdieu's (1991) structural constructivism, as discussed below.

4.2.1 **Structural constructivism' or 'constructive structuralism'**

According to Bourdieu, exploring a social space such as BE field is to uncover structures that constitute it and mechanisms that "ensure the reproduction or transformation" of such structures. These structures are bidimensional or they exist twice – "objectivity in the first order" constituted by species of capitals that is 'field'; and "objectivity in the second order" as "mental and bodily schemata that function as symbolic templates for the practical activities – conduct, thoughts, feelings, and judgments – of social agents" that is habitus (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 7).

Different *habituses* (Blommaert, 2015), or subjective dispositions of the agents, who inhabit a *field,* are relational and trans-contextual in a possibly conflicting and always evolving status. Moreover, predisposed objective structures such as hierarchy

of positions within the *field* are also evolving, impacted by other evolving *field*s outside as well as by practices within. The explanation of such processes necessitates Bourdieu's (1992) "new view of the social world" or metanoia (Grenfell, 2010b, p. 88) that goes beyond the subjectivity *vs.* objectivity debate. This new gaze considers "...a *two-way structured-structuring nature"* (Grenfell & Lebaron, 2014, p. 2) of generative and generating social realities. Bourdieu names this new gaze as 'structural constructivism' or 'constructive structuralism' (Grenfell & Lebaron, 2014, p.2). I take the same epistemological and ontological stance for my study in order to explore how students' ethnolinguistic identities – subjective structuring structures - realign in relation to practices of the BE pedagogy – objective structuring structures.

'Constructive structuralism' sees objective structures in a *field* and historically and socially acquired subjective dispositions of agents or *habitus*: "...structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures" (Bourdieu, 1977, p.72; 1990, p.53), together creating and recreating practices or social realities or what we perceive as 'reality'. This is homologous to relation between 'agency' and 'structure' (Grenfell, 2010; Barker, 2005); both are predisposed and determine practices. In other words, this study's stance posits that actions are the products of the relational existence of predisposed mental structures that predetermine predisposed personal choices and the seemingly objective social structures/principles that guide, constrain and determine personal choice.

In this study, I have explored practices in the BE pedagogic *field* - the interplay between *habitus* and *field* that is both structured and structuring (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992*)*. A *field* is constrained and hence structured within due to power operations within the *field*. These in turn are decided by the power of positions which are constrained by legitimacies and values acquired by *capital*. Such a *field* is autonomous (internally structured) due to internal principles. A field is also simultaneously non-autonomous, in that it is influenced by both *habitus* inside and other related *field*s outside or overlapping. This phenomenon of autonomy and heteronomy can be explained in two ways in relation to the present study. On the one hand, within the BE pedagogic *field* I analysed how *habitus*, the subjective structures, interplay with the BE pedagogic *field*'s 'objective structuring structure'; because *habitus* is moulded by both socio-historical dispositions and the specific locale (here the BE pedagogic *field*) within which these socio-historical dispositions operate. On

the other hand is the matter of what objective structures shaped the habitus, which is also impinged by larger social structures or *field*s outside the BE pedagogy. This was my ontological stance – recognizing the dialectic nature of social realities and their relational existences.

4.2.2 **Ethnographically-informed qualitative approach to align with Bourdieu**

Subsequent to the adoption of such a philosophical stance, I preferred to utilize an ethnographically informed qualitative methodological approach. Ethnographically informed approach is needed to solve the problem of unpredictability in relation to what is observed due to the mobility and complexity that characterize a sociolinguistics of globalization (Blommaert, 2015). Following my ontological and epistemological stance, I assumed that multiple realities should be understood through lived experiences from the point of view of those who live. Because "the viewpoints of agents will vary systematically with the point [position] they occupy in objective social space (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p.11, my addition). Accordingly, this study used various sources of information from various participants, elicited from various types of instruments over time and contexts so as to provide a panoramic view of a social phenomenon, to provide a "detailed portrait" "of the culture sharing group" […] with its setting, and to "explore themes and issues that develop over time as the group interact" (Creswell, 2014, p. 35).

I consider this to be a suitable approach to the description, analysis and interpretation of the ethnolinguistic identity negotiations of multiethnic students in the context of a multiethnic BE pedagogy, which was further strengthened by use of Bourdieusian theoretical framework and his conceptual tools for interpretation. This allowed me to present a 'balanced' representation of views of different perspectives on the phenomena and their relationships to wider social structures, while being as reflexive as possible. In brief, the qualitative approach enabled me to "examine the ways in which the social processes that are evident in the subject group are mediated by structural relations" (Madison, 2004, p. 6), which was the requirement of this study.

This approach in turn called for the adoption of a reflexive sociological stance (cf. Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). VanderStoep and Johnston (2008) claimed that "[t]he ethnographer sees the practices of a culture as reflections of the cultural past, performances of the cultural present, and directions for cultural change and growth"

(p. 201). Conquergood (1991) in discussing ethnography, stressed the significance of the bodily participation of the ethnographer, hence of "an embodied practice" where "the embodied researcher is the instrument" (180). If I reword this approach from a Bourdieusian perspective, I can speak of the researcher becoming a player in the field, developing a feel for the game. It is "...to think not only realistically and correctly about them [participants], but, what is more important, creatively and imaginatively with them" (Geertz, 1973, p. 23). This then leads to recognition of the dialogical nature of knowledge or data; and suggests both the political and pedagogical nature: exploring and identifying what is and what could be. Consequently, the researcher's stance automatically becomes a critical point of view, and aligns with Bourdieu's theory of practice. The aim in both is to elucidate the underlying symbolic meanings of social practices, which in turn are reflections of past, present and future social realities and agents. An ethnographically informed qualitative approach aligned with the Bourdieusian thinking tools of *field, habitus, capital* - to provide the lens to capture the "new gaze'' of this study.

1. to describe both the object of the study which requires "common language which can both describe and capture the dynamic nature of social life and its interactions" (Creese, 2008, p.237);
2. to relate micro-level trends to macro social existences or "broader social trends and theories" (Creese, 2008), that enables researchers to go beyond current possibilities within conventional divisions of research paradigms and approaches to analysis and interpretation and to find new approaches to interpret new knowledge (Grenfell & Lebaron, 2014);
3. to bring together epistemological and methodological differences in relation to structuralist and poststructuralist dichotomies (such as linguistics and ethnography), which can be enabled via Bourdieu's 'structural constructivism' or 'constructive structuralism' (Grenfell & Lebaron, 2014 p. 2) as explained previously.

4.3 RESEARCH DESIGN: BOURDIEUSIAN APPROACH

In this section, I explain how the theoretical framework, explained in Chapter 3, informed the research design. I also explain the research design itself in detail including data collection strategies, research sites, participants, approaches to data

analysis, and interpretation procedures. A study that takes a Bourdieusian approach to research methodology entails three contemporaneous steps: the construction of the research object or field, participant objectivation, and analysis which by nature is relational in a Bourdieusian approach.

4.3.1 **Construction of the research object**

Construction of the research object involves clearly defining the object of the study: "the constitution of 'socially significant objects' into 'scientific objects' in its relational existence. This also means identifying the *field* under investigation in order to establish relations between theory and practice (Grenfell & Lebaron, 2014), or how the theoretical stance resonates with the empirical. For instance, the very term I use in my research title, "ethnolinguistic identities", bears value, being itself a social and historic construct. Moreover, it is an essentialized demographic term which in fact runs counter to my epistemological stance. When I used these words or concepts, it was in a sense taking them as given, or normalising them. It is important to note here that 'scientific' research cannot take things for granted. Yet, at the same time this is the dilemma of a researcher who seeks to critically look at a certain social issue. For instance, as Cross and Naidoo (2012) argue, when I use institutionalised 'categories' such as ethnicity, language in this study I am caught in a bind- "working with and working against" (p. 230).

As Grenfell and Leboron (2014) point out, "... the most innocent word can carry within it a whole set of un-objectified assumptions, interests, and meanings which confuse the reality of representation with the representation of reality" (p. 23). To break from such pre-givens, I used Bourdieusian conceptual tools to redefine my object of the study -BE - as a *field*. The reconciliation of the antinomy between objectivism and subjectivism embedded in a Bourdieusian approach also contributed to breaking from the pre-given.

According to Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) "...in order to construct a *field,* one must identify the forms of specific *capital*s that operate in it, and to construct the forms of specific *capital* one must know the specific logic of the *field.* There is an endless to and from movement in the research process..." (p. 108), since *capital*, *habitus* and *field* are relational and ever changing. This was evident in this study since it was through the data that a new sub-type of capital was found, which shaped both subjective

structures and objective structures in the BE pedagogic field, as noticeable in the following data analysis chapters. This shows that during the whole process of the study I was still trying to construct the real object of study. The actual object was neither the BE field nor the students, but it was the relations between those two entities. Succinctly, this study essentially sought to explore the relational interplay between individuals' subjective dispositions (*habitus*) and objectively structured structures – the *field* - which were even structuring during the study.

4.3.2 **Participant objectivation: Researcher subjectivity and reflexivity**

The knowledge I produced along with the participants through this thesis is socially-situated and interest-laden. As Grenfell (2013) reiterated, "what is signified is carried in the signifier "transformed and transubstantiated" into a socially relative meaning" (p. 282). Nevertheless, it is a researcher's responsibility to minimise this process. To this end, Bourdieu (1998) called for "...not only the objectivation of the object of study but also [...] the objectivation of the objectifier and his gaze, of the researcher who occupies a position in the world he describes" (p. 784). Madison (2012) advised researchers who "stand in as the transmitter of information and the skilled interpreter in both presenting and representing the lives and stories of others" (p.4) to be conscious of their own 'politics of positionality' by "turning back". Madison argues, "[w]hen we turn back, we are accountable for own research paradigms, our own positions of authority, and our own moral responsibility relative to representation and interpretation" (p.7).

However, Bourdieu's approach to reflexive sociology or participant objectivation goes beyond mere reflexive practice. He criticised the act of "reflective thinking" or thinking about thinking. This is because one's thinking cannot escape from predisposed positions, for "these presuppositions are unconscious, implied and occluded in the very nature of thought itself" (Grenfell & Labaron, 2014, p.31). Therefore, it is not the practical sense of 'thinking back' but, he asserted, an "epistemological necessity" required by the researcher. The solution that Bourdieu argued for is for the researcher to analyse their research stance and position in terms of the conceptual tools: *habitus, field* and *capital* (Bourdieu, 2007). This, according to Bourdieu, is one way of admitting the limits of scholarly work itself – to recognize scholastic fallacy. As a researcher, I need to objectify myself in order to acknowledge

that my thinking, my actions and the conclusions I draw from the study are limited. Dispositions embodied in me, or my habitus as a Sri Lankan, Sinhalese, as a teacher/lecturer, researcher, mother, and the many other roles I play, constrain my actions, my ways of thinking, my conceptualizations and my interpretations of the data. Moreover, my ways of thinking and acting are constrained by the objective structures of the context. Consequently, I was aware that what I could do was attempt to present a representation of these 'relations', as representatively as possible. Such an attempt required me to take a position, which in turn is affected by my habitus and my position in the field being investigated in this study. If such researcher reflexivity is applied, I understand that "[T]he resulting theorization is [was] therefore contingent, not a personal account, but a partial view of the social phenomenon shaped by the researcher's [my] point of view" (Hardy, 2014, p. 240-241).

For instance, I could not forget the impact of my own habitus when generating new knowledge impacted by and impacting my own dispositions acquired through socialization. I tried to be reflexive - not to act, see and be in a pre-reflexive practical sense or not to see things in a "taken for granted" manner. I tried to avoid the symbolic power I possess as a citizen of a country that experienced civil conflicts based on ethnicity and language in recent history: this also mattered. The socialization through which I acquired both my primary and secondary habitus as a student at primary, secondary and tertiary levels of education in both monoethnic and multiethnic contexts; and then as a teacher in multiethnic and monoethnic secondary and tertiary classrooms; as an academic working in multiethnic contexts and as a research student in an Australian multiethnic university: all mattered during this study. All these contributed to my habitus transformation away from ethnocentric majority Sinhalese habitus, and to the discarding of predisposed stereotypical ways of seeing the participants of other ethnicities in this study and see them as equal beings. I attempted as much as possible to be critical of my consciousness in perceiving what I observed in BE pedagogy, what I heard from participants; and when I interpreted such data to minimise 'misrecognition' of the realities I intended to explore. Taking a Bourdieusian stance, seeing social spaces in their 'relational reality' contributed to the minimisation of such misrecognition. This stance, I suppose, acted as a monitoring process throughout the study. For instance, I was hesitant to report "what it is" where I doubted "what it is ought to be" (Madison, 2012). The hedging language I have used in this thesis is one example for this stance. On the other hand, I brought bottom up

perspectives on the phenomena under study by bringing in participants' views to corroborate my interpretations – both emic and etic perspectives. I argue that this will have contributed to the reduction of "objectifier's subjectivity" to a certain extent. However, I am also aware and acknowledge that my interpretation and reporting of this thesis cannot be purely devoid of misinterpretations. I am also aware that with all my attempts it is only a part of the picture I may be presenting in this thesis. What I attempted to achieve is the reduction of such limitations and challenges. Now I describe this process with more personal experiences.

With regard to this study I may be considered as occupying both 'insider' and 'outsider' positions in this study. Also, I am mindful that I myself become both subject and object and this "pre-supposes a kind of doubling of consciousness that is arduous to sustain" (Bourdieu, 2003, p. 281). Thus, I needed to watch myself acting throughout the study. The descriptions so far given in this thesis may indicate that I have a reasonable understanding of the tensions between the ethnic groups in Sri Lanka. The present discussion might also suggest my continuous efforts to reduce those tensions at the level of my capacities. This study's topic is sensitive in that it explores relations between minority *vs.* majority ethnicities in Sri Lanka. As mentioned above, I was aware that while being a member of the majority Sinhalese population, I engaged in interpreting the views and actions of people who have been recognized as part of a minority as well as those of the majority. I was aware that I bring certain dispositions that I have had accumulated as a member of the majority Sinhala community.

Yet, I consider myself an 'outsider' too, away from the schools as a member of the academy. Moreover, I went to the research sites representing an Australian university. The school Principals who introduced me to teachers and students introduced me as being from an Australian university. I feel that this made the participants of my study more open unlike I was 'fully Sri Lankan' who might be prejudice towards the ethnically others. One may even notice this in the student stories used as data in study, that they were very open and even critical. But at the same time, I appeared like one of them in my outward appearance and my own language use. My understanding about cultural, religious and languages of minority and majority citizens in the country also, connect with those of participants. In addition, more than fifteen years of experience as a teacher of minority students also provided me with much better positionality among the participants in the study especially those who

represented the minority population. My experience and postgraduate qualifications in Conflict Resolution also helped me in better understanding through empathy about diverse others.

Most importantly, through my experiences as a person in the minority in Australia, I realized what it was like to be in the minority. An incident I faced during the first week in Australia as a PhD student alarmed and shocked me. It made me experience a completely different way of life, of thinking, acting and being. Suddenly, from a recognized personal and professional life in Sri Lanka I became a less important, less-recognized; in fact, I began to feel like "a second class" human being. When I was walking on Ann Street in Brisbane city I lost my way to the inner city campus. I approached a white Australian looking person to seek help for directions. At once, he stepped back, not wanting me to come closer to him and he shouted "Go away!" - I felt like I must have been recognized as a beggar who approached him asking for food or money (He was eating a burger standing outside a restaurant). I was stunned and realized what ethnic discrimination feels and looks to be. It took several minutes for me to come back to the real world. This was not an isolated experience for me of being in the minority while a student in Australia. However, there can be another interpretation to the story which I could not understand at the first interpretation of this story. Later, one of my supervisors, who may also be considered as a non-white minority in Australia, pointed out that my assumptions about racism may have been wrong, and that the person I sought help from on Ann Street might have been mentally ill. His view made me more reflexive and realized that my hastily taken assumptions or interpretation to the incident as "racism" might have been the result of some subconscious antipathy towards "British" that I have acquired through socialization in a post-colonial country, or the common belief about racism in "white" countries via the literature I have read, news I have listen to. However, this incident brought a realization of what minority psychological and emotional trauma is, and I started to read about minority psychology, even though this subtler discrimination is not typical in Sri Lanka at societal level. This experience helped me to be more empathetic with the minority participants in my study, in more sophisticated ways than I had achieved before even as a teacher who taught minority students. At the same time, I went to the research site not 'wearing the hat' as a member of academia, but as a student which helped me to balance my "scholastic fallacies" (Bourdieu, 2000) "…the hegemonic

processes that influence everyone else [...] my struggle for status, the perverse dynamics of politics of identity..." (Aune, 2011, p. 429), a position further strengthened by my supervisors.

4.3.3 **Selecting the sites**

The sites selected for the ethnographic fieldwork were three BE classrooms in three multiethnic schools in Sri Lanka. This study considered the ethnolinguistic diversity of BE classrooms, and ease of access which was limited due to the BE programme's relative newness in Sri Lanka, its slow progression with regard to implementation in the public school system, and the ethnolinguistically segregated school system of Sri Lanka. As described in Chapter 1, most schools where the BE programme is available belong to the Type 1AB category of government schools, which are either 'National Schools' or provincial schools. In addition, there are semi-government or government-assisted schools that cater to all ethnolinguistic groups within the same school and have a BE programme available. The most important consideration was the multiethnic and multilingual nature of the school. Such a diverse context prevails only in bi-media schools since both Sinhala medium and Tamil medium are available in those schools. However, even in these bi-media schools Sinhala and Tamil students never study in one classroom. These schools have separate classes for Sinhala medium and Tamil medium students. In fact, even in these bi-media schools which are attended by all ethnicities, classes are separated into a Sinhala medium section and a Tamil medium section. Therefore, to fulfil this study's expectations such bi-media schools should also offer BE programme so that the students of all ethnicities study together in one classroom when they learn some subjects through English. Given all these considerations, the goal was to select multiethnic BE classrooms representing theses three school categories - one from 1AB National schools, one from 1AB provincial school, and one from a semi-government school so as to make the 'sample' as 'representative' as possible.

I approached the Ministry of Education in Sri Lanka, who gave me a list of multi-ethnic schools where BE is available. After visits to several schools (08), discussions and telephone conversations with the authorities of some other schools (12), I selected three multiethnic schools in Sri Lanka as three research sites; pseudonymous school names were given: South College, Raveendranath College and Parakum College.

Site 1: South College

This school is located far away from the capital city, in a relatively less developed Province. It comes under the preview of the Provincial Council. Being a multiethnic mixed gender school it has a population of nearly one thousand students from all three main ethnic groups; Sinhala, Tamil and Muslim female and male students starting from Grade 6 and going up to Advanced Level (Grade 13) in the Science stream. It was founded with two main aims according to its 'mission'. Firstly, to help poor Sinhala, Tamil and Muslim children who pass the Year 5 Scholarship public examination. These scholarship holders are accorded admission to better schools, and if their family income is low they are also entitled to monetary aid. The second aim was to produce intellectuals that this particular Province needed.

The school has four parallel classes in each grade. Out of these four classes there are two Sinhala medium classes, one Tamil medium and one is a BE class. This school is mandated by its own vision to produce a socially cohesive student population. The school songs, morning assembly, notice-boards, announcements, the large artwork at the entrance, are in all three languages, which reflect the school's commitment to its vision and mission. It is also pertinent to mention that this school is different from other typical government schools in the country in terms of the commitment of the staff. The Principal and the teaching staff engage in extraordinary practices that aim for the betterment of children which cannot usually be found in other schools. For instance, the School starts at 7.00 and closes at 3.30 or 4.00 in the afternoon (normal school hours are from 7.30 to 1.30). The afternoon classes are aimed to provide extra help for the students. The teachers who come to this school agree to work in this way. Each year, the school holds special English language improvement classes for six months for students who start the bilingual programme which they call immersion classes. Not following the Ministry of Education circular, they have a separate BE class in each grade where Sinhala, Tamil and Muslim students study together. When they have content subjects in their mother tongues they move to respective Sinhala medium and Tamil medium classes. The principal and the staff are very proud of students' performance, boasting that nearly 50% of its Advanced Level students obtained eligibility to enter university in 2016. Public university education in Sri Lanka is free and entrance is extremely competitive. After negotiations with the principal, sectional heads and the subject teachers I selected the Grade 9 BE class at

South College for this research study, and data were collected during the mid-term prior to the second annual vacation.

After obtaining informed consent from teachers and students to observe classroom interactions and to audio-record all observed sessions, classroom observations were conducted when Mathematics and Citizenship Education were taught in EMI by two BE teachers. Classroom observation was followed by Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) with students representing three ethnic groups, Sinhala, Tamil and Muslim. Finally, semi-structured interviews with one BE subject teacher and the Principal were conducted. I also had the opportunity to interview three Tamil parents at the request of the Principal since a parents' meeting fell during the time of my observations. The CE teacher was not able to give me time for an interview. In addition, I had many informal conversations with teachers in the staffroom. I was also fortunate to do relief work in two BE classes at the request of the Principal.

Site 2: Raveendranath College

One of the oldest government boys' schools in the country, populated by more than seven thousand students, Raveendranath College is situated in the Western Province, the most developed province in the country. It is a multiethnic National 1AB school that comes under the preview of the central government. It is attended by Sinhala, Tamil and Muslim boys. These students include students from very affluent family backgrounds who come from the vicinity/suburbs of the Capital city as well as students from rural areas who pass the Grade 5 scholarship examination. The College's alumni association is a very strong body which is supported by Old Boys' Associations in many countries all over the world. These OBAs fund the school with many extra-curricular facilities. The prestigious networked OBAs guarantee its members outstanding support wherever they are. Therefore, members accrue high cultural capital, symbolic capital and are also able to accrue more economic capital.

This school has classes from Grade 1 to Grade 13 (Age 5-19) in all three streams, namely Arts, Science and Commerce. It has more than ten parallel classes in each grade, which include two Tamil medium classes where bilingual students are also housed. Tamil medium classes are attended by both Tamils and Muslims. The rest of the classes are all Sinhala medium, which are attended by both Sinhala and Muslim students, but mainly Sinhala. Out of all these Sinhala medium classes there are two

classrooms in each grade where BE students are housed only when they have subjects taught in EMI. These BE students include both Sinhala and Muslim students. This school does not have separate BE classes but students move to the aforesaid two Sinhala medium classes when they have content subjects taught in English. So these two classes virtually become BE classes when subjects are taught in English. The unique feature of these BE classes is that both of these two Sinhala medium classes have a few Tamil medium students permanently in the class. These Tamil students come to these Sinhala predominated 'BE classes' every year according to a roster. This can be seen as an explicit action to promote social cohesion among students of different ethnic origins.

After several negotiations with the Principal, Sectional Heads, Grade Heads and teachers, I selected a Grade 8 class in this school. Informed consent was subsequently obtained from teachers and students of the selected class to observe classroom interaction and to audio-record all observed sessions. I conducted these classroom observations in the third term, during Science and Citizenship Education (CE) classes that were taught in EMI by two BE teachers. Classroom observations were followed by Focus Group discussions with students of three groups representing each ethnicity. An extra FGD was conducted with three Senior Prefects, Tamil, Sinhala and Muslim, BE students. The semi-structured interviews with the subject teachers were then conducted, followed by the interview with the Principal. The former Principal of Raveendranath College was also interviewed since he had been at the school until recently. The BE sectional head and anther BE Teacher whose ethnicity is Tamil were also interviewed.

Site 3: Parakum College

This school is a government assisted Roman Catholic school, managed by a body of management under a Reverend Father Rector. It is multi-ethnic in nature but mainly serves Roman Catholics and other denominations. There are both Sinhalese and Tamils who are Catholics. The school is also attended by Muslim students. The student population exceeds five thousand and it has classes from Grade 1 to Grade 13 (Age 5-19). It caters for both local curricula and London A/Ls. They have two BE classes in each grade which have been allocated separate classrooms. It also has a strong Old Boys Association with branches in the main cities of other countries. The OBA

provides many facilities to present students and make substantial financial contributions for school management, maintenance and other facilities. In contrast to the MOE circular they have separate BE classes starting from Grade 1, in addition to separate classrooms for BE students. Consequently, the students I observed have been learning in EMI from Grade 1 unless they have joined the school later.

After negotiations with respective teachers, Sectional Head and the Principal, I selected one Grade 9 BE class in the school. Informed consent was subsequently obtained from teachers and students of the selected class to observe classroom interaction and to audio-record all observed sessions. This was followed by FGDs with three student groups representing the major ethnic groups, and semi-structured interviews with the two BE teachers (Science and CE). Finally, the Deputy Principal had a semi-structured interview with me representing the Principal.

4.3.4 **Research participants**

Three categories of participants were involved in this study. They comprised BE students, BE teachers, and additional stakeholders of the BE programme. The participants came from all three major ethnolinguistic groups, which was an essential requirement of the study since I intended to explore both minority and majority perspectives. Hence, 'the sample', in terms of both participants and sites, can be defined as purposive 'sampling'.

i. One bilingual classroom from each of the three multiethnic schools in Sri Lanka, altogether 3 BE classes, were selected as three research sites. These classes usually involved between 35-40 students on average. Each class was observed during two content subjects sessions taught in English as a medium of instruction by two subject teachers. Therefore, two teachers of content subjects in the English language in upper secondary BE classes in each of the three multiethnic schools were invited to participate, in addition to the students. The total number of participating teachers was six. Their participation usually involved lessons observed during regular classroom teaching times twice a week over a 4-6 weeks' period. These sessions were audio recorded. In some instances, where these classes were taken for extra or co-curricular activities the usual teaching did not take place. In addition, some absence of teachers also disrupted adherence to the "twice per week" criterion

of observation. Each recording session was approximately 40 minutes. After observations were finished, these 6 teachers were invited to participate in a Semi-structured audio recorded interview (60-90 minutes) at a time and place convenient to them - usually a vacant classroom or the staffroom.

ii. Students (age 16-17) in the selected three upper secondary BE classes (one class from each of the three schools) were invited to participate and informed consent was obtained. Their classroom interactions were observed and audio recorded while the two content subjects were taught by the identified teachers. Subsequent to observations, a subgroup of students (18-24), who declared in informed consent forms their willingness to participate, attended Focus Group Discussions (60-90 minutes). Three separate FGDs with three ethnic communities (6-8 students in each group) were conducted in each class, and these sessions were audio recorded. At Raveendranath College an extra FGD was conducted with three Senior Prefects (Tamil, Sinhala and Muslim) who had been studying in BE classes through Grades 6-13. The Principal of Raveendranath College promoted me to interview these students because they have a good understanding about the BE programme given their eight years' BE experience. And, also being prefects they have more knowledge about what is happening in the whole school. Agreeing to Principal's idea, I consider, was good decision –as this extra FGD provided me with much rich data.

iii. Additional stakeholders, namely Principals of the above three schools and/or BE Sectional Heads, parents, one Ministry of Education official and one National Institute of Education official were invited to participate in Semi-structured interviews. This, I believed, was necessary to have a 'panoramic view' of the BE programme in schools and how these stakeholder views and their action may shape "socially situated conditions" of the BE pedagogic field.

4.3.5 **Data collection and data sets**

The data collection aimed to gather as much information as possible, to explore how ethnic habitus orientations take place in the multiethnic BE pedagogy and how and what "socially situated conditions" in the field shape these orientations. As discussed in Section 3.4.1, even though Bourdieu's theoretical framework postulates

that habitus may realign in dialectic relation to situated conditions in the field, it does not define what "socially situated conditions" in the BE pedagogy, where ethnically diverse group interact, may shape ethnic habitus realignments. It was my intention to explore ethnic habitus realignments in the BE pedagogic field and what and how "socially situated conditions" shape these alignments. As I discussed in 3.4.1, for the purpose of the study I drew on four possible "socially situated conditions" that may support positive inter-group contact and reduce prejudice between groups from a priori research, namely: authority support, intergroup cooperation, equal group status within the situation and common goals (Allport, 1954). A priori research has proved that these conditions help overcome previously held negative predispositions arising from individuals'/groups' diverse backgrounds, such as cultures or ethnicities (Allport, 1954; Harwood and Vencez, 2012a & 2012b; Tajfel, 1972). I used these four conditions as guidance to design research instruments. For example, cooperative work and ethnically heterogeneous groups were two protocols I included in the observation schedule, in Focus Group Discussions and semi-structured interviews. My previous experiences in multiethnic BE classes as a teacher for more than twelve years also prompted me to use the four conditions proposed by Allport that he presented through empirical evidence.

The chosen ethnographically-informed methods directed me to make observations of BE pedagogy in classrooms in multiethnic schools. The data sets of each school comprised FGDs with student groups of Sinhalese, Tamil and Muslim students. In each school, two content subjects being taught in English by two teachers were observed and classroom discourse during those periods was recorded. It was hoped that the utilisation of a variety of strategies would help grasp the contextual meanings of actions and to define them in relation to participants' own points of view. The instruments are listed below in the order they were used. The data sets collected through these multiple means are summarized in Table 4.2.

1. Prolonged Classroom Observation/audio-recordings conducted for more than 5 weeks to capture my perspectives on BE classroom practices and their influence on interrelations among students.
2. Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) with student groups of three ethnicities – to capture students' perspectives on their interrelations, preferences for grouping and languages.

3. Semi-structured interviews with teachers – to document teachers' perspectives on practices in the BE classroom in relation to students' interrelations and languages.
4. Semi-structured interviews with principals/other additional stakeholders – to canvas stakeholder perspectives.

Table 4.1 Summary of data collection tools and data sets

Data Set	Method	Participants	Data
1	**Classroom Observation In 3 multiethnic BE classrooms**	2 Content Teachers and students of 3 BE classrooms (1 class in each school)	Field notes Audio-recordings
2	**Audio recording**		Classroom interaction
3	**11 Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)***	3 groups comprised 4-6/7 students representing each ethnic group in each school	Student responses
4	**08 Semi-Structured Interviews****	2 BE Teachers at each school	Teacher responses
5	**Semi-Structured Interviews*****	Additional Stake holders	Stakeholder responses

*02 Additional FGD at Raveendranath College – with Senior Prefects (BE students). Also, I had separate FGDs with Sinhala BE students at Raveendranath College: one with Scholars, another with English speaking Sinhala students from affluent families. (Class teacher requested me to have separate FGDs with "affluent- English speaking (as she called)" students and scholars. This was a piece of good advice and scholars were feeling free to talk about how they are relegated by affluent students based on English proficiency.

** Additional Semi-structured interview with Tamil BE teachers (since it was rare to find Tamil BE teachers it was decided to have interviews with them because I thought their views may be different from Sinhala BE teachers)

*** List of additional stakeholders

South College	Principal, 3 parents
Raveendranath College	Principal, former Principal, BE Sectional Head, two Tamil BE subject teachers
Parakum College	Primary Principal representing the Principal
Ministry of Education	One official representing the institution
National Institute of Education	One official representing the institution
National Education Commission	One official representing the institution

4.3.6 **Research instruments and procedures**

By using a variety of data sources I intended to capture a range of points of view. I was also aware that participants may or may not give "true" descriptions because they may try to satisfy me as the interviewer by giving what they think I may need as responses. It was assumed that the open-endedness in the instruments might reduce

such constraints to a certain extent, so that the information is not heavily "filtered" through the views of the interviewer/researcher (Creswell, 2014b). This multi-faceted data collection procedure facilitated triangulation of data, which contributes to the credibility and trustworthiness of findings and conclusions. For example, classroom observations helped me to conduct FGDs and Semi-structured interviews with more understanding of the "ground realities". Moreover, I was able to "balance" the interpretations or minimise "misinterpretations" I may have given to my classroom observations through further verification with students' and teacher's views expressed at FGDs and semi-structured interviews. The following section elaborates on each data source and on the processes of data generation. These are presented in the chronological order in which they occurred during the data collection process.

4.3.6.1. Classroom observations

Lincoln and Guba (1985) declare the importance of 'prolonged engagement' to increase credibility of observation and to minimise 'observer paradox'. To ease into the situation or to reduce interference over 'practices' by observers' presence, I was in the class during teaching/learning and engaged in 'small talk' with students as well as teachers before starting formal observations. This was intended to make my presence as familiar as possible. I made written accounts of socially occurring situations in the classrooms: for instance, how students get into groups, how they are seated, how they interact during usual day today teaching/learning process. Since language interactions were being audio-recorded, I focused on group interactions, teacher practices towards different individuals/groups and other paralinguistic aspects that might be important to the study. While seeking to identify idiosyncrasies of the context from a general perspective, I tried to be mindful to identify and to record via field notes aspects most pertinent to the study, a process described by Lincoln and Guba (1985) as 'persistent observation' (p. 304). Aspects such as grouping both by the teacher and students themselves, inter-group relations and languaging both for instructional and management were seen as important (See Appendix A). I engaged in my observations with quasi-predefined criteria for observation (protocol) for which Allport's (1954) four conditions for positive intergroup contacts along with my experiences as a former BE teacher helped me. I was mindful to not engage in "selective observation", that is "choosing to look only at things that are in line with our [my] preferences or beliefs" (Schutt, 2009, p.6).

The anticipated duration of classroom observations was 5-6 weeks in each school (one classroom two subjects twice a week). The time and the subjects being observed were selected depending on the institutional administrative and management mechanisms. There were deviations from the pre-planned schedules due to classrooms being taken for other activities and to teacher absenteeism; but these were negligible contingencies which did not impact on the whole process of data collection since I was able to collect enough necessary data. The classrooms were observed during Maths and Citizenship Education sessions at South College, during CE and Science at Raveendranath and Parakum Colleges; and the duration of each lesson was 40 minutes. I commenced classroom observation with an open mind, yet equipped with good understanding of the theoretical concepts I discussed earlier and as outlined in the Observation protocol in *Appendix: A,* which was guided by the two approaches to classroom observation data gathering proposed by Richard (2011) - (See ***Appendix A*** for the observation protocol and the rationale). In addition to a holistic approach to observation, I also used probes based on conceptualized research questions through a Bourdieusian lens in order to be more focussed while aiming to reduce bias.

4.3.6.2. Audio recordings

Audio-recordings were simultaneously carried out during observations to capture language in use and interaction in the class. Three audio recorders were placed in different positions in the classroom to capture classroom interaction during the whole class teaching/learning processes. When the students engaged in group work, the audio recorders were placed near the groups which became the focus. These were randomly placed near groups; decisions being made based on particular moments. I used Sony digital voice recorders with a built-in USB along with my iPhone. Since Sony digital recorders work with the Sound Organizer software application that comes with it I could control speed, go back and forth, and control external non-human voices. This ensured the transcription of all the important data and made the whole transcribing process much easier.

4.3.6.3. Focus group discussions (FGDs)

At least three Focus group discussions were held separately with the students representing the three ethnic communities in each BE class. Each group comprised 5-8 students from each community (Sinhala, Muslim and Tamil students). These

discussions were held in their respective schools for the duration of approximately 60-90 minutes at a time – a duration agreed upon by all members of each group. The topic was: "Our experience in the BE classroom and beyond: friends, groups, relations and languages". The protocol or questions that guided the discussion are provided in ***Appendix B*** along with details of the analysis foci. I moderated the discussions which were audio-recorded. Before the actual FGD was started, I reiterated that students would remain anonymous since no bio information was needed; their opinions were to be kept confidential, what they said would stay in the room. I made these assurances in an effort to make students feel comfortable and relaxed. I also explained the ground rules of the sessions: they would be audio recorded, everyone's participation was important, there were no right or wrong opinions but what was important was that every one's personal experiences and opinions were welcomed, and it was important to speak out, whether to agree or disagree with an opinion. Also, participants were invited at the beginning of each session to use their preferred language. They would be invited to write in their own mother tongue if they preferred to do so**.** Since the students did not prefer the process of member checking after transcription of recordings I took the next best possible action. I summarised their responses to each question and reported this to the students so that they could clarify and amend if necessary.

4.3.6.4. Semi-structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews with teachers, principals and additional stakeholders were held to capture data from different perspectives (60- 90 minutes). These interviews also focused on gathering information concerning wider social practices and ideologies that pertain to language and ethnicity in relation to the bilingual programme. Predetermined stakeholders that were planned to be interviewed were the principals and NIE and MOE officials; however, the final decision on 'stakeholders' depended on emerging circumstances and opportunities. For instance, at Raveendranath College I was able to do an extra interview with an additional BE teacher whose ethnicity is Tamil and so obtain perspectives of a Tamil BE teacher. Another example is that of the interview I conducted with the previous Raveendranath College Principal who had been at the school when the BE programme was introduced and very recently moved to another school. I was also able to interview parents of BE students since the parents meeting fell during the period of my observations at South

College. The questions included reference to aspects important to study that emerged through Data sets 1 and 2, and also intended to discover explicit or implicit sanctions relating to language/s, barriers to contact between different ethnolinguistic groups and so on. I invited all participants to raise their own questions and concerns so that interviews became co-constructed conversations. This reduced power imbalance that might have occurred if only I took the lead.

4.3.6.5. Semi-Structured interviews with teachers

After classroom observation sessions and FGDs were concluded, I conducted semi-structured interviews with the BE teachers, which were also audio recorded (60-90 minutes). The intention was to elicit teachers' overall views on the BE programme, on grouping and student relations in BE classrooms and on other related aspects. Teacher participants were invited to comment and to raise any issues pertaining to the BE programme so that data construction was reciprocal**.** The protocol is located in ***Appendix C*** along with focus of analysis.

4.3.6.6. Semi-Structured interviews with additional stakeholders

Semi-structured interviews (60-90 minutes) with additional stakeholders of the BE Programme (See Table 4.2) in Sri Lanka were conducted and recorded by me. The intention of these additional interviews was to elicit data that the interviewees may already hold, being the stakeholders of the programme. They were also invited to raise any issues of interest to the study, so that the data are co-constructed by both interviewer and interviewee. The protocol is in ***Appendix D*** along with focus of analysis.

Overall, throughout all the FGDs and Semi-structured interviews, I tried to shape and manage the spoken exchanges not as interviews but as conversations co-constructed by myself and the participants. I had not wanted to subject them to interviews. The environment created during FGDs helped me to achieve this objective. The presence of a group of students, as I observed, seemed to have given them more authority.

4.3.7 **The rationale for using different instruments and data**

The rationale for collecting the above data sets is based on the following central arguments. Identities and language are social constructions and hence not fixed

phenomena. They are the sum of total results of interplay between individual habitus (subjective structures) and social contexts or fields (objective structures) in which they occur. Fields are relations of hierarchically based positions; and these hierarchical positions are objectively defined according to historically generated values given to capitals that are valued in a given field and to the volumes and amounts of capital that each agent/group possesses. Main capitals in focus in this study are linguistic capital and symbolic capital embedded in ethnic group habitus, which are also convertible to social, cultural and economic capital, as explained in the preceding chapter. In their struggles for position by means of accumulation of more capital valued in the field, agents/groups act or play usually in accordance with the implicit rules or the field's logic of practice where the agents struggle. Hence, it is necessary to bring information about what happens in the BE – teaching/learning processes in the BE classroom, and to examine why those things are happening.

1. The above interplays could be empirically observed through the practices of agents in relation to each other and in relation to constructs of the social space they occupy. Hence, it was important to observe what happens in the BE classroom through prolonged researcher observation.
2. It is also pertinent to corroborate the researcher's interpretation with participants' interpretations of their own practices, especially when it comes to 'why' particular things happen in the BE classroom. This required collecting data through Focus Group Discussions with the BE students and their teachers. For instance, it was necessary to triangulate researcher observation on propensities for groupings in the BE classroom with students' views about their own preferences for grouping, and to establish reasons for such preferences through Focus Group Discussions; and to investigate how teachers' promote, demote and interpret these preferences through semi-structured interviews.
3. Language use - or languaging - reflects specific moments of power relations that are defined by the relative positions of users of those languages in a particular social space – field –as well as in patterns of everyday life. Given the significance of language in relation to ethnic identity in the present research context, it was important to collect data on how languages are used through audio-recoding of classroom interactions, and to explore what beliefs drive BE students and teachers

to use languages in the way they do in the BE classroom; considering what were their historically acquired and evolving ways of thinking, seeing and acting with regard to languages, their linguistic habitus, through Focus Group Discussions and interviews.

4. Yet the above are not only particular to/ confined to/ shaped by that social context or field; they are constantly evolving in relation to other surrounding fields, such as the school where the BE pedagogic field is located. Therefore, it was necessary collect data from other stakeholders. Most importantly, it is also pertinent to interpret and analyse data in relation to wider social existences.

Therefore, the logic of practice or implicit rules can be captured via practice - interaction (acts) of agents and/or groups and their perceptions and rationale for such acts. Because, "[i]n weaving a narrative, the speaker places herself, her listeners and those who populate the narrative in certain positions and relations that are figured by larger cultural meanings or worlds" (Skinner, Valsiner & Holland, 2001, sec.10).

These multiple means of collecting data through the use of multiple tools helped the process of triangulation. The basic assumption behind this was that representation and interpretation of the foci of the study should not only be the researcher's single interpretation; such one-sided interpretations are against my epistemological and ontological beliefs, and threaten the study's validity and trustworthiness, as "[t]he interpretive practice of making sense of one's findings is both artful and political" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2001, p.30). Therefore, the agents' perceptions or interpretations of their own acts were sought through FGDs. Moreover, teachers play vital roles as agents who have been vested with legitimate authority to exercise power due to their positions. Their orientation to teaching and classroom management might drastically impact not only on learning of content but on the habitus transformation of individuals and groups. As such, it was important to explore teachers' dispositions via Semi-structured interviews, as well as to gain an overview of the practices and ideologies that lay behind their actions. Importantly, the BE pedagogic field is not fully autonomous; it is constantly influenced by larger fields, such as the location of the school and the broader educational field in Sri Lanka. It was necessary to gain insight to the ideological assumptions behind practices in relation to BE. Hence, semi-structured interviews were held with stakeholders engaged in BE programmes both at School and policy level. I then interpreted data in relation to wider social

circumstances to ascertain how the knowledge explored in this study is represented in broader social structures, specifically in ethnolinguistic identities, since "micro-level interaction between individual educators and students reflect the macro-level relations of power in the broader society" (Cummins, 2000, p.44). These interpretations are effected by looking through Bourdieusian perspectives which add discipline to the interpretation and increase trustworthiness.

4.4 ANALYSIS OF THE 'RELATIONAL INTERPLAY' AND INTERPRETATION

The analysis of the object of the study involved analysis of relations between the *field* and *habitus* and examination of subsequent consequences due to the interplay or relations between these two. These abstract phenomena or underlying structuring structures could be explored only through a focus on actions of the agents or their *practices*. This phenomenon is explained in Bourdieu's conceptual definition of Practice = [(habitus) (capital)] + [field]. It is the intention of this study to explore the "rules of the game" interplaying with evolving circumstances while teaching/learning takes place in the BE programme, and therefore the potential transformation of existing rules - both subjective (*habitus*) and objective (*field*). It was therefore pertinent to obtain detailed understanding of agents' practices in analyzing the BE pedagogic *field*, the social site where individuals' positions are determined by the possession of the various forms and amounts of capital legitimized in the particular field; and how individuals take advantage of the *capital* they possess, especially, linguistic and social *capital* and the resulting use of *symbolic power.* This is vital since these considerations may either promote integration among social groups in the BE programme or contribute to disharmony. The preceding chapter and this one have conceptualized the foci of the present study into one coherent object using Bourdieu's 'thinking tools and theory of practice'. As Grenfell (2010a) suggested, these tools can be used "...not simply as metaphors for narrative heuristics, but as philosophically charged instruments of analysis in a range of social contexts" (Grenfell, 2010a, p. 2).

4.4.1 **Relational analysis**

In order to explore, interpret, and analyse the BE pedagogic field I depended on Bourdieusian theoretical tools and lenses. As mentioned earlier, these theoretical concepts are internally connected and difficult to separate from each other; and

separation results in concepts becoming mere "metaphors for narrative heuristics" (Grenfell, 2010, p. 2). It is the relations or interplay between these concepts that are the object of this study, not the concepts *per se*. For instance, answers to the first research question - What feelings, perceptions and dispositions towards ethnically diverse "others" do the students have *before* and *after* joining the multiethnic BE classrooms? –relate to circumstances resulting from relations between habitus and fields that the students occupy.

Analysis of the relations between the habitus of agents and the fields they occupied (RQ i)

This involves analyzing the ethnic habitus acquired by students by internalising the external 'logic of practices' in the fields they occupied, such as family and monoethnic schools; considering what were their linguistic and ethnic habitus and what conditions of the field shaped them; and whether habitus brought to the experience is transformed in relation to "socially situated conditions" of the BE field.

Analysis of the relations between the agents in relation to BE field (RQs ii & iii)

This part of the analysis involves consideration of relations between agents (students of different ethnicities) in the BE pedagogic field in multiethnic schools: of objective structures and multilayered relations within and between positions occupied by the agents in the field; of relative social positions in the field and how practices in the BE programme come to define these positions; of how positioning and repositioning evolve; of what capital is at stake – mainly linguistic and social capital - and how these shape and are shaped by logic of practice in the BE pedagogic field. All these considerations impact on relations between agents; on how the overall environment and practices in the multiethnic BE classroom shape ethnic habitus orientations of students and, how languages in the multiethnic programme in turn shape the ethnic identity orientations of the students.

Interpreting

The answers to the above three research questions cannot be interpreted in a vacuum. They are interpreted in relation to wider social existences. For instance, capital values given to languages in the BE pedagogic field could not be interpreted without engaging in analysis of the capital values given to such languages outside the

programme, in the linguistic market outside the BE microcosm - because it is not a fully autonomous field. Issues such as who dominates or who is ascribed with more symbolic power and higher positioning, and resulting power inequalities in the BE field do not take place without relation to values ascribed to capitals outside the BE field. Therefore, it is inescapable that interpretation of findings in this thesis must be effected in relation to the outside social universe and its objective structures. The BE pedagogic field itself, therefore, is analysed and interpreted in relation to other fields.

In brief, what the above aspects illuminate is the emergence of understanding of the relevance of Bourdieu’s relational nature of analysing social phenomena. For me, these elements are innate in any Bourdieusian analysis, as evidenced in this study and how it proceeds.

4.4.2 **Research questions into sub-questions for data collection**

The primary research questions were therefore theorized using Bourdieusian conceptual tools and theoretical framework. I present the three primary research questions below with the sub-questions employed to address them at the methodological level. Data pertaining to each question elicited from students are in orange, while data elicited through classroom observation are in blue, and questions directed to teachers and other stakeholders are in green.

1. What ethnic group re/orientations take place among the ethnically diverse students when they study together in multiethnic BE classrooms in Sri Lanka?
    - What feelings, perceptions and dispositions towards ethnically diverse “others” do the students have *before* and *after* joining the multiethnic BE classrooms? Are they the same or different, why?
    - Who do the students prefer to form groups and work with? Why?
2. How do the overall environment and practices in the multiethnic BE classroom shape ethnic identity orientations of students?
    - What is the overall environment of the BE classroom in relation to interrelations among students?
    - What orientations to social groupings are visible and encouraged in the BE classroom? - Ethnically homogeneous or heterogeneous?

- What are students' opinions and experiences about having students of all ethnicities in one class and working together with them?
- What opinions do they have about BE classes and MTI classes in relation to interaction and friendship between students of diverse ethnicities?
- How do teachers group students and why?
- Which ways do students form groups when given choice as noticed by teachers?
- What are teachers' opinions about interrelations among the students of different ethnicities?

3. How do languages in the multiethnic BE pedagogy shape the ethnic identity orientations of the students?

- What linguistic orientations are visible and encouraged in the BE classroom: monolithic or heteroglossic?
- How do linguistic orientations influence interrelations among the students of different ethnicities?
- What are the students' opinions about the role of different languages?
- What do the students think about use of different languages in the class? Why?
- What are the teachers' opinions about the contribution of different languages to teaching, students' work/performance and intergroup relations/ why?

4.4.3 Empirical data at theoretical level

I present these questions in Tables 4.3, 4.4 and 4.5 below, along with the theorization of each sub-question. They are presented according to each research instrument. It is this theorization that was used in the interpretation process. The areas focussed upon during classroom observations and the probing questions used in Focus Group Discussions and Semi-Structured Interviews are given in the left column in each table. As can be seen, all three data collection tools had similar foci in order to obtain data from different perspectives. The theoretical premises of that empirical guideline are depicted in the right column.

Table 4.2 Empirical and Theoretical Questioning of the Classroom Observation/Interaction: data set 1

Data at Empirical level	Theoretical Level
Overall classroom environment, Group formation and interactions **1.** What is the overall environment of BE classroom in relation to interrelations among students? **2.** What orientations to social groupings are visible and encouraged in the BE classroom? - Ethnically homogeneous or heterogeneous**?**	**a.** What internal logic of practices exists in relation to student interrelations in the BE classroom field? **b.** How do the agents/groups of different ethnolinguistic habitus accrete social capital (mutual acquaintance and recognition) that contribute to the unlearning of racialized habitus?
Languages in the class **1.** What linguistic orientations are visible and encouraged in the BE classroom: monolithic or heteroglossic? **2.** How do linguistic orientations influence interrelation among the students of different ethnicities?	**a.** How are different linguistic capitals legitimized and ascribed values in BE field? **b.** How does linguistic market in BE field influence agents' ethnolinguistic habitus or accretion of social capital (and other capitals)? **c.** Who acquires symbolic capital and power as a result?

Table 4.3 Empirical and Theoretical Questioning of the Focus group discussions- data set 2

Empirical level	Theoretical level
Overall classroom environment, Group formation and Interaction 1. What are your (students') opinions and experiences about having students of all ethnicities in one class and working together with them? **2.** Whom do you (students) prefer to work with in groups? Why?	**a.** How do the agents and groups of different ethnolinguistic habitus accrete social capital (mutual acquaintance and recognition) **b.** What systems of dispositions with regard to ethnic others (ethnolinguistic habitus) are sensed and practised by students: do they lean towards ethnocentrism or cosmopolitanism?
Languages in the class 1. What are your opinions about the role of different languages? 2. How are your opinions about use of different languages in the class? Why?	**a.** How are different linguistic capitals legitimized and ascribed capital values in BE pedagogic field? **b.** How does the linguistic market in the BE field influence agents' ethnolinguistic habitus or accretion of social capital (and other capitals)? **c.** Who acquires symbolic capital and power as a result?

Table 4.4 Empirical and Theoretical Questioning of the Semi-structured interviews – data set 3

Empirical level	Theoretical level
Overall classroom environment, Group formation and Interaction 1. How do you group students? Why? 2. Which ways do the students form groups when given the choice? 3. What are your opinions about interrelations among the students of different ethnicities? Differences compared to monolingual classes?	**a.** How and what types of interrelations among agents/groups are recognized or legitimized by teachers/school? **b.** How do the agents and groups of different ethnolinguistic habitus accrete social capital (mutual acquaintance and recognition) that contribute to the unlearning of racialized habitus?
Languages in the class **1.** What are your opinions about the contribution of different languages to teaching, students' work/performances, and intergroup relations/why?	**a.** How do the beliefs/ideologies of teachers impact the linguistic market in BE classroom? **b.** How do teachers recognize/legitimize different types of linguistic capital and their convertibility to other forms of capital?

To grapple with the empirical and theoretical questions, Bourdieusian analysis of social spaces and the conceptual tools of field, habitus and capital were used to analyse and interpret existences within the BE field; and how these existences interrelated with wider social existences, as discussed below.

4.4.4 **Compiling and analysing data**

As illustrated in the table below (Table 4.6), an inductive content analysis approach to data analysis was followed to trace themes from the data using Bourdieu's conceptual tools as the explanatory framework. As in other qualitative research, the gathering and analysis of data continued simultaneously. This simultaneous act is very important, since one phase provides the basis for the next phase of data collection. For instance, information obtained relating to interactions during audio-recordings was considered in FGDs along with field notes made during classroom. This iterative process of shuttling backwards and forwards between the collection and analysis of data (Creswell, 2014) allows for the corroboration of data and the filling of potential gaps between analysis and participant stories.

Table 4.5 Summary of data base and interpretation procedures

Instrument	Artefact	Criteria
Audio-Recording Observation protocol	Spoken Discourse Field notes	Listen/Read several times, chose important episodes of interaction and conversations most relevant to the study while comparing with observer notes.
Focus Group Discussions	Students' responses	Listen to recordings several times, transcribe the whole spoken discourse. Tabulated data/responses given to each question by all 9 student groups in different tables.
Semi-structured interviews	Teacher, stakeholder Responses	Read several times – earmark important phrases in relation to focus questions; Categorize into themes; Code them based on emerging themes in relation to Bourdieu's thinking tools; Select episodes to be presented in verbatim

With regard to every set of data gathered, the entire corpus of responses was listened to or read several times. This was to obtain a sense of the whole data set and to access deeper meanings embedded in the data (Merriam, 2009). This also helped me to recognize data that are most relevant to the study while also helping in the process of data reduction. However, in the event of data reduction I was cautious and attempted to be reflexive enough in relation to my own dispositions or habitus, that is not to select data that help proving my pre-conceived ideas, but rather to consider data that are genuinely representative of the study (Smagorinsky, 2008). I provide more information about the processes of transcription and interpretation below.

Transcribing, translating and compiling

All digitally recorded conversations, both semi-structured interviews and FGDs, were transcribed in verbatim by me. The following description provides an example of the detailed procedure of the transcribing, translating and compiling of data using observation field notes and classroom interaction audio recordings. The same procedure was followed with FGDs and Semi-structured interview data.

Returning home from schools after observation sessions I listened to the audio-recordings each day while referring to relevant observation field notes. The preliminary selections of most relevant data were made and marked during this initial listening. Most transcriptions were completed on the same day they were recorded. This procedure not only made the task of managing the bulk audio-recording much easier but made identifying relevant/important contextual aspects and moments in

classroom observations easier due to the fact that they were fresh in my memory. This process helped me to conduct FGDs with much better understanding.

Only selected lessons were transcribed; for example lessons that contained group activities. Firstly, the transcriptions were written manually on paper, and then the recorded discourse was listened to again and again, as I compared and corrected any missing parts or errors in the transcription. I initially transcribed the audio recordings on my computer using "Sound Organizer" (Version 1.6 Sony Corporation), which allowed me adequate time to complete the process. The handwritten transcriptions were then word-processed by me. This double process of writing enabled me to develop an intimate understanding of the data.

When necessary, I jotted down notes in the right-hand margin of the word-processed transcriptions using the review panel during analysis (Creswell, 2014b). This enabled me to highlight vital information as well as emerging themes as I saw connections with Bourdieusian theoretical concepts. It also worked as the first phase of cross analysis between the data sets. For instance, while transcribing I compared responses from Tamil students to a particular question with those of Sinhala students and noted my remarks. Throughout this process I followed recommendations provided by the Teachers College, University of Nebraska at Lincoln (Creswell, 2014a, p. 264) in relation to the transcription of audiotape interviews.

Selected occurrences were marked to show codes with respect to theory being used. The organization of selected data was carried out in respect to sub-topics in the protocol, which in turn corresponded to probes utilized during the interviews and FGDs. This enabled me to discover themes embedded in texts that connected to research questions; such themes and other ideas were typed in the right-hand margin against each text in which the theme was embedded. This is not to say that emergent or unexpected themes were not important; they are, because pre-determined codes cannot tell "...how the production of narratives relates to both the personal and social context and the double sidedness of identity" (Skinner, Valsiner & Holland, 2001). Related themes were given a colour which was used throughout all data sets, which were marked using three colours for convenient reference. To this end, I was "recursively reflecting upon data from observation [and audio] as well as theoretical and conceptual insights from the literature to inform ongoing and emerging lines of inquiry (Heath & Street, 2008 cited in Poza. 2016)

Transcribing

The Transcription Convention utilized in this study was adapted from 2.1 of Vienna Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE) – *See Appendix E.* Extra information relating to transactions which was elicited from the notes made in the observational protocol, was entered in the transcriptions within curly brackets: { } along with the relevant utterances as in the following example:

> Tamil Student: destructive? <L1>*enna sollunga*?</L1> {Tamil students asks for Tamil equivalent for *destructive* from his Tamil students} {bell rings}
> Tamil student: Thakshila oya liyanna sinhalen. Oyage akuru lassanai {addresses a female Sinhala student in the group} [Thakshila, can you write it in Sinhala, your hand writing is nice]
> Sinhala Student: <L1>*dekala thiyanawada*?</L> [have you seen?] {Teasing tone – responding to Tamil male students' remarks}

English is the second language of these participants. They were given the choice of their preferred language - Sinhala, Tamil or English - during the Focus Group Discussions and Semi-structured interviews. Most of them preferred to use English. English transcriptions were completed by me and I tried to transcribe as closely as possible to the students' use of language. Occasionally, in order to enhance better readability while maintaining the intended message, I rephrased words, phrases or tenses. For instance, when I used a different word to better convey a meaning, it was given a bracket, along with the original word, as exemplified below:

> They couldn't speak Tamil, we couldn't speak Sinhala because of that something like they get *jealous [protective*] and like these things, because of that they hit us.

Translations

In terms of translations of these transcriptions, utterances in Sinhala language were translated and transcribed by me, while leaving space for Tamil utterances. These gaps were later transcribed by an ESL teacher whose Mother tongue is Tamil and who has a good understanding of Sri Lankan BE pedagogy. I collaborated with this teacher on this process.

It was hoped that such steps would limit and reduce misrepresentation and mis-interpretation of data and hence safeguard the trustworthiness of the study.

4.5 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Referring to axiology, Mertens (2015) emphasises: "[n]o matter what paradigm a researcher uses, ethics in research should be an integral part of the research planning and implementation process, not viewed as an afterthought or a burden" (p. 13). As evident elsewhere in this chapter, I have already made reference when elaborating on my 'positionality' in this study to my ethical responsibilities as an "insider', starting from my epistemological stance. I consider researcher ethics to be part and parcel of ensuring the credibility and trustworthiness of any qualitative research. When a researcher becomes a member of the community being investigated as she engages in fieldwork she should be constantly monitoring her own agency and biases that may impact on the study's conclusions. She should also be intensely mindful and sensitive to any subtle psychological uneasiness or anxieties that she or other participants may experience in relation to possible power imbalance between the researcher and other participants, who may be suspicious of researcher judgements. As a researcher I understand how such misrecognitions may be obvious to both the researcher and other participants; it is difficult to manage bias. Because we have our own *habitus* we have to be conscious of the fact that we have certain ways of seeing 'truth'; of providing different interpretations of those truths or realities, hence potentially affecting the legitimacy of any research conclusions; which causes unfairness in relation to members of the society or community being investigated as well as to the future audience in dissemination of new knowledge.

My personal commitment as a researcher/academic, in line with the ethical protocol of my research institution, is to be mindful to minimize any such negative aspects. This commitment is not only to protect participants from harm, emotionally, psychologically or in any other way, but equally to promote the credibility and trustworthiness of this study (Creswell, 2014a; Mertens, 2015) and to maintain the highest possible standard of research integrity. For this purpose, I applied for low risk ethics clearance from QUT in order to comply with all relevant policies, procedures and regulatory obligations. My proposed ethical considerations were rescrutinised when my ethics application went through the rigorous ethic clearance process of QUT, ensuring the integrity of my study (Ethics Clearance No. 1600000348). In respect to offshore demands, I discussed ethical considerations with the Ministry of Education (MOE), Sri Lanka and with relevant school authorities during my visit to the country

after informing the QUT Educational Faculty's ethics committee of my intentions in December 2015. The official approval to access classes was sought from MOE after ethics clearance from QUT. In *Appendix F*, I list the steps taken to maintain research integrity, and situated ethical considerations (Simons & Usher, 2000) adopted to protect participants from any possible threats; such steps in turn promote conviction, openness, confidentiality, and thereby legitimacy of this ethnographically informed qualitative interpretive study.

4.6 TRUSTWORTHINESS

I consider trustworthiness of a qualitative research study to be another ethical consideration. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985) trustworthiness is evaluated via four basic criteria: Credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability. As noted, I attempt to ensure credibility via prolonged engagement (which was not limited by 5-6 weeks at each school, but as a former BE class teacher in multiethnic schools for more than 12 years), persistent observation, instrument triangulation and member checking. I aim to achieve transferability through "thick description" in data collection, analysis and interpretation. With regard to dependability Lincoln and Guba emphasise the desirability of external auditing, whereby the researcher is not involved in either the process or production of a research study. However, since my epistemological stance is one that rejects the notion of objective truth, I believe there to be no need to consider dependability in the case of this study to establish its trustworthiness.

4.7 CHAPTER CONCLUSION

The methodological stance I have taken and described in this chapter duly establishes a kaleidoscopic view, or 'a new gaze', in respect to identity negotiations of agents in the BE pedagogic *field* in multiethnic schools. Bourdieusian *theory of practice* and its associated thinking tools facilitate theorization of the object of the study. Its analytical tools and relational analysis are suited to a comprehensive analysis of social realities and of the structuring structures, together with epistemic reflexivity that I discussed under participant objectivation. I have elaborated three phases of data collection during the field work stage and the procedures used in all three phases. Phase-1 was mainly guided by the first conceptualized sub-question under research question 1; however, as I have argued, the approach was not static or rigidly structured,

but was flexible when I acquired or changed my own *habitus* as an agent in the *field,* being an insider researcher, and when I developed/acquired my scientific *habitus* during field work through a reflexive stance. This dynamism is apparent in parallel to the social phenomena in flux, as discussed. Furthermore, during the analysis phase deductive thematic approach was used which was framed within the Bourdieusian conceptual framework, while allowing emergent themes also. For instance, the empirical data analysis was guided by corresponding theoretical levels of analysis as illustrated in tables given in 4.4.3 above, as well as given instruments which are attached as appendices. This may have reduced misanalysis and misinterpretation of data to some extent. I have described the steps taken in keeping with ethnical norms in maintaining my integrity as a researcher, academic and most importantly as a responsible human being. All these factors contribute to the credibility and trustworthiness of interpretations and conclusions of the study.

This thesis has three data analysis chapters. The next chapter is the first of these three chapters, addressing the first research question and delineating how students' ethnic habitus realigns in dialectic relation to social conditions or practices in the BE classroom.

Chapter 5: Realigning ethnic habitus in the multiethnic BE pedagogic field

> "There was a difference. From Grade 1 to 5 it was like... let's say, we were like from another planet and those people [ethnically diverse other students] were like from another planet. Though we existed, we never got to interact."
>
> -BE student in a multiethnic school

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The above quote comes from one of the participants in this study. He was referring to his lived experiences from Grade 1-5 before joining the multiethnic Bilingual Education (BE) class. The irony is that the school in which he studied is a multiethnic school where students of all ethnicities study under one roof, but in separate classrooms divided by the Medium of Instruction (MOI), particularly Mother Tongue Instruction (MTI): Sinhala medium or Tamil medium. His experiences reflect the gravity of the degree of separation between ethnically diverse students in an education system which is mandated to enhance social cohesion. This is only a small snippet of a bigger story. It is in this context that I embarked on this study to explore the BE pedagogy in multiethnic schools, the only place where students of diverse ethnicities are able to study together in Sri Lanka.

This is the first data analysis chapter of this thesis. It explores the opinions of BE students about their own emerging ethnic habitus orientations. This dimension of my research addresses the research question: what ethnic group re/orientations take place among ethnically diverse students when they study together in multiethnic BE classrooms in Sri Lanka. Empirically, this chapter captures BE students' emerging ethnic habitus orientations through i) Students' expression of feelings and perceptions towards ethnically diverse "others" before and after joining the multiethnic BE classrooms; and ii) who they prefer to be in groups with for classroom activities i.e., whether they prefer ethnically heterogeneous or homogeneous groups and why.

In Chapter four, drawing from Bourdieu's theory of practice, I conceptualized the multiethnic BE pedagogy in Sri Lanka as a field: a relatively autonomous social microcosm with specific objective relations that exists in relation to other microcosms,

such as the respective schools where BE pedagogy is located and enacted in the 'social cosmos' (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 97). BE pedagogy, therefore, may also be considered as a relatively autonomous sub-field, that exists within the field of education, as discussed in my literature review and theoretical framework; and 'pedagogy' is considered as "relations between teaching, learning, and school processes with wider social structures, cultural shifts, and intellectual conditions" (Cross & Naidoo, 2012, p 228). Ethnolinguistic identity refers to a social group identity that takes ethnicity and language as the criteria for inclusion or exclusion of the ethnic other (Giles & Johnson, 1987; Harwood & Vincez 2012a; 2012b; 2015; Noels, Kil & Fang, 2014), as discussed in chapter three. Ethnic identity is a socially situated phenomenon (Block 2006; Crump, 2014; Holland, 2010) which distinguishes one group and the individuals that belong to that group from another. Through a Bourdieusian lens, this ethnic distinction is "socially legitimized and consecrated by social institutions", such as family, schools, media or state; and is "conferred upon individuals" as Tamils, as Sinhalese, as Muslims; such distinctions go on infinitely (Kramsch, 2010, p.41). In Chapter four, ethnic identity was conceptualized as ethnic habitus: "*a way of being habituated, a state ... a predisposition, tendency, propensity or inclination"* (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, p. 214, original emphasis), towards oneself against ethnically diverse others that confer ethnic group memberships. In this sense, BE students' ethnic habitus orientations involve propensities, inclinations and dispositions towards ethnically diverse others, or propensities for group memberships. These are historically acquired, now embodied but ever evolving, and have "an infinite capacity for generating products – thoughts, perceptions, expressions and actions". However, "*limits are set by* the historically and *socially situated conditions* of its production" (Bourdieu 1990b, p. 55, my emphasis). Analogously, BE students' ethnic habitus may align in dialectic relation to "socially situated conditions" in the multiethnic BE pedagogy, so that they will feel like "fish in water", that is, they feel they belong. In brief, although the ethnic habitus is "a product of history, that is, of social experiences and education, it may be changed by *history*, that is by new experiences, education and training" (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 45, original emphasis). However, the reader should note that I am not talking about a utopian scenario, such as a total transformation from exclusionary ethnocentric identity to totally inclusive supraethnic identity orientation or vice versa. Rather, what I argue is that transformation is towards supraethnic identity where identity positioning is considered

as a continuum. At one end, there is a highly ethnocentric identity position, and at the other end a supraethnic inclusive identity position. In other words, students' ethnic habitus are being transformed or they are still realigning, and that is why I use progressive tense of the verb realign – "Realigning" in the chapter title. This is the understanding that frames my analysis and interpretation of findings. This chapter therefore captures the kind of ethnic habitus that students bring to multiethnic BE classrooms, the circumstances/histories that nurtured such ethnic habitus formation, and evidence of how and why students reorient their ethnic identities in the multiethnic BE classroom.

The remainder of this chapter has four main sections. First, I analyse ethnolinguistic habitus that students reported that they had before coming to BE classroom, and habitus transformation in the BE class under five sub-sections. I discuss group membership preferences of students and reasons for such preferences and changes therein under several sub-themes in Section 5.3. Then, I discuss and interpret major findings under three sub-sections which explain how ethnic habitus reorientation was possible. Finally, I present conclusions of this research project, regarding the first research question.

This chapter investigates i) the ethnic habitus that the students bring to multiethnic BE field, and what circumstances/histories nurtured such ethnic habitus formation; and ii) the ethnic habitus that the students acquire in the multiethnic BE field. This analysis uses students' stories about changes in their feelings towards the ethnically diverse students, their grouping preferences in BE classroom activities, and new friendships. Consequently, the data utilized in this chapter are emic perspectives or participants' points of view expressed in the narratives they co-constructed as groups during Focus Group Discussions (FGDs). FGDs were attended by 5-8 BE students, each group representing each ethnic group Sinhala, Tamil and Muslim, in the three sites of this study. During FGDs, in many instances, when a co-participant related his/her own lived experiences, the majority participants, if not all, endorsed his/her experience by using various paralinguistic features such as nodding and smiling to agree. Often, the participants related their stories as shared, common experiences. At other times, participants also talked about personal experiences that show deviations from or additions to the ongoing spoken discourse. These spoken discourses finally constructed the reported stories of BE students. To corroborate these stories, I also

include data from semi-structured interviews I had with their teachers when and where necessary.

Before embarking on the analysis it is important to re-visit the contextual differences between the three sites, as these are relevant to the discussion. The first research site, the South College, conducts classes from Grade 6 to 13; all students who join this school in Grade six have had their primary education in other schools that are usually single medium monolingual schools. Raveendranath College has classes from Grade one to thirteen, and most BE students have studied in the College from Grade one to five before joining the BE class in Grade six. In Raveendranath College, there is another cohort of students, the Scholars, who join the BE class after passing a competitive public scholarship examination. The context at Parakum College is completely different, since they commence the BE programme from Grade 1. Consequently, at Parakum College, the BE students of all ethnicities have been studying together from the beginning of their school career in Grade 1.

Overall, the analysis indicates that students had ethnocentric dispositions towards ethnically diverse others before joining the BE class. These may have resulted from alienation from each other due to monoethnic social spaces that they had inhabited earlier. On the other hand, the analysis also demonstrates that BE classrooms in multiethnic schools that bring ethnically diverse students together also report having facilitated a realignment of historically acquired ethnocentric dispositions towards less-ethnocentric and more inclusive supraethnic dispositions. The ensuing discussion demonstrates such changes that have been comprehensively authenticated by data.

5.2 ETHNIC HABITUS: BROUGHT AND ACQUIRED

On the whole, the data demonstrate that the students had highly ethnocentric dispositions towards other ethnic groups before joining the multiethnic BE programme. The data reveal that the students had acquired these ethnocentric dispositions during their 'primary habitus' formation (Bourdieu, 1977) in fields such as family or media; unsurprisingly given the historical conflict among the ethnic groups in Sri Lanka. It appears that even during early 'secondary habitus' formation (Bourdieu, 1977) in schools from Grade 1 to 5, the ethnocentric habitus continued to be nurtured, since the schools (or classrooms) they attended, or the conditions in the fields they inhabited, were ethnically exclusive. In response to my question about

whether they had had opportunities to meet, talk, know and acquaint themselves with ethnically diverse students before joining the BE pedagogy, all students responded negatively. Their responses indicated that they occupied monoethnic ethnocentric social spaces before coming to the BE programme. For some students, the experience of BE pedagogy appears to be the social space where they had exposure to ethnic others for the first time in their life. It is therefore suggested that the ethnocentric habitus accrual might have taken place in dialectic relation to these monoethnic ethnocentric social spaces. As indicated, one such social space revealed in the data that alienated the ethnically diverse students from each other was that of the single media monoethnic schools that students had studied in before. Interestingly, this was also true of students who had been studying in bi-media multiethnic schools, since the students of diverse ethnicities had been kept apart due to MTI in Sinhala medium and Tamil medium classes. Though the students in multiethnic schools had studied in the same school from Grade 1 to 5, students reported that they never interacted with each other. Conversely, the data also reveal that the ethnocentric dispositions that the students bring to the multiethnic BE classroom begin to transform in the context of multiethnic BE pedagogy. This transformation may have occurred in dialectic relation to BE pedagogy, whose "socially situated conditions" are ethnic inclusivity, and where students of different ethnicities are required to work together cooperatively and to seek mutual help in pursuit of their common educational goals. These aspects are elaborated in the subsequent sections of this analysis.

5.2.1 **From ethnically exclusive schools to multiethnic BE pedagogy**

In general student stories reflected the fact that the reason for the lack of lived experiences with ethnically diverse students is attributable to the ethnically exclusive schools that the students attended before joining the BE programme. Theoretically, these schools do not provide "socially situated conditions" that can trigger transformation of the ethnocentric habitus students may have acquired during primary habitus formation in the familial field; they in fact perpetuate and nurture ethnocentrism. To discuss this further, I first draw from stories collected at South College.

In South College, all the students group - Sinhala, Tamil and Muslim – reported that they were not able to meet and interact with ethnically diverse students before

coming to the BE class at South College in Grade 6. They had previously attended single media schools; either Sinhala or Tamil medium. To represent their experiences, I present excerpts from some Muslim students, because Muslim students, usually by choice, opt to study either in Sinhala medium or Tamil medium schools. Hence, Muslim students' experiences are very likely to reflect both Sinhala and Tamil students' experiences. Generally, the stories presented below indicate that these students had been deprived of any lived experience with ethnically diverse students in their previous schools; because Sri Lankan public schools are ethnically divided due to Mother Tongue Instruction (MTI).

Table 5.1 Alienation due to ethnically exclusive schools: FGD with Muslim students at South College

Student 3	*In my earlier school [Muslim school] we didn't meet them so I didn't know about them. I thought they are bad. But now it's different, I know them and we are friends.*
Student 1	*Actually in earlier time I didn't have any Sinhala friends. So I got a proper picture about them by this English medium class. We all meet so all can be friends, all from different ethnic groups, so it is much much better, isn't it miss? [...]*
Student4	*In the earlier school (Sinhala medium school) also I had Sinhala friends but I didn't have Tamil friends. After coming here I have got Tamil friends so now I have that experience also. Earlier I thought they won't speak with us but now they are speaking. Now they are speaking with us and very friendly, they are good.*
Student5	*In my previous school [Muslim girls' school] there were only Muslim girls. But here we all are here. I didn't know about Tamil and Sinhala students. Now I know they are also like us. [Earlier] we didn't have chances to acquaint with them.*

As is clear from the transcript, the students reported that previously they did not meet, talk and hence did not know about people of other ethnicities before joining the BE class. These Muslim students had had their primary education in different schools. Student 4 and Student 5 had attended a Muslim girls' school and a Sinhala medium school respectively. They disclosed that they had friends only from the respective ethnic groups that populated these schools, not from other ethnicities, so were unable to get to know ethnically diverse others in these single media schools. This shows that these students were deprived of lived experiences – meeting, knowing, befriending and working with - ethnically diverse students due to the nature of the ethnically segregated schools they attended. This may have caused them to nurture misconceptions and

negative feelings about ethnically diverse groups that they may have already brought from their family, as suggested by the students quoted above. These students' views suggest that they took-for-granted that ethnic others were 'bad'. This represents a form of ethnic exclusionism: the belief that all people in the out-group are homogeneously bad (Allport, 1954; Tajfel, 1978, Tajfel & Turner 1978).

In Bourdieusian terms, this is an example of ethnocentric habitus: negative dispositions towards an entire category of ethnic others – the out-group bias and exclusionism. In other words, the identified divisive social structures were the "socially situated conditions" of the social spaces that these students had inhabited. In terms of dialectic relations, these external structures have been internalized and become embodied, the system by which "they define 'us' as opposed to ' them', 'other people', and which is the basis of the exclusions ('not for the likes of us') and inclusions" (Bourdieu, 1984 p 477). When the field structures that the students have been exposed to so far in their lives are ethnically exclusive, they prompt the acquisition of ways of seeing, thinking and acting that fit with the logic of practice in those monoethnic spaces: that is, the acquisition of ethnocentric habitus. I do not suggest that these students acquired their ethnocentric habitus in monoethnic schools because their primary socialization or 'primary habitus' acquisition had already occurred within the familial field before coming to school. What can be argued here, however, is that monoethnic schools help perpetuate the ethnocentric habitus of students and contribute to historical antipathies among the diverse ethnic groups in the country. This antipathy between communities is historically, socially and politically inherited from generation to generation, as a result of historical conflicts and has been perpetuated and nurtured by social institutions or fields such as families, media, political institutions, schools and so on. I discuss this point further, later in this discussion (See Section 5.2.5).

Let me now return to my analysis of the stories depicted in the excerpts 5.1. Contrary to previously held ethnocentric dispositions towards other ethnic groups, after joining the BE programme in multiethnic/lingual schools it appears that students develop mutual understanding. They may have been able to contest and clarify earlier formed (mis)conceptions about the ethnically diverse others through their lived experience in the new field. As expressed in the above excerpts, they have 'got a proper picture' by being, talking, working with each other and making friends with ethnically

diverse fellow students. The use of words such as 'earlier', 'previous' opposed to 'now', 'after', and 'here' in addition to the use of the past tense as opposed to the present tense, highlights the differences between their experiences now and then. In the above excerpts, they talk about how the new field, the multiethnic BE classroom, has made it possible to become friends with ethnically diverse students, both Tamil and Sinhala. For example, agreeing with other students, Student 5 says, "Now I know they are also like us", which shows a change in student attitudes and feelings about ethnically diverse others compared to their previous negative dispositions, such as "thought they were bad". This can be interpreted as a change in ways of seeing, being and feeling towards the ethnically diverse others, or as a reorientation of ethnic habitus in view of new experiences or the 'logic of practice' in the multiethnic BE field, whose logic of practice is inclusivity: students are required to engage and work together as one group. What is seen as resourceful and is valued in the BE field are the principles of mutual respect, understanding and interdependence. In dialectic relation to these "socially situated conditions", students' habitus need to be reoriented so that the habitus and field are congruent with each other. In such a context, the resourcefulness is the ethnic inclusivity or 'inclusive social capital', which I interpret more comprehensively in the discussion section of this chapter (Section 5.4.3).

Next, views from a different cohort of students at Raveendranath College, the Scholars, are presented to strengthen the arguments made so far. Before passing the Grade 5 public scholarship examinations and coming to Raveendranath College, the following students, whom I call Scholars, had attended monoethnic single-media schools in rural areas. This cohort provides compelling evidence of intense alienation between ethnically diverse groups in the country due to the segregated public school system. Below are the excerpts I drew from their personal stories disclosed in the FGD.

Table 5.2 Alienation due to ethnically exclusive schools: FGD with Sinhala students (scholars)

	When I came here and heard Tamil I got scared!
Student 4	*When we were young we only associated with Sinhala students and Sinhalese. When I came here and heard Tamil I got scared instantly. I wondered if they would talk to me, I have no place to go. I wondered if something happened I may have to hide somewhere. That's how I felt in the first few days*
Researcher	*You mean Tamil students?*

Student 4	*Both Tamil and Muslim students. Because they both talk in Tamil. After sometime when we listen to them, they also knew Sinhala and then they talked to us. And we also jump into their conversations and started to ask what they talked. Then our fears disappeared and friendship developed.*
Researcher	*Haven't you ever met Tamils in when you were at former school?*
Student 4	*No miss. No Tamils are there in our area.*
Student 3	*When we heard them talking in their language I initially thought I won't be able to talk with them and to be with them. We didn't know if they scolded us or must be talking about us. But after we got to know each other know now we know them. We don't feel much difference even when they talk in Tamil though we cannot understand*

The above accounts reveal the cultural shock these students, who had not been exposed to other ethnic groups in person, experienced when they first came across ethnically diverse students in the new multiethnic school, Raveendranath College. These students had studied in Sinhala medium schools in rural areas before coming to the school. Their stories reflect the severity of segregation between students of different ethnicities in Sri Lanka. One major causal factor of this segregation is the ethnically exclusive school system as reflected in these stories. In the first line, the student says that he had associated only with Sinhalese; because of this, even hearing Tamil language was felt to be threatening by this student. The same kind of suspicion and mistrust is vividly expressed by both Students above. For instance, student 4 tells how he got scared and wondered how to find a place to hide if something happened. His first reaction to hearing students speaking Tamil was an embodied reaction: 'scared' and 'looking for a place to hide'. He felt profound anxiety as a result of the experience. In the case of this boy, it is not only the ethnic exclusivity prevalent in his previous monoethnic Sinhala school, but also in the area he lived in. What is most significant here is the fact that these students are from a majority Sinhalese community, which is considered to be a dominant group, not a socially disadvantaged one. I suggest that their intense anxiety and feeling of helplessness may have been caused by after-effects of terrorist attacks – suicide bombings by Tamil rebellions experienced during the country's time of ethnic conflict: he was trying to find a place to hide – echoes historically acquired fear, anxiety and ways of thinking about ethnic others believed to be 'enemies', and hence the ethnocentric habitus.

Another important aspect that emerges from the commentaries is that the Sinhala students could not differentiate between Tamils and Muslims because both speak the Tamil language; therefore, Sinhala students' feelings of suspicion and mistrust were directed towards both ethnic groups. The language was unintelligible to them; so they were suspicious and uneasy, wondering if the Tamil-speaking students were scolding them or talking about them. Language barriers were a recurrent theme in the data with regard to ethnic segregation and are discussed further below. I also devote Chapter 7 to full analysis and discussion of this key feature in the data.

Considering the other side of the coin, the above commentaries from students illustrate that the transformation of previously held negative ethnocentric dispositions began in the BE pedagogy. For instance, we hear that when students are together in the BE classroom "fears disappear and friendship developed"; and that their relations become friendly, so that "we also jump into their conversations and started to ask what they talk". This is quite different to the suspicion and distance referred to earlier. Now these Sinhala students neither feel difference nor suspicion; they have come to know the ethnic others and feel befriended; so that even if Tamil-speaking students' talk is unintelligible to these Sinhala students they are no longer concerned; they know each other, they are friends and trust each other: "after we [Sinhala students] got to know each other... we [they] don't feel much difference even when ...talk in Tamil though ... cannot understand". This is very different to their earlier suspicion that the Tamil students were scolding or talking about them when talking in Tamil. This difference in feelings and attitudes exemplifies the reorientation of a previous ethnocentric habitus towards an inclusive supraethnic habitus on the identity positioning continuum.

As noted earlier, another main revelation was that even within bi-media schools ethnically diverse students in Sri Lanka are kept apart; thereby nurture ethnic exclusionism, as discussed below.

5.2.2 From ethnically exclusive single media to multiethnic BE pedagogy

The schools where both Sinhala medium and Tamil medium instruction are available are called bi-media schools. These schools are attended by all ethnic groups. In all three schools, as in other public multiethnic/bi-media schools in Sri Lanka, Tamil and Sinhala speaking students are separated since they study separately in Sinhala medium

and Tamil medium classes. The only exception is that of BE classes as noted in chapters one and two. As is evident from the following excerpts from FGDs this separation appears to be nurturing the same ethnocentric dispositions in students that they may have already acquired as primary habitus from their ethnically homogeneous familial fields. To exemplify, I present below some examples of lived experiences related by two BE students at Raveendranath College, a Muslim and a Tamil, who had participated in the BE programme from Grade 6 to Grade 13.

Table 5.3 Alienation among ethnically diverse students in the same school

Student1 [Muslim]	*It was very separate, we didn't know them and they didn't know about us either. From Grade 6 onwards I was in English medium class. And I was* ***in Sinhala*** *medium before. ... Well, before I came to English medium in Grade 6, from Grade 1to 5, I barely used to play with them. During the interval also it was very separate, so we didn't know them and they didn't know us either. After Grade 6, when we started moving together and playing together, exchanging things and working together, that was a big experience for us.*
Student3 [Tamil]	*There was a difference. From Grade 1 to 5 it was like, let's say, we are like from another planet and those people were like from another planet. Though we exist we never get to interact. And in Grade 6 also this was same. let's say, may be at that time the war was still going on. I felt some difference that they had some kind of separation. They looked down upon us, a kind of thing. But still there were like they respected us. But still like I just felt that deep inside there is some kind of separation. They [Sinhala students] might have had the same feeling. But later when we came to Grade 13, these issues were all over. It was only from Grade 6 to 9. From 10 onwards it was over because we started growing up and we started understanding differences and now there is no difference. There are Whatsapp groups and we are all there irrespective of our ethnicity.*

The above excerpt illustrates how ethnically diverse students are excluded from shared lived experiences even within the so-called multiethnic schools divided by media of instructions – Sinhala medium and Tamil medium. This reconfirms my previous research findings (Wijesekera, 2012). As is visible in the excerpts, the students had no connection before joining BE classes. For instance, the Muslim student – who studied in Sinhala medium classes) says, "... before ...I barely used to play with them it was very separate, so we didn't know them and they didn't know us either". The degree of separation is more intensely expressed by the Tamil student (who studied in Tamil medium classes) – "From Grade 1 to 5... we are like from another planet". His views shed light on the degree of suppression and animosity between groups: "they looked down on us"; "They might have had the same feeling". His words "I just felt... deep inside ... felt some kind of separation" reflect the nature of his particular ethnocentric

exclusionary ethnic habitus. This was the commonly reported experience of students who participated in FGDs, not only at Raveendranath College but in all three sites. This idea of separation between Sinhala medium students and Tamil medium students resurfaces throughout the data. As this student's reference to Sinhala students suggests, "They might have had the same feeling".

On a positive note, it is evident in the above commentary that these students' ethnocentric dispositions and perceptions towards ethnically diverse students are gradually disappearing after joining the BE and coming to know more about each other. One Muslim student's views, for example, indicate not only changes in feelings and opinions in relation to students from different ethnic backgrounds, but also reference bodily movements that reflect changes in practices or ways of being: "moving together, playing together, exchanging things and working together" - which he identifies as a "big experience". Similarly, his colleague, the Tamil student, stated that the previous state of separation "was over", as they began to understand each other and to form a single group (such as Whatsapp) "irrespective of ... ethnicity." Difference disappears as understanding develops. These comments illustrate students' ethnic habitus reorientation – from a previously-held ethnocentric dispositions or habitus towards a more inclusive supraethnic habitus. It is argued that this realignment may have been necessitated by the "socially situated conditions" (Bourdieu, 1990b) existing in the BE pedagogic field, where these social agents can profit from inclusiveness rather than ethnic exclusion; as the pursuit of educational investments needs mutual help, acquaintance and cooperation. What is being recognized in this social microcosm is the value of inclusive membership as opposed to ethnically-constituted exclusivity.

5.2.3 **Language barrier also adds to ethnic alienation**

Students initially referred constantly to lack of intergroup contact due to language barriers. This element of the data will be extensively discussed in Chapter 7. It is conceivable that the students meant that a language barrier resulted from the lack of a common language that was intelligible to them all. However, their stories also imply that the barrier involved more than language; that some other aspect, for example, lack of contact had also kept apart them as shown below in Table 5.4. Some of the commentaries suggest the separation was in part caused by the fact that students of different ethnic backgrounds were divided into separate classes by MTI.

Table 5.4 Excerpt from FGD with Sinhala BE students at Raveendranath College from Grade 1

1	*Student2*	*We did not get everyone in our class before, when we were in Primary.*
2		*It was like hard for us to speak because we were learning in one*
3		*language. We hardly spoke with each other. We hardly communicated*
4		*because they were in Tamil medium. We had a few Muslims with us in*
5		*Sinhala medium class. So after we came to middle school we were*
6		*able to communicate with them because we got Tamils and Tamil*
7		*medium Muslim students studying in the English medium class. So*
8		*we could get to know about them unlike when we were in the primary.*
9	*Student 3*	*When we take Sinhala medium we communicate only with Sinhala*
10		*friends [...] Communication problem was there when we were in the*
11		*primary*
12	*Student 1*	*Earlier we hated them. Because we didn't meet them.*
13	*Student3*	*We didn't have any knowledge or understanding about them earlier.*
14		*On the other hand, we thought that Tamils are bad like that [...]*
15		*In Grade 1-5 we were in two separate medium. There were separate*
16		*classes for us and for them. So we had contacts only with students*
17		*who were in our class [...]*
18	*Researcher*	*Is this the same with Muslim students?*
19	*Student 1*	*No. Muslim students have been with us since primary. So I didn't*
20		*have any animosity with them*

These Sinhala students, who have been studying in the same school before they joined the BE class, report no contact with Tamil medium students because they were in two separate medium groups from Grade 1-5. They were thus compelled to study alienated from each other. The negative consequence of such enforced alienation is well expressed in lines 1-2: these Sinhala students "didn't have any knowledge or understanding about them [Tamil students]" because they "were in two separate mediums..." So while at first glance it appears that the barrier was language, it is clearly more than this; the students could not meet since they were in separate classes; they had contacts only with students who were with them, in their class. . This separation meant that they "didn't even meet", hardly spoke had no contact; and as a result developed stereotypical misconceptions about the whole Tamil community: "thought that Tamils are bad like that"; reflecting an explicit ethnocentric habitus. This division appears to nurture misconceptions about people from other ethnic groups. So, all Tamils, as a homogeneous group, are believed to be bad. This was quite different to how they felt about students of other ethnicities who have been with them and had constant contact: "Muslim students have been with us [them] since primary. So I didn't

have any animosity towards them". In brief, these views articulated by students confirm the intensity of ethnic exclusionism that exists even within multiethnic schools due to the system of separate classes for Sinhala medium and Tamil medium students. The logic of practice in these schools is one of ethnic exclusionism resulted by linguistic division. In these social spaces the students are not required to work and live with ethnically diverse students in order to fulfil their educational aspirations – as is the case in the multiethnic BE pedagogic field. In such these kinds of ethnocentric school fields the highest value conferred in relation to social capital is that of ethnically exclusive membership. In dialectic relations, the ethnocentric habitus is nurtured and perpetuated in students. I will now interpret in more detail the role played by schools in nurturing ethnocentric habitus.

5.2.4 **Schools perpetuating ethnocentrism:**

As noted earlier, students bring to the school experience the "primary habitus" that they have acquired through early socialization in the familial and other fields, such as mass media to which they were exposed at home. Their ethnocentric dispositions are instantiated by those monoethnic fields that they passed through before coming to school (Bourdieu, 1990b). And, as revealed in the above analysis, school can be one of the most effective means of "...perpetuating the existing social pattern, as it both provides an apparent justification for social inequalities and gives recognition to the cultural heritage" (Bourdieu, 1974, p. 32). In the present case, school is seen to be perpetuating and further nurturing ethnic exclusionism as if it were natural. Students' ethnocentric 'primary habitus' is thus further consolidated by school, forming a "secondary habitus" in this new context. In Sri Lanka this kind of perpetuation of ethnocentrism seems to have been legitimatized by the system itself, as discussed in the literature review. Nadesan expressed his dismay in what he sees to be a historical calamity in the system:

> Today, the children of these two different nationalities study in different schools in their respective languages and, while remembering the conflicts and wars between their kings and chieftains in the past, are growing up ignorant of one another's culture, language and achievements. In such a state of affairs, conflicts are bound to arise. (February, 1984)

Rather than inculcating national unity and cohesion, schools tended to be promoting exclusionism; and yet more evidence of this fact emerges through the data

tabled in this study. The missions of many schools are in fact to cater to a selected group of people, such as one ethnic or religious group. Concerns over this situation were expressed by one of the students at Raveendranath College.

> *We don't give priority to any religion. I am worried about other schools especially schools which promote a certain race or religion. There are schools like that. I feel those are the institutions that create division.* (Senior Prefect - Muslim)

For example, Sinhala Buddhist schools cater to Sinhala Buddhist students; so they do not patronage either Tamil or Muslim students in their schools. Similarly, Tamil Hindu schools do not enrol either Sinhala or Muslim children; and the same is true of Muslim Islam, Catholic or other Christian communities. The list continues, above all in terms of Sinhala medium and Tamil medium schools also contribute to this separation in Sri Lanka. This illustrates how 'separatist' or 'exclusionist' the schools' habitus themselves are. The Principal of South College expressed his contempt for this state of affairs: "so the division is already created in the system at the start"*;* and the division is taken for granted. Making the situation worse, the Sri Lankan curriculum adds to the exclusionist structures that dominate in Sri Lankan schools. In fact, The National Policy Framework for General Education prepared by the National Education Commission, one of the very contributors to the perpetuation of division admits,

> Hardly any efforts have been made to eliminate ethnic stereotypes in the curriculum to emphasize the common elements of different cultures and to promote respect for diversity within the framework of national unity. Textbooks have continued to be mono-ethnic based or to transmit prejudices (NEC, 2003, p.11).

Consequently, it is apparent that students who are socialized in these institutions acquire, in dialectic relations to these institutions, the habitus of exclusionism based on social distinctions such as ethnicity. But few people seem to understand this; these divisions have been misrecognized and this separatism through religion, ethnicity or any other categorization as natural, allows the system to perpetuate.

The analysis thus far indicates the gravity of the consequences of segmented schools and classrooms in Sri Lanka resulting from Mother Tongue Instructions (MTI); thereby perpetuating and nurturing an ethnocentric habitus in students and

serving the ethnic division of the nation. This confirms previous research carried out in relation to ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. Referring to the Sri Lankan education system and its explicit contribution to ethnic conflict, Wickrema and Colenso (2003) for example argued that "the shift in medium of instructions to the national languages [...] resulted in fewer opportunities for interaction between Sinhalese and Tamil children and youth" (p.5). Is the language policy of mother tongue instruction – driven by fear of language loss and the desire to preserve languages - worth pursuing at the expense of national unity? Is it worth having mono-media classrooms and schools - long ago decided by giving into struggles between Sinhalese and Tamil speaking activists - in the pursuit of enhancing the capital value of these respective mother tongues? These are important questions to consider in the context of this study which explores ethnic habitus transformation as it relates to social cohesion.

Embedded in the above analysis are significant inconsistencies in the logic of practice in the field of education; the "conflicts and tensions" within it, arising from its "misrecognized nature" (Grenfell, 2014, p.38). In the case of Sri Lanka, the "ES [Education System] produces a habitus conforming as closely as possible to the principles of the cultural arbitrary which it is mandated to produce" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, p.57). This analysis questions, in particular, the double standards implicit in regularities imposed by the legislature in terms of policy in National Languages and Media of Instruction in education, which virtually divides the whole nation based on ethnicity. This legislated policy stands in direct contrast to what the education system is supposed to achieve as legitimated by its own principles and National goals of education: *social cohesion;* the stated intention not to perpetuate existing segregation or to reproduce existing social structure (Bourdieu & Passeron). It is doubtful that these discrepancies can be resolved because everybody seems to be blinded by *illusio,* "...the tacit recognition of the value of the stakes of the game and as practical master of its rules", and "taken in and by the game...and worth pursuing" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 116-117). When everything is taken for granted the systemic structures perpetuates.

Having analysed the schools' role in perpetuating ethnocentric habitus, I now return to the issue of 'primary habitus'. As noted earlier, the students bring to school the "primary habitus" that they have historically acquired through early socialization in the familial field and other fields such as that of the mass media which they are

exposed to within the family circle. Ethnocentric dispositions are instantiated by these monoethnic fields. As such, I now present data that explicate how and where students acquire negative dispositions or misconceptions towards other ethnicities.

5.2.5 **From ethically exclusive fields to ethnically inclusive BE pedagogic field**

Historical ethnic segregation is not only based on language but also other macro forces behind the scene such as the country's history and the legacy of war. It is ever present in Sri Lankan society, a fact confirmed by the ethnic riots that the country experiences from time to time, as discussed in chapters one and two. The student views expressed in the FGDs and presented thus far in this analysis reveal that students of the same ethnic group have homogeneous stereotypical misperceptions concerning other ethnic groups. According to Bourdieu (1984), these students might have inherited these misconceptions in the form of "definitions that their elders offer them" (p. 477). In the context of this study, it is clear from students' comments that such definitions of those who are ethnically 'other' have been internalized and embodied as the 'primary habitus' by the time they start at primary school, and then continue on to the BE classrooms. Students' stories reflect the fact that they had stereotypical misconceptions about ethnically diverse others before coming to the BE multiethnic class; that they had received *mis*information about people of different ethnicities from their families and from exposure to media; that this *mis*information has ultimately contributed to the formation of dispositions of stereotypical misconceptions which characterize an ethnocentric habitus. Students reference the negative ways that they thought and felt about ethnically diverse others due to information they received from these sources. Consider the extracts from FGDs highlighted in brown below.

Table 5.5 Stereotypical misconceptions of students about ethnic others: Excerpts from FGDs

South College		
1	Tamil student	*Before we were in other schools, we didn't see them like this. The problem was war.*
2	Tamil student	*When we watched news we thought Sinhala people were not good, we have neighbours they are good, but we thought Sinhalese in the country are not good. But it was only when we came to this school (BE) we understood that they are as good as this much, they are very good.*
3	Sinhala student	*[we] saw them [Muslim people] bit different from us, a bit bad way (before)…earlier we thought that they humiliate and disrespect our religion*
4	Sinhala student	*When during war we were scared of Tamils.*
5	Sinhala Student	*= during the war Sinhala and Tamil (…) because of it we were afraid of Tamils earlier*
6	Muslim student	*In S.... (Muslim College) we didn't meet them, so I didn't know about them. I thought they are bad. But now it's different, I know them and we are friends.*
7	Muslim student	*Actually in earlier time I didn't have any Sinhala friends. So I got a proper picture about them by this English medium class. We all meet together so all can be friends, all from different ethnic groups, so it is much better, isn't it miss? […]*
Raveendranath College		
8	Sinhala student	*It is different now. Earlier we all hated Tamils. Now it is changed now. Now we are in the same one class, we work together and we understand each other now*
9	Sinhala student	*We didn't have any knowledge or understanding about them earlier. On the other hand, we thought that Tamils are bad like that. Now we realized they are really cooperative, because now we are friends.*
10	Sinhala Student [scholar]	*It is two situations. The people in here, their behaviour is different compared to the people TV are referring to. For example it is said that they are going to divide the country in Jaffna [this coincided with the infamous speech by the Chief Minister, Northern Province] so we cannot understand and confused because we feel they are bad and these people are good. This happens due to the way they have been brought up, I think.*
11	Tamil student	*May be I personally think that only parents understand these. We never knew what was happening. Just suddenly war finished. They say all the stories, parents had their mentality and that has gone into the children that is what I believe. They didn't even know why they have that separation. They have a deep impact inside that there is some kind of difference [distance between Tamils and others – mainly Sinhalese].*
12	Muslim student	*Earlier I thought all Sinhala students were discriminating Hindus and after I got to know them I understood that all not discriminating.*
13	Muslim student	*They are better than we thought. Like, if we don't know the students we think everyone is bad. Like that we didn't know Sinhala medium students so we thought all of them were bad...*

These comments show that students seem to be thinking of a whole group of ethnic others as one homogeneous group, where within-group differences are not taken into consideration. This tendency is characteristic of social group formation based on exclusionism: considering all out-group members as homogeneous while favouring all in-group members. This shows recognisable in-group and out-group bias (Linville, Fischer & Salovey, 1989; Tajfel, 1979). The students have accrued these discriminatory ideas from various social institutions that they have passed through or been influenced by in early socialization, such as the various forms of media associated with the familial field. Each family has patterns of behaviour that determine which TV channel is watched in the home, whether it is in their home language or English, what position in takes on issues such as war or ethnocentrism. For instance, these comments from Tamil students, "the Sinhalese in the country were not good", "When we watch news we thought Sinhala people were not good" demonstrate they had developed stereotypical *mis*conceptions towards the Sinhalese through the information offered by media.

Sinhala students reported similar misconceptions: "We saw them bit different from us, a bit bad way"; they too categorized a whole ethnic group – in their case the Tamils - into one group (out-grouping). Their discrimination in relation to Tamils appears to also have been affected by the war: "during war we were afraid of Tamils". Another indication of the negative impact of media on establishing views on ethnic diversity is evident, where Sinhala students are discussing Tamils who live in other areas. They clearly differentiate between Tamils that they know and Tamils who are unknown to them. The Muslim students reinforce this idea: "if we don't know... we think everybody is bad". The importance of 'knowing each other' in rectifying misconceptions about people who are ethnically different is clearly crucial.

It is repeatedly made clear during the recorded discussions that family is a key influence in terms of shaping attitudes in children: when talking about people who hold extreme views, the Sinhala student concludes: "this happens due to the way they have been brought up". A further comment confirms this influence. This student is explaining that the younger generation know nothing about the social/cultural division, but they inherit their views on it: "parents had their mentality and that has gone into the children". Another BE student from Parakum College expressed similar ideas during the FGDs with Tamil students.

If you are going to look at other things like caste, like religion you are after problems like ethnic problem. People like to identify themselves in different ways; I think this is due to their socialization.

This student seems to equate dispositions gathered through socialization directly to one's preferred sense of identity. The CE/ BE class teacher also discussed the mono-cultural attitudes that students bring to the BE class due to lack of exposure to multiethnic and multicultural fields:

Sometimes some students have that kind of ideas which they have received from their families. Because for example, one student of mine, came from a rural area told me that he didn't like to stay in the class. When I ask him the reason he said "No miss, because Muslim boys are having beef I don't like it miss because cow is like our mother" [...] you know that is their nature, they are having that kind of ideas. [...] I told his mother also. She said that this boy had been with Sinhala Buddhist students since Grade 1 that that may be the reason he doesn't like to be with others. So it was the first time he had met and had got the chance to mix with the students of other ethnicities, Tamils and Muslims.

What is evident in all the excerpts included above is that students lack understanding of the multicultural nature of the society because they have no experience of diversity; their experience is confined to monoethnic fields. In dialectic relation to these social structures they develop ethnocentric habitus; preferred identity positioning/s become discriminatory and racialized. Such ethnocentric dispositions make them 'unfit' to inhabit multiethnic social spaces; they feel like "fish out of water", as in the case of the student referred to by the CE teacher above.

In this way, bitterness between contesting ethnic groups is generationally transmitted; stereotypical *mis*perceptions and *mis*conceptions about different ethnic groups grow through the social circumstances of the familial fields that these students have been exposed to. I purposely used *'mis'* in italics because students later reported the realization that their earlier held conceptions were actually false or '*mis'* representations of the ethnic others; this realization resulted from their experience in the multiethnic BE programme. Bourdieu (1984) described how such misconceptions are cultivated in children by their families; how younger generations inherit cultural attitudes on social categories of exclusion, "definitions that their elders offer them" *(*p 477); how these "cognitive structures...are internalized" and become "'embodied' social structures," a natural entity to the individual(Bourdieu 468); how "they define

'us' as opposed to ' them', 'other people', [...] which is the basis of the exclusions ('not for the likes of us') and inclusions" (p. 478).

Ethnic social (ethnic) group habitus - "manners of being, seeing, acting and thinking or a system of long lasting (rather than permanent) schemes or schemata or structures of perception, conception and action" (Bourdieu, 2002, p.27) - that categorize people of different ethnic backgrounds in these ways - are not immutable. They are transposable and can generate in dialectic relations to objective structures of new social spaces those individuals or groups pass through. The student commentaries included above confirm the possibility of reorientation of ethnic habitus after coming to the BE pedagogic field; after getting to know students from different ethnic communities; after getting "a proper picture" and understanding that earlier conceptions about ethnic others are actually 'misconceptions'. So they had thought that Muslims 'humiliate' and 'disrespect' their religion and were therefore 'different' in a 'bad way'. Sinhala students reported that they were 'scared' and 'afraid of' Tamils due to the war. These feelings change with the lived experiences in the BE class, where everyone is together, making friendships, learning together, helping each other. As the Tamil student at South College explained when talking about the Sinhalese students: "only when we came to this school (BE) we understood that they are as good as this much, they are very good". Similar comments from students in all three groups - Muslim, Sinhala and Tamil – make similar points: "Now we are in the same one class, we work together and we understand each other now"; "realized they are really cooperative, because now we [they] are friends"; the students from the other groups were better than they thought. These comments all add up to a growing sense of increased trust, interdependence and reciprocity among the ethnically diverse students in the BE class. There is also evidence of growing mistrust of the media, as in remarks by Tamil students in Parakum College quoted below:

> *Student2: if one party [political] starts the other party also gets back.*
>
> *Student4: The thing is they are using all these to fight for votes.*
>
> *Student1: I should say media is like mosquitoes, it takes the disease and spread everywhere. They just spread, what they only need is publicity, to make money; they manipulate information to make money.*

Students are beginning to critically consider the role of the media; to blame the media – along with politicians and party politics - for dividing people; comparing media to mosquitoes. As discussed in my literature review, politicians of all ethnicities are still

using ethnicity and language for political purposes. It is interesting here to see how students at this still young age are beginning to understand how this works; and that they are building awareness and determination not to be misled. They are defending against possible negative influences that could damage the mutual understanding and respect they have developed in respect to the 'others' – the students from other ethnic groups who work with them in their classroom. This is good evidence of ethnic habitus reorientation, of a distancing from ethnocentric habitus, and a move towards supraethnicity.

To summarise, the above analysis has illustrated that students had previously formed an ethnocentric habitus in dialectic relation to the ethnically exclusive fields they occupied. In the absence of lived experience - opportunities to meet, talk and know people from other ethnic groups - these students tended to exploit and be influenced by information offered to them by parents, media and the experience of war. They subsequently formed ethnocentric dispositions. The ethnically inclusive multiethnic BE classroom, on the other hand, brings students of different ethnicities together, offering opportunities for the development of mutual recognition, respect for each other and cooperation; all values required to achieve their common educational goals. In dialectic relations to these changed social conditions their previously held ethnocentric exclusionary habitus realign in a practical sense towards an inclusive supraethnic habitus.

5.3 PREFERENCE FOR ETHNICALLY HETEROGENEOUS GROUPS

This next part of data analysis ascertains students' preferences for grouping that may reflect their preferred ethnic group orientations: indicating how inclusive or exclusionary their preferences are, and why. As mentioned earlier, ethnic habitus or ethnic identity is a social group identity which excludes ethnically different 'them', separating them from ethnic 'us'. It was therefore important to explore tendencies and propensities developed in students with regard to group membership preferences when required to do group work in the BE programme. The probing question used during the FGDs to elicit data for this section was: *Who do you (students) prefer to be with, in groups, and why?* I now present extracts from the data. On the whole, students' responses reveal preference for ethnically heterogeneous groups. This was unanimously and explicitly declared by all participants: they wanted a "mix of all" in

groups. To represent the views of students in all three schools I present views expressed by students at Parakum College.

Table 5.6 Preference for heterogeneous group membership: Excerpts from FGD at Parakum College

Sinhala Students

1	*Student3*	*We don't mind. It is no matter who, Sinhala, Muslim or Tamil*
2	*Students:*	*Yeah, we feel like that we all are friends.*
3	*Student1:*	*We don't sit separately. We sit with our friends. There are Tamil and Muslim friends.*
4	*Student2:*	*We get together and make it [group activity] properly even if you are with Tamil students or Muslim students or Sinhala. You put aside religion (he refers to ethnicity) and all and do group work.*

Muslim students

5	*Student1*	*Mixed because we are all friends. BE should be there for everyone. It will sort everything out.... we are in a class where everybody lives together. So from early stage we should build up good relationships with each other. Because of that nobody will hate each other, undermine each other, we start to respect each other and these things probably eradicate misunderstanding among groups.*
6	*Student3*	*We don't compare any one against religion ethnicity.*
7	*Student5*	*We should associate with everyone. All are our classmates. They are also humans, our classmates.*

As depicted above, the students definitely prefer ethnically heterogeneous groups. They believe in associating with everyone; they disregard ethnic or religious or any other categorizations; they do not matter to them, because they are all friends and classmates. As expressed in row 5, mixed groups are believed to be best because they build 'good relationship'; 'eradicate misunderstanding;' and promote 'respect for each other.' In such a situation, as the student in row 4 noted, "you put aside' social divisions and work together to achieve shared goals. These comments suggest appreciation of mutual understanding, recognition, cooperation and reciprocity. These are characteristics of habitus orientation towards inclusivity away from ethnic exclusionist dispositions. This evidence will be further discussed in Chapter six and seven.

5.3.1 **Growing reciprocity in ethnically heterogeneous groups**

Through their lived experience in group activities, the students perceive the network of relationships they build by being and working in ethnically heterogeneous groups as a resource, or capital, that is profit-bearing. They identified the dividends or benefits they receive from studying in ethnically heterogeneous groups: the two most appreciated 'profits' are peer scaffolding through different languages, which helps bridge language comprehension gaps as well as content knowledge comprehension gaps; and the opportunity to learn about different languages and cultures. These responses and reactions demonstrate growing dispositions of

i) Interdependence and reciprocity

ii) Mutual recognition and respect for the languages

iii) Recognition and respect for cultures of different ethnic communities

I now discuss these aspects of students' experience and changing attitudes that emerged from the FGDs.

Table 5.7 Dividends of ethnically heterogeneous groups: Excerpts from FGD

South College		
1	*Sinhala student*	*We actually like to be with all students. It is helpful because we can learn from each other. If we don't understand or we feel difficult to understand something they [Tamil speaking students] also explain us in Sinhala.*
2	*Sinhala student*	*We also explain them in Sinhala. In some group activities we need each other's help. In civics teacher ask us to write in all three languages.*
3	*Sinhala student*	*=knowledge sharing, we can talk with and share knowledge.*
4	*Tamil student*	*We like working together. We can collect many information because each other have many ideas on the=*
5	*Tamil student*	*=different ideas [we get different ideas] because of their environment ... when comparing our environment with their environment, it is <different> no. now not only that. There are all three languages there, so if we don't know Sinhala we can ask from Sinhala colleagues, likewise Sinhala friends can know Tamil when there are Tamil students in the class, also we can learn their culture their customs that is also a reason.*

6	*Tamil students*	*we can learn so many things in Sinhala, and we can study the second (2NL) language also, for our O <level exam so we can learn <so many things> <yes so many things>*
7	*Muslim student*	*When all are there, there will be different ideas we can share. When doing group work one's ideas are different from others' because we can know some sentences in other languages*
8	*Muslim student*	*We can practice Sinhala language. Yeah yeah [other Muslim students in chorus]*
9	*Muslim student*	*We can share our experiences and personal ideas with them now earlier we didn't do it because we had only Muslim friends and sometimes a few Tamil friends also. But now we have them equally in this class.*

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10	*Muslim student*	*Mix of all. If we are in a mixed group we have Sinhala, Tamil and English students So if someone doesn't know Sinhala hard words we can ask Sinhala medium students and like that. And by doing everything together is a good opportunity for us to be friendly with all, all groups.*
11	*Muslim Student*	*It's like studying in all three languages. According to textbook the lesson is in English but when he is explaining in Sinhala we can get the idea. And when we do group work in all three languages like writing definitions in all three languages, we can get the idea of that lesson in our mother tongue also*

Interdependence is a mark of mutual bonding and inclusivity among individuals or groups. The views expressed by the students above provide evidence of growing acquaintance, recognition of each other's language and culture, interdependence and reciprocity. They see the benefits of their situation: "learning from each other"; "help each other"; "collect many information because each other have many ideas"; "share our experiences and personal ideas". They are able to "to combine their talents, ideas, assets, and other resources", which builds mutual trust and creates a sense of bonding and shared purpose (Heuser, 2005, p. 10). The situation clearly promotes appreciation of this new network of relations that is inclusive of all ethnicities, as the student in row-11points out: "doing everything together is a good opportunity for us to be friendly with all, all groups". In Bourdieu's terms, is this is a good example of a group membership "which provides each its members with the backing of the collectively – owned" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 249) resourcefulness that allows all students to profit, by combining educational targets. One Sinhala student at Raveendranath College explained it in these terms:

> *We all group together, Sinhala, Tamil and Muslim students. So if we don't know information in another language others can help us. So all three get together and help each other. If there is a project about Tamils and if we get together with Sinhala students only it will be difficult for us to do the project. So if we all three, Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims get together in a group, Tamil students can explain us what to do. We also help and we complete the project*

The sense of resource-sharing and accruing new capital through this cooperative learning in ethnically inclusive groups is clear. This student appreciates the contribution of each group to the achievement of shared educational goals.

5.3.2 **Recognition and respect for diverse others' language**

As discussed in the literature review, language is a key criterion of ethnic inclusion and exclusion. The Sri Lankan community is divided mainly by the languages people speak. Language has, across generations, been a conflict phenomenon. Conversely, as is clear from the comments above, in the BE classroom students have begun to appreciate, respect and recognize the strength of each other's languages; the resource-dimension of inclusive group membership of a heteroglossic environment that facilitates the learning of another language and content knowledge scaffolding through other languages. An example of the first of these two benefits – learning another language – is found in row 8. A Muslim BE student, representing his group, comments, "We can practice Sinhala". His peers agreed. In row 5, another student explains: "if we don't know Sinhala we can ask from Sinhala colleagues, likewise Sinhala friends can know Tamil". Students understand the benefits of being able to move between Sinhala and Tamil, helping each other to understand: "We also explain them in Sinhala". As indicated in row 8, this bilingual situation has even motivated some Tamil speaking students to offer one of the other languages, for example Sinhala, as a subject in the public examination. Such a move is appreciated by students themselves and also their parents as an investment in cultural capital, as will be discussed in Chapter 7. The data indicate that the availability of all three languages, due to the profile of the class, is a valuable resource in terms of content knowledge scaffolding: "If we don't understand or we feel difficult to understand something they [Tamil speaking students] also explain us in Sinhala". In this way, they are able to reciprocally fill each other's comprehension gaps. As students in the comment, "It's like studying in all three languages".

The above comments cumulatively express growing appreciation, recognition and respect for each other's languages. They are no longer seen as a tool of exclusion. The comments also reflect a sense of shared interdependence among students, which would encourage trust and mutual understanding, which in turn reflect habitus orientation towards the inclusive supraethnic end of the continuum.

5.3.3 **Recognition and respect for other's culture**

The second main theme that emerged from the data was that of coming to know about each other's cultures through working in ethnically heterogeneous groups. These students' responses imply increasingly positive attitudes towards their ethnically diverse peers: accepting, recognizing and appreciating the diversity in these participating BE students. I now present some excerpts from students' responses in South and Raveendranath College to the probing question: - who they like to be with, in groups and why, at FGD.

Table 5.8 Growing respect for diverse others' culture: Excerpts from FGDs

South College [Muslim Students]		
1	*Student4*	*We can know about all cultural things*
2	*Studrent2*	*We can know about Religious things*
3	*Student3*	*There might have other traditional systems like "sirith virith" (customs, rituals). They might have much knowledge because their traditions are different from us. So we can easily learn about them, their culture, and their traditions*
4	*Student3*	*We can share our experiences and personal ideas with them by being friendly with others we can learn their religion, how they follow their religion, how is their culture, and how to respect those.*
	Raveendranath College	
5	*Sinhala Student*	*We can learn cultures of other ethnicities, moreover when we are with them we will be able to speak their language, also we can ask for what we don't know.*
6	*Tamil Student*	*We follow them and get chance to learn what other religions are. When we communicate with other people we learn about other languages and all, which are helpful to us.*

The above excerpts exemplify students' appreciation of advantages to be gained from working in ethnically heterogeneous groups. It enables knowing about each other's

religious matters, culture; sharing personal experiences and ideas, and learning traditional customs or “sirith-virith”. Students describe how they learn how their peers from other ethnic backgrounds “follow their religion, how their culture is, and how to respect those”. Access to these kinds of understanding sit alongside the social benefits provided by mixed groups - the chance to do “everything together” encourages the strengthening of friendships. This growing recognition and respect for each other’s cultures and religions signifies inclusive dispositions in the students. In other words, an inclusive habitus is emerging through intercultural, interethnic, hetero-linguistic experiences. There is a realigning of their ethnocentric habitus towards an inclusive supraethnic habitus.

Overall, the above discussion demonstrates that students prefer to be with and to work in ethnically heterogeneous groups, which they see as advantageous or as an investment for future dividends in education. The main advantage identified by students is that of learning from each other, which – according to their comments – entails peer scaffolding through each other’s languages. This heteroglossic learning environment enables discussion and clarification of subject matter in the different languages, as well as learning of the languages themselves. The other main learning involves knowing about each others’ culture, which includes culture, religion and communication too. Overall, these comments indicate a strong preference to be with ethnically diverse others, and a sense of growing solidarity and cooperation. This reflects a growing positive inclination and tolerance towards people of different ethnic backgrounds, and recognition, respect and acceptance of diversity and heterogeneity. There is evidence of clear shifts towards pluralistic ethnic orientations, and a move away from exclusionism or ethnocentricity towards a more supraethnic and positioning on the continuum. In the subsequent section, I review these findings through a Bourdieusian theoretical lens in order to interpret them more comprehensively.

5.4 DISCUSSION

In this section, I bring together my findings in this analysis chapter to engage in a broader discussion of the transformation of the ethnic habitus brought by students to the BE field and consider what they were able to acquire. I also discuss the *capital* that shaped these transformations. This section comprises three sub-sections namely:

ethnolinguistic habitus brought; ethnolinguistic habitus acquired; and the new sub-type of social capital that triggered these transformations.

5.4.1 Ethnocentric habitus brought to multiethnic BE field

The analysis has shown that before coming to the BE class students of all ethnicities had stereotypical generalized attitudes or ethnocentric exclusionary dispositions towards ethnically diverse others: '*they all are same bad people'*. They categorized all members of an 'ethnic other' as homogeneously bad (Allport, 1954; Tajfel, 1978). These biases were the result of perceived stereotypical misinterpretations of 'others' which they had acquired through early socialization institutions such as the familial field which are ethnically exclusive monoethnic and monolingual social spaces. In the present case the criterion for exclusion of 'others' is that of ethnicity, which is in turn demarcated by language.

Evident in the analysis is the fact that students of each ethnic group had had identical homogeneous stereotypical misconceptions towards the 'ethnic other'. Tamil students reported hate towards Sinhala students; Sinhala students reported their previously held negative dispositions towards Tamils. With Muslims also it was the same tendency. Theoretically, this propensity of homogeneity to negatively perceive the ethnic other can be explained well through Bourdieu's explanations of social class formation. According to Bourdieu (1991), social class formation occurs by acquiring dispositions unique to an upper social class in contrast to that of middle or lower social class. For instance, Bourdieu posited,

> *it is certain that each member of the same class* [here same ethnic group] *is more likely than any member of another class* [another ethnic group] to have been confronted with the situations most frequent for members of that class" [ethnicity] (Bourdieu, 1977, p.85, my additions and emphasis),

Similarly, I argue, students who belong to the same ethnic group are more likely to acquire similar dispositions towards ethnic others. In fact, the analysis shows that they "have been confronted with situations most frequent" for them: for instance Tamil students in Tamil families and Tamil medium schools, influenced by Tamil medium television; similarly with Muslim and Sinhalese students, as was evident in the reported lived experiences of the student groups who participated in the study. Furthermore, Bourdieu argued that agents tend to admit to judgements and "definitions

that their elders offer them" (Bourdieu, 1984, p.47), and that they implement these "cognitive structures [...] in their practical knowledge" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 448). Acquisition of stereotypical misconceptions about ethnic others or group exclusionism is one such result of historically acquired feelings and inclinations that become habituated and embodied. This was openly discussed explicitly by one of the participants at Raveendranath College (in Table 5.4). He explained how misconceptions towards members of different ethnic groups are transmitted by parents from generation to generation. Student groups that come from generally similar cultural practices acquire relatively homogeneous dispositions or *'taste'* that "functions below the level of consciousness" [...] and "it manifests itself in our most practical activities, such as the way we eat, walk, talk (Bourdieu 1984, p.466). In this way individual/group positions are established in social spaces that are distinct from others (Bourdieu, 1984). Bourdieu's argument applies equally to stereotypical generalized attitudes towards 'others', such as those brought to BE classrooms. Reports of students' lived experiences reveal the kinds of exclusionary, ethnocentric attitudes that commonly categorize all members of an 'ethnic other' as – *they are all same bad people"* - an act of out-grouping 'others' as homogeneously negative and bad, which results in exclusionism. This, according to Bourdieu (1984) is the act of positioning one's social identity in terms of differentiation:

> any division of a population into two groups, however arbitrary, induces discriminatory behaviour favourable to members of the agents' own group and hostile to members of the other group, even if it has adverse effects for the former group. More generally, they describe under the term 'category differentiation' the operations whereby agents construct their perception of reality, in particular the process of accentuating differences vis-a-vis 'outsiders' (dissimilation) and reinforcing similarities with insiders (assimilation). (p. 478)

It is this phenomenon that makes inclusion and exclusion happen at a pre-conscious level and leads to the emergence of different groups based on ethnicity or language. For instance, when students are exposed to only monoethnic, monolingual social spaces they acquire ethnocentric dispositions. This will be the same case for students that belong to each ethnic group. This is the basis of ethnolinguistic group habitus (identity) which discriminates the ethnic *other* from the ethnic *us* based on these historically acquired - now embodied - ethnocentric dispositions. BE students that

belong to Sinhala, Tamil and Muslim ethnic groups, coming from ethnocentric social fields such as homes and mother tongue instruction classes/schools, acquire a highly ethnocentric racialized ethnolinguistic habitus that they bring to the multiethnic BE classroom field. According to Bourdieu, these differentiations do not come about in haphazard ways and then disappear. Just as social class differentiations are handed from generation to generation through family inheritance, so it is that ethnic groups also always engage in

> those of the specific logic of strategies which groups, especially families [also ethnic groups], use to produce and reproduce themselves, that is, to create and perpetuate their unity and thus their existence as groups, which is almost always, and in all societies, the condition of the perpetuation of their position in the social space (Bourdieu, 1990a, p.74. My insertion)

This is part of the explanation of why countries like Sri Lanka continue to face social conflicts. Yet, although habitus is durable it is also transposable and not immutable (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). The same is true of field structures.

5.4.2 Ethnic habitus acquired in the multiethnic BE classroom

Drawing from Bourdieu, Shammas and Sandberg (2016) argue that it is possible to posit that "one undergoes a process of *personal transformation* by sheer dint of being embedded within the field" (p.196, original emphasis). Habitus, though durable, has "an infinite capacity for generating products – thoughts, perceptions, expressions and actions"; yet its "limits are set by the historically and socially situated conditions of its production" (Bourdieu, 1990b. p. 55). Agents who enter a new *field* feel a preconscious 'practical sense' of "what is appropriate in the circumstances and what is not" "as the product of the *relations between* the *habitus* and specific *field* within which individuals act" (Bourdieu 1991, p. 13-14). This same phenomenon was already discussed in relation to the students' acquisition of ethnocentric habitus instantiated and perpetuated in relation to ethnically exclusive familial and monoethnic schools. Similarly, once established in the BE classroom field, students again unthinkingly sense what is and what is not appropriate in this classroom, due to their very presence in the field (Bourdieu, 1991). This new field - the BE classroom - being multiethnic and multilingual, students' previously acquired ethnocentric dispositions are in flux. In other words, when their *habitus* does not synchronize with the values and principles of the new *field* the students cannot help but feeling like "*fish out of water*". They feel

the change and experience the preconscious practical sense for appropriations needed to become "*fish in water"*; to become fitting occupants in the specific multiethnic, multicultural, multilingual BE pedagogic field in accordance with its objective rules (which will be explored in detail in the next two data analysis chapters). Their previously accrued ethnocentric racialized dispositions, their manners of being, seeing and thinking about the 'ethnic other', have to realign to match the inclusive BE pedagogic field. Students need to reposition their previously held ethnocentric exclusionary identities towards the identity positioning appropriate for this multilingual multiethnic social space, which should be inclusive and supraethnic. The students get a feel for the game *or illusio,* a sense that the game is significant and worth playing (Bourdieu, 2000). The achievement of educational goals is at stake; investment and the acquisition of various forms of capital – economic, cultural, linguistic, social capital. This feeling for the game in the new field is responsible for the weakening of the students' *ethnocentric habitus,* which begins to move towards *inclusive supraethnic habitus* as they recognize the need to work together as one community, where 'mutual acquaintance and recognition" of each other and of the social capital (Bourdieu, 1986, p.119) of inclusivity is vital. This new sub-type of social capital will be further discussed in the subsequent section.

All these moves were evident in the grouping preferences for ethnically heterogeneous groups and in the student commentaries about advantages associated with such heterogeneous groups. The next data analysis chapter illustrates how BE students are identified by others as well as by themselves as 'one community': not as Sinhalese, Tamils or Muslims, but as 'English medium students', out-grouped by students of their own ethnicity in Tamil and Sinhala medium classes. All these commentaries confirm the emergence of an inclusive supraethnic habitus in the BE students.

5.4.3 *'Inclusive Social Capital'*: New sub-type of social capital instantiated in the multiethnic BE

In Bourdieusian terms, one of the most vital explorations in this study is the recognition of a different sub-type of social capital in play that is valued through the "logic of practice" in the BE pedagogy; which is in turn based on capital at stake in this social space. In the multiethnic BE pedagogic field, what is, valued and recognized as a resource is cooperation, friendship, mutual trust, understanding and reciprocity

among students of different ethnicities, where the legitimate group membership becomes the inclusive group membership. This is in contrast to the social capital promoted and sought after in monoethnic social spaces, where legitimised group membership is exclusively that of ethnic homogeneity., which may have been explicitly legitimised by authority (for instance, the government's policy and practice of categorizing people into ethnic groups in their documents, or education via policy on medium of instructions) or by implicit rules sensed at the practice level (families, ethnic groups).

The above analysis showed that what is recognized and sought after in BE pedagogy is ethnically heterogeneous inclusive group membership, not ethnic exclusionism in group memberships. This phenomenon has been well discussed by Bourdieu. As Hardy (2010) posited, in the multiethnic BE pedagogic field, inclusive group membership seems to "act as field capital... specific to the time and place in which it is acquired" (p. 171). In the new field of the multiethnic BE classroom where students are making investments for profits in terms of educational aspirations, ethnic exclusionism should in principle be excluded. In such a scenario not only the agents' structured dispositions but also the field's logic of practice should undergo relational reorientations or restructuring. This depends "both on the total number of tokens and on the composition of the piles of token" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), and also on the "volume and structure of this capital" (p.99). Bourdieu also argued that agents not only support reproduction of social structures but also "get in to transform, partially or completely, the immanent rules of the game". Agents can also change the relative value of capital, its exchange rates, "through strategies aimed at discrediting the form of capital..." (p.99). I suggest that this phenomenon seems similarly valid in the case of BE pedagogy.

Theoretically, I also attribute ethnic habitus (which is also a group or collective habitus) to the accumulation of the social capital of "mutual acquaintance and recognition" (Bourdieu, 1986, p.119) of individuals in relation to a group membership. But, I refer here to social capital not in the pure sense of Bourdieusian *social capital* that has negative connotations related to social inequalities and oppression. Bourdieu talked about 'social capital' in relation to different historical, social and political circumstances, but, as he suggested, this can "transform, partially or completely the immanent rules of the game". As Bourdieu posited, every phenomenon is relational

and exists in relation to where it exists; I would argue that the same is true of social capital. Referring to Cassirer (1923), Bourdieu called for the need to "break with the mode of [substantialist] thinking [...] which inclines [us] one to recognize no reality other than those that are available to direct intuition". What I suggest here is that the findings of this study necessitate thinking beyond the definition of the type of social capital that Bourdieu brought to our awareness (Bourdieu 1989, p.15, my additions). It calls for an extended definition of the social capital that emerged quasi-instantaneously, and was valued as resourceful capital in the BE pedagogy field. Consequently, I suggest that in this field a different kind of social capital - a sub-type of social capital - appears needed: an *inclusive social capital*; something that does not go with differentiation and exclusionism; a kind of social capital that is inherent in inclusive group membership.

To summarise, when BE students come together and engage in the investment of education as a learning group in one multiethnic class, key elements need to be in place. Students from different ethnic backgrounds come together, befriend each other and work together; respect and recognise each other's culture; become interdependent. In this particular context social group membership is recognized, valued and legitimated. Unlike previous monoethnic spaces the students have studied and lived in, the multiethnic BE field is ethnically inclusive. This brings us to new ways of thinking of not only the volume but also the structure of social capital recognized in the multiethnic BE field. As the previous analysis has demonstrated, the structure of social capital is one composed of ethnically diverse membership, *i.e., inclusive social capital*; and acts as field capital …- specific to time and place, which in turn necessitates the realigning of students' ethnic habitus. Importantly, I note that this whole phenomenon is also determined by practices in the BE pedagogy field, and in relation to other forms of capital; especially, in the case of this study, that of linguistic capital, which is the focus of analysis in the following two chapters.

5.5 CHAPTER CONCLUSION

This chapter reported findings of the study related to ethnolinguistic orientations emerging among students of different ethnicities through participation in multiethnic/multilingual BE classrooms. Students of all ethnic groups, namely Sinhala, Tamil and Muslim, reported ethnocentric perceptions, dispositions and

attitudes towards ethnic others that they bring to multiethnic BE classrooms. The analysis also illustrated that the previous lived experiences of these students were limited to monoethnic social spaces such as family and ethnically segregated monoethnic schools and classrooms in so-called multiethnic schools. This had led to alienation between ethnically diverse groups, creating misunderstanding, mutual mistrust and even nurturing hatred against each other – the result of ethnic conflict and misinformation received via media as reported by the students who took part in the study. The exception is the BE classroom in multiethnic schools where students of all ethnicities get the chance to study together. The analysis suggests that the insular ethnocentric dispositions towards ethnic others that students bring to BE classroom undergo reorientation when they meet, get to know each other and study together. These reoriented inclinations and dispositions are characterized by mutual understanding, trust, mutual help, interdependence and reciprocity: all of which reflect their ethnolinguistic habitus realigning, moving away from ethnocentrism and reaching towards supraethnic inclusive habitus. To be cautious, as noted previously, I am not talking of a utopian scenario, of total transformation from racialized ethnocentric habitus to completely supraethnic habitus. Rather what I argue is that the transformation is in process and progress, moving towards supraethnic identity; in this sense identity positioning can be considered as a continuum – at one end highly ethnocentric identity and at the other supraethnic inclusive identity position.

The intensity of negative, ethnocentric dispositions that students brought to the BE class was evident in words and phrases used to illustrate the feelings they had earlier about the other ethnicities: – for example, "we hated them", "thought different from us in a bit bad way", "thought they were bad", "thought humiliate and disrespect us", "felt like hitting", "we were scared, was thinking of a place to hide if something happens". As is evident in these commentaries, these negative, racialized dispositions were acquired through early socialization, mostly resulting from an absence of exposure or personal lived experiences with ethnic others. Previous fields that students inhabited were ethnically exclusive contexts such as mono-ethnic family backgrounds, monoethnic/lingual classes, monoethnic/lingual schools and their own language media. In fact, even students in multiethnic schools are separated from each other since classes are divided along mother tongue instruction lines (Sinhala medium and Tamil medium), as reported by students in all three schools.

These students' experiences and commentaries exemplify the gravity of alienation between ethnic groups in Sri Lanka resulting significantly from a segregated education system along the MTI, since education plays a vital role in formation of secondary habitus of children. A wide range of other factors such as historical events and community memories of the conflict have also contributed to this alienation. This shows the failure of Sri Lanka in utilizing education to harness social cohesion by promoting ethnic integration through cross-ethnic encounters in integrated schools. This lack of interconnection is particularly ubiquitous between Tamil and Sinhalese communities, as Muslims by their own choice select either Sinhala medium or Tamil medium as reported in the student stories. It is evident from the analysis that stereotypical ethnocentric dispositions towards the ethnic other accrue through socialization, influencing students' preferred identity positioning in the form of out-grouping 'them' and in-grouping 'us'. Students' narratives demonstrate that before coming to their BE class, they had not had the opportunity to contest these accrued stereotype misconceptions about out-group members or ethnic others through lived personal experiences. In view of this absence of lived experience students tend to exploit whatever information they can access, for example through the media, which perpetuate ethnocentric stereotypical misconceptions about the 'other', or what Pollmann (2016) called the "pejorative other".

The analysis also reveals that BE students in all three schools involved in this study, irrespective of ethnicities, have undergone changes in perceptions, inclinations and dispositions in relation to students of other ethnicities: from hate to trust; from misunderstanding to good understanding; from bad to good, friendly and cooperative; from 'feel like hitting' to 'they help us they are good". Students' previously held hostile attitudes towards ethnic others' religion, language and culture have also changed. Now students see learning about others' culture, religion and language as advantageous, seeing it as a means of becoming better equipped with the kinds of competencies and social skills required to face and engage with the larger multiethnic/lingual society. Students showed the possibility of this kind of reorientation or change after joining the multiethnic BE class, having now had personal lived experience with ethnic others; having had the opportunity to contest previously held historically acquired stereotypical generalized misconceptions about 'others' by being together, interacting and studying together - a basic requirement if they were to

pursue their shared educational goals. It is clear that the students of all ethnic groups realize that misinterpretations of 'others' were based on 'misinformation' received from family, society and media. This realisation has points of connection with Plato's belief relating to reality: "shadows cast on the wall", the "bitter knowledge" (Jansen, 2009). Individuals have perceptions about the 'other' when restrained from any real life contact with them - only shadows not the reality.

What is most interesting here is that after having authentic lived experience with 'others' – working and socialising with them in the BE programme -the students realize the limitations of previously held stereotypical generalized dispositions, inclinations and perceptions; at least in terms of the 'others' they now know personally. This realization encourages students to examine more critically what their own language media or politicians might say about ethnic others; to resent sources such as the media that spread hate and 'lies', that are like 'mosquitoes', and "takes the disease and spread everywhere". They just spread, what they only need is publicity, to make money, they manipulate information to make money' (Excerpts from FGDs with BE students at Parakum College). It seems that their confidence in their own language media is shaken, which differs from other research findings that suggest that linguistic minorities tend to rely primarily on their own language media channels (Harwood & Vincze, 2012b; 2015; Moring & et al, 2011)). My finding implies some form of shaken gratitude towards students' ethnocentric social spaces (Noels, Kil & Fang, 2014). These findings also resonate with those of Jenkins (2004), who noted that, "[t]he more people have to do with each other in everyday life, the more likely they will be to identify each other as fellow individuals, rather than primarily by reference to their collective identifications" (p.123, original emphasis).

In summary, the data analysis presented in this chapter evidences and offers an explanation of transformation of students' ethnocentric dispositions towards ethnically diverse others. This is a different outcome to the reproduction of existing social structures in ethnically exclusive monoethnic social spaces such as family, monoethnic schools or classrooms. In terms of Bourdieu's field theory, the logic of practice in the BE field seems to enable the transformation of individuals/group thinking, actions and ways of being, rather than constraining them: allowing for a shift from an ethnocentric exclusive habitus towards a less ethnocentric habitus where the individuals/groups feel trust, respect, cooperation and friendship towards ethnically diverse students. As

Bourdieu argues, this is possible because the agents not only support and conform to the existing social structures but also "get in it to transform, partially or completely the immanent rules of the game" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p.99). Agents can also change the relative value of capital, their exchange rates, "through strategies aimed at discrediting the form of capital" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p.99) and vice versa. It can in this way be seen as a new form or sub-type of social capital; the *inclusive social capital* that came to being in the BE pedagogic field, where inclusive group membership is the recognized, legitimated and resourceful element.

The next chapter explores what "socially situated conditions" exist in the BE programme or in practices in the multiethnic BE classroom; and how they might trigger ethnic habitus reorientations.

Chapter 6: Shaping ethnic habitus through BE pedagogic practices

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter addresses research question two: How does the overall environment and practices in the multiethnic BE classroom shape ethnic habitus reorientations. In other words, this chapter explores whether and how schools and teachers promote ethnic diversity and are responsive to lived experiences in order to facilitate ethnic habitus reorientations. It should be noted at the outset that language practices in the BE pedagogic field and how these shape students' habitus orientations are explored in the succeeding chapter. The analysis in the preceding Chapter 5 identified the fact that students' habitus are moving away from ethnocentrism and reorienting towards inclusive supraethnic habitus when they work together with ethnically diverse fellow students in the multiethnic BE pedagogical context. This chapter therefore explores: i. how authorities - schools and teachers - create/promote or hinder a learning environment that is responsive to diversity, and ii. how this environment facilitates or otherwise interethnic relations among the students that trigger ethnic habitus transformation.

As noted in Chapter 3, habitus is "an infinite capacity for generating products – thoughts, perceptions, expressions and actions"; yet its "*limits are set by the historically and socially situated conditions* of its production" (Bourdieu 1990b, p. 55, my emphasis). As such, it is vital to examine these "socially situated conditions" or "lived experiences" of students in the BE programme that might enable the transformation of students' ethnic habitus. Here, *'pedagogy'* is considered as "relations between teaching, learning, and school processes with wider social structures, cultural shifts, and intellectual conditions" (Cross & Naidoo, 2012, p. 228). The ensuing discussion explores whether "socially situated conditions" exist in the BE programme, or what "socially situated conditions" exist in BE pedagogy, and how these "socially situated conditions" might constrain and facilitate interethnic relations and therefore students' habitus reorientation. In terms of this study, these conditions include allocation of separate physical-space/classrooms for BE pedagogy and its role in

shaping intergroup relations; how teachers create positive intergroup contacts through seating arrangements; equal group status through delegation of classroom responsibilities; cooperative group activities; and the schools' approach to responding to diversity.

Overall, the data suggest that school authorities attempt to promote positive "socially situated conditions", particularly diversity-responsive environments, through the above mentioned practices which facilitate positive interethnic relations among the BE students in all three schools. However, these contributions vary considerably, not only in different schools but also within the same school. In some instances, these attempts reflect taken–for-grantedness, which results from taking ethnic diversity at a superficial level.

This chapter has four main sections. First, I explore the multiethnic BE pedagogic field located in the wider field of the school, particularly the allocation of physical space for BE pedagogy (classrooms), and how this shapes intergroup contacts and thereby ethnic habitus reorientation in Section 6.2. Then, I report on how teachers shape interethnic relations by means of classroom practices that mainly include seating arrangements, delegation of responsibilities, activities and composition of student groupings in Section 6.3. I analyse school authorities' roles in creating a diversity-responsive environment for interethnic relations, thereby facilitating ethnic habitus reorientations in Section 6.4. This is followed by my chapter conclusion in 6.5.

This Chapter analyses data from multiple participants, collected through multiple tools: Classroom observations, Audio-recorded classroom interactions, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) with students, and Semi-structured Interviews with teachers and the Principals.

6.2 ALLOCATION OF SEPARATE CLASSROOMS: ONE CLASSROOM, ONE COMMUNITY

Should there or should there not be a separate classroom (physical space) allotted to BE students has been a much debated issue in the Sri Lankan education field (NEC, 2016) as discussed in the literature review. When a separate room is assigned to BE students in multiethnic schools, the BE students of all ethnicities study together in one room to achieve common educational goals. In contrast, if the BE students of different ethnicities study separately in respective Mother Tongue Instruction (MTI)

classrooms, they meet only when they have subjects taught in English, which may typically vary from one period to four periods maximum. As discussed in the literature review, the emergence of an ‘elite class” among the BE students, and the real or imaginary relegation of MTI classes by the BE students reported by some school authorities lead the Ministry of Education (MOE) to proscribe separate classrooms for BE students. However, during my preliminary site selection process, it was revealed that not all schools adhere to MOE’s instruction, including the three schools in this study. For instance, South and Parakum Colleges have allocated separate classrooms for BE students in each grade, whereas Raveendranath College has not. Even though participants in this study argued both for and against, having separate classrooms is a vital aspect for this study because it determines how much time the students of diverse ethnicities study together and share common lived experiences, and impacts on the autonomy of the BE pedagogy.

Most teachers, Principals and BE students expressed their concerns over MOE’s instructions on not to have separate classrooms for BE students. Their views mostly demonstrated the advantages of having separate classes in creating “oneness” or sense of “in-group” feeling among the BE students; a feeling that eliminates or reduces ethnic segregation. For instance, in response to my question on separate classes, the South College Principal described the emergence of a “one community” with mutual respect when ethnically diverse students study in one class:

> *When the students are in one class they all act as one group because they get opportunity to work together to achieve one single objective within that context. Among them things pertaining to each other are discussed. When this is like this, a new community is formed even though unofficially. They have a certain understanding about each others’ culture and they begin to respect each other. Even though there are differences due to multicultural nature they are within a certain framework, they think this is our class. For example, if a Sinhala BE student has a grudge with a Tamil student in another class, Tamil BE students take the side of the Sinhala BE student. In such a context they are within a framework that it is our colleague [classmate]; they have that feeling because they are always together in one class.*

As this Principal explained, it is the availability of a separate physical space, what he mentions here as ‘one class”, that brings students of different ethnicities together. The Principal reiterated how a feeling of ‘one group’ sense emerges because students of

diverse ethnicities work together in one classroom to achieve educational common goals. This diversity-responsive "socially situated condition" encourages solidarity among ethnically diverse students. By "framework" above, he meant not only legitimately demarcated "classroom" (physical space) but an emergence of a better insulated social space – "a new community" (Bourdieu, 1996; Wacquant, 2015). Students spend more time together, allowing opportunities to disconfirm previously held negative stereotypical perceptions about each other, and to develop solidarity, mutual respect and recognition (Dixon, 2006). As a result, ethnic exclusionism reduces, while in-group solidarity grows, developing a perspective that all members in their new group belong to each other (Allport, 1954; Harwood and Vencez, 2012a & 2012b; 2015; Tajfel, 1972). In this social space the logic of practice becomes ethnic inclusivity: they act as "one group", a new inclusive community. As the Principal explained, in this social space students understand each others' culture, develop mutual respect, so that ethnic exclusionism is diminished and inclusivity becomes the norm or logic of practice; this is different to exclusive social spaces such as MTI classes.

The Principal elaborated the issue of solidarity among these ethnically diverse students, offering the example: "If a Sinhala BE student has a grudge with a Tamil student in another class, Tamil BE students take the side of the Sinhala BE student. Because they feel s/he is "our colleague", classmate, they belong to one inclusive group so the affiliation to that group where ethnicity does not matter". The highest symbolic value in this social space is conferred to *inclusive social capital* – "mutual acquaintance and recognition" (Bourdieu, 1986, p.21) with ethnically diverse others. In dialectic relation to this field structure, ethnic habitus generation is necessitated towards inclusive supraethnic habitus (Bourdieu, 1990). The Principal questioned how BE can achieve its objective of social cohesion by separating these students into their MTI classes.

> *If we want to have cohesive community, to have them as one community they should be given a chance to be together in one class and that is how we can create an environmentally rich classroom for cohesion. Nobody can do it by bringing students to one classroom to do a few subjects either one or two on a day. You cannot create such an environment by doing so. They are in separate monolingual classes for nearly six or seven periods.*

Noticeable in this excerpt is the Principal's questioning of how the diversity-responsive "rich environment" can be created if most of the time students are separated from each other and study in MTI classes. This was further corroborated by the BE students themselves during FGD. When I asked their opinions about differences between the students in monolingual classes and that of the BE classes with regard to interconnections, they expressed the following views, taking the present Grade 6 BE students who do not have a separate classroom as an example.

Table 6.1 Disadvantages of separate classes: FGD with Muslim students at South College

1	*Student3*	*We all get together and do our lessons and teamwork is there, when Sinhala students observe sill [Buddhist religious activity] we help them.*
2	*Student5*	*When we take English medium in the school all work together. Now if we take the present Grade 6 English medium class that effect is not there so it is a disadvantage for them. For us it is easy because we are with Sinhalese, but they are divided as Sinhala medium and Tamil medium students so it is a disadvantage for them.*
3	*Researcher*	*Why do you say disadvantageous?*
4	*Student4*	*Disadvantageous because they come together only for English medium subjects, during other subjects they are in Tamil medium class so when they come together they don't talk with Sinhala medium students. Only during few periods they meet so they don't talk to each other they are divided, in contrast we sit next to each other. So, for them it is disadvantageous. All should be together in one class.*

The above extracts illustrate the separation that exists between ethnically diverse students when they only meet for a few periods, that they "don't talk to each other" because they meet only "during a few periods"; they come separately and leave separately. In contrast, these students reiterated that when students of different ethnicities are together in one class they develop *team spirit* because they all work together as one class. To explain this, one student took the example of a Sinhalese cultural event and of how students of other ethnicities participate in such events because they represent their whole class. Likewise, the BE Science Teacher at Parakum College, contributed the same idea in a different way, in response to my question about group formation tendencies. But the overall idea highlights the significance of ethnically diverse students spending more time together, in order to promote mutual recognition and friendship.

...There are students who do the same sport. So they have the team spirit already formed. So they like to be together. Also, the ones who can be together may be a few Tamil students because they do several subjects together in Tamil. [...] So they have to go outside the classroom, so those who go together are together. This is what I have noticed...as their class teacher.

Taking students who play cricket as an example, he reported that students tend to come together when they are engaged in common tasks such as sport. This implies the more the students are together; the more there is a capacity to bring them together. This is similar to the views of the Principal of South College reported above: the more the students are together; the more there is a tendency to become 'one group' where "mutual acquaintance and recognition" associated with social capital and inclusive membership is at stake (Bourdieu, 1986). Mutual recognition and acquaintance is a strategy that the students unconsciously apply to 'win the game' of educational investments in pursuit of different forms of capital - cultural, social, economic and symbolic as it was revealed in students' preferences for multiethnic membership in group work, and discussed in the previous chapter. The same phenomenon applies also vice versa. For instance, when the Sinhala and the Tamil-speaking BE students study in separate MTI classes they spend less time together. The BE Math teacher at South College quoted below notes that when the BE students are separated in MTI classes interethnic alienation occurs. She pointed out another significant consequence of allocation of separate classrooms: that the BE students are legitimately recognized as one entity – a group of students belong to one class - in the school community.

In the BE classes now we have all of them working together, they are in their own classroom [separate]. For example, even when they do a drama for the society they work together because they represent their bilingual class so they do not feel any difference whether Sinhala, Tamil or Muslim they work as one because they are from one class. But in the new way students come from two separate classes, they come separately, work separately and go separately to separate monolingual classes.

In this teacher's opinion when students work in 'one class' "they represent their bilingual class" as one single body in the school, which in other words is a new social space. This suggests that they are being attributed a social group identity, as the students of a particular class, by the agents of the surrounding *fields i.e.,* students and teachers in MTI classes and the larger field of school in which the BE programme is located. This identity is that of members of an ethnically inclusive community, where they do "not feel any difference whether Sinhala, Tamil or Muslim". In contrast, the

teacher reiterated that when the BE students are in respective MTI classes "they come separately, work separately and go separately to separate monolingual classes". Such "socially situated conditions" will not harness solidarity, belongingness or mutual understanding among such BE students of diverse ethnicities. Most importantly, when a separate class is not available the boundaries of the BE pedagogic field become shaky and blurred, because there is no actual entity that can be called the "BE class"; just a virtual space. And this 'social space' is hardly insulated from external influences (Wacquant, 2007, p.269). The absence of a physical space results in interference from surrounding fields, such as monolingual classes and exclusionary practices in those spaces. As noted by this teacher, the children "come separately and go separately". Such situated conditions do not harness habitus transformation, but rather limit the potential opportunities that the BE can offer for social reconciliation. BE students' parents also expressed displeasure about MOE's insistence on suspending separate classrooms for BE students based on the assumption that BE students tend to form 'elite groups' inside schools, against the MTI students; an issue which will be discussed in Chapter seven. They argued that it is within separate classrooms that interethnic relations are strengthened:

> Father: *Students in the English medium class have less interaction with students, there is something like that, but something more valuable is happening because of bilingual class don't we have to think about it? Because we can understand each other, so we can protect each others' traditions, we can protect all, [and] only bilingual class can do it. In monolingual classes culture is different. Even the vision of this school is it. Can't we do it even in a multiethnic model school? We should not change this.*
>
> Mothe**r:** *Because this is the only place all can be together. All Sinhala, Tamil, Muslim children are together. So we must continue it, yes we must do it.*

This father agreed that when a separate classroom is allotted BE students tend to have fewer intergroup relations with the students in MTI classes; but he argued what is more important is interethnic relations, that are enhanced in the BE classroom. Both parents reiterated that this is the only space in which all ethnic groups can be together and that the culture in such classes is different to that of monolingual classes; the "socially situated conditions" in such classes are different from those of the monolingual classes. These parents argue the case that the South College is a model school, founded for the specific purpose of strengthening interethnic relations, and

they question why then the MOE cannot allow at least their school to continue with separate classrooms for BE students.

In fact, the BE class teacher/ BE Science teacher at Parakum College emphasized that no deliberate action is needed to enhance interethnic relations when students of all ethnicities work together in the same class. He expressed this view when I asked about what efforts he makes to achieve the aims of the BE programme, because earlier in the interview he had identified one of the aims as social cohesion.

> *In the BE class, we don't have to take special effort. It can be done through the BE programme with the existing curriculum. For example when we do a science project without conscious knowledge students begin to cooperate, they share each others' knowledge, resources, and skills. So they cooperate with each other. They don't have limits, they don't have boundaries then. So one of the aims of BE is to make this cooperation and understanding. It will contribute to social cohesion.*

This teacher is of the view that teachers do not have to take any explicit action in the BE programme to enhance mutual acquaintance among students of different ethnic groups. His argument was that whether such action is taken or not, students develop understanding between themselves since they work together as one class. What he is implying here is that the BE programme in a multiethnic environment itself automatically develops inclusive feelings, because when students have to work towards achieving common educational goals they automatically share and cooperate. Exclusionary boundaries get blurred and limits disappear when mutual interdependence is created in a natural way. Theoretically this reminds me of what Shammas and Sandberg posited: that "one undergoes a process of *personal transformation* by sheer dint of being embedded within the field" (2016, p.196, original emphasis). Further, this teacher's argument implies that it is in a practical sense -"automatically"- that students start to cooperate. They are into the game, it is through the *illusio* in-group sense that emerges that ethnocentrism among them fades away and generate inclusive social identity (i.e., supraethnic) is generated (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992).

Another important consideration is that separate physical space for BE pedagogy determines how as a 'social space' or field it is positioned in the wider social space of the school. This positioning determines BE pedagogy's 'degree of autonomy' (Bourdieu, 1993), allowing it to "insulate itself from external influences" (Wacquant,

2007, p.269). This insulation shapes to some extent teaching and learning practices or the "socially situated conditions" of the field. It creates a new symbolic space where the BE students are recognized as one community. In this new symbolic space the highest symbolic value is conferred to inclusivity. Ethnocentrism becomes a deficit because the students have to work together to achieve their educational aspirations such as completing classroom activities, passing the examinations, and other classroom/school related activities. As was evident in the reported accounts of lived experiences of BE stakeholders, including the students, this social space has its own specific objective structures, or rules of the game, "a framework"; and it embodies a symbolic space: 'one community" – the BE class, where mutual reciprocity and acquaintance among students from different ethnic groups is the norm (Wacquant, 2015).

Inclusivity becomes "legitimate *pedagogic capital*" (Hardy, 2010, p.144 Original emphasis). It is this legitimate pedagogic capital that I define as a new sub-type of social capital that emerges in relation to "social situated conditions" in the new social space of the multiethnic BE pedagogic field. As Wacquant (2015) argued, in this new social space "the distribution of socially effective resources or capitals" (p.8) may occur quasi-instantaneously (Bourdieu, 1986), since capital has potential capacity "...to reproduce itself in identical or *expanded form*" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 241 my emphasis). This is where a new sub-type or "expanded form" of social capital can emerge. This "collectively owned" quasi-instantaneously emerged *inclusive social capital* recognizes inclusive group membership rather than ethnically exclusive membership. It then becomes the *illusio* in the new social space. It is this sub-type of capital that gains highest value and prestige, "a 'credential' which entitles them [the students] to credit" (Bourdieu, 1986, p 248) in their educational trajectories - which is the game to be won, the common goal of all. This new social capital becomes "a *vis instia*, a force inscribed in objective or subjective structures, but [...] also a *lex insita*, the principle underlying the immanent regularities of the social world" (Bourdieu, 1986. p.241). I argue that it is this new sub-type of social capital that "represents the immanent structure of the social space" *(ibid)* of the BE pedagogy that differentiates it from the surrounding fields, even the school in which it is located. BE students' habitus reorientation towards supraethnic inclusive habitus – identified in the previous

chapter as necessary in the multiethnic BE pedagogic field – can be understood as aligning with this new form of social capital.

However, at the same time we should be aware that the process of habitus reorientation takes time and training; because habitus is structured and durable, yet it is 'structuring' and transposable in dialectic relation to present social conditions or imagined future conditions (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). Thus my argument here is that the restructuring of the ethnocentric habitus has begun in dialectic relation to inclusive social conditions in the BE pedagogic field, and does not signify a complete change from ethnocentric habitus to inclusive supraethnic habitus overnight. As I reiterated in the previous chapter, ethnic habitus is considered as a continuum: at one end highly ethnocentric habitus and at the other end supraethnic inclusive habitus. What is argued here is that this repositioning is triggered in the BE pedagogic field from Grade 6 onwards, and might become durable over time; because the "process of inculcation...must last long enough to produce durable training, *i.e.,* a habitus..." (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, p. 31)

In summary, the preceding discussion identified the importance of having a separate physical space for BE students because this physical space facilitates a feeling of in-group identity and 'one community'. It strengthens the new social space with a specific logic of practice, the BE pedagogic field with more autonomy and less interference from surrounding monoethnic social spaces. It is also a new symbolic space where the BE students of diverse ethnicities are identified as a different social group identity - as one entity - by the agents in the other surrounding fields, such as students, teachers, school authorities; and it is similarly self-identified by the BE students themselves (Wacquant, 2015). I argued that in this social space the social capital at stake is a new sub-type - *inclusive social capital*, which emerged quasi-instantaneously (Bourdieu, 1986). This *inclusive social capital* recognizes the ethnic inclusive group membership, as opposed to MTI classes, where recognized group membership is that of ethnic exclusiveness. In this social space the "socially situated conditions" are interethnic relations and ethnic inclusivity; and they trigger BE students' habitus reorientation *i.e.,* away from ethnocentrism and towards inclusive supraethnic habitus.

However, this new social group identity has also been ascribed a negative undertone by outside agents: teachers and students in the MTI classes and the school,

the MOE, and society at large. Their accusation is that this represents the emergence of an elite group based on English, a snobbish group which enjoys symbolic violence that relegates MTI classes to an inferior position (Wacquant, 2007). As I noted at the outset of this discussion, this critique became an issue which ultimately resulted in the proscription of separate physical space for BE students by the MOE. I explore this issue in Chapter seven. In the ensuing section, 6.3, I now analyse teacher practices in terms of creating positive "socially situated conditions" for ethnic habitus reorientations.

6.3 TEACHER PRACTICES AND SHAPING ETHNIC HABITUS ORIENTATIONS

I proposed several "socially situated conditions" that may facilitate ethnic habitus reorientation of the BE students towards inclusiveness: authority support, intergroup cooperation, equal group status within the situation and common goals (Allport, 1954). During classroom observations, I observed teachers' explicit actions to promote interethnic relations among the BE students. For this purpose, they used several strategies: i) regular change of seating arrangements so as to promote constant contacts; ii) equal delegation of classroom responsibilities where teachers facilitate creating equality; iii) cooperative group work in ethnically heterogeneous groups where students work together to achieve common goals or complete activities. I analyse each of these in turn in the following section.

6.3.1 Seating arrangements

In all three schools, teachers regularly changed the classroom seating arrangements in order to promote inter-ethnic relations. According to my observations, in all three schools, South, Raveendranath and Parakum Colleges, students usually sat in rows during teacher-fronted sessions and off lessons. Students of different ethnicities occupied these rows. No significant congregation of students from the same ethnicity was evident during my observation sessions. Since Raveendranath College has not allocated separate classes for BE students, BE students who come from Tamil medium classes tended to be a little late and consequently they tended to sit together in the last row. But the Citizenship Education teacher invited these students to come to front rows - which some of them obeyed. During classroom observation, I noticed regular adjustments in classroom seatings in all three schools. Later during the FGDs

it was revealed that the class teachers regularly rearrange seating with the aim of mixing students to facilitate interrelations among the students of different ethnicities. For instance, during FGDs at South College students revealed that, "When the class teacher changes places she gets Sinhala and Tamil students to mingle together, puts Sinhala and Tamils close to each other". This deliberate action by teachers to facilitate interethnic relations seem similarly implemented in all BE classes at South College. The excerpts below from the Math teachers' response to my question on grouping techniques explicate this.

> *If I take my own class [8D] I get them seated like one Tamil one Sinhala student, most of the times students have been mixed like that [...] they are already sitting like that, they are not separated as Sinhala, Tamil and Muslims they are always together.... even in 9D Tamils, Muslims and Sinhalese are mixed they are seated like that, they don't categorise as such* (BE Math teacher: South College)

She explained that students usually sit in an ethnically heterogeneous manner because teachers readjust classroom seating arrangements in this way. First she referred to her own BE class and then to the class I observed. This implies that seating arrangements to facilitate interethnic relations among BE students is a common practice at South College. I observed the same practice at Parakum College. Students affirmed this during FGD at Parakum College in response to my question on their preference for group composition, as evidenced below from the excerpts from Tamil students at Parakum College:

> **Student2:** *Every day we change our places. There will be another 6 more people. So it's with anybody we are seated with. The way we sit is a mixed one, mix with everyone.*
>
> **Student4:** *We sit together. We sit with people who can understand. The problem is we mostly talk with ourselves.*

As depicted in these excerpts, they form groups with people sitting 'around', who are usually of different ethnicities because they change their places every day as directed by the class teacher. So the students formed ethnically heterogeneous groups with fellow students seated next to each other without any other intervention by the teachers, as I observed. Therefore, it is evident that teachers take deliberate action to create positive "socially situated conditions" to enhance intergroup relations in the BE

pedagogy through regular readjustment of seating arrangements. Overall, the above comments of both students and teachers indicate that regular seating readjustments deliberately practiced by teachers avoid any ethnically exclusive congregations in the BE classroom, but rather enhance ethnic inclusivity. In other words, ethnically inclusive groups and interethnic relations are legitimized by the authority, the teachers. It is also evident that these ethnically heterogeneous seating arrangements influence the formation of ethnically heterogeneous groups for group activities. Since the students of diverse ethnicities are seated in close proximity to each other it is convenient for them to get into groups and work together to achieve common goals.

In the case of these students in this context it appears that Bourdieu's (1989) argument that socially distanced people would find nothing more intolerant than physical proximity seems to be invalid at the first glance. But in-depth analysis shows the otherwise. However, this intolerance existed before the students came to know each other and began to work towards achieving common goals, as revealed in the previous chapter. This study confirms that such intolerance can be overcome by constant positive contacts with each other, where physical proximity is one contributory factor, for instance by being together in one class, seated next to each other, working in one group. It appears that the ethnocentric habitus that excluded the diverse others are being reshaped gradually. As discussed in the previous chapter, the capital in the BE field has been re-evaluated and re-distributed in a new sub-form i.e., *inclusive social capital*. As such, the objective structure or the logic of practice has been restructured. The students have become socially closer and therefore proximity becomes possible. In other words, this study shows the mutually beneficial nature of physical and social proximity.

Overall, these indicators demonstrate teacher involvement in creating positive "socially situated conditions" for ethnic habitus reorientations towards inclusive supraethnic habitus on the continuum. Next, I explore how teachers delegate classroom responsibilities, if they create diversity responsive "socially situated conditions" that enhance interethnic relations to trigger ethnic habitus reorientations towards ethnically inclusive habitus.

6.3.2 **Delegation of responsibilities**

This study considered equal status among the people of different groups within a situation is one of the favourable "socially situated conditions" for intergroup relations that may reduce prejudices (Allport, 1954). Correspondingly, the main focus in this section is the appointing of monitors and assistant monitors, the equal delegation of important responsibilities in the class by teachers. Class monitorship is an important leadership role in the classrooms. Monitor/Assistant Monitors are usually responsible for maintaining teaching/learning record books, for liaison between the class and the teacher, and so on. In all three schools the appointment of monitors, as reported by the students, is done by roster, so that students of all ethnicities have equal chances. For instance, at South College students said: "*Teacher changes monitors and we all can be monitors"*. I too observed this. For example, when I first started my classroom observation in this class, a Muslim girl was the class monitor and a Sinhala boy was the assistant, and then another two students became monitors. At Raveendranath College Tamil BE students who study permanently in this class appreciated the class teacher (BE teacher) for fair delegation of responsibilities among the students of different ethnicities, as indicated in the excerpts from the FGD with Tamil students at Raveendranath, below:

> **Student 2:** *Teachers are elders. Than the children they are mature. They know.*
>
> **Student 3:** *For the first few months she [class teacher] made me the monitor. So I was happy. And there was a boy called [Tamil boy] he was the assistant monitor.*
>
> **Student1:** *First they didn't accept it. They were not happy initially. But after they got friend with they accepted*

This is an example of how teachers practice diversity responsiveness. Students here are talking about teachers in general, not only about their BE cum class teacher, saying that 'teachers' are mature and do the best they can. This implies that this kind of diversity responsive practice is common among teachers. It is worth noting that these teachers are mostly not from these students' ethnic group but from the majority ethnicity, Sinhala. As the above anecdotal account reflects, even though Sinhala students were initially reluctant to accept Tamil students as monitors, it is clear that Sinhala speaking colleagues later accepted Tamil boys as monitors. It is vital to note here that appointing a Tamil student as the monitor in the first term

happened in a class where more than seventy per cent are Sinhala students. Usually there are only a few Tamil students in BE classes, for instance not more than eight in number in a class of 45 students or more. This demonstrates how this teacher's act enhanced acceptance of ethnically diverse others whom some students had reported hating. I argue that this mutual understanding was nurtured and accelerated by the appointment of two minority students as class monitors, especially in the first term when all were new to the class. The teacher is seen here to be utilizing her legitimate authority to intervene in a potential power disequilibrium that might have occurred due to majority *vs.* minority power relations. She has used her "pedagogic authority" to bring about positive social conditions. Pedagogic authority here seems different from how it is represented by Bourdieu and Passeron (1977), which usually has negative connotations. Muslim students at Raveendranath College also talked about equal treatment by the teachers:

> **Student 1:** *Teachers also give us equal work. Our class teacher [Sinhala in ethnicity], when she gives a punishment, she gives it to all. If she gives homework and if we didn't do she checks all the books and gives punishment. She doesn't favour one or two people. If I didn't do my homework she will punish me. If a Sinhala student or Tamil student she will do the same she will punish them also.*
>
> **Student 2:** *In rugger also if someone did a wrong, anyone Sinhala, or Tamil or Muslim, we all get the punishment and it is good, it gives us team spirit so it is same in the classroom*

While appreciating the allocation of equal responsibilities (work) these Muslim BE students talked about the absence of favouritism based on ethnicity, using the issue of punishment to exemplify their argument. This, in other words, shows teachers' equal treatment which in turn may have enhanced equality among the student of diverse ethnicities. What is significant in these views is the awareness of the fact that these teacher practices of equality encourage 'team spirit' and facilitate inclusivity or the accrual of *inclusive social capital*. What is important here is the teacher's deliberate action through power that she enjoys - being the legitimate authority in the BE pedagogy - to evenly distribute power or social positioning among the students of diverse ethnicities (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). These teacher practices bring all students to equal positioning; and social proximity is created among them. Had the teachers not acted in this way, the power relations may

have been highly unequal, as hierarchical symbolic power originates from minority *vs.* majority hierarchical social stratification. In such a context, the majority population would typically take dominant positions (Bourdieu, 1984), which is not a positive condition for inclusivity.

The immediate preceding sub-section explored how teachers created diversity responsive social conditions using two strategies: regular change of classroom seating arrangements to create ethnically heterogeneous environments, and fair delegation of responsibilities that enhanced equal social positioning in the class. All the evidence presented above indicates that BE teachers and class teachers of BE classes in all three schools take explicit premeditated action to create positive "socially situated conditions" in the BE pedagogic field that enhance interethnic relations through fair and equal delegation of responsibilities among ethnically diverse students. In this way, teachers not only create opportunities for interethnic interaction among students at a practical level but also, I argue, set an example for how individuals and groups can be diversity responsive.

The next sub-section analyses how lessons/activities and grouping techniques used by teachers shaped "socially situated conditions" whereby teachers created opportunities for ethnically diverse students to work together to achieve their common goals and as a strategy to create a sense of in-group feeling for all.

6.3.3 **Cooperative group work in shaping habitus reorientating**

Ethnic habitus is the social group identity; therefore grouping was a primary a priori focus of this study. In this section, I explore teachers' use of group work, what kind of group membership was valued and legitimized by the teachers, and how cooperative group work was utilized in the BE programme.

Use of group activities

Overall, the use of group work by the BE teachers varied in the three schools during the respective periods I conducted classroom observations. For instance, at South College, both teachers used co-operative tasks in ethnically heterogeneous groups throughout my observations. At Parakum College, the Science teacher used two cooperative group activities while the CE teacher used one group activity. In contrast, at Raveendranath College neither of the two teachers utilized any kind of group work during my observations, although it was reported that they did use group

work during previous school terms because they are required to do so. For instance, in response to my question about what types of activities she assigns to students, the CE teacher at Raveendranath College mentioned that it is mandatory to do group activities:

> *My subjects are geography and civics, and for geography I normally assign group work activities. Actually the government, they mention the group work activities in the teacher's guide. So we have to introduce them [...] and they usually do group activities in the class.*

Teachers therefore are aware that they are supposed to do group work. It is stipulated in curriculum delivery instructions and in the teachers' guide. For example, Citizenship Education (CE) Teachers' guide instructs: "Guide the students to study the subject as group assignments, presentations, group activities and assess and evaluate the students on the same criteria" (NIE, 2017, p 4). This teacher's comments suggest that group work is in fact utilized by teachers at Raveendranath College as it is in the other two schools. I could not observe group work in this school since my observations at Raveendranath College were conducted during the third term.

To my question whether she assigns group work to students she further explained as below.

> *Yes, [...] basically we are doing our day today subject activities as well as group projects. We are a kind of very tight in this term we did them in previous terms. Especially in this term we don't have much time because our vacation is too long so it's also a barrier to do group assignments during class time. So the students are doing their work at home and bring them to class. They told me that they are meeting in the Library or at home to do this group work, some times.*

This comment confirms that the teachers do group work, but not during the 3rd term due to time constraints. This school is a public examination paper marking centre, and hence they have a long vacation after the second term. However, she takes possible remedial measures such as take-home group assignments. For instance, during my observations she allocated one take-home assignment with specific tasks for each member to complete the main task. As explained above, students do individual tasks at home, meet in the library to complete and then present the final product as a group. Hence, these take-home assignments seem to create positive intergroup contacts and inclusivity similar to in-class cooperative activities.

At South College, every lesson included group work where students were required to achieve a common task cooperatively. Cooperative group work is

important in multiethnic BE pedagogy because it allows students of diverse ethnicities to work together as one team to achieve common goals. When students work together as a team them may experience in-group feeling. It is a feeling of likeness and belongingness among the group members who are ethnically heterogeneous. This in-group feeling may be further developed by positive competition between the groups that may emerge during the activities. This is a positive socially situated condition for ethnic habitus reorientation towards inclusivity. My observations during group work demonstrated that that at the end of every group task, students presented the final product as a team in front of the class. I observed this pattern of group work throughout both Math and CE periods at South College, since every lesson I observed had a group task. To verify my observation on cooperative group work during the Math lessons at South College, where I noticed high team spirit among the students of diverse ethnicities, I asked the Math BE teacher about the type of work she assigns as group work:

> *Mostly one single task is assigned, but different sections in the same task is sometimes assigned to individual student for example one student to draw, another to write like that, but finally all of them together complete the assigned task and then will be presented by every member*

This teacher designed tasks in such a way that every member is assigned "different sections in the same task"; they then present the final product together. During group activities at South College, individual groups acted as one cohesive community. They competed with other groups of similar ethnically heterogeneous composition, as I noted during observations. This competition brought together the members of each group to act as one entity, in solidarity, with a feeling of in-group sense irrespective of ethnolinguistic heterogeneity. During Citizenship Education (CE) periods, all lessons included cooperative group activities, for which ethnic heterogeneity was a prerequisite since activities entailed writing in all three languages. As such, interdependence between Tamil and Sinhala speaking students became indispensable since the students had to elicit equivalents of words and meaning in Sinhala and Tamil languages in addition to English to complete cooperative group tasks.

At Parakum College, the three group activities I observed also followed the same pattern as was at South College. These group tasks and presentations obliged students

to work together, to seek help from group members - which harnessed interdependence and reciprocity. In fact, BE Science teacher/Class teacher pointed out that no special effort is needed if BE students of diverse ethnicities engage in normal classroom activities such as group work together in the BE class to achieve social cohesion among them.

In brief, the logic of practice in the BE pedagogy was that of ethnically heterogeneous members working cooperatively to achieve common goals that essentially required intergroup inclusivity. Thereby, the symbolic value capitalized in the field was *inclusive social capital* – mutual acquaintance, recognition and interdependence among ethnically diverse students. It is argued that, in dialectic relations to these new social circumstances, a habitus reorientation towards inclusive supra-ethnicity is necessary if students are to feel like "fish in water" or to synchronize with the field's new objective structures (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

Group membership valued by teachers

Now I return to the other main focus, namely what BE teachers use as group formation techniques, and the ideologies that lie behind such techniques. Grouping techniques utilized by different teachers, and the reported ideologies behind those techniques were diverse. Nevertheless, in spite of these differences, teachers used ethnically heterogeneous groups in classroom group activities in most cases. At South College, during the entire period of my classroom observations, students formed ethnically heterogeneous groups during Math and CE for cooperative group work. For cooperative group work, teachers sometimes instructed students to form random groups by asking to count from 1-5. At other times, students were given freedom to form groups of their choice. Whether teacher instructed or student volunteered, students formed ethnically heterogeneous groups and worked towards common tasks - essential conditions for positive intergroup relations where interdependence and mutual recognition are the norm. To my question on strategies used to achieve the aims of BE, the Math teacher responded as below. She had previously referred to her 'aims' as promoting cohesion among students of diverse ethnicities.

> **BE Maths** ***Teacher:*** *when I do group activities I mix them, but sometimes those who are gifted lead anyhow. In that sense I do mix ability grouping. If I take*

my own class [8D] I have got them seated like one Tamil one Sinhala student, most of the times students have been mixed like that [in this class too].

Researcher: *Do you mean that you are taking conscious effort to have ethnically heterogeneous groups?*

BE Maths Teacher*: yes, mix, yes they are already sitting like that, they are not separated as Sinhala, Tamil and Muslims they are always together.... even in 9D [this class] Tamils, Muslims and Sinhalese are mixed, they are seated like that, they don't categorise as such.*

The above excerpts demonstrate that the teacher takes deliberate action to form heterogeneous groups. Her views suggest that the general tendency of group formation is always ethnically heterogeneous since students are seated like that. What is implicit in the conversation is that when the students are seated in an ethnically heterogeneous manner the groupings automatically tend to become ethnically heterogeneous, and seating arrangements are a significant factor. When I inquired of the CE teacher at South College during a classroom activity what his preferred technique of grouping is, he replied that mixed grouping has become the norm of his CE classroom due to the activities he includes.

...you can see it. That I don't have to tell them to get into mix groups. They do it automatically because now they know it. Also to complete all activities they need each other's help

As this teacher points out, "to complete all activities students need each other's help", and therefore they "automatically" form "mix groups" or ethnically heterogeneous groups. This indicates that students do not routinely think or in a practical sense form ethnically heterogeneous groups, their body just knows. In effect, forming ethnically heterogeneous groups has become embodied dispositions, because the logic of practice in the pedagogy designed by the teachers is such. The above commentary also illustrates that the promotion of interdependence among ethnically diverse students was clearly premeditated by the teacher. For their part, in a practical sense, students were thinking and acting with mutual interdependence through the feeling for the game, because of the "rules of the game" set by the teacher. To explicate this interdependent relationship that was created by cooperative group activities, I present a transcription of classroom interaction that took place in the class when preparing for

a group activity. The teacher divided students into ethnically heterogeneous groups by using a counting technique. He assigned a name for each group using topics covered in a previous lesson related to diversity: Unity, Brotherhood, Peace, Harmony, where students were required to write the Sinhala and Tamil equivalents of the name of their group before starting the actual activity.

Table 6.2 Classroom interaction during CE at South College

1	Teacher	Now students? I will divide you into five groups, let's count numbers from 1 to 5 remember your number.
2	Students	One two three {each student count from 1 to 5)
3	Teacher	Now number one your group is PEACE. {Hand over a task sheet with word written in large letters – Peace} What is it in Tamil?
4	Tamil Students	<L1>*Samathanam</L1>* (Tamil) {a few students in other groups also join}. சமாதானம்
5	Teacher	What is in Sinhala?
	Sinhala students	<L1>*Samadanaya*<L1> {Mainly Sinhala Students} සාමය
6	Teacher	{to group 1}Your question is what a disaster is or must define what a disaster is, first in English then in Tamil and Sinhala. In Sinhala what is it called? Now your group? What is your name? {ask the next group}
7	Students	Unity.
8	Teacher	What is it in Tamil?
9	Tamil students	<L1>orrumai</L1> ஒற்றுமை
10	Teacher	In Sinhala?
11	Sinhala students	<L1>*"ekamutukama, samagiya</L1>* සමගිය
12	Teacher	Now what droughts are (.) mention the definition. You must write what droughts are, must write in English Tamil Sinhala. In our group there are Tamil, Muslim, Sinhala students, we learn in English. After completing your team work finally let's present. {goes to group 4} Who are number four? YES what's your name?
13	Students	Brotherhood
14	Teacher	In Tamil?
15	Tamil students	*<L1>Sahotharatthuvam</L1>* சகோதரத்துவம்
16	Teacher	In Sinhala
17	Sinhala students	*<L1>Sahodarathwaya</L1>* සහෝදරත්වය
18	Teacher	Now when you complete your team work. Cooperativeness must be there. Unity must be there. Then what are the other groups? Brotherhood must be there, harmony must be there according to your team name complete your work. Identify damages caused by droughts, think about man, think about environment. You must write at least three (.) write in English, Tamil and then in Sinhala right? End of the period you must present.

Here, the CE Teacher endeavoured to nurture awareness of the benefits of diversity through 'lived experiences' using the BE classroom's ethnic heterogeneity advantageously by facilitating emergence of heteroglossia in the BE classroom. His approach to lessons set an exemplary example for "teachers' equity-oriented perspectives for language" (Zuniga, Henderson & Palmer, 2017) in the BE pedagogy.

Thereby, he created inclusivity in the multiethnic classrooms where languages are hierarchically powerful and carry symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1991). These activities benefited students in many ways, as I observed. Writing the concepts such as *brotherhood, unity, cooperation, harmony*. in their mother tongues (Sinhala and Tamil) may have enhanced students' emotional attachment to pluralism, respect for others, and importance of unity because they quickly understood the concepts in their mother tongues. This enhanced respect for each other's languages "without presupposing a conscious aiming" (Bourdieu, 1990b, p. 55) since the use of each other's languages in addition to English was indispensible to complete the activities. These activities in ethnically heterogeneous groups have the potential to create an in-group sense of collective identity. The logic of practice becomes positive interdependence, individual accountability, interaction, social interpersonal skills and group or team processing. In the existence of such objective social structure, mutual acquaintance and recognition of ethnically diverse others is at stake; and *inclusive social capital* gains the highest symbolic value, with ethnocentrism having no value. I suggest that it is in this dialectic relation that there emerges a need for reorientation of ethnocentric habitus towards ethnically inclusive habitus (Bourdieu, 1986; 1990b).

At Parakum College I observed three group activities, two during Science and one during CE. During Science group activities, students appeared autonomous and self- governing. For instance, when the Science teacher gave students freedom to name their own groups, students named their groups as Gangsters, Rascals, Radicals, etc. In contrast, during CE a frozen atmosphere prevailed due to the teacher being authoritarian and unable to be questioned, as noted in my field notes during my classroom observations. As per my observations, during all three activities, students formed ethnically heterogeneous groups though the two teachers used different grouping strategies. For example, the BE Science teacher asked students to choose groups while CE teacher allocated random group members by counting. To corroborate my observation, I asked the BE science teacher about his techniques for grouping.

> *You may have noticed in their name list in different groups there are different names of different categories [different ethnicity and religion]. So the only criteria they used were their friends who 'fit' with them. So it was very much evident that they didn't have such orientations (ethnic based) to group formation.*

Reminding me of the list of names of group members that he gave me after the first group work I observed[6], he explained that students form groups with those who 'fit' with each other. According to the list, all groups were ethnically heterogeneous.

With regard to the CE teacher at Parakum College, she does not consider ethnicity in grouping. To my question about whether she makes an effort to mix students by ethnicity she responded negatively:

> *No. No, because ethnicity has not been taken into consideration in our school. You know, we never discuss about it. We don't. I don't know whether others have taken it, but during my class I don't. [...] I just get them do numbering in my subject. And in this kind of schools we do not divide children according to their ethnicity..."*

As indicated above, the CE teacher is of the opinion that ethnicity should not be taken into consideration and that it is something they do not discuss in her school. She appears reluctant to accept ethnic diversity. However, since she adopted counting, the groups became ethnically heterogeneous.

In terms of grouping techniques used by the teacher for group work, both CE and Science teachers at Raveendranath College used ethnically heterogamous groups, but for different reasons. The CE teacher's grouping techniques appeared to be influenced by existing circumstances in the class - that students of the same ethnicity flock together if given freedom to form their own groups. I note that the BE students do not have a permanent classroom and come from respective MTI classes for BE subjects. I first showed the excerpt from the interview to the CE teacher to identify her strategies. When I then asked what criterion she uses to group students, she responded as follows:

> *First I ask them to bring the list of names that they like. But I always ask them that they have to mix with other people. It is also important to mix with weak students, so the weak students, like some may have weakness in language, and sometime subject knowledge, so when they mix with each other students can learn language as well as subject matter from peers. [...] other students always help weak students. They teach, they translate, like that to help them.*

[6] It should be noted here that it was only by names that one can distinguish students' ethnicities because the physical appearance of people of different ethnicities is the same. Unless they speak their own language we cannot recognize their ethnicity, and these children never used their mother tongue in class but only English.

This teacher considers different criteria for grouping: ethnicity and mixed ability in terms of both knowledge and language. Although she allows students to choose members of their groups they have been pre-advised to “mix with other people” which means ethnically diverse others. During my observations when she assigned groups for a take-home assignment, I noticed that she asked students to bring the list of members but changed them a little. She does not only consider student preferences for group membership; she also considers mutual scaffolding of both knowledge and language gaps. These strategies show that this teacher makes a conscious effort to create interdependence and mutual trust among the students through group formation. It can be suggested all these activities have the potential to create positive conditions for interethnic relations and to promote inclusive group membership as more valued than membership of ethnically exclusive groups. I suggest that all these deliberate teacher actions may help to transpose the logic of practice of the BE diversity responsive class and thereby the habitus of those who occupy it. In response to my question of how students would form groups without her influence, she responded that she cannot allow student-only preference.

> *I cannot do that because if I give that opportunity they always go with their friends. Some students don’t like to mix with Muslims and Tamil boys from Tamil medium class. But the majority of my class don’t care about ethnicity or religion. But there are some students who are not like that. To avoid this discrimination, I use the method that I use that I told you earlier.*

What is important to this discussion is to identify this teacher’s deliberate action through reflexivity that avoided student congregation based on ethnicity. When teachers reflect critically and do not work in a pre-reflexive practical sense they can deliberately create a diversity responsive environment. They can help students to recognize the value of inclusive membership in a practical sense through lived experiences such as cooperative group work and assignments.

6.3.4 **Section summary**

This analysis illustrated that the curriculum required teachers to use group activities as a learning strategy. The lessons and grouping used by teachers in all three schools varied in terms of their techniques. The analysis also demonstrated that some teachers deliberately use grouping strategies to purposefully mix students of diverse ethnicities. Some other teachers do not consciously opt to use grouping techniques to

create ethnically heterogeneous groups such as counting. However, in both cases whether deliberate or not grouping techniques facilitated forming ethnically heterogeneous groups.

The teachers' contribution towards ethnic diversity responsive "socially situated conditions" also varied in three schools. For instance, teachers at South College created positive lived experiences that nurture mutual respect, acquaintance and interdependence through the use of cooperative group work in ethnically heterogeneous groups, which is praise-worthy. At Parakum College, teachers attempted to create similar conditions through cooperative group work and grouping but not to the extent it was in South College. In contrast, no group work was used by either teacher at Raveendranath College during my observations, except for one CE take-home assignment that required students of different ethnicities to complete the task in cooperative groups. But the FGD and interview data suggested that they do group work.

In summary, it can be said that cooperative tasks in ethnically heterogeneous groups created "socially situated conditions" for ethnic habitus reorientations. In these tasks, students were compelled to seek mutual help from ethnically diverse others in an unconscious pre-reflexive or in a practical sense (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Furthermore, these tasks create in-group sense within the ethnically diverse membership of a group since the groups begin to identity and to be identified by other groups as one group as positive competition emerges through work. It is suggested that through these group activities the logic of practice or norm in the BE programme becomes intergroup cooperation, mutual acquaintance, mutual recognition, trust and interdependence. These circumstances nurture *inclusive social capital* and necessitate the regeneration of ethnocentric habitus that the students brought to the BE class when they initially joined, towards inclusivity and habitus that is beyond ethnocentrism, which should supraethnic.

6.4 THE ROLE OF THE SCHOOL IN HABITUS REALIGNING

As discussed earlier, one of the favourable conditions for interethnic group relations is 'authority support', which in the context of this study refers to the school's support in promoting diversity responsiveness (Allport, 1954). I now examine the school authorities' approach to diversity responsiveness, and how their practices shape

"socially situated conditions" conducive to the ethnic habitus reorientation of the BE students. In the preceding analysis it was argued that while some teachers critically consider and act accordingly to shape intergroup relations through promoting ethnically heterogeneous groups, others believe no such actions are necessary because they do not believe in the existence of a phenomenon called *differences based on ethnicity.* This in turn suggests taken-for-granted thinking and beliefs in terms of ethnic diversity and therefore social inclusivity. I therefore theorized the BE pedagogic field as a sub-field located within the larger field of the school. Although it has field-specific practices, the BE programme is part of the school, and has to be acquiescent to logic of practice in the school, as just like any other field it is not fully autonomous but influenced by surrounding fields (Bourdieu, 1993). The subsequent section explores how school authorities perceive ethnic diversity in their institutions and their actions therein.

6.4.1 **No, No, we don't consider ethnicity in our school**

In the previous chapter I argued that ethnically diverse students can be divided and alienated from each other even in multiethnic schools, even to the extent that they hating one another as reported by some students. In terms of school authorities, however, the data show that some school authorities seem ethnic-blind. They seem to take ethnicity for granted and consider that there is no difference based on ethnicity. I now analyse this position.

This taken-for-granted position appears to nurture prevailing structures of inequalities, which was more prevalent in Parakum College and also in Raveendranath College. Many stakeholders denied the existence of ethnic differences in their schools. For instance, like most teachers, the BE Sectional Head who is also a BE teacher at Raveendranath College asserted that she does not consider ethnicity in grouping because she assumes that the students do not feel any differences based on ethnicity. She responded as below when I asked, "Don't you consider ethnically heterogeneous groups [when grouping students]?"

> *No. I am not. They don't feel they are from different ethnic groups when they are classmates. Actually I also can't feel or remember whether a student is a Sinhala fellow or Muslim or Tamil. When they don't worship with me only then I recognize they are Muslims guys. Otherwise when I read their names, yes I recognize them.*

This Sectional Head cum BE teacher seems to be saying that since the students cannot be distinguished by their physical appearances they do not feel ethnically different. This is a taken-for-granted proposition; it is her interpretation based on outer appearances. The CE teacher at Parakum College expressed similar opinions that demonstrated ethnic diversity is being considered in taken-for-granted manner. When I inquired her about forming ethnically heterogeneous groups for group work:

> *No. No, because ethnicity has not been taken to consideration in our school. You know, we never discuss about it. We don't.*

Then when I asked about students' choices when they are given freedom to select group members, she responded

> *No they don't care their ethnicity at all. I must say it that is in my [this] school. I don't know about the other schools, but in this school ethnicity is nothing.*

This teacher appeared to believe that – like her - her students do not consider difference or power inequalities based on ethnicity. According to her, ethnicity is never talked about and the school never distinguishes students by ethnicity. It would appear, according to this teacher that the school not only ignores but tends to deny the multiethnic nature of the institution.

This position is very similar to that of the BE teacher cum Sectional Head of the Raveendranath College. Both teachers appear to assume they can speak and think on behalf of students, taking student perspectives as given. Since both teachers belong to the majority group in Sri Lanka the validity of their views expressed on behalf of minority people is doubtful. They seem to have no awareness of the fact that they cannot feel how minority people would perceive ethnicity or how power relations originate from such conditions. This, in fact, illustrates the taken-for-granted dispositions of the school authorities in relation to ethnic diversity. The students' accounts in the previous chapter of their lived experiences illustrate the vast differences between the students of different ethnicities – some saying that they hated each other – and the views of school authorities. The opinion expressed above reflects the authorities' taken-for-granted pre-reflexive thinking (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), which may ultimately contribute to the perpetuation of existing inequalities based on ethnic diversity in schools. This is not a positive condition. If the school authorities do not acknowledge ethnic diversity in their institutions, whether they can take action to promote interethnic relations is very doubtful. The ultimate result is failure to exploit a rare and important opportunity that can be utilized to enhance

cohesion among ethnic groups, because these schools are among the very few multiethnic schools in the country.

Despite the authorities' claim that there is no such difference based on ethnicity, the following circumstances reported by Tamil BE students at Parakum College illuminate their feelings of inequality and frustration and the symbolic violence that they are compelled to submit to.

6.4.2 The students' story: They don't care whether we understand or not

Contrary to school authorities' claims regarding the existence of equality and diversity responsiveness in schools, there appear to be turbulent currents below the surface. The following excerpts from FGD with the Tamil BE students exemplify difficulties faced by them as a minority group. These responses were not based on any question I asked but were voluntarily brought up.

Table 6.3 Difficulties of minority students: FGD with Tamil Students Parakum College

Student3	*They tell it in Sinhala. They don't care us whether we understand or not.*
Student2	*If we have a doubt we have to go to a teacher who can really understand us.*
Student 3	*See this is what happens. When they do Sinhala papers like Sinhala PTS or History we get the Tamil paper. And if they have doubts they have teachers to ask in the exam hall. But if we have a doubt=*
Student 4	*For example, at the examination, let's say I do PTS in Tamil=*
Researcher	*So did your parents discuss this with school authorities?*
Student 4	*They did. They wrote also, like 7 letters or something like that, but none of them worked.*
Student 3	*What they say is there is 70% of Sinhalese they think that's the main factor and they don't put Tamil supervisors. If they assign at least one Tamil supervisor we can ask. So that is one of the reasons we do English Medium.*

These Tamil BE students describe the difficulties they face at the term test due to the non-availability of a Tamil speaking teacher/supervisor in the examination hall. According to their reports, the school has failed to provide a Tamil speaking teacher in the examination hall so that the Tamil speaking students are unable to get exam related clarifications. Their parents had repeatedly asked school authorities to remedy the situation, which has been unsuccessful so far. However, the opinions of the school authorities are quite different. As noted previously, the Primary Principal of Parakum declared that the school makes efforts to recognize minority students and to respond

to their grievances. Teachers denied ethnicity as a factor to consider in relation to teaching and learning processes in the school. But the above excerpts indicate that things are not as smooth as the school authorities assume.

Here it is worth mentioning that all the people who represented ‘school authority’ at semi-structured interviews are from the majority ethnic group. So to be fair to them, I argue that they cannot see “the reality” through minority ‘eyes’ because they have majority habitus. Their ways of thinking, being and acting are predisposed and embodied and it is through these dispositions, inclinations and perceptions that they see the world of the other (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). They cannot help this situation, I argue, because theirs are “unthought categories of thought which delimit the thinkable and predetermine the thought” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p.40). This pre-reflexive thinking prevents them from taking action towards creating an environment of positive interethnic relations or diversity responsiveness. What is required of school authorities is to understand that there is a misfit between their habitus *i.e.,* their ways of seeing, thinking and acting towards equality or diversity responsiveness in the school, and students’ expectations with regard to what the logic of practice in the school as a field should be. And this is where teacher education has a role to play, to guide school authorities to engage in “systematic exploration of the unthought categories of thought” –in carrying out day today practical acts in schools via conscious reflexivity, not in a predisposed practical sense taking their premeditated dispositions or habitus for granted (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

6.4.3 **Superficial nature of actions to enhance diversity**

Another aspect to emerge through the data was that of superficial action taken by school authorities and their self-assumed proclamations that those actions are adequate to promote interethnic relations and equality in schools. For instance, school authorities assume that by celebrating an annual event together, giving opportunities for minority students to compere occasionally in school events/ceremonies can create equality among students. Two excerpts below from data collected at Raveendranath and Parakum Colleges exemplify this superficial taken-for-granted nature of thinking and acting, when ‘good’ actions are assumed to enhance an environment of diversity responsiveness and equality in their schools. When I inquired if they noticed differences between the students of different ethnicities in BE classes and MTI classes with regard to interethnic relations, Parakum College Primary Principal had this to say:

...whatever the child's ethnicity we treat them equally [...] because of that we don't see any difference at all. Students in Sinhala and Tamil medium have to work together in during the sports meet, for the prize giving, for the first prayer service; normally we give Tamil children on Children's Day sing songs in Tamil. We always combine them. We never get them to think that they are isolated. [...] For example when I select children for announcing and things like that, I always give chance to a Tamil student, Tamil medium, Sinhala medium, etc. I always see to that.

As illustrated in this commentary, school authorities believe that schools' events such as sports-meets and prize-giving can bring ethnically diverse students together. What we should understand here is that these events are annual events, and whether participating together in an event or two can promote interethnic relations is doubtful. Additionally, not all students in the school can participate in such events. These views suggest authorities' pre-reflective thinking and acting, whereby they assume that participating in an annual event can avoid inequalities and alienation among ethnic groups. The Raveendranath College Principal appeared to have a similar stance on ethnic diversity which reflects surface level consideration.

I think in our school, we always try to keep close connections with each other. We are having it religious-wise and ethnic-wise. And also they have good friendship with each other, good relationship with each other. That is we have to balance. We can't say any difference because all the three communities are learning together so we can't find such gaps or difference between all these communities or between these students.

As in the case of the Raveendranath College Principal, there is 'no difference' as such among the students of diverse ethnicities. He assumes that because all communities study together there is no difference among them. This view is in complete contrast to students' comments in the previous chapter that students in Sinhala medium and Tamil medium never get a chance to talk to each other even though they are studying in the same school. As one of the students commented during a FGD - reported in the previous chapter:

We were like from another planet and those people [ethnically diverse other students] were like from another planet. Though we existed we never got to interact

The authorities seem unaware of these underlying currents of discrepancies. Their perceptions, ways of thinking and their actions with regard to ethnic diversity seem to suggest that they take everything as natural in a *doxic* manner (Bourdieu 1984). They seem to ignore the fact that given the various differences (*e.g.* majority and minority), some groups can have a great deal of symbolic power over others. In contrast, they seem to have reached consensus through their own judgement that there are no differences caused by diversity. In brief, they seem to hold the "false belief that society operate(s) on reason and merit and unquestioning adherence to its order" (Hanks, 2005, p.72).

Loyalty to school as a prestigious institution was another aspect that students and teachers talked about during FGDs and semi-structured interviews. They seem to assume that solidarity created among the students by being members of the school alumni overcome interethnic differences. I now examine this question further.

6.4.4 All are members of prestigious school alumni: So we don't feel a difference

Both Raveendranath and Parakum Colleges are considered to be 'prestigious' colleges in the country. An aspect that emerged repeatedly in the data was that of solidarity among the membership of the school alumni. The student participants and some teachers reported that symbolic capital conferred to alumni membership of these prestigious colleges supersede symbolic capital possessed by any student by being a member of own ethnic group. I first present the view of the Raveendranath College BE Science Teacher, who told me that he does not consider ethnicity when grouping students because there is no such feeling of difference by ethnicity in students due to their sense of belonging to the school alumni.

> *The situation here in this school is different. Students are, from very early stage, given the attitude that, "You are not Tamil or Sinhala or Muslim, but you are 'Raveendranathian'. So that is how children think from very early stages. I have felt this that they have no difference among 'Raveendranathians'. They are given the idea that you are all 'Raveendranathians' That is why when even a problem happens in the class they don't separate saying you are from that category and this category like. I haven't come across such instances.*

In the above excerpts, "Raveendranathian" is the pseudonym for the name conferred to alumni members of this college which has high symbolic value in the country.

Teachers' views reflect the fact that the students are inculcated with this attitude from the earliest stage of being "Raveendranathians"; that it is inscribed in them, or, in other words, it becomes embodied which in a Bourdieusian sense involves the acquisition of a sub-system of dispositions, the 'habitus'. As the teacher reiterated, when students are "Raveendranathian", ethnicity becomes less important or completely disregarded. What he affirmed, in other words, is that the social capital accreted by the prestigious school's alumni and the associated symbolic value overrides values of other forms of symbolic capital; in this case being a member of an ethnic or religious group (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). The students also expressed similar views. Consider the views of BE student (Senior Prefect) presented below:

> *I don't know for us we didn't feel a difference between Tamil and Sinhala then because this "Raveendranathian" feeling was there then. For when you come to Raveendranath College you are told you are a Raveendranathian. So at that point these racial things didn't matter. There is more value to "Raveendranathian" view.*

Students then are also of the view that they, 'the Raveendranathians', do not feel differences between themselves because all of them belong to the school's prestigious alumni, which transcends all other boundaries such as ethnicity, language or religion. Membership in this alumnus has 'more value'. As Bourdieu (1986) argued, this is social capital earned through "...membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a 'credential' which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word..." which is "socially instituted and guaranteed by the application of common name" of the school (p. 248-49). What is implied in these arguments is that prestigious alumni membership accrues symbolic capital evenly among the membership, which brings all students to equal social positioning; where any symbolic value conferred to ethnicity, language or religion, have less value. It is believed that this creates equal social status and hence equal power relations among the students, which would then create a positive diversity responsive situation where ethnocentrism would disappear. This is what some teachers and students appear to believe and what is argued in the above comments. However, we should be cautious. The analysis in the previous chapter confirmed the presence of a sense of alienation and hatred among some students of

diverse ethnicities in this school. Hence, this assumed or taken-for-granted superficial in-group feeling of solidarity is proved to be false. There are many differences that alienate students by division between Sinhala medium and Tamil medium. In fact, these superficial assumptions of nonexistence of ethnic division and of solidarity derived from the alumni experience were proved to be wrong at both Raveendranath and Parakum Colleges, as discussed below.

Before joining the BE class what was prevalent among the students were feelings of exclusionism and hate, even though they were studying together in one school. Another BE teacher at Raveendranath College whose ethnicity is Tamil and who gave me an interview confirmed this. According to him, merely being a member of the school would not create a feeling of in-group.

> *Actually if the students finish their education either in Sinhala medium or Tamil medium there is no connection between the students of these two groups of students because they don't have opportunities to connect with each other and build a relationship even if they were in the same school. I met with 2009 and 1996 groups of they invited teachers for the dinner party. There Tamil and the Sinhalese old boys, they were separately together in that 'get together'. They were not even talking to each other. Ones there is a person who are in the organizing committee only those people talked to each other. But when they come to bilingual they become known to each other and they make friendships that last until their life.*

The above views illustrate that assumed solidarity and bonds between students of different ethnicities based on school alumni may not be so. The separation caused by MOI seems more overpowering than the solidarity created by the school alumni. This BE teacher illustrated this fact by referring to a Teacher Get Together organized annually by the school alumni, the Old Boys' Association. Referring to interethnic relations among the 'Old Boys' that he observed on that occasion, he commented: "they were separately together in that 'get together'. He emphasized the fact that interethnic relations among the BE students, in contrast, is very different. They know each other and have become lifelong friends. His comments conveyed two aspects which are vital to the present analysis: that school alumni membership is not strong enough to supersede exclusionism based on ethnicity; and that only the BE classrooms can bring at least some students of all ethnicities who do the BE programme together. BE can bridge division and alienation between Sinhala, Tamil

and Muslim students, and thereby create “socially situated conditions” conducive to ethnic habitus reorientations.

The above discussion confirms that surface level diversity responsiveness does not necessarily guarantee mutual acquaintance and friendship between students of different ethnicities. Especially, the experiences and views expressed by the Tamil BE students at Parakum College. Their story exemplifies the vast gap between what school authorities believe in taken-for-granted manner that there is no aspect called ethnic diversity in their schools and how the same phenomenon is experienced by the minority students. The superficial sense of diversity that the authorities hold cannot create an inclusive in-group feeling where ethnicity becomes irrelevant – or less relevant - and supraethnic habitus emerges. For instance, the previous chapter illustrated the sense of alienation experienced by students of diverse ethnicities within multiethnic schools before joining the BE programme, in spite of the fact that some of them had been studying in the same school from Grades 1 to 5.

The school authorities’ misperceptions about ethnic diversity and their responsiveness to it also contribute to distancing the ethnically diverse students in spite of authorities’ assumed diversity responsiveness. For instance, some school authorities think that ethnicity is not an aspect that the school should consider and thereby miss the point of creating an environment conducive to interethnic relations. Their stance appears to be that of a taken-for-granted manner of looking at diversity, just considering surface level existences, and acting in pre-reflexive manner through *illusion:* it is their game and so they play the way they see it (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992*)*. On the other hand, they assume that actions such as working together in an event, participating in annual cultural celebrations in the school, being given a chance to sing a song in their own language at an event, all add up to good practices of diversity responsiveness. Although these practices are in themselves commendable, one cannot help but question if such occasional actions can create an adequately positive environment for interethnic contacts and relations. The mere fact of institutional authorities, who have the legitimate authority to change the logic of practice, not having engaging in critical reflection but take existing structures as natural in a *doxic* manner will not help bring about the transformation that is mandated in education (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

6.4.5 We are secular but there is minority *vs.* majority dilemma

Another important aspect brought up by the teachers and students was that although the schools follow a secular approach to 'inequalities' caused by uneven demographic existences *i.e.,* majority *vs*. minority, these are difficult to resolve as they are treated as if they are natural. To demonstrate this, I draw from views expressed by the students at Raveendranath College in response to my question whether there are differences between ethnic groups and diversity responsiveness in the school.

> **Student1:** *I think you [researcher] are lucky that you have come to our school because our school is secular. We don't give priority to any religion or ethnicity. We support all. I am worried about other schools especially schools which promote a certain race or religion.*
>
> **Student 2:** *Because Sinhalese are the majority in number Tamils and Muslims get a certain form of inequality but this is not active discrimination. At least they are not discriminated based on their ethnicity. We don't go around and say because you are a Tamil or do something just because you are a Tamil. But since they are less in number in the school something might cause.*

Student 1 defines his school as secular, saying that all students are treated equally, unlike other schools which usually promote a certain race or religion. Student 2 adds that there can be a 'certain form of inequality' but not 'active discrimination' resulting from uneven demographic conditions. These views imply acceptance of existing structures of inequality. This suggests apparent misrecognition that if there is inequality, then it is natural because it originates from 'natural' population differences – the uneven number of students in the school (Bourdieu 1977). Therefore, it is assumed that the symbolic power imbalance, or what the student above called "not active discrimination", that may result from what is 'natural', is unavoidable even though the school adheres to a secular stance. What is evident here is that these students have developed a feeling of taken-for-granted with regard to *symbolic power* that may operate; and have become complacent with the circumstances, thinking that the suppression that may have been caused is natural (Bourdieu, 1977). This is not a positive "socially situated condition" for ethnic habitus generation towards inclusivity, but more like ethnocentrism.

The data also demonstrated deliberate or reflexive actions taken by the school authorities to promote interethnic that do go beyond superficial actions such as

participating in annual events. One such example comes from Raveendranath College, as I elaborate below.

6.4.6 **Deliberate action to bring students of diverse ethnicities together**

The preceding analysis showed that some teachers and students denied interethnic separation among students because of the common identity arising from the prestigious school alumni. Some others, however, reflected that common group identity based on alumni cannot supersede ethnocentric ethnic identity. Irrespective of these contrasting stances, there is evidence that the school authorities at Raveendranath College have recognized the value of bringing students of different ethnicities together in one class to promote interethnic contacts. To this end, the school keeps a few Tamil speaking BE students (n=5) permanently in the Sinhala medium class which is also the 'virtual BE classroom' i.e., in which all BE students gather for BE subjects. This step taken by the school authorities illustrates their commitment to increase interrelationship among students of different ethnicities. Being a public school, bound to adhere to MOE's instructions, they do not have BE students in separate classes. Yet, the school authorities have considered enhancing connection between students of different ethnicities by having five Tamil speaking BE students permanently in the BE. The school changes this group annually so that all BE students from Tamil medium classes get the opportunity to study together in one classroom with Sinhala medium students according to a roster. The positive outcomes of having some Tamil medium students in Sinhala medium classes were equally acknowledged by all student groups as well as by teachers. To represent their views, I present excerpts from the FGD with Tamil students at Raveendranath College below in Table 6.4. They express these views with respect to sharing responsibilities when they work in ethnically heterogeneous groups.

Table 6.4 The more we're together the more understanding: FGD with Tamil students

1	**Student2**	*If we were with them together in one class at least for one year, like if I were in Grade 6H we would have become friends so they will think that I can do this and that. We are with them only for some subjects. So they don't know whether we can do something or not. We don't know much about each other.*
2	**Student3**	*There are some Sinhala students who can understand us.*
3	**Student5**	*Yes, like, who have been with us from Grade 6 to 8 they can understand us well so there is no problem.*

These students refer to difficulties they face when doing group work in ethnically heterogeneous groups, resulting from lack of mutual understanding between the students who belong to different ethnicities. What they meant to say is that the more they are together with Sinhala students in Sinhala medium classes, the more understanding is developed. Students' views imply that the action taken by Raveendranath College authorities' to allocate some Tamil students to the Sinhala medium class creates constant positive intergroup contact. This has resulted in better understanding between students. This is a good reminder that even though the historically acquired ethnocentric habitus is durable, it can transpose only in synchronization to a new logic of practice. In this case, prolonged exposure, interaction and working together with students from other ethnic backgrounds presents as an essential "socially situated condition" for ethnocentric habitus reorientation towards inclusive and pluralistic habitus (Bourdieu, 1990b). What is important in this ongoing discussion is that by locating at least a few Tamil speaking students in one class with the Sinhala speaking students, the school authorities have taken premeditated reflexive action to create conducive "social situated conditions" for positive interethnic relations that facilitate ethnic habitus reorientation. This is a commendable if limited initiative. It appears that ethnic diversity has been accepted and recognized as strength rather than a weakness at South College. I now explore this issue further.

6.4.7 **Pluralism is our fundamental aim: Among us there are many differences and energies**

The legitimated mission of the South College is that of enhancing social cohesion since it was founded with the aim of promoting pluralism. Its commitment to pluralism and multilingualism is evident in display boards and notices written in all three languages (Sinhala, Tamil, English); and in the trilingual morning assembly and announcements that I observed. Quite extraordinarily, at South College, the *School Song* is sung in all three languages. This is an atypical practice found in no other school or other institution in the country. This is the first time that I have ever experienced such a diversity responsive act, after being a teacher in seven schools and visiting many other schools as a teacher educator. My observations of this diversity responsive environment were corroborated by stakeholders at South College. During my observation period, a parents' meeting occurred. The Principal invited me to interview three volunteered Tamil parents (minority in population). During the interviews, the

parents particularly referred to the positive environment in the school with regard to equal treatment and respect for diversity in response to my question on their overall views on interethnic relations. Consider the following excerpts from these interviews:

Table 6.5 Excerpts from FGD with parents of BE students (Tamil) South College

Father	*After he (my son) came here only I understood what the school authorities have done in terms of school environment. Because there is no difference, On the other hand, teachers are even much better than that. [...] So I think this school is hundred percent good for me.*
Mother1	*The idea that we are Tamils, they are Sinhalese, is minimum to a larger extent here, we can't say hundred percent, but it is to the minimum, let's say 80%, it is on the better side. Actually, the whole school is like that, the school also contribute to this partly. In other words there are no favours here, they don't say they are majority, they don't divide like that, if a child is good he gets the chance, they don't consider if he is Sinhala or Tamil. That is here.*
Father	*So this understanding depends on teachers also because children are innocent and they do know nothing.*
Mother2	*If a teacher takes a side and discriminate between people it will be a disaster. That is the dangerous side.*
Father	*If we take 9 D that madam has no favours for my son because I am a teacher here. If a punishment is there it applies equally to everyone which is really good.*

Both parents expressed their appreciation of efforts by school authorities to maintain equality among the students of different ethnicities. They talked about teachers' equal treatment of the students of different ethnicities, and affirmed that the school - along with teachers - has been able to minimise discrimination based on ethnicities. They went on to say that this environment supports and facilitates positive interethnic relations among the students in the BE class. They appreciate the school's pluralistic approach that enhances the ethnically indiscriminative and inclusive environment. They see this environment to be nurturing positive interethnic relations with mutual respect among the students. These are positive conditions for intergroup relations that minimize bias and discrimination towards diverse others. In other words, the logic of practice in the BE programme, as in the school within which the BE pedagogic field is located, seems ethnically inclusive and pluralist. It can therefore be suggested that the school authorities in this case have been able to create conditions needed to trigger ethnic habitus transformation towards an inclusive supraethnic habitus.

The South College Principal himself believes that the school's overall approach to diversity can be seen as a role model for BE pedagogy, which suggests the

importance of the overall environment in enhancing interethnic relations in the BE programme. He explained this in response to my question about what steps the school takes to enhance social cohesion:

> *The biggest advantage in our school is both academic and non-academic our staffs are also multiethnic. There are Muslim, Sinhala and Tamil teachers here; the small model in the bilingual class is available at school too. As a staff we go to their weddings funerals, we have to talk to each other exchange ideas I have to get their services to school have to seek their help and get their contribution to work in school. That is one side. In addition to that the fundamental aim of our school is, even in our vision is pluralism. What is meant by that is among us there are many differences ...so the energies we have also different ... the other ethnic group may have good things may be with regard to religion, we can learn or get these good things from them. We have divided duties based individuals not based on ethnicity, but according to their strengths.*

The principal explained that the whole school approach is one of acceptance of diversity; that differences are strengths or energies that contribute positively to the school. Ethnic diversity is regarded positively school as "an energy", not a deficit. The delegation of responsibilities is organised purely on the principle of drawing on the different energies that emerge through diverse cultural backgrounds. According to him, mutual respect and interdependence is practised by the staff and is the norm in the school. These comments indicate reflexivity or thoughtfulness on the part of the school and its staff; they seem to be taking deliberate action to create ethnic diversity responsive "socially situated conditions" in the school. This is possible because they have recognized that the phenomenon of ethnic diversity is a positive one.

6.4.8 **Section summary**

What the South College Principal implied above is of great significance to this discussion; the fact that diversity is respected in the whole school environment is a precursor to establishing mutual respect among diverse ethnicities in the BE classroom; a move endorsed also by the Tamil parents quoted earlier. Theoretically, these are understood as necessary 'socially situated conditions' for ethnic habitus reorientation towards inclusive supraethnic habitus. The data analysis presented in this section has demonstrated that while the authorities in some schools like South College have better

understanding of the ethnic heterogeneity of their institutions, others seem ignorant of the nature of ethnic diversity in their schools, in a taken-for-granted manner, as was evident especially in the case of Parakum College. As indicated in the analysis, in this College inequalities are misrecognized, considered those as natural or non-existent; that is, seeing 'no such difference based on ethnicity, and by so doing let the existing divisions perpetuate" (Bourdieu, 1984*)*. If the people who are legitimately authorized to make changes to existing inequalities – that is the school authorities - do not even recognize the existence of social divisions, how negative social conditions could be overcome is doubtful. This is a significant drawback for enhancing diversity responsiveness. In Bourdieusian terms, recognition of ethnic division by these school authorities is impossible because while they are defining the rules of the game, they themselves are into the game itself. They are playing it through *illusio* and they cannot escape from the *doxa*. In summary, they are driven by predisposed "unthought categories of thought which delimit the thinkable and predetermine the thought" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p.40). But this is not what is expected of schools. Authorities need to realize or develop conscious awareness of the nature of ethnic diversity in multiethnic schools through reflexivity and the kind of responsiveness that allows them to act accordingly (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992); as in the case of South College. Cautiously, this is not to say that a utopian situation exists at South College or that the other two schools are completely ignorant. But they have much more to do to annul the possibility of the education system perpetuating "…narrow formulation of identity" (Cohen, 2007, p. 172) based on ethnocentrism; much more ground to make up to get to the point of nurturing supraethnic identity in Sri Lankans through well thought-out reflexive pedagogic work (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, p. 31).

6.5 CHAPTER CONCLUSION

This chapter has focused on the research question: *How do practices in the multiethnic BE pedagogy shape ethnic habitus orientations?* Analysis was based on the premise that habitus (ethnic), the "lasting dispositions, or trained capacities and structured propensities to think, feel and act in a determinant way, which then guide them" (Wacquant, 2005, p. 316) are constantly changing and being legitimized, or delegitimized; but that "*limits are set by the historically and socially situated conditions* of its production" (Bourdieu 1990b, p. 55) (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p.16). Empirically, it was considered that the "socially situated conditions" that would

trigger ethnocentric habitus transformation towards supraethnic habitus, are positive inter-group contacts that require authority support, intergroup cooperation, and equal group status within situations where members are trying to achieve common goals (Allport, 1954).

With these main theoretical and empirical underpinnings this chapter first explored the BE programme in relation to the larger field of the school within which it is located. It was revealed that the larger social space of the school where the BE sub-field is located may shape the logic of practice in the BE field. For example, as was evident at South College, the whole school approach to diversity responsiveness seems to act as a precursor to diversity responsive situated conditions in the BE programme. On the other hand, when the boundaries between the BE pedagogic field and the MTI classes become porous it seems to affect the autonomy of the BE field, which in turn affects ethnic habitus transformation. For instance, analysis revealed that when a separate physical space (classroom) is assigned to BE students, their feeling of belongingness and sense of in-group feeling as "one community" or inclusive identity is enhanced. With a physical space of their own, BE students are recognized inside the school as a separate entity or 'one social group' of inclusive supra-ethnic identity. Theoretically, such separate physical space insulates and stabilizes a "social space": the field of BE pedagogy, a sub-field in the larger field of school. Consequently, the BE programme gains relatively more autonomy (Bourdieu, 1993), and interference from "neighbouring or encroaching fields", in this case the MTI classes, is limited (Wacquant, 2007, 269). This enhances the BE field's specific culture and ethnic inclusivity becomes its logic of practice. It is within such a conducive social space that a new sub-type or an "*expanded form"* (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 241, my emphasis) of social capital is generated *i.e., inclusive social capital* in dialectic relation to the requirements of the field. I suggest that this sub-type of social capital, *inclusive social capital*, gains the highest symbolic value in relation to the logic of practice in the multiethnic BE social space without which students cannot benefit in terms of common educational investments together. This new sub-type, this expanded form of social capital – *inclusive social capital* - "represent[s] the immanent structure of the social space" (ibid) of BE pedagogy and differentiates it from the surrounding fields, the larger fields of school and ethnocentric MIT classes. As such, "socially situated conditions" are in effect diversity responsive positive lived experiences for the BE students of different ethnicities. As noted in chapter 5, when students come to the BE pedagogic field from

ethnocentric social spaces the misfit makes them feel like "fish out of water". And this accentuates habitus transformation towards supraethnic and more pluralistic habitus. As Bourdieu (1990a) argued, "[b]elonging to a group is something you build up, negotiate and bargain over, and play for" (p. 75); it is relational and constrained by objective structures in social spaces. This applies to the learned ethnic habitus that students bring to BE pedagogy, and through the lived experience in the multiethnic BE pedagogy they begin the process of unlearning.

In the preceding analysis it was also disclosed that most teachers create conducive "socially situated conditions" through numerous ways that help overcome previously held negative predispositions among individuals/groups arising from their diverse backgrounds, cultures and ethnicities. By regular changes to seating arrangements, equal delegation of responsibilities, the use of cooperative group activities in ethnically heterogeneous groups, most BE teachers who participated in this study attempt to create the feeling of an in-group sense of identity. All these teacher actions seemed to be contributing to the best possible "socially situated conditions" that support positive inter-group contacts.

Nevertheless, the analysis also illustrated that some teachers and school authorities seem to be ignoring the fact that conscious efforts are needed to bring students of diverse ethnicities together. These perceptions and dispositions are, as the analysis showed, based on misrecognition: One is the taken-for-granted thinking that there are no such differences or divisions based on ethnicity in their institutions; the other is superficial action taken to 'enhance' interethnic relations. In relation to the former, even the much argued phenomenon/belief that symbolic capital accredited to members of the alumni of a prestigious school can override symbolic capital accredited to ethnic group membership was proved to be a misconception.

Even though the ethnocentric habitus that students bring to BE pedagogy is "a product of history, [...] it may be *changed by history*, that is by new experiences, education or training" (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 45, original emphasis). And this is what schools are supposed to do, as explicitly stipulated in the national goals of education including BE. When school authorities themselves are incapable of realizing the unfavourable objective structures in their respective fields, it is doubtful that such goals can be achieved. As I have argued, these school authorities and teachers are helpless in the sense that their ways of thinking and acting are predisposed or "unthought categories of thought...delimit" - what is thinkable (Bourdieu & Wacquant,

1992, p.40). This reveals the need for teacher and other stakeholder training which is strong enough to transform their present existing habitus, their ways of thinking, perceiving and acting towards ethnic diversity in multiethnic schools. This is where the MOE and NIE need to act, (again not in a taken-for-granted pre-reflexive manner); to engage in "*pedagogic work (PW) ... a process of inculcation .... last long enough to produce durable training, i.e., a habitus"* (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1997, p. 31 original emphasis). Teachers and school authorities must first be directed towards reflexive practice. They will then come to realize and recognize existing shortfalls in terms of creating an ethnic diversity responsive environment in their institutions; and then take deliberate action through reflexivity to create more opportunities for interethnic relations, especially through the BE pedagogy.

To sum up, my analysis has shown that the overall environment - including teacher practices in the BE programme - can shape ethnic habitus reorientation. In the present study most teachers and school authorities attempt to create "socially situated conditions" where students of diverse ethnicities are facilitated to sense an in-group' feeling, which in turn triggers ethnic habitus reorientation towards supraethnic ethnic habitus. The analysis also demonstrated that there is much more to be improved. Pre-reflexive, taken-for-granted thinking towards ethnic diversity by teachers and school authorities should be eradicated through education and training. There is also a need for the policy level community to revisit their uninformed actions and restrictions relating to BE pedagogy, and realize its potential capacity for contributing to ethnic reconciliation in the country. They need to see every facet and all consequences of their policies at implementation level; that is, contextual affordances and challenges, such as the allocation of separate classrooms for BE students in multiethnic schools, and its capacity for enhancing a supraethnic environment.

Chapter 7: Linguistic market and ethnic habitus shaping in multiethnic BE field

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The preceding chapter analysed how practices in the BE pedagogic field shaped students' ethnic habitus orientation. This chapter examines the "socially situated conditions" (Bourdieu, 1990b, p. 55) of language use that exist in the multiethnic BE classroom, and how such conditions shape the ethnic habitus orientations of students. The Chapter addresses the research question: *how linguistic orientations in the multiethnic BE pedagogic field shape the ethnolinguistic habitus of the students.*

The term 'Linguistic market' (Bourdieu, 1977) in the title of this chapter denotes the centrality of languages as the focus in the present chapter. In this analysis, the *linguistic market* is taken in the sense that, "valuing [assigned to different languages as linguistic capitals] is "relative and 'open' to renegotiation" in multiethnic and multilingual BE pedagogy (Grenfell and James, p.74) given the 'structural homology' (Bourdieu, 1977) between the linguistic habitus of the students and the sociolinguistic conditions that emerge in multilingual BE pedagogy. The BE field is not fully autonomous; it is influenced by outside neo-globalized market forces. In fact, as discussed in the literature review, BE is itself a product of neo-globalized market forces, since it is being implemented to fulfil those market demands of English language - as its very aims suggest.

The literature review suggested that languages are highly significant to this study since linguistic identities are inextricable from ethnic identities (Motha, 2006), and are "fundamental to collective and personal identity (Spolsky & Hult, 2008). It is widely indicated in the research that identities are continually constructed and reconstructed through languages (Canagarajah, 2007; Crump, 2014; Holland, 2010; Kubota, 2010; Levinson & Holland, 1996; Skinner, Valsiner & Holland, 2001). It is also suggested that in a heteroglossic space (Creese & Blackledge, 2015; Garcia, 2009; Sayer, 2013) "...fixed language identities" become blurred (Garcia & Wei, 2014). In such contexts linguistic systems may become unbounded, and facilitate the generation of ethnic or

ethnolinguistic identities which were previously characterised and bounded by languages - Sinhala and Tamil - that go beyond ethnocentrism: to open-ended identities (Kramsch, 2008*)*, or 'desirable identities' (Norton & Toohey, 2011). Even though these suppositions come from different schools of thought they are not in contrast with Bourdieusian theoretical underpinnings. In fact, I suggest that Bourdieu provides an overarching theory to support these schools of thoughts. As discussed, it is with dialectic relation to the conditions in the fields that individuals occupy their habitus generates which happens mostly to become a fitting inhabitant in the particular field they occupy. This is in other words is 'desirability' comes in parallel to the field structures which in multiethnic BE pedagogic field is multilingualism, inclusivity and pluralism. The desirable identities that are the focus of this thesis are a 'collective supraethinic conscience', or the unlearning of historically acquired ethnocentric habitus (Cross & Naido 2012). In Chapter 2, I also discussed that teacher language ideologies may impact on what type of linguistic environment come to being in the BE pedagogy and influence the linguistic heterogeneity that should prevail in additive BE classrooms (Baker & Wright, 2017; Garcia, 2009; Zuniga, Henderson & Palmer, 2017).

Embedded in linguistic exchanges are relations of power (Bourdieu, 1991). Bourdieu referred mainly to power relations among speakers of different accents and communication styles. In contrast, the focus of this study is power relations that result from different languages that have different market value. Bourdieu (1991) argued that language is not a 'treasure' which is "universally and uniformly", and "indiscriminately accessible" to everyone, and rejected the "illusion of linguistic communism". I draw on this notion to consider this context where different participants have different linguistic capital in differing volumes and with varying values, Sinhala, Tamil and English. In this context, *(mis)*appropriation of symbolic power is inevitable, according to Bourdieu; and, in contrast, what may be the consequences if those languages are used in a heteroglossic environment?

Expanding the Bourdieusian stance, I consider the centrality of linguistic capital not only as a tool for the perpetuation of inequality originating from discrepancies in linguistic capital that individuals possess, but also maybe as a tool for creating mutual interdependence (Hodkinson, Biesta & James, 2007), and 'tool(s) of reconciliation' between linguistically divided ethnic groups (Kennet, 2011). In the latter sense, forms of linguistic capital are not only taken as *weapons of symbolic*

violence (Bourdieu, 1991), but may be a stake *of reconciliation* (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), the pigeons of peace, a neutralizing convoy. I think of this proposition in terms of a probable generation (or weakening) of ethnocentric habitus of students that may take place by coming to being in the multiethnic heteroglossic BE pedagogic field. When the students work together to achieve their common educational goals they begin to feel for the game – "what is appropriate in the circumstances and what is not, a practical sense" (Thompson, 1991, p.13) in the dialectical relationship to "socially situated conditions" of the field. This chapter examines "socially situated conditions" of languages that exist in the multiethnic BE programme and how such conditions shape the ethnolinguistic habitus of the students.

Consequently, I asked many related sub-questions during the present study: How are different forms of linguistic capital legitimized and ascribed capital values in the BE pedagogic field? How do the beliefs/ideologies of teachers and students impact the linguistic market in the BE classroom? How does the linguistic market in the BE field shape accretion of *inclusive social capital* or promote 'mutual acquaintance and recognition" (Bourdieu, 1986, p.119) that mediate students' identity positions towards 'in-group' collective habitus, reconciling divided ethnocentric habitus? These are the foci that frame the present analysis to explore how students' interrelations occur in the BE class and what will be the outcomes of these interrelations.

The ensuing discussion in this chapter has five sections. Section 7.2 analyses students' dispositions in relation to choosing Bilingual Education (BE). Section 7.3 analyses the role played by the English language as a tool of reconciliation between the Sinhala-speaking and Tamil-speaking students, followed in Section 7.4 by discussion of how English perpetuates inequality as a tool of social stratification. Next, section 7.5 discusses the linguistic orientations that emerge in the linguistic market in BE pedagogy where all three linguistic capitals, that is, Sinhala, Tamil and English languages, are at stake. Finally, Section 7.6 presents the chapter conclusion.

This chapter utilizes data from Focus Group Discussions with BE students, Semi-structured interviews with the BE teachers and other stakeholders such as parents, BE officials, and my classroom observations.

7.2 LINGUISTIC HABITUSES

The students are coming from monolingual social spaces to the multilingual BE programme whose main task is to facilitate the acquisition of the English language. Hence, it was decided that it was important to ascertain with what linguistic habitus orientations the students come to BE pedagogy and what linguistic habitus orientations occur after. First, I present extracts from their responses under three main themes which emerged in their responses to the probing question on reasons for selecting BE: English is essential in higher education and employment fields; English's indispensability in global communication; and the BE promotion of ethnic inclusivity and solidarity.

7.2.1 English is essential capital for higher education and employment

The main reason for selecting BE, as students reported, is learning the English Language. Students mentioned three reasons why they should improve their English language proficiency. Below, I present a few excerpts from the FGDs.

Table 7.1 Value of English in higher education & employment: Excerpts from FGDs

South College

In BE class, we have opportunities to learn English It is essential for future, for jobs, for higher education. When we go to universities there we won't study in MT, only in English so it is useful.

It is very useful and important for our future because we need English. We need it for future occupation.

Raveendranath College

When we go to university ... everything is done in English. So when we do SM only, it will be difficult for us in the future situations.

It is more advantageous than Tamil because with English we can find many jobs easily. (Tamil student)

Parakum College

Actually English is the language we need for the rest of our lives, even to get a job or anything. So my parents and I thought of going to English medium more beneficial than Sinhala, because in English medium we can learn a lot of things, actually learning English is a really important thing...

It [higher education] would probably be in English. For jobs we might get in future English is essential that is why my parents chose English medium.

Clearly for both students and their parents BE is an investment mainly in English linguistic capital, which is essential capital in the fields of higher education since MOI in most higher education programmes is English. Students also asserted that English is indispensable capital in the employment field. They seemed well aware of the instrumental value of English (Canagarajah, 2010; de Souza, 2010) and its convertibility to cultural and economic capital (Bourdieu, 1991) in relation to achieving future positions: "educational life and life after that" as expressed above. The parents at South College also emphasized the value of English in obtaining a job; if one possesses English s/he achieves an advantageous positioning in the competitive job market.

> **Tamil parent:** *So when they do English medium the competition is less even to go to a job unlike when you do TM or SM there are many who can speak Sinhala and Tamil but when it comes to English it is less, so they can easily get a job.*

Possessing English linguistic capital is seen as essential to achieving aspired positions in different fields that the students intend to pass through when they move on to future trajectories. As the parent noted, it is frustrating for young people who – even though they are educated - find it difficult to get a job due to lack of English language proficiency (World Bank, 2010). Basically, it appears that the students construe English as an all-encompassing panacea, something they "need for the rest of our lives... to get ...anything"; therefore, English "is more advantageous than" Mother/cultural tongue. In brief, English seems to be the "victorious language" (Bourdieu, 1991), irrespective of legitimacies that may be granted to Sinhala and Tamil at the Constitutional level. The students also reiterated the importance of English as a global language, foregrounding the limitedness of Mother Tongue's (MT), which is why they selected BE, as illustrated below.

7.2.2 English is Global: Sinhala and Tamil are limited

The students also value English as a Global language, especially in terms of its value as a linking language between people who speak different languages in the world, given that many countries use English as an international language.

Table 7.2 Value of English as a global language: Excerpts from FGDs

South College

We can use where we can go in every part of <the world, it (Tamil – MT) is limited, English is a general language. With it (English) we can communicate with any other people, MT is only for us.

Raveendranath College:

Common language all over the world is English. Tamil is not spoken that much. So we prefer English medium.

English is a popular language, when we become big and if we don't know English it will be difficult In the university also we should know English more than our languages Sinhala or Tamil. We will be able to communicate with any one even who speaks Tamil.

Parakum College:

Our parents thought that English is more useful. Yeah, if we go to a foreign country most probably we would speak in English. It is pretty sure they would not know Tamil or Sinhala English is a common language.

Tamil and Sinhala are only in Sri Lanka and English is understood everywhere in all countries. English is the most important because when we have to communicate with the world ...we need that because any country they have their ...own national languages. But English has been the international language. So, we have to learn it to communicate with other countries. If we don't know, it will be hard for our educational life and life after that. In the same way we have to learn our two languages also, Sinhala and Tamil. Those two languages are in our country. They are with our culture and we shouldn't forget those two.

As these comments illustrate, students reiterated the capital value of English as a link language: locally between Tamil and Sinhala speaking communities and globally to the world at large. At the same time, they attach cultural identity value to MT, both Sinhala (their own MT) and Tamil and others. This implies that although they place English at the apex of the hierarchical linguistic market for future gains and instrumental benefits, they still appreciate the value of MT with regard to cultural identity. Here I recall de Souza (2010) and Canagarajah (2010) who argued for the fact that Sri Lankans never accepted/used English as an emotionally attached language to them, irrespective of ethnicity. What is connoted here is the hierarchic nature of languages, which according to May (2010) "are inevitably imbricated with historical and contemporary process of power and inequality" (p.148). A core issue in the present linguistic environment is the supreme position or all-encompassing nature of English,

"most often at the expense of other languages" (May, 2010, p. 148), in this case mother tongues. Their responses reflect personal inclinations towards the English language, which is of significant capital value. This corroborates what I suggested in the literature review; the question of whether the English language would devalue students own national languages. Does this *'misrecognition'* mean that national languages will become 'despised languages', since we already see negative attitudes towards their own languages in the presence of dominant English (Grillo, 1989 cited in May, 2010, p.149). I explore this issue later under the topic of cultural devaluation. It is to be noted that some students have selected BE because they can study in both languages: English and MT as discussed below.

Table 7.3 BE promote Mother tongues – FGD excerpts

South College:

We also can learn both English and Sinhala and it is a good advantage.

Raveendranath College:

If we do ... bilingual education, we can learn some subjects in English. We also do subjects like History, civics in Tamil so we can balance.

Parakum College:

If you go to English medium classes you get subjects both in English and Sinhala. Subjects in Sinhala help you improve your Sinhala and other subjects in English help you in English, so English medium is a much preferred option.

My parents thought both languages would be good for things like scholarship, job, interviews, and university education. So we selected English medium.

As indicated in these comments, students and their parents have decided to choose BE since it provides for studying in both English and MT and therefore facilitates the learning of both languages. This preference aligns with the official objective of the BE programme: the development of English language proficiency while maintaining the status of respective national languages: bilingualism and biliteracy. However, it is pertinent to mention that these students who said that they selected BE because they can study in both languages are English-speaking students. Their most comfortable or first language is English. Consider the excerpts below.

Raveendranath College: *Because we were used to that language [English] since we were young. Ever since I was small I speak English when I came to school only I learnt Sinhala actually. My home language, language among family*

members is English. Most of my relatives speak English. My first language is English.

Parakum College: *My Mother tongue at home is always English. Sometimes my parents speak in Sinhala, but no Tamil, because at home we always talk in English, that is why I chose English medium.*

As indicated above, some of the students have chosen BE because they can learn in the two languages. English is their most comfortable language, which is the primary reason for selecting BE; but they also emphasized the BE's capacity to facilitate learning of their cultural language, since some subjects are taught and learned in Sinhala or Tamil. Some commented that they learn their 'mother tongue' properly - either Sinhala or Tamil - only after coming to school. This suggests that their intention in selecting BE is to study in the most comfortable language while not neglecting their cultural MT – Sinhala or Tamil. Previously in the extracts, students suggested a devaluation of the mother tongue where they perceived mother tongues as being limited, while English is global, accentuating the power of English in neo-globalized market forces (May, 2010). However, as indicated in the excerpts below from Parakum College, students also value their cultural mother tongue.

Student (Tamil): *Sinhala and Tamil. Those two languages are in our country. They are with our culture and we shouldn't forget those two.*

Student (Muslim): *We are Sri Lankans. So we should learn all three languages because Sri Lankans are mainly speaking Sinhala. So, to communicate in Sri Lanka we need Sinhala as well as English. English is needed for our higher education. As well as Sinhala, because we can't live without Sinhala and Tamil. Because we have to communicate with other people and all. So I think all three are equal for us.*

Student (Sinhala): *....But as a country I would say my mother tongue is Sinhala. But when I speak I mainly do it in English.*

It is pertinent to mention that the above students are very fluent in English and most of them have acquired English as their first language, and later acquired their respective mother tongues. However, as indicated above, they consider being able to communicate in Sinhala and Tamil is an important must. For instance, even if when they are not fluent in the cultural language (e.g. Sinhala) they say "as a country… mother tongue is Sinhala". This can be attributed to the historically acquired strong bond that exists between cultural identity and cultural MT. MT is one of the main criteria of each group's unique social identity as Sinhalese and Tamils. This

importance of MT in their social identity has become a very important element in lasting dispositions which are inter-generationally transmitted and are inseparable from their habitus. MT is the linguistic capital that confers them with symbolic capital, based on which their self-concept as a social being or identity is constructed in belongingness to a social group – "...a sense of one's place" in the social space the group inhabits (Bourdieu, 1990b, p. 131).

7.2.3 **Investing in inclusive social capital**

As indicated in the excerpts below, students of all ethnicities see the BE programme as advantageous because it increases cooperation between different ethnicities, provides opportunities to make friends with students of other ethnic groups. This is most significant in relation to the present study since it reflects ethnic habitus reorientation.

Table 7.4 Value of BE in Interethnic Relations

South College

"In this class we can be with all, Sinhala Tamil and Muslim, in other classes we can't. Cooperation among us, between different ethnicities increases."

"We can learn cultures of other ethnicities. We can study all three languages."

Raveendranath College

"When we are with them we will be able to speak their language."

"We can make new friendships in addition to Sinhala friends."
"Using everyone's language we share knowledge."

"When learn in English medium we will be able to communicate with Tamil and Muslim students also and make friendships, meet new friends."

Parakum College

"We can study all three languages. We can learn their culture their customs that is also a reason we can be together with others."

"We can know other languages. We can be together with all both Tamil and Sinhala children in this class."

Students here explain that in the multiethnic BE programme they "can be with all" the ethnically diverse others. To remind ourselves, these students reported that they hated each other before joining the BE programme, as revealed in Chapter 5. Now, they admire BE pedagogy because its "socially situated conditions" are such that it provides

a new space for them to be with ethnically diverse others, to understand each other; this is very different to the ethnically exclusive "socially situated conditions" in the previous monolingual spaces that they inhabited. Moreover, as illustrated in the above excerpts, the BE space promotes and facilitates learning of the language of the other ethnic groups, as well as their culture. The students see social conditions in the BE as having three main advantages: learning about different cultures; learning the languages of their peers from different backgrounds; and knowledge sharing through different languages. In addition, it is clear that the students have exposure to all languages in the BE class, which I examine further later in this chapter. This, in turn, is the other official objective of the BE programme *i.e.,* the development of English language proficiency while maintaining the status and importance given to two national languages, in other words, bilingualism and biliteracy; because the students talk about the advantages of all three languages not only in terms of communication but also of knowledge sharing. On the whole, this reflects increasingly positive attitudes towards ethnically diverse others, the investment in *inclusive social capital* so that ethnic habitus reorientation can occur. This relates to the second official objective of the BE programme i.e., social cohesion, which is also the focus of the present study.

7.2.4 **English is symbolic capital**

Furthermore, students, along with their parents, seemed to appreciate the symbolic value of investment in aspired future social positions. English accords them symbolic capital, as some students explicitly expressed during the FGDs in response to the question of why they selected BE (In Table 7.5).

Table 7.5 English as symbolic capital - Excerpts from FGDs

South College

"We can achieve a good position (status) in the society. (South College)."

"It [English] brings a personality to your personality."

Raveendranath College

"I think English has a kind of higher level because if you know English, well it gives you confidence."

"If you speak in English, your level is high you are a bit higher socially. Because I have seen people tend to respect more if you speak English."

Parakum College

"I think people who know English are socially higher because they are all educated, yes they have more exposure to knowledge. So I feel those who speak English are more educated."

In the above excerpts students are talking about convertibility to cultural capital and symbolic value that is embedded in cultural capital. For instance, as illustrated above, a South College student is aware of the embodied form of cultural capital that it is possible to accrue through English, the acquisition of linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1986). South College students talked about English bringing "personality to our personality" - which is seen by the Raveendranath college student as "confidence". These students are clearly aware of the symbolic capital or value embedded in English, seeing it as a means of accessing higher social positioning in various fields: "people tend to respect" those who speak English. In Bourdieusian terms, the students, along with their parents, are well aware of the fact that the English linguistic capital is a social investment. It is with these dispositions that the students choose to study in the BE programme.

7.2.5 **Section summary**

According to the above analysis, the main objective of selecting BE is to gain proficiency in the English language, which students and parents strongly believe to be "essential for future". These aspirations of parents and students are consistent with the legitimized aims of the Sri Lankan BE programme as elucidated in the literature review. This confirms the evidence tabled in the National Education Commission Report (2016) that BE is in great demand because "there is an undeniable desire to learn" English among the students (p. 19).

The above analysis substantiates the argument that BE is an investment strategy in English language education; or the accumulation of English linguistic capital which offers many profits. The major advantage identified is related to the indispensability of English in students' future trajectories – university/higher education and the employment market. Furthermore, they construe the importance of English as a link language that enables communication between people who speak different languages both within the country and throughout the world at large. Overall, entering the BE pedagogic field represents an educational strategy for investment in the accumulation of "socially effective resources or capitals" (Wacquant, 2015, p. 8). English linguistic capital has the potential capacity "to reproduce itself in identical or expanded form" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 241). This fulfils their ultimate goal of accruing varied other forms of capital that are assured through the acquisition of English linguistic capital - namely

cultural capital in the form of higher education, social capital in the form of creating links and acquaintance with people who speak other languages, economic capital by being better positioned candidates in the employment market, by all these means they are conferred recognition and respect in the society and hence symbolic capital It is for all these reasons that the students and parents 'choose' BE or English medium.

I placed 'choose' within inverted commas because, I speculate, even though students/parents have free 'choice', and their choices are seemingly rational, deep down these choices are strongly constrained by the social conditions at the time (Bourdieu, 1989). These constraints are set by the market forces of the neo-globalized world by means of the demand for English. As Dua (1994) pointed out with reference to India, another postcolonial country, this analysis shows that in Sri Lanka too English linguistic capital is favoured

> *"partly because it is dynamic and cumulative in nature and scope, partly because it is sustained by socio-economic and market forces and partly because the educational system reproduces and legitimatise the relations of power and knowledge implicated with English"* (p. 132).

As Phillipson (2009) pointed out, referring to the pervasiveness of English, "[t]he product is branded and marketed" so that English is seen as a panacea" (p. 85). The students and parents cannot escape from its overarching power within and beyond the immediate social spaces they inhabit - even beyond the nation state, as I discussed in my literature review. This reminds me of Norton's (2005) invitation to language and identity researchers to keep in mind that: "learners live in globalized and cosmopolitan sociocultural worlds which are complex and hence both constrain as well as enable the exercise of human agency" (p. 13). This study focuses mainly on how the BE pedagogic space provides "socially situated conditions" for ethnic habitus reorientations, away from ethnocentrism towards inclusive group membership. The analysis so far has provided evidence that the students are satisfied that they are able to 'be with all', to learn each other's languages and cultures. This suggests that the logic of practice in the BE pedagogic field is the recognition and respect for each other's languages and cultures and cooperation and friendship among ethnically diverse others, elements which are archetypal of inclusive group membership or supraethnic habitus. The analysis shows that the linguistic habitus or dispositions towards languages that the students bring to the BE class reflect the hierarchization of

languages in which English is at the apex. Moving towards this end, I now examine how the accumulation of linguistic capital is facilitated in schools. In the next section of the analysis I explore what conditions support and create this inclusiveness in terms of language.

7.3 ENGLISH AS A NEUTRAL TOOL: BETWEEN SINHALA AND TAMIL

The two previous data analysis chapters have suggested that BE pedagogy has facilitated the breaking of barriers of separation between diverse ethnic groups, and the formation of one inclusive community in the BE programme. The data in this study, especially the students' stories of their lived experiences in the programme, identify how "English Language" works as a conduit between the two competing linguistic communities – Sinhala speaking and Tamil speaking students. For the most part, as evidenced in the following commentaries by students and teachers, English seems to be working as this kind of a conduit and as a neutralizing tool.

7.3.1 Language was the barrier: English was the bridge

For instance, during the two FGDs with Tamil and Sinhala students at Raveendranath College, both groups confirmed the separation they had experienced due to communication barriers resulting from lack of an intelligible language common to both groups. I present extracts of comments from both groups below, first the Tamil students' followed by Sinhalese students' views.

Table 7.6 FGD with Tamil and Sinhala students at Raveendranath

Tamil Students	
Student 1	*Because they speak in Sinhala, we also couldn't handle Sinhala we couldn't understand. So they get just jealous [protective] and you know... but with English medium people we can speak to them in English. So there were no fights in grades.*
Student 3	*...they couldn't speak Tamil, we couldn't speak Sinhala because of that something like they get jealous [protective] and like these things, because of that they hit us.*
Sinhala Students	
Student1	*... When we were in the primary it was like hard for us to speak because we were learning in one language. We hardly spoke with each other. We hardly communicated.*
Student3	*Communication problem was there when we were in the primary.*
Student 4	*It (BE) has a common language [English] so everybody can communicate.*

According to the personal experiences of these two groups of students, there was no intergroup contact when they were in the primary section of schooling, as discussed extensively in Chapter 5. The main reason they provide for this disconnect is the lack of a common language. They indicate that this lack of communication had even created defensive attitudes between the two groups. They emphasized, however, that after joining the BE programme communication was no longer a problem, since English filled this gap. Similarly, another BE student from Raveendranath College (Senior Prefect) explained how the English language bridged the distance between the Tamil speaking and Sinhala speaking students:

> *There was a difference and it mattered. We didn't understand the racial differences when we were small. But then our interaction with Tamils who were there was a bit low. I didn't have an issue because I spoke English but most of my friends were SM children, so for them the only way they could communicate was English. But Sinhala students didn't have that knowledge of English to speak to the Tamils. I assume the same experience may have happened with people from Tamil classes because even the TM students who were doing English medium and Muslims also were there from TM classes. So I would say that the language was the barrier but English was the bridge. So, even the SM students had to speak to Tamils because in classroom activities like sweeping they had to talk to each other. So there both parties tried their best to speak to each other through English. But sometimes I noticed that Tamil students were trying to speak in Sinhala but not Sinhala students in Tamil. [...] But English was the thing that brought them together.*

This BE student explains the alienation between the groups and talks about how hard he found interethnic communication initially when he started the BE in Grade 6, and how this difficulty decreased little by little. As indicated above, with inadequate English proficiency as a link, Sinhala students could not communicate with Tamil students and vice versa. He clearly states, "...language was the barrier but English was the bridge". Another important aspect emerges here: being in one class, compelled to communicate in daily classroom activities - such as sweeping the classroom – communication became much easier. It is worth remembering that even though some of the Tamil students may already have known the Sinhala language, and some students in both groups may have known English, it is clear from the data reported here, and also in Chapter 5, that there were no interethnic relations before coming to the BE in Grade 6. It was only by coming and meeting in the BE class that communication was made feasible through the English language. In addition, it was in

the BE class that the Tamil-speaking students started to use Sinhala language to communicate with Sinhala students: "Tamil students were trying to speak in Sinhala". We should not disregard the fact there would have been resistance between these two groups with regard to the use of each other's language, as discussed in the literature review. Therefore, this change in recognition of the other group language can be attributed to the fact that English - as the linguistic capital with the highest value in this context - may have neutralized the competing hierarchies existing between the other two forms of linguistic capital – Sinhala and Tamil. Or the hierarchy between Sinhala and Tamil may have lost significance before the symbolic value of English language capital. In the following excerpts this phenomenon is explicitly discussed by the BE students.

7.3.2 **English: It's like a common medium so everybody is equal**

The role of English as a neutral tool was more explicitly discussed by the Tamil students at Parakum College as the following extract from the FGD depicts.

Table 7.7 English as a neutral language: FGD with Tamil students at Raveendranath College

Student6	*Everyone should respect each others' ethnicity and they shouldn't think that only their language is the best. That's where English comes in. That's why English should be there. So everyone will be interconnected.*
Students	*It's like a common medium so everybody is equal, yeah.*
Student3	*If you put Sinhala higher then Tamil language will affect, it will affect Tamil people.*
Student2	*If you put Tamil language higher then it will affect Sinhala people, which will actually never happen.*
Student1	*So the solution is English.*
Student4	*And I think everyone knows if we have a common language. It's much easy. Just say SM students also speak English, and then it's easy.*
Student5	*Anyway we have much better understanding about Sinhala and Muslim now because we are in the English medium, because we communicate with other.*
Student2	*The only way to understand is to communicate.*

Again, the above extracts represent the views of all participants in this study. In this instance, the BE Tamil students at Parakum state that competition between the two forms of linguistic capital - of Sinhala and Tamil - can be neutralized in the BE

pedagogic field through the use of English. In other words, an equal leverage is created in the BE class in the presence of English as a common communication medium, so that no more power is given to either group - Tamil speaking nor Sinhala speaking. Equality is therefore created and discrimination is reduced. This was more explicitly expressed by some of the BE students at Parakum during the FGD, who claimed that the availability of a common language, English, contributes to the reduction of ethnocentric dispositions, and that the students begin to feel a sense of 'no difference'.

> **Muslim Student:** *In the bilingual class since everybody is fluent in English there is no difference. We are all friends; we do talk in English.*
>
> **Sinhala Student:** *But TM students cannot get on with SM because most of the TM students are not very good in Sinhala. So they might not go to SM classes. But they come to English medium classes because they know English. That's why SM students don't get to know TM students and cannot become friendly with them. That's the reason for a lot of problems.*

This Muslim student described the existence of a less racialized atmosphere due to the neutral communication ground that is created by English; while the Sinhala student reiterates yet again that a communication gap is the "*reason for a lot of problems"*. These comments align with previous research carried out in Sri Lanka that has demonstrated how ethnically diverse groups are divided by Mother Tongue Instructions (MOI) in the education system, and how students have "…increasingly lost the ability to communicate […] leading to alienation and mutual suspicion", (Wickrema and Colenso, 2003, p. 5), resulting in "…narrow formulation of identity" (Cohen, 2007, p.172). Furthermore, he is of the view that it is not only that Tamil and Sinhala students in BE classes are now able to communicate because of the English language itself; some Tamil and Sinhala students in the school were proficient in English, but it seemed that they did not use it to communicate with each other due to the fact that they were divided by the MTI classes.

What is implied here is that unlike in those classes, English has now become a legitimated language of communication through the BE programme. This explicit legitimatising of English makes communication and friendship between TM students and Sinhala students possible: "they come to English medium classes because they know English" referring to intergroup communication between the BE students and the students of MTI classes. They have realized it is advantageous to be in the BE

programme because they can meet and become friends with students from other language backgrounds. Interethnic interactions are facilitated and they are able to become acquainted with each other, not only inside the BE classroom but equally with ethnically diverse students in MTI classes - using English as a link. In summary, this evidence shows how English linguistic capital can facilitate the accrual of *inclusive social capital,* where the unlearning of divisive dispositions becomes feasible, which in turn facilitates the move away from an ethnocentric habitus towards a supraethnic habitus. What is important to this ongoing analysis is the fact that English linguistic capital can then be interpreted as an investment in *inclusive social capital* as well as an investment in other forms of capital. This point was made in Section 7.2.3 during the discussion of BE as an investment strategy. This may not represent a calculated or premeditated 'choice', as I argued in that section. Participants' practices are strategized by the objective structures in the social spaces they inhabit, where those objective structures become subjective structures, the external becoming internal (Bourdieu, 1990b).

7.3.3 No Tamil or Muslim or Sinhala groups because their language is English

Another school of thought that was revealed during this project is that when only English is used in the class nobody can recognize who is Tamil, who is Sinhala and who is Muslim. For instance, both teachers at Parakum College were of the opinion that because of the 'English-only' approach adopted in the BE pedagogy, an atmosphere of no division between the students of different ethnic orientation is created. Consider the following extracts:

CE Teacher: *That [English only approach] is very important because as I told you, I don't want to think whether this child is a Muslim, Tamil or Sinhala. Actually I don't know whether some children are Muslims or Tamil, actually we don't know. I really don't know. The connection between us is English. [...] it is very important for social cohesion. [...] So we don't feel any difference when we go to classes. I think so do the children. If Tamil medium students go to a Sinhala medium class, if you send a Tamil medium student, they can't communicate. You get the feeling that you are a Tamil I am a Sinhala you get that feeling. But when someone asks "Can I have your book" then "Yes you can take it buddy" There is no communication gap. There is no obstacle...when you speak English, you feel very comfortable if you speak to*

a person who belongs to a different ethnicity. There, whatever the ethnicity you don't care if you have a common communication medium. [...] you don't want to be worried about the ethnicity.

BE Science Teacher cum BE class teacher: *In English medium classes nobody talks in Tamil or Sinhala. [So] There are no Tamil or Muslim or Sinhala groups. [...] Because there is a common language there is no difference among them. What they come up with is that they are English medium, they don't see who [is] catholic, who [is] Sinhala, [and] who the Hindus are...They don't have an attitude like okay you are a Muslim or he is Tamil. They work as a one whole class... it happens due to the common language in use.*

What is implied here is that when someone speaks in English nobody can recognize whether s/he is Tamil, Muslim or Sinhala. The CE teacher emphasizes that it is languages that divide groups. When those languages are not used, the contesting speech communities begin to feel comfortable because there is no division; that everybody seems alike. In fact, I too was not able to recognize students by their ethnicity during my observations in this BE class. It is difficult to differentiate between the three ethnic communities in Sri Lanka by physical appearance alone unless they use their mother tongue. These students being very proficient in English it was also difficult to distinguish them from their accent. Basically, both teachers emphasized the fact that the use of English as a common language has created a common and equal ground among students of ethnolinguistically different groups. The Science Teacher stressed that division starts between people when they cannot communicate and since English medium students have one common language, English, they do not feel division based on ethnicity, which in turn is based on language. In the BE programme the explicit, official and legitimated rule with regard to the language of communication is that English is used. The implicit rule of language that emerges from practical sense is also English in his class. In this way, he points out; nobody feels the division that would have come with the use of two contesting languages, Sinhala or Tamil. This teacher, then, is of the opinion that in the legitimate presence of English as a 'neutral' language everybody feels equal and differences originating from ethnic diversity are reduced in this micro level context. This is in contrast to English's power, pervasiveness and symbolic capital it carries in the wider society as it was discussed in Chapter 2. He argues that with this common medium when students are in the same class, working together, they don't see "who is Catholic, who is Sinhala, who the

Hindus are" as they may have previously; the categories of exclusion become immaterial; ethnicity is no longer a category of division.

To summarize, what these commentaries affirm is that English as a neutral language reconciles the division created by completing two Sinhala and Tamil among the students. Ethnocentric dispositions weaken, while ethnic habitus positioning changes towards the more supraethnic national identity end of the identity positioning continuum. As Kennet (2011) suggested, English is seen to be working "as a tool of conflict transformation" (p. 314) in the Sri Lankan context.

7.3.4 **The tone they and we speak is different: English reduces this gap**

Another important aspect was introduced by one of the Tamil BE students at Raveendranath College: that English creates a common meaning-making system:

> **Tamil BE student (Senior Prefect):** *There are issues in understanding because in different languages the meaning convey can be different like in Tamil and Sinhala. I still haven't understood the Sinhala society. It's very different. They are very nice, their culture and all. The way we think is different from the mind set of Tamil people. Tamil are also good in another direction and Sinhalese are good in another direction, very hard to link. Especially when it comes to sarcasm we don't easily understand their sarcastic words. Sometimes it's very serious, emotions are different, the tone they speak, the tone we speak it's very confusing. I am still having issues with that I have faced problems also. I think one common language can facilitate reducing this gap.*

The above commentary suggests that even when two linguistic communities can talk to each other using each other's MT there can be gaps; gaps which this student sees as resulting from different meaning systems, or semiotics, embedded in the particular linguistic system and homologous to the socio-cultural structures associated with that linguistic community (Bourdieu, 1991). For instance, Sinhala language reflects and expresses different cultural and social phenomena that are associated with Sinhala linguistic society; and the same is true of Tamil speaking society. Conversely, when English becomes the common language of communication among people of different linguistic communities it can bridge some of the gaps that emanate from semiotic differences. This basically implies that different linguistic systems may convey different versions of the same message to people who are not original users of the particular language; even if they can understand the raw message, they may not be able

to access the underpinning connotations. When a common linguistic system is used it may reduce these different encodings of the abstract/raw message, thereby reducing confusion and increasing understanding. In this way, the gaps between the users of the different linguistic systems are minimised. On the other hand, as noted by this student's friend, there is another possible perspective:

> **Sinhala Student (Senior Prefect):** *Yes exactly. For me and what I have seen I don't know if it is scientifically proven, but when you switch a language you switch personality. When people are speaking in English the personality is different. And what I feel is that, that probably happens, I have seen it a couple of times, when Sinhala or Tamil speaking students speaking in completely English they feel that that wasn't different, and the way that the person is acting different.*

Referring to his own personal lived experience, this second student suggests that when people switch languages they switch identities. This observation highlights the inextricable relationship that exists between language and identity; and the fact that identity is constantly being redefined and reconstructed inter-subjectively at the time of languages are being used by individuals (Block, 2007; Norton 2000; 2016). This fact is much more obvious when different languages are used in a single context. Similarly when the same language is used by students they come to a similar symbolic footage, power relations are reoriented and habitus reorientations occur in relation to logic of practice.

7.3.5 **Section summary**

What is apparent in the above views of the students about their own lived experiences is that the ethnic habitus or division based on ethnicity is eclipsed by English. Among multiethnic BE students it works as a common neutral medium and brings them together. For instance, when English is used as a common language in a BE classroom, the feeling of "a difference" is absent, replaced by equality. It appears that English works as a neutralizing mediator, removing or reducing a power imbalance that would otherwise have been present when the Sinhala and/or Tamil language were in use. It may have brought "value for people whose local languages and identities suffer from discriminatory markings of caste, *ethnicity*, and gender (Canagarajah, 20005a, p. 428, my emphasis). This effect is more obvious given the

symbolic power of English linguistic capital and the students' and their parents' linguistic habitus that attribute more value to it, as discussed in Section 7.2.

As May (2010) observes, English integrates the two segregated communities into "a single linguistic community". It also appears that when the communities distinguished and divided by language use a common language it neutralizes the unequal power relations that originate from varied symbolic values assigned to 'majority' *vs.* 'minority' languages (Bourdieu, 1991). In fact, language is the categorization criterion for exclusivity of ethnic group habitus in these participants. As discussed in the literature review, Sinhala and Tamil are rival languages, and one of the root causes of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. Had the student used Sinhala and Tamil there would have had a power imbalance caused by majority vs. minority language. This in turn may reduce ethnocentric exclusionary habitus and facilitate inclusive supraethnic dispositions.

What is evident thus far is that English language as a common and 'neutral' medium plays a significant role in bringing together groups divided along languages, in multiethnic BE classrooms in Sri Lanka. I interpreted this as English being a neutral tool to remove power imbalance that would otherwise have been in existence had the language in use been either Sinhala and/or Tamil. This explanation is mainly valid in Parakum College, and to a certain extent in Raveendranath College, where English became a language of interethnic communication in the BE classroom. Even when English was not the language of communication at a practical level there might have been a feeling and disposition among the students in the BE class that English is 'THE language' or legitimized language of communication in that social space. In other words, I suppose that their linguistic habitus may have driven them to disregard power imbalances that originate from other forms of linguistic capital in the BE classroom. Therefore, there emerges a 'neutral' environment where power hierarchies and competition between Sinhala and Tamil become non-existent.

Theoretically, this can be interpreted as English linguistic capital creates equal positioning in the multiethnic BE pedagogic field. In other words, this suggest that English, as a powerful instrument, plays a dominant role in redefining the logic of practice in multiethnic BE classrooms in Sri Lanka. Again, this is not to claim the absence of overarching dominance of English. It overcomes the linguistic differences which otherwise were in existence had Sinhala and Tamil were the main languages in

the classroom. This is in contrast to the unequal power that originates from symbolic capital resulting from majority *vs.* minority linguistic capital exchange rates. The power imbalance means one group enjoys symbolic violence against the other group; where ethnolinguistic exclusion becomes the logic of practice and thereby ethnocentric habitus is triggered. In contrast, with the presence of 'neutral' or 'unmarked' English linguistic capital, this division becomes less important, especially because of the high market value that the English language has been ascribed both inside and outside the BE programme. Again, this is not to claim absence of overarching dominance of English. English language in the multilingual BE classroom seems to be creating at least an "illusion of linguistic communism" (Bourdieu, 1991). This can be interpreted as 'linguistic democracy', created by English through a kind of check and balance, thereby neutralizing unequal power relations between Sinhala and Tamil speaking communities. English therefore creates an "integrated linguistic community" with a *collective group habitus,* as opposed to the contention that might have prevailed if Sinhala and Tamil were the only legitimate languages in the classroom. Put simply, English seems to remove barriers created by competing languages. It neutralizes and equalizes social positions. This in turn reduces exclusion or out-grouping of the ethnically diverse others, where '*othering'* was effected mainly based on languages: Sinhalese and Tamil. Moreover, existence of "equality" due to English language seems creating respect, acceptance, and recognition among the students of diverse ethnicities. This reduces conflict that might otherwise have occurred due to power disequilibrium had Sinhala and Tamil languages were the most recognized in the BE classroom. This, in other words, is acquisition of *inclusive social capital* by students as a result of 'neutralizing' role played by English.

Even though the data here seem to suggest English's role as a 'neutralizing' convoy, I note here that macro level forces may also shape participants' dispositions. The data available here, regrettably, do not directly correspond to a such analysis. However, the data show just as languages can bring people together they can also divide and keep them apart as would be discussed in the succeeding section. Division seems to be an embedded condition in respect to the relationship between Sinhala and Tamil languages. When it comes to English it appears to be doing both – the language divides as well as unites, as the analysis so far has revealed. English is not as innocent as it has possibly been depicted thus far in this discussion. We cannot disregard its

domination and pervasiveness. We cannot disregard the inequalities of power relations or social positioning that it creates between those who have it and those who do not have it, as discussed in the literature review. As such, I now explore the social and educational inequalities that English perpetuates in the BE classroom.

7.4 ENGLISH AS A WEAPON OF SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE: PERPETUATION OF INEQUALITY

One of the foci addressed in this chapter is what linguistic orientations exist in the BE pedagogic field. Therefore, it is essential to analyse both facets of these orientations: facilitating as well as debilitating contributions of linguistic forms of capital towards social cohesion or the accumulation of *inclusive social capital*. As such, this section explores how English, as a form of linguistic capital, may perpetuate inequality.

The preceding analysis illustrated how students come to BE pedagogy with a linguistic habitus that confers the highest value upon English. In the case of BE programmes the highest capital value is also legitimately conferred to the English language, since the responsibility conferred on BE pedagogy is the strengthening of English linguistic capital. In this sense, both habitus and the logic of practices align with each other. Hence, it is indisputable that English linguistic capital accrues symbolic capital for those who possess it, who may also consequently exercise forms of symbolic violence. For instance, BE students may become the dominant group with higher social positioning over the MTI students, which is evident in the analysis below. However, the data illustrate the opposite also. For instance, those who possess English linguistic capital, that is, the BE students, are at times victimized by MTI students, those who lack English capital in their MTI classrooms, whose logic of language practice is MT. The subsequent discussion analyses those two sides of the same coin of ‘English discrimination’.

In the previous chapter, the data showed that having separate classes for BE students provided more autonomy for the BE pedagogic field; that it contributed to the emergence of a new ethnically inclusive group or “one community”, as English medium students, in which ethnicity appeared to be disregarded. Even though this development is vital for interethnic social cohesion, I now focus on the other side of the story: how the emergence of this new group harnesses separation between English

speaking students and non-English speaking/less proficient students. I first discuss relegation among the BE classroom between English proficient and not so proficient students. Then I move on to relegation between BE students and MTI students again based on English.

7.4.1 Relegation inside the BE pedagogy: Proficient vs. Non-proficient

In fact, separation based on English was reported even within the BE programme itself: a division between those who are very proficient in English and those who are not so proficient. This was mainly reported by students at Raveendranath College, as demonstrated below:

Table 7.8 Excerpts FGD with Sinhala Scholars at Raveendranath College

Student 2	*When we hear English we can understand. It's only we speak we have to think and prepare and talk. We fear if we make mistakes.*
Student 3	*There are some students who think they are high class or above us.*
Student 2	*There are a few students who use English to let others down. They think that knowing English is having the whole world under them. So they shout, make noise and push us.*
Student 1	*Some of them are not so good in subjects. They don't get high marks but they have the fortune. They inherit everything; their fathers have already found everything so they don't have to fear about their future even if they don't study well. Also even if they don't perform well in studies if they have money and English they can to go a foreign university. In Sri Lanka it is difficult to get into a University. If they go to England and get a job there after campus they can get a good salary.*

The above commentaries from a cohort of Sinhala BE students (Scholars), and the bodily emotions such as "we fear", "they shout, make noise and push us" reported therein suggest the existence of a power hierarchy among students based on English language proficiency even inside the BE pedagogic field. These students who joined the BE programme are from rural areas and their English language proficiency is low, as reported by Student 2. These comments reflect how English-proficient students use symbolic violence over the group with less proficiency; that they 'let down' (put down) those who are not proficient in English. It seems that this dominance can even extend to physical violence – "they shout... push us." It appears that English-proficient students are using language capital as a weapon or "a knife that sliced through", irrespective of ethnicity (Lo Bianco, 2011, p. 36), to put down those who do not

possess it to the same degree. As Bourdieu posited, capital can be both a stake and a weapon (Bourdieu, 1989). Hence, linguistic capital can confer all sorts of other capitals – social, economic and cultural - on those who possess it while supressing and relegating those who do not. This linguistic context shows that English is not at all "neutral".

The above transcript foregrounds another aspect of the relationship between language and capital and of the capacity of English capital to reproduce and perpetuate disparities in social class where symbolic violence is central (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). As is evident in Student 1's report, those who possess English linguistic capital also possess economic and cultural capital – "their fathers have already found everything so they don't have to fear about their future". This shows how "knowing English" also relates to social class; there is a connection between elitism and English language proficiency and social class. This evidence aligns with comments collected from other BE students elsewhere in this chapter; those who know English are assigned higher positions in the hierarchical social space. This phenomenon seems cyclical and perpetuating: most individuals who have wealth and prestige possess English linguistic capital; and those who know English will have wealth and prestige. It is not clear which one comes first; but it is inter-convertible, as implied in the above excerpts: "even if they don't perform well in studies if they have money and English... they don't have to fear about their future". However, it is certain that those who have all this capital possess symbolic capital, as was explicitly revealed in section 7.2: English brings "social status", "confidence" and personality. This capital may be used as a weapon over others, as described by the Scholars in the above transcript. Consider also, however, the following excerpts from the other side, in this case a BE student who comes from Colombo and is fluent in English.

> *The other thing was though we were in English Medium we were doing Sinhala as well. Then there were scholars who came from Grade 5 scholarship exam. I would say there was a barrier initially between them and us. Not for me but in a general concept it was a noticeable barrier. It was not an ethnic barrier but was mainly due to language and social status. Because they were mostly doing SM there were a very few in English medium. May be they came from far away schools so initially there was a barrier.*

This comment is offered by a student who comes from the so-called 'elite' English speaking society. He affirms that there was segregation between them and the

Scholars; that there "was a noticeable barrier... not an ethnic but mainly due to language and social status" This is another illustration of division in part created by "English" linguistic capital. What is unique here is the fact that the division is among the BE students in the BE programme itself: between those who possess more English linguistic capital and those who have less. Similarly, it was revealed in the data that fear of being marked as not knowing English can be a matter of shame, again affirming the role of English as a language of higher social status. Consider these comments from the BE Science Teacher at Raveendranath College to see the significance of the symbolic value that the English language carries.

> **Science Teacher:** *They talk in English. Even when we want to ask a question in other language [Sinhala or Tamil] they don't like. They don't like us to ask the question in another language. I have notice it so I don't ask question in Sinhala. In some occasions, when I rarely ask question in Sinhala, I don't know Tamil, they like to give answers in English. But basically subject matter should be taught in English medium because that is their expectation to learn things in English and not to learn in other languages.*
>
> **Researcher:** *Just to clarify, why do you think they don't like asking questions in Sinhala?*
>
> **Science Teacher:** *May be they are thinking if as an insult that I am asking the question in Sinhala because his English knowledge is poor.*

This teacher is reluctant to pose questions in Sinhala and if by any chance he does, students prefer to answer in English. He rationalized his action as a pre-emptive measure: if he asks students questions in Sinhala, the students might take it as an 'insult' that the teacher had assumed that their English language proficiency is low, which is face threatening, likely to 'tarnish' their self-image as students who possess English linguistic capital. All these illustrate the trauma that is created by not-knowing English well or not possessing English linguistic capital which is resulted from the symbolic capital it carries - therefore, symbolic violence that the individuals those do not possess it have to give into.

7.4.2 Relegation: BE students and MTI students

Resistance to the use of separate physical space for BE students resulted from concerns over this alleged emergence of an exclusive group: "English medium students" against

monolingual classes – SM and TM students. The former Principal of Raveendranath College made this case in response to my question about why he disallowed separate BE classrooms at Raveendranath College:

> *Because we found that another sub-group was forming. This sub-group always wanted to be different from other students, so this was a big issue [...] separated from original SM or TM children [...] they wanted to form own 'class', English speaking class.*

This former Principal felt compelled to proscribe BE separate classes due to what he saw as the formation of a new elite group, the "English speaking class". Some other teachers also made the argument that this new "class" is not a conducive condition for social cohesion in the whole school. For instance, when I inquired about bringing ethnically diverse students together in one class, the Science BE teacher at Raveendranath College responded in the following way:

> *That's not good. Then they will think they are one special group of students separate from other students. [...] There is no need to separate. Then what about the interaction between English and Sinhala/TM students? They (EM) think that they all are English educated and if they think like that and if other students don't know English there can be a conflict between English medium and Sinhala/TM students.*

This BE science teacher is questioning the division between "English medium" and MTI classes which he sees as affecting wider social cohesion, because another division or exclusive group is fuelled when separate classes are allocated. These stakeholders' views cannot be disregarded.

7.4.3 **Relegation of BE students in MTI classes: 'You English medium Dogs'**

Separate classrooms were not allowed for BE students based on the assumption that they formed an elite group and excluded students who do not speak English. Contrary to this commonly held belief by the public, policy makers and the school authorities, this study has also identified an opposite position: the situation in which MTI students relegate BE students. For instance, Tamil BE students reported that they were being marginalized and discriminated against by both teachers and students in MTI classes when they go to those classes for the subjects studied in MTI. According to my data, this experience is confined to Tamil BE students in all three schools. The

above sub-title comes from the reported lived experiences of Tamil BE students who discussed the extent of denigration by TM Tamil teachers. I bring the commentaries of BE Tamil students at Parakum College to represent similar experiences in all schools, providing the best example; I follow these comments by BE teachers' views regarding this discrimination against BE students.

Table7.9 Discrimination against BE students: FGD with BE Tamil students at Parakum College

1	**Student6**	*TM teachers, it's not like that EM is treated the best because when we all go for Tamil to TM class we are treated like, you know, they [TM students] are treated very well by the teacher even if they do bad things. We are silent and even if smile with each other, you know we don't talk, but if we do smiling like, we get beaten.*
2	**Student5**	*When we were like in Grade 8 and got late for Tamil class our Tamil teacher scolded us saying "you are English medium people, you are like English dogs"*
3	**Student2**	*So even she is Tamil she used 'English dogs' to scold us.*
4	**Student1**	*For projects we are always put with weak students. They separate us from TM students. They are on the other side and we are on the other side. They separate us from the TM. They have 17 and we are only 7 people.*
5	**Student4**	*But still we don't care, we laugh we smile and we do our work*
6	**Student2**	*Tamil teachers favour only TM students. They throw us like we are like the dustbin.*
7	**Student3**	*"You English medium dogs" ha ha [laugh sarcastically]*
8	**Student1**	*We are scolded as English Medium. Even when someone talked in the class they just say "you're English medium".*

As illustrated above, relegation and discrimination against so-called 'elite' English speaking students seem to be explicit and serious. What is most significant here is the fact that this discrimination is exercised by teachers and students of their own ethnicity. It also appears that this relegation is almost institutionalized because of MTI teachers' involvement in discrimination and relegation of BE students, as BE Student1 in row-4 reiterated, repeating the same utterance –"They separate us from TM students... They separate us from the TM".

The criterion for this exclusionist categorization is 'English' – a kind of exclusion or out-grouping inside the very same ethnic group based on the English language capital these students possess. The excerpts illustrate that these Tamil BE students are discriminated against and scolded explicitly as "English Medium

students". Merely being a BE student itself seem to be grounds for out-group bias and hence exclusionism. In this instance the possession of English linguistic capital has become a deficit; it is considered not relevant to the legitimate linguistic capital in the MTI class/social space. It is precisely the possession of English capital that causes this group to be dominated, to become inaudible – "We are silent". The forces of coercion are so intense and beyond contest; there is nothing to be done but to give into them, accept them, and be complacent with their own subordination. This is in complete contrast to what Miller (2003) posited: that these students have been forced to become inaudible due to the fact that they possess the 'much valued English linguistic capital that the MTI student did not". The level of pain experienced due to discrimination is most visible in rows 2, 3 and 7, when the students describe being called by teachers, "You English medium dogs" and "throw us like we are like the dustbin". This provides an example of the intense actual violence exercised by the MTI students and teachers over English medium or BE students; and of how they give into it in a *doxic*, or taken for granted manner as evident in these bodily emotions reported by BE students: "We are silent and even if smile with each other, you know we don't talk, but if we do smiling like, we get beaten". They seem to be adapting to suppression or becoming acquiescent to the logic of practice (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). Here, in contrast to the BE classroom, the dominant group becomes MTI students because the linguistic capital (English) that accrued symbolic value to BE students has less value in MTI classes. In addition, BE students are fewer in number, they are just 'visitors' who have not been granted legitimate permanent membership in the TM class: "They have 17 and we are only 7 people". This commentary reflects BE students' complicit adaptation to the dominant logic of practice BE (Bourdieu, 1977). The data revealed that the school authorities also contribute to nurturing discrimination based on English. The following section analyses this contribution

7.4.4 **Nurturing elitism of English by School Authorities**

The commentaries of students at FGDs identified and exemplified the institutionalized mechanisms that promote reproduction and perpetuation of existing divisions based on English. For instance, Tamil BE students at Parakum College blamed the school authorities for favouritism towards English medium students and unfair practices towards Tamil MTI students, as illustrated in the excerpts from FGD presented below.

Table 7.10 Favours for BE students: Excerpts from FGD with Tamil BE Students Parakum College

Student2	*They [school authorities] give many facilities to English medium. Because of that TM students get angry with us. Like we get more advantages.*
Student5	*Like favouritism*
Student4	*Like, teachers help us mostly; they come to us because we know English a lot. Our standards are high. They are nice to us.*
Student3	*Because of that SM and TM students get jealous.*
Student6	*They think we are big headed and they come for fights with us.*
Studnet2	*Even though now it is less, every person has small grudge in himself, we don't know..mm...Yeah they have this grudge.*
Student6	*In TM, according to some boys, they don't have teachers in Grade for basket subjects and you can't do the subject you want to, like geography. It is alike in Sinhala classes. They told me they can't select that subject because no teachers. But for us it is not like that. In the English medium we have enough teachers and all that. So it is one of the reasons that they [students in SM and TM] feel inferior.*

As illustrated in these comments, BE Tamil students at Parakum College speak up on behalf of TM students, even though they have been oppressed and discriminated by them. They explain that TM students ill-treat them out of jealousy resulting from what they see as school authorities' favouritism towards BE students. As Student 6 finally says, the school authorities provide more facilities to BE students, whereas TM and SM students are not provided with adequate facilities to do the subjects they would like to do, due to lack of teachers; because of this, TM students feel inferior to BE students. Again, the capital value ascribed to English comes into effect: these students comment that because they know English, their standards are higher and teachers are nice to them. In brief, the BE students seemed to be more privileged, more acknowledged by the school authorities due to their English. In contrast, those who lack the legitimated linguistic capital - English - are seen to be at a disadvantage. English medium (BE) students are accredited more power and recognition through their English capital. Also, consider the views from Tamil BE students quoted below.

Table 7.11 FGD excerpts from Tamil BE students at Parakum

Student3	*If I want to tell something I will stand up and tell.*
Student4	*They [Sinhala and TM students] don't have the courage to do it. They are scared. They don't have courage.*
Student3	*They don't know the language of English. So they can't tell the teachers what they exactly want to tell.*
Researcher	*But its Sinhala or TM so can't they talk in their language?*
Student2	*SM teachers are okay with SM class. But there are majority of teachers who speak in English. So if they go to MTI and the students can't talk properly to them [in English] they [teachers] would think low of them and don't respect them for who they are and what their rights are.*
Student1	*So it is really hard for them.*

These comments indicate that BE students are empowered to express their views to teachers and school authorities, whereas the SM and TM students are disempowered and lose their legitimacy to be heard. These differences have embodied effects. The BE students have the courage to talk up simply because they speak English. It appears that English is the legitimate language in the field (school), which may have been the implicit rule. English is considered as a 'link language', and has no legitimized status is given by the constitution of Sri Lanka as a national language of communication, but only as a link language. Nonetheless, it appears that English has been accredited as the legitimate language of communication by implicit rule in the school as a field, which is in turn constrained by the requirements of the wider society or neo-globalized forces (Norton, 2013; 2016) - the unprecedented necessity for English as a language of global communication. The inhabitants of this field, students, teachers and school authorities, give into these field forces or implicit rules and collectively agree to act accordingly: they speak English because this confers better social positions in the field; and the students who are not proficient in English seem to lose their legitimate right to talk and to be heard (Bourdieu, 1991). They surrender to symbolic violence, which is visible even in the embodied form, as exemplified in the above excerpts, that suggest embodied bodily emotions: *"They are scared...don't have courage"* to talk because if they talk teachers *"would think low of them"*. In brief, such an act – speaking up - is face threatening; so they do not want to risk it.

They ultimately become inaudible (Miller, 2003), losing their right to be heard and becoming disempowered due to their lack of legitimate linguistic capital – their "lack of English". It seems that these students accept the way things are. It appears that these subjugations are perceived and recognized as legitimate by the dominated students (Bourdieu, 1986). The process of relegation has gained its legitimacy and these students have become silent.

Then again, these biased practices by school authorities seem to be common also in other schools in the country. This was revealed during interviews I conducted with the official at the National Institute of Education (NIE), who criticised school authorities for these discriminative practices. To exemplify her point, she brought examples from two schools in two districts in the country.

> *One school in Kudugala area [pseudonym], the principal had ordered (BE) students to eat using fork and spoon. [...]. In a school in Madugala [pseudonym], the classrooms [BE] were air-conditioned, these English medium classes, have this kind of chairs [what she uses] which can be rotated and moved and table to have meals and TVs and all other electrical gadgets only for bilingual class. And they were having superior meals also. And political leaders' children were also in this class. So they were always getting better opportunities.*

This experience of the NIE official exemplifies how school authorities perpetuate social hierarchies that are based on English capital supported by political power. The infrastructure facilities and superior meals enjoyed by BE students in contrast to students in other classes no doubt reflect the hierarchical social positioning of the BE students. Using a fork and spoon symbolizes association with the former British colonizers and the hierarchization of English.

The above analysis shows what linguistic orientations exist and are encouraged by school authorities which in turn shape how BE students are positioned within the field of their respective schools, which again nurtures either ethnocentrism or inclusivity in students. The Bourdieusian sociological stance does not allow us to consider what happens only within the BE pedagogic field. The objective structures inside the field are constantly shaped by outside structures. In this study it is easy to see how this works, as the BE programme is located within the larger field of the school. My analysis so far has illustrated that those who possess English linguistic capital are positioned higher up the social ladder, and has affirmed that the same

instrument becomes an instrument of disempowerment and oppression for those who lack it (Bourdieu, 2009: 183). This was evident not only between the BE students and MTI students but even inside the BE classroom between the students who are English proficient and less proficient. In fact, even in the case of relegation or denigration of BE students by MTI students takes place due to inequality and therefore antipathy created by English – those who possess and do not. However, in Tamil medium MTI classes it was BE students who have to give into violence because the MTI students seemed to have backing from "legitimate power" – the Tamil medium teachers. Succinctly, English capital is a tool of relegation between those who possess it and those who do not; and school authorities contribute to the perpetuation of the hierarchical positioning of English linguistic capital. This can be seen as an example of "institutionalized mechanisms that produce, reproduce and transform the network of positions to which it supposed members are dispatched and attached"; and confirms that relegation is a "collective activity" (Wacquant, 2015, p.2). Yet the schools discussed above seem helpless, because their choices are constrained by social forces in the wider society where English has become a necessity, or their actions and stances are preconscious practical answers to these forces of necessities (Bourdieu, 1991; Alkemeyer, Brummer & Pille, 2017). By and large, the preceding sections have illustrated that English as linguistic capital seem to operate as both "weapon and stake" in the symbolic struggle engaged in by students (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 241).

7.4.5 Supremacy of English language and cultural devaluation

In the literature review I discussed the extraordinary status conferred on English linguistic capital in the hierarchical linguistic landscape in Sri Lanka. Similarly, the data analysis thus far has illustrated division based on English capital: out-grouping and in-grouping with regard to "English medium students" against SM and TM students. These findings warn of a re-emergence of historical socio-economic polarizations that were based on colonial education policy - English medium vs. vernacular education, which contributed to two youth insurgencies and social conflicts, as discussed in the literature review (Bickmore, 2008; Kandiah, 1984; Canagarajah, 2005a) and which Rahman (2004) refers to as the 'educational apartheid' that resulted from unequal access to English medium education (p. 25).

The polarization based on symbolic value assigned to English that is evident in these three schools (as in society at large) can be interpreted as a small sample of a larger social conflict. This is mainly due to the fact that BE is available in only a very few schools in the country. And then, even in these few schools, not everyone who wishes to join BE has free will. The fact that these schools generally conduct English language proficiency tests as a gatekeeping mechanism, due to the high demand for BE, contributes further to the polarization. For instance, due to selection tests even inside schools, students who are relatively non-proficient in English are excluded from the programme; only English proficient students who are relatively more socio-economically advantaged enjoy the opportunity to further their English education. In fact, there is a common belief among stakeholders that BE students seem to devalue their own culture – as suggested by the example reported by one student in the previous section of this chapter's analysis, of submitting to the relegation of MTI students by BE students.

Furthermore, other outcomes include the fact that there seemed to be low performance in MT as a subject and the subjects learnt in MT. I now present data of relevance to consideration of this issue. First consider the extracts from the interview with the CE teacher at Parakum College:

> *I have seen children who have studied in English. They don't have those roots. They don't have roots. That is there. They don't know how they must treat their elders, parents, how to talk to them. So you must give them your MT and your cultural values. People might think it's all utter rubbish why do you have to have all this. No. English education simply destroys all that. It destroys.*

This teacher's views are referencing a tendency by English medium students to devalue or regard their own language as being of less importance. She was critical of the BE students who accord utmost priority to English while neglecting MTs, and getting low marks for their own MT. According to her, culture is transmitted though the cultural language; and students who accord no importance to their MT "lose their roots". What is implied here is that once you lose your cultural MT you lose the symbolic value attached to this language. She accuses the English medium (BE) students of losing their traditional virtues, such as respecting elders. She in fact, stresses that English education "simply destroy all".

The Maths/BE teacher also expressed her concerns over this same issue, the devaluation of students' first language and culture (cultural) and other associated issues:

> *Whatever said even if they do subjects like maths and science in English, sometimes the marks for subjects like religion and first language tend to decrease. Children may give more importance to English. [...] it appears that they are trying to achieve their targets forgetting their MT. [...] even for Buddhism (religion) their performance likely to be less in bilingual classes, 9D is a good example.*

This Math teacher's views above suggest a decrease in importance given to the subjects studied in mother tongue. Specifically, she notes that BE students' attention to their own mother tongue seems to be less, which results in low performances at exams. She is here implying that this is a general tendency in BE students. These issues were further corroborated by the Principal of South College.

> *There is another issue here. This should be highlighted in your research. The mother tongue knowledge of students in bilingual class, both Tamil and Sinhala is lower than their English proficiency in the past. I cannot exactly remember the year [of the GCE (O/L) Examination], there was a child, a Muslim child who failed his mother tongue, Tamil while he got A [distinction] for English. The children think "ah now I'm in English medium so I have to pay more attention to English". Even our teachers contribute [to this] The history [MTI]teacher is concerned only about subject matter not language, Sinhala or Tamil, but when students learn in English medium the teacher unofficially correct students' language when they see wrong use of language. [...] They correct English, so there is more emphasis on English language. So the students automatically pay more attention on English, we cannot help it.*

The Principal is concerned about what he sees to be low performances in MT, Sinhala or Tamil, at the public examinations such as GCE (Ordinary Level). This appears to be a genuine issue that everyone is concerned over and he explicitly asked me to mention this in my thesis. He explains the tendency in part by the fact that even the BE content subject teachers tend to correct English language whereas the MT subject teachers are not concerned over language corrections. This same challenge in relation to MT is also an issue at the Raveendranath College, but only with respect to one cohort of BE students, whose first language seemed to be English:

Also some students, though they are from Sinhala families, don't have Sinhala knowledge (proficiency). I always say you are Sinhala and you have to improve Sinhala, but they never read any Sinhala books. The teachers also complain that. It's a big barrier if they don't know their own language. And Tamil teachers also raise the same issue. Yes it is actually a barrier.

As illustrated by these comments, lack of proficiency in mother tongues has been a barrier in the BE programme. This seemed limited to one cohort of students, whose first language is English, and applied equally to Tamil, Sinhala and Muslim students. The situation is very simular at Parakum College, as the first or home language of most if not all of the BE students at the College is English. Yet these students' views seemed paradoxical to their actual actions and practices, as depicted below from the FGD with students:

Sinhala Student: *English is the most important because when we have to communicate with the world we need that. [...] If we don't know, it will be hard for our educational life and life after that. In the same way we have to learn our two languages also, Sinhala and Tamil. Those two languages are in our country. They are with our culture and we shouldn't forget those two.*

Tamil Student: *Bringing language was hard work of many people because Tamil didn't come up on one day. [...] Sinhala is also important. Many important people wrote important things in Sinhala also. English is of course important. But because of that we can't just forget Sinhala and Tamil. So we must promote English and at the same time we must protect Tamil. We shouldn't see as Sinhala more and Tamil less. It should be taken to equal standards and bring English also. So we can use all three languages equally. We also should work together to bring this.*

These comments represent most of the BE students' views in all three schools; views that reflect their linguistic habitus, and indicate that the students are well aware of the instrumental value of English; that its 'exchange rate' can be converted to economic capital and international social interaction (capital) in achieving future aspirations (habitus). At the same time, they do attach cultural value to MTs, both Sinhala (their own MT) and Tamil and others. In fact, they appear to value all three languages in equal proportion, and to be of the opinion that mother tongues should be protected while promoting English for its instrumental value. The Tamil student's comments

indicate understanding of the fact that bringing MT back in to their present status was the result of much struggle, a long battle – the hard work of many people - after the period of British language policy. Here I remember de Souza (2010) and Canagarajah (2010) who argued for the fact that Sri Lankans, irrespective of ethnicity, have followed instrumental and product-oriented approaches to English. However, it appears that this instrumental value has overridden the cultural value attached to vernacular languages. What is connoted also here is the limitedness of MT (S & T) and the supreme position and all-encompassing nature of English. But what is clear from their discussion is that at the same time they are well aware that they should not forget their cultural language. The interpretation I can give here is that even though they realize the importance of MT, neo-globalized market forces subjugate this importance to the power of English, which offers many other dividends that ultimately place them in better social positioning. As I discussed in the literature review, this polarization in fact was the objective of imperialists, as Brutt-Griffer (2002) explained, depicting the British Governor General's views, who opposed English medium education for all children in the country, warning of the "evil effects upon the country of a generation of half-educated idlers who deem that a little pigeon-English places them above honest work" (Colonial Office, 1892: p. 17 cited in Brutt-Griffler, 2002, p. 214).

Even though students are aware of cultural values embedded in mother tongues, they are driven by these forces and they give in to them in a practical sense, in pre-reflective manner; they are helpless and it is their *doxa* (Bourdieu, 1984) that drive them more towards English. They are driven by linguistic habitus, a guiding strategy that aims to achieve their future aspirations by investing in the most apposite types of capital (Bourdieu, 1974). It can therefore be posited that students are driven by the misrecognition or "false belief that society operates on reason and merit and the unquestioning adherence to its order" (Hanks, 2005, p. 72). The reported low performance of MT and the subjects taught in MT, such as Religion; is not because they are not concerned about their MT but because they are helpless; it is their *doxa,* which in turn is driven by field forces, that compels them to follow the system. As Walther (2014) argues "...the position an agent occupies on a field creates self-evident rules that determine his potential cruising radius, *i.e.,* the limits of social mobility within a social field". However, if the authorities consider this challenge of

devaluation of MT in a reflexive manner, then the precautionary measures will not be unavailable.

7.4.6 **Why "English only": Not other languages in the BE pedagogy**

Teacher stances with regard to use of languages in the BE pedagogy can shape the linguistic market in the BE pedagogy which in turn will shape students' linguistic habitus orientations. On the one hand, if the teachers promote cross-linguistic flexibility and translanguaging in BE pedagogic field it may reduce power imbalances that would otherwise existed due to hierarchical capital values that each English, Sinhala and Tamil have. It may also create the boundaries between linguistic systems much porous that makes identities bounded by languages flexible. On the other hand, when teachers stick to English-only approach it may disempower less English proficient students and may place them at a low position in the power hierarchy.

As discussed previously, some teachers used MT in their BE classroom while some others had very different views and practices regarding the use of MT or navigation among the all languages in the teaching process. For instance, during the entire observation period at South College, the Math BE teacher seldom elicited Tamil or Sinhala equivalents of words or phrases from students, and only rarely used Sinhala to explain. Also, the CE teacher at South College seldom used Sinhala to explain content, but all the activities he prepared for students essentially involved students navigating between all three languages. A little differently, the CE teacher at Raveendranath College seldom elicited Tamil and Sinhala equivalents for words from students, but she used Sinhala for classroom management purposes. In contrast, during Science lessons at Raveendranath College and Parakum College MT was never used, neither Sinhala nor Tamil; only English. These teachers neither gave nor tried to elicit Sinhala/Tamil equivalents of words/terms from students. When I inquired about their non-use of MT, the teachers argued that it is unfair to students who do not speak Sinhala because they cannot speak Tamil, only Sinhala. First, I present excerpts from the views expressed by the BE science teacher at Raveendranath College:

> *In the classroom I talk in English. I don't explain anything in Sinhala because no point. There are TM students and also Muslim students. They don't know Sinhala proper. So that I have to use English here usually I don't use Sinhala because they are asked to teach in English so no point of explaining in Sinhala or Tamil. And there will be complaints as well if I talk in Sinhala that much*

because some students can't understand, especially the TM students. I can't speak Tamil (if I use Tamil) Sinhala students can't understand. I use English. Some Sinhala students also do not like if I use Sinhala because there are some students who can't talk proper Sinhala though they are Sinhala

According to this Science teacher, teacher code-switching to MT, in this instance Sinhala is unfair for the Tamil speaking students. He also mentioned that he might very occasionally use Sinhala if students asked for clarification in Sinhala. He also reported that such requests from students are atypical because by the time students are in Grade 8 they have acquired English language proficiency. He emphasized the fact that BE students are supposed to be taught in English therefore, "no point of explaining in Sinhala" or in Tamil. He added that he deliberately promotes the non-use of Sinhala because Tamil BE students - as well as some Sinhala students whose most comfortable language is English - will not understand. He also emphasized the likelihood that parents of both Tamil and Sinhala students will complaint- *"And there will be complaints as well if I talk in Sinhala".* Furthermore, he emphasized that use of other languages is a waste of the limited time available for content delivery. When I asked if he use at least few MT equivalents of important terms in lessons he responded:

I don't ask Sinhala equivalents or Tamil. I ask another English word for the same. For example, the word diverse it is different and the scientific term is diversity. Why should I ask Sinhala equivalents? If this is a pen why do you ask another name for pen? If the word is diversity it is just, the concept is diversity. You needn't to ask it in Sinhala or Tamil it is going back. Thinking in that language and coming back to the subject matter. It is a long run and you are wasting the time. The issue is you have to deliver the subject matter within the time frame, how can you do it if we use two three languages in teaching and translating you cannot do within the periods given.

It is noticeable that this teacher opposes use of MT in the BE class and he is of the view that it is utter waste of time. These views show that it is not only due to potential complaints from the parents that he does not use MT in the BE class. But, he lacks knowledge about the underlying theoretical assumptions such as MT's role in scaffolding of knowledge and language comprehension gaps. Similarly, the BE Sectional Head cum BE Science teacher of Raveendranath College said that she rarely switches to MT (Sinhala) when teaching:

Rarely, we don't use much, it is very rarely. Actually the students are pretty confident in English so there is no need to switch to Sinhala. And the other thing is because we have Tamil students it is unfair and it is like neglecting them. If we switch to Sinhala they will ask again what I said.

This teacher rationalizes her monolithic English-only practices or non-use of MT in the BE programme using two reasons: There is no need to use Sinhala since students are proficient in English; and it would be unjust for Tamil students.

Another important aspect that emerged through the interviews was that most of the teachers are not aware of teaching/learning approach for BE advocated by the MOE – CLIL and the techniques used such as code-switching, translanguaging and translations. In fact most teacher did not know the first aim of the BE programme – improvement of bilingualism and biliteracy not only English. For instance, when I talked about these two terms when referring to BE programme the teachers' asked what bilingualism means. For instance, one teacher asked – "*Sorry. I don't know this "bilingual" thing. We think it is completely English medium"*. This stance was quite understandable since in none of the schools the phrase "bilingual education" was used but English Medium. Even some teachers blamed MOE for their unawareness. For instance, another BE teacher at Raveendranath College said,

Though they are changing in circulars people have not changed their minds. Parents think it should be completely in English. The society still thinks its English medium. They don't like to accept it.

The above views exemplify teachers' lack of awareness of what really is the BE programme that they are teaching in. Consequently, it appears that the teaching/learning in the BE pedagogy becomes uninformed practices in some classrooms, and it is based on misinformation that most teachers take English only approach.

The situation was the same with all the BE teachers at Parakum College, which I present below. During my classroom observations at Parakum, a highly monolithic 'English only' approach prevailed during both subjects, Science and Citizenship Education. Both teachers never used Sinhala or Tamil in delivering content knowledge or for classroom management purposes. Among students themselves English was the language of both social and academic interaction. There was no difference during off lessons/tasks or inside and outside classroom time. English dominated all interactions

among the students, as well as between the teacher and students. In response to my inquiry on the use of MT, both teachers at Parakum reiterated that whatever the general policy is, they do not use MT in the BE programme for the reasons provided below:

> *In an EM [BE] class the value of the teacher is measured by the children and their parents when s/he uses only English. If s/he uses both languages they will think that s/he doesn't know English. So the government should first advise the children and their parents. I don't use Sinhala in the class. [...] . I think teachers in BE class in remote areas must definitely be using language, MT and English because the students may not understand English well. But it is not taken as an aim or purpose here. Also in my class I have all, Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims. But I don't know Tamil?*

This teacher's response indicates that teachers are hesitant to use MT in their English medium (BE) classes in prestigious schools because of the perceived risk that they would be denigrated by the parents of their BE students. The implication here is that the use of MT may indicate that the teacher is not adequately proficient in English, which threatens their self-image. Being an 'insider' who has worked in these types of schools for many years, I understand the teachers' dilemma. The use of MT either by English Language teachers or Bilingual teachers (in common use English Medium teachers) is regarded, in terms of general public perception, as teachers' incapability or lack of English proficiency, which stigmatizes teachers. The other reason is that that there is no need to use MT since the students are very proficient in English. Furthermore, it is unfair for students whose MT is not the teacher's MT – another point made by the teachers at Raveendranath College.

However, 'policy' advocates the use of both English and the students' MT, because the aims of BE are bilingualism and biliteracy i.e., the ability to communicate in English and students' MT and to be able to use both in more academically demanding tasks. Consider the views expressed by the MOE official at the interview with me in response to my inquiry about whether they encourage the use of MT.

> *Yes, because we are teaching using both languages in teaching subjects, so we are promoting both languages. Actually that (CLIL) is the methodology of bilingual education. CLIL has so many meaning in different contexts. [...] In our context, the umbrella term is bilingual education but the methodology is CLIL. So it is supposed to use both languages but the percentage of use of languages may vary from Grade to Grade, from school to school depending*

on the proficiency of students. But whenever necessary the teacher is supposed to use L1 (first language/MT) in the BE classroom.

According to this Ministry official, the legitimized approach to teaching/learning in the BE programme is CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning), which uses techniques such as code-switching and code-mixing, translating and also translanguaging. Additionally, she mentioned that use of the L1 or MT may differ depending on students' English language proficiency levels. By this she means that use of L1 may gradually become less when students are becoming more proficient in English. In this sense, it seems that the claims made by the BE Science Teacher, the BE sectional head at Raveendranath College, and the teachers at Parakum College are justifiable; as according to these teachers, their students are adequately proficient in English by the time they start teaching those that participated in this study i.e., in Grades 8 and 9.

When I asked the BE Sectional Head at Raveendranath College if they use MT in the BE pedagogy, she commented negatively and substantiated as appended below.

Answer is NO. We emphasize on English. It's the language everybody in the English medium classes can understand and it is unfair by other students if I use Sinhala also with English, because I can't do it in Tamil. So because of that we can't say that both languages would be similarly treated in the classroom. I mean English and students MT. If all students are Sinhala and comfortable in Sinhala, yes of course we can use, but if they [students of other ethnicities] can't understand no point of talking to them in Sinhala. [...] I had TM students from 2006 to 2016, maybe that's the reason I don't use Sinhala. I think I am doing it unconsciously. I unconsciously stick to English and avoid using Sinhala. May be I feel that Tamil students would not enjoy the lesson, because some Muslim students and Tamil students can't understand Sinhala. But if we have well trained teachers who able to speak Tamil also we can use all languages.

In summary, it is clear from the above commentaries that the authorities have not taken the multilingual context in multiethnic school into consideration when forming policies. As per this respondent's views, in multiethnic schools if teachers use MT they must know both languages, and if they code-switch to Sinhala only it is unjust for Tamil speaking students. It appears that the monolithic approach is not a deliberate reflective act, but 'unconscious", not rational, not coming through pre-reflexive

thinking. The conditions in the BE programme, its multiethnic and multilingual logic of practice, make her feel that she must not use Sinhala which is not intelligible to some students in her class. Or it can be said that her habitus is congruent with the constraints in the field, and this is what makes her not use Sinhala. Her final comment, "If we have well trained teachers who able to speak Tamil also we can use all languages" implies that she is not against use of MT in BE pedagogy in principle. She is against the use of only one MT because the other MT (Tamil) would then be depreciated to zero currency value. In such a context only Sinhala linguistic capital would appreciate and achieve higher symbolic value; and the resourcefulness of English as a neutralizing tool may also become invalid. Her argument is that if such social conditions come to exist, i.e., legitimate use of Sinhala (because it gains legitimacy when teachers use it) in the multiethnic programme it might disadvantage Tamil students. For these reasons, most teachers follow monolithic English-only approaches in their multiethnic BE programmes. I discussed the avoidance of MT use in multiethnic BE classes because the BE teachers think it is unfair for students who do not speak teachers' MT with the MOE official, the MOE official said that the teachers are correct:

> *Those teachers are correct. Correct in the sense not their arguments and their reasons. But practically if it is a multiethnic classroom, but in Sri Lanka multiethnic classrooms are very few, majority are Sinhala or Tamil medium schools. Then bilingual classroom of those schools consist of either Sinhala or Tamil. In those (multiethnic) schools, we have to reconsider that problem.*

What is also evident in the above comment is that there seems to be neglecting the fact there are BE classes attended by the students of all ethnic groups i.e., multiethnic BE classroom. Continuing her views she reiterated that in multiethnic BE classroom "two teachers Tamil and Sinhala" should be assigned where "team teaching should be done." She also said, "But there is a resource problem." However, it is also conceivable that most BE teachers have less or no understanding about the advocated approach to BE teaching/learning process i.e., CLIL and the techniques involves therein such as code-switching, translanguaging, etcetera, especially the theoretical underpinnings of such techniques. When I revealed that most teachers have not received any training and hence lack of teacher knowledge, the MOE official said,

I accept it as a shortcoming and if you can give us those schools we can take remedial measures because it is very necessary. We have to change their attitudes otherwise we cannot filter the CLIL programme to the system. And we conducted only one workshop for CLIL so far. We know that one workshop is not enough to give the competence and practical aspects of CLIL and it is a big challenge for us.

The MOE official expressed the need for teacher education to rectify teacher misconceptions on language use in the BE pedagogy. The MOE official accepted the shortcomings in "delivering the message" Moreover, when I raise the same during the interview with the NIE official she also expressed her willingness to consider designing and conducting a new programme for the BE teachers in multiethnic schools.

Special programme? Such a programme can anyway be implemented; such a programme can be implemented. We have to rationalize it properly to our authorities.

In brief, most teachers who participated in this study are reluctant to use MT since they can speak only Sinhala, which comes from a practical sense. They are of the view that it is unjust for the Tamil speaking students. Even the few teachers who admitted that they use Sinhala in their BE class, for instance, BE teachers at South College and the CE teacher at Raveendranath College, actually did not use Sinhala during the whole period of my classroom observations, except for eliciting or giving a few words in Sinhala or Tamil. This may have implicitly conveyed the message that teacher do not expect English only in the BE class and promoted use of MT among the students. Also, the BE teachers' English only approach to avoid unjust towards Tamil speaking students is not a misconception. Elsewhere in this discussion Tamil speaking students also revealed that "it was pretty tough" for them and they were at a disadvantage in the initial grades when the teachers used Sinhala language in the BE class. Nevertheless, in spite of this temporary disadvantageous condition, Tamil students benefited in the long run, in that they are able to learn Sinhala and so become trilingual, as revealed earlier in this analysis.

The above discussion illustrated different outlooks towards linguistic capitals that teachers have, and how such outlooks shape the linguistic market in the BE pedagogy or values given to each linguistic capital. In a context such as multiethnic

BE pedagogy where linguistic capital is significant in shaping ethnic habitus orientations, the capital values of different linguistic systems in the market directly impact on habitus alignments. As discussed at the beginning of this section, the ethnic habitus alignments will be clearly different when the teachers promote cross-linguistic flexibility from when teachers follow “English only” approach.

7.4.7 **Section summary**

On the whole, the English language appears to continue its perpetuation of inequality as it has done in the past in the country. The data show that the criterion for relegation of Tamil BE students in TM classes is English. This was equally reported in all three schools. Moreover, the data also disclosed relegation within the BE pedagogic field, that is of less English proficient students by English proficient students in Raveendranath College. Evident in the analysis are the more reprehensible practices of the school authorities in manufacturing separation and enmity between BE and MTI students by giving more recognition to BE students. The reason for this bias or favouritism seems based on the symbolic capital that the BE students have that comes from their English linguistic capital. On the other hand, BE students are subjugated by Tamil teachers and students in TM classes. In contrast, Sinhala BE students do not seem to experience such suppression by their counterparts in the SM classes in any of the three schools. Since I have no data on this aspect it is beyond the scope of this analysis to explore the reasons for such differing situations. This could be an interesting focus for future explorations.

Here, the case in point is that symbolic value conferred to English linguistic capital still seems very high in the country, even seventy years after the end of British rule. Division based on English language has been a much contested struggle in the history of Sri Lanka, as discussed in the literature review. English speaking and non-speaking was one main cause of social stratification in Sri Lanka, to which MOI in education contributed largely. For instance, research on Sri Lanka confirms that the English language has been a social marker, by which only a small segment of the population have enjoyed power and prestige over the others in the country (Bank, 2010; Dearden, 2015; Kandiah, 1984; Raheem & Ratwatte, 2004, Wijesekera, 2012). This perceived and recognized symbolic value attached to English linguistic capital has been significantly at stake over the years, which became more pervasive with the

introduction of free market economy in 1980s. Even today those who have the language continue to use it as a weapon or as a means of symbolic domination over those who cannot speak it (Bourdieu, 1991), as shown in this study so far. In fact, English was known as a weapon: 'kaduwa" [sword in Sinhala] in Sri Lanka, symbolically conveying its ability to annihilate those who do not have it. This inevitably creates antipathy towards English in the people who do not have it. In the previous chapter, I discussed resistance towards allocating separate classrooms for BE students. It can be argued that this may have resulted from the antipathy towards English that is embodied and inscribed in society at large, even though it is not as deeply-entrenched as it was in the past. In this sense, it is worth questioning whether English can be used as a neutral tool, as Saunders (2007) posited that "[p] art of the difficulty in instituting English as a neutral link language can be attributed to its lingering connections to colonial education systems..." and "its function as a capital language associated with social prestige..." (section 7.1 para 1). In Bourdieu's terms, this relates to mechanisms of reproduction of social hierarchies based on the English language, a mechanism of power, because the ability to use a language determines position in social spaces (Bourdieu, 1991). It appears that English works as an overarching form of capital that perpetuates existing hierarchical social structures of domination.

It was also evident that BE teachers' 'English only' approach to teacher/learning in the BE pedagogy is based on lack of awareness of the BE programme, its legitimized teaching/learning approach and the techniques.

7.5 LINGUSTIC HABITUS TRANSFORMATIONS IN BE PEDAGOGY

Bourdieu postulated that "habitus consists of a set of historical relations 'deposited' within individual bodies in the forms of mental and corporeal schemata of perception, appreciation and action" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 16). Linguistic habitus is a sub-set of this habitus, shaped by the capital values given to each linguistic stem in the social universe, as has been evident in the analysis thus far. As such, the linguistic capital we have confers symbolic powers on us, which certainly are driven by market values accorded to each language or linguistic capital we possess. In the BE pedagogy this phenomenon is seen in relation to how students with different amounts of differently valued linguistic capital seem positioned differently, not once and for

all, but changing in dialectic relations to changing "socially situated conditions" of the BE pedagogic field. This section analyses the fluctuating linguistic practices of multiethnic BE pedagogy. In the first following sub-section I analyse how the English language shapes the classroom performance of students with different proficiencies. This is followed by an analysis of how Sinhala - as linguistic capital - came to being in the linguistic market of BE pedagogy. The third sub-section examines the case of Tamil BE students emerging as trilingual, followed by discussion of how Sinhala BE students think about their exposure to Tamil in the BE class; followed by analysis of the use of Tamil language by Sinhalese BE teachers in the BE pedagogy. The final sub-section examines language practices in multiethnic BE pedagogy.

7.5.1 **Change of language use within BE pedagogy: Sinhala language as "pro tem capital"**

This section analyses how change in language use in the BE pedagogy takes place in dialectic relation to socially situated requirements; and thereby changes the capital values given to languages. Section 7.5.2 shows how this change shapes the linguistic habitus of the students, especially the emerging trilingual linguistic habitus. As mentioned earlier, values conferred on different forms of linguistic capital may vary in relation to circumstances of the field. For instance, when the students first come to BE from monolingual Sinhala and TM classes, they may not have the necessary English language proficiency to study content subjects in English. Accordingly, teachers and students are compelled to seek other alternatives to respond to their communication needs, which may vary when English proficiency improves. As such, the languages of classroom interaction may keep changing in relation to these field-specific requirements. One such occurrence, reported in this study, is that of the Sinhala language becoming indispensable as a scaffolding tool, what I define as "pro-tem capital". Below I present extracts from my discussion with the Math BE teacher at South College, followed by extracts from FGD with BE students at Raveendranath College. Both provide insight to the use of Sinhala in the early BE grades and its effects.

> *In Grade 6 the students do not know English much, so sometimes I get Tamil equivalent from other teachers who know Tamil and I go to the class with Tamil words. Since my language is Sinhala I use Sinhala also. But when they come to Grade 7 their English is generally good, by this time the Tamil*

students usually have learnt Sinhala also. So I use Sinhala also, and in eight and nine English is used much more. Even though we do not know Tamil, Tamils and Muslims can speak Sinhala. I don't use Tamil because everyone knows Sinhala so if I feel that students did not understand I explain it in Sinhala. When I take students individually, for example when marking their books I use both languages Sinhala and English, but when teaching I use English at almost all the time.

These views show how teachers are compelled to use the next most comprehensible language to respond to communication issues in the absence of English language proficiency, even though the legitimate language is still English. This teacher is proficient only in Sinhala and English, not in Tamil. On the other hand, the majority of students in the class can understand Sinhala but not Tamil. Sinhala therefore emerges as a scaffolding cognitive tool as the metalanguage (Karunaratne, 2009; Nation, 2003; Wijesekera, 2012) in the BE classroom. It is clear that Sinhala becomes a learning tool that facilitates both English language learning and content knowledge comprehension for the time being until students develop English proficiency to a more substantial level (Garcia & Kleyn, 2016; Garcia & et al, 2017). The teacher makes the point also that the use of Sinhala in the classroom contributes to the learning of Sinhala by Tamil students, who potentially become trilingual which, according to them, is a great advantage. The teachers at Raveendranath College also reported their use of Sinhala in the early grades, which was corroborated by the BE students during the FGDs:

Tamil Student: *All the [BE] teachers, the majority was Sinhala...When we started in Grade 6, first it was pretty tough. They [teachers] had to say it in Sinhala and they tried to do it in English for Tamil students. They took special care. They tried to do it, some words cannot be translated, they tried to give their best and when you came to upper grades all it was 100% English because by that time everyone was okay with English. They had to; otherwise Sinhala would have been totally absent. If there was Tamil teacher s/he might have had used Tamil.*

Muslim student: *Actually from Grade 6 to 9 TM students were in disadvantaged in the English medium class because there weren't teachers for us who were Tamil and teaching us subjects in English. So they would explain either English or Sinhala. In that case when the teacher, I would say, 50-60%, though we were in English Medium, s/he would explain in Sinhala and then get back to English. [...]. But when it came to the Advanced Level section even in Grade 11 by the time we were in*

Grade 10 or 11 this issue was not there. That's because of mainly, as he said, Tamil students learn Sinhala language. [...] And they were able to come to the level where even though the teacher explained in Sinhala it did not matter to them.

As the students described, it had been 'pretty tough' because switching to Sinhala had been 50-60%, and the TM students "felt a little bit lost" in early grades due to the fact that the majority of the BE teachers were Sinhalese. This student seems to have a good understanding of why teachers were compelled to switch to Sinhala – commenting that had the teacher been Tamil s/he may have switched to Tamil. What is implied in this student's views is that teachers do not deliberately choose their own language, but that this choice is dictated by their habitus; that the choice occurs in "a practical mastery", complicit with the constraints in the field of multiethnic BE pedagogy; through "an intentionality without intention" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p.19). Disadvantage diminishes when the Tamil students happen to possess Sinhala linguistic capital, as a result of exposure, and they become trilingual, which contributes to ethnolinguistic habitus transformation, discussed further in the next sub-section, 7.5.2.

This section has illustrated how social requirements of the BE change the use of languages and how they again change the social circumstances in the BE classroom. It relates to how Sinhala becomes a form of interim capital in the absence of English proficiency, when teachers are incapable of using Tamil and are pushed to use Sinhala; and how this benefits Tamil students in the long run. This phenomenon may happen the other way around: when Tamil BE teachers conduct classes, as the South College Principal explained:

There were some Tamil teachers who taught in A/L section. Since they had done university education with some English some of them undertook bilingual classes earlier. At that time it became a bit problematic for Sinhala students and Tamil students were benefited by it.

As this Principal points out, when Tamil teachers teach in BE classes and switch to Tamil, Sinhala students are at disadvantage, while Tamil students are benefitted. He emphasized, however, that this issue is temporary; that it may "exists only for three or so months when Grade 6 starts":

This problem exists only for three or so months when grade 6 starts. […] when time pass automatically the problem is solved. The reason is, one is mutual understanding between students and the teacher. After this rapport is built, children repeatedly ask questions to clarify things they do not understand. Secondly also by being together in the ethnically heterogeneous bilingual class and working together, the doubts are cleared by talking to peers.

Inconvenience caused by the use of Tamil by teachers in the BE class is temporary, and ideas of discrimination are replaced by "*mutual understanding between students and the teacher"* and begin to "*accept, recognize and respect the teacher irrespective of teachers' ethnicity"*. This point of view aligns with those of the Raveendranath College students included above. The seemingly disadvantageous situation is a profitable investment for Tamil-speaking students.

Overall, the experiences reported above by teachers and students demonstrate that the Sinhala language becomes a valuable interim or pro tem form of capital in the BE class, especially at initial grades, as a tool of scaffolding and a learning strategy. This comes to being at the practical level; the students seem to be accepting the use of Sinhala through a practical sense. There are in fact many practical reasons for this. Firstly, the majority population in these classes are Sinhalese; this class represents a cross section of the country's demographic. Secondly, most Tamil speaking students can speak Sinhala; and the others can understand at least a few words. Thirdly, most teachers are bilingual only in Sinhala and English. Consequently, in the initial grades, such as Grade 6, Sinhala emerges as a useful scaffolding tool. I propose that it is the logic of practice in the field at the time that instantiates the cyclic structuring i.e., both changes in practices shaped by the requirements in the field and vice versa. It is due to the quasi-instantaneous requirement of the field (Bourdieu, 1986) that teachers are compelled to use the next most intelligible language for the majority of students, to make content delivery comprehensible. It facilitates both the learning of English language as well as content knowledge. Consequently, Sinhala becomes a form of pro tem capital, while English continues to be the legitimate and most valued capital, which takes over its symbolic value as students become more English-proficient when they move to the upper grades. Even though some Tamil students who are not conversant in Sinhala become disadvantaged initially it is a temporary subjugation. One may argue that Sinhala language emerging as a symbolic resource might not be a

positive diversity- responsive “social situation condition” that triggers ethnocentric habitus, given the competing relationship between Sinhala and Tamil languages; because Sinhala emerging as a valued form of capital could jeopardize the neutrality brought to the BE class by the use of English. Nevertheless, the data in this study demonstrate quite the opposite. Tamil students and their parents clearly perceive this in a completely contrasting manner. They see BE pedagogy as providing them with an accrual of valued linguistic capital that will provide them with more “profit of distinction” (Bourdieu, 1986) by becoming trilingual. Their views also suggest changes in their linguistic habitus - and thereby ethnocentric habitus - not only in them, but also in Sinhala students, as I will argue in the next section.

7.5.2 **Emerging trilingual linguistic habitus: Tamil students’ investing in Sinhala**

Sinhala is the 2nd National language of Tamils, and Tamil is the 2nd National language of the Sinhalese. As discussed in the literature review, at societal level Sinhala may gain highest capital value because it is spoken by the majority of the population in the country, even though the Constitution confers equal value on Tamil and Sinhala. On the other hand, as discussed in the literature review, there is historical rivalry between the Sinhala and Tamil languages. As noted above, use of Sinhala in the multiethnic classroom was reported to be disadvantageous to Tamil students. Generally, such a ‘socially situated condition’ in the BE field is not a positive diversity-responsive “socially situated condition” (Bourdieu, 1990b, p. 55) for ethnic (or ethnolinguistic) habitus orientations towards inclusive supra ethnicity. If Tamil BE students are at a disadvantage it implies a power imbalance originating from one group possessing capital while the other is in deficit. With this premise, I now explore how this situation was perceived by the different parties involved. Even though the use of Sinhala appeared to be disadvantageous for Tamil-speaking students initially, ultimately they gain much profit from it.

I first present the Math BE teacher’s views from South College. When I asked what happens with the Tamil speaking students who don’t know Sinhala when Sinhala is being used in the BE class she responded as below:

Math Teacher: *The thing is by this time all Tamil and Muslim children know Sinhala well so they don’t find any difference.*

Researcher: *Don’t you think it as unfair?*

Math Teacher: *Actually unfairness occurs to Sinhala students by default because finally Tamil and Muslim students are able to learn all languages whereas Sinhala students end up only with their MT, they don't learn Tamil ... Maybe this is because Sinhala population is large Tamils may be feeling they must definitely learn Sinhala.*

This Math Teacher believes that the use of Sinhala language in the BE class is not unjust to Tamil speaking students for two reasons. She believes that Tamil speaking students quickly pick up Sinhala. In fact, she mentioned earlier that "Even though we do not know Tamil, Tamils and Muslims can speak Sinhala". Secondly, she was of the opinion that Tamil speaking students are benefited more in the long run because they become trilingual, unlike Sinhala students. Basically, she was of the opinion that even though use of Sinhala appeared to be disadvantageous for Tamil students for the time being, in the long run they are winners, since they become trilingual. Being trilingual is a valuable capital accrual that would confer many other forms of capital, placing Tamil students in better social positioning in society in times to come. For example, they would be better qualified to compete in the employment field. What is important here is the evidence of changing linguistic dispositions of Tamil parents and students with regard to the Sinhala language, which was previously an object of opposition and rejection, as evidenced by the many historical and social communal insurgencies.

The CE teacher at Raveendranath College added that there is a tendency among Tamil speaking students to switch to Sinhala when they interact with her:

> *...when I speak in English with Tamil Students and they answer in Sinhala sometimes. Yeah they answer in Sinhala. I think they like to act as Sinhala boys. Today for example, I asked "Why didn't you sweep the class today?" then they answered in Sinhala. Like that they always try to use Sinhala. [...] One thing is that Tamil students like to learn Sinhala because they have to write essays in their Sinhala language paper. Sometimes they come and ask sentences in English and ask how to write them in Sinhala. So when I give my speeches in Sinhala they can catch up all these. I know most of the TM students like that.*

This teacher describes how Tamil BE students have a preference to use Sinhala when they talk to a Sinhala person. She believes that they like to act as 'Sinhala boys'. She ascribed their preference as originating from their ambition to learn Sinhala. They exploit every possible opportunity to learn the language. This can also be interpreted as a strategy adopted at practical level to 'win the struggle', disguising as 'preference';

a struggle to accrue Sinhala linguistic capital with a view to enhancing symbolic capital that would make them recognized, accepted and valued by the Sinhala teachers, fellow students in their classroom, school and society at large (Bourdieu, 1986; 1991). A fellow BE student (Sinhala) expressed the following views about his Tamil BE friends:

> *I have a couple of friends who are Tamil and who couldn't speak Sinhala at all when they were small. But now they can speak Sinhala. I think Tamil students understand the benefit of speaking in Sinhala [...] Even if they have to shop they have to speak in Sinhala. So they know one or two words at least to get their work done. [...] It's very hard to operate in Colombo only knowing Tamil because if we look at Colombo and the Western Province Sinhala is the majority. I think Muslims have the balance of knowing both Sinhala and Tami and it makes them really effective...*

This Sinhala student is trying to work out why his Tamil peers are successful in their acquisition of Sinhala. He attributes this success to their aspirations to solve their day-to-day communication gaps. What I want to highlight here is that there is a need for Tamil students to acquire Sinhala, that Sinhala becoming a pro tem form of capital in the early grades of BE is an advantage for them. As Kramsh (2010) noted, this is not an example of calculative "devise strategies" but rather their "embodied habitus was merely adjusting to the objective conditions" that originate from "the need to maximize [...] chances of symbolic survival" (p.40); their "intentionality is without intension" (Bourdieu, 1987). As this student demonstrates, by highlighting the success of Muslims, it is an example of "profit of distinction", because when individuals are equipped with all symbolic resources i.e., all forms of available linguistic capital in this case, they are more recognized, validated, respected and admired." (p. 41). Most importantly, this investment was made possible by the fact of being in the BE programme. Table 7.12 shows the perspectives of Tamil BE students who explicitly declared the importance of Sinhala and why they should learn it.

Table 7.12 Ethnic others' language as a capital: Excerpts from FGD with Tamil BE students

Raveendranath College Tamil Students		
1	Student3	*But we should know Sinhala to live in Sri Lanka.*
2	Student2	*Because this country most of the people speak Sinhala.*
3	Student1	*And Sinhala friends help improve our Sinhala knowledge. And, in Sri Lanka the important language is Sinhala. If we don't know Sinhala it is not useful for us to live in Sri Lanka. Because Sri Lanka is our motherland and mostly Sinhala people live in Sri Lanka so it is good for us to know Sinhala language very well.*
South College Tamil Students		
4	Student1	*In the BE class we can learn so many things in Sinhala, and we can study the second (2NL) language also, for our O/level exam.*
5	Student4	*Yeas, O level exam.*
6	Student2	*Miss in all countries a particular language is most spoken, which is seen most important in their countries. In Sri Lanka it is Sinhala. [...] they can't learn other languages [Sinhala people] but we can.*
7	Student5	*More than them [Sinhala students] we learn Sinhala better because they can't talk Tamil but we talk with them in Sinhala.*
8	Student3	*Because according to the condition of Sri Lanka most people speak Sinhala, so most important is to learn Sinhala. So we learn [in chorus]*
Parakum College Tamil Students		
9	Student5	*I too think Sinhala is the most important, because when you even get into a trishaw you can't communicate in English.*
10	Student1	*Most number people in Sri Lanka are Sinhalese and why should we destroy Sinhala and there are only less amount of people in Sri Lanka. [only less speak Sinhala in the world]*

These Tamil students believe that it is important for Tamils to learn Sinhala since the language of the majority in Sri Lanka is Sinhala. In fact, most of the Tamil BE students in all three schools named Sinhala as the second most important language to them, positioning English at the apex; this represented about 70 per cent of the Tamil BE students. Quite unpredictably they placed Tamil as the third most important language. The Tamil BE students were of the opinion that they are motivated to learn Sinhala, unlike the Sinhala students who have no motivation to learn Tamil. They, in fact, are preparing to take Sinhala as one of their subjects at the public examination, as stated in rows 4 and 5. Importantly, Tamil BE students declare that the BE programme is an investment in Sinhala linguistic capital which they need in the future; that is, they are able and motivated to learn Sinhala because they are in the multiethnic BE programme (rows 4 & 6). Referring to their peers in TM classes, they explain how TM students

are at a disadvantage: that they do not have the opportunity to learn Sinhala like the BE Tamil students. These comments indicate these Tamil students' willingness and satisfaction that they are able to learn Sinhala. For further corroboration, consider the following views in Table 7.13, extracted from the semi-structured interviews with Tamil parents at South College, as they discussed potential benefits of studying in the BE programme.

Table 7.13 BE as an investment in Sinhala linguistic capital: Tamil Parents

Father	*In Grade 6 he was only with Tamil students since he couldn't speak Sinhala, so I persuaded him to make friendship with Sinhalese. [...]. I also know how valuable English medium is. And I also know it is not fully English medium, it is bilingual so my child can improve all three languages. That is what we really need in Sri Lanka. Now see when my son came to Grade 6 he knew Tamil, he knew a little English. And now he can do with all three languages well. That was my target. So he achieved what I aimed.*
Mother/BE teacher	*Tamil students flexibly improve Sinhala [...] they are adapting to Sinhala quickly; they keep the idea that they improve Sinhala so they can go everywhere*
Mother	*Yes, yes my daughter and son both studied in bilingual classes, first when they were in Grade 6 they could speak a little bit English and Tamil thoroughly. Now they can speak all three languages, English Sinhala and Tamil. So I think my problems are over that they can face any challenge all they can face no? This is the parents wish and it is easily achieved in the English medium class.*

These parents of Tamil students hold the same dispositions towards the acquisition of the Sinhala language. Apart from more value being given to English, the Tamil parents see Sinhala, the language of the 'other', as a valuable form of capital. They appreciate the opportunities offered in the BE programme to acquire it. As one parent notes, when their children can speak all three languages her "problems are over": her children can face any challenge in their future trajectories. All these comments illustrate what dispositions and attitudes about the language of the other - Sinhala – are held by both Tamil students and their parents.

This acquisition of Sinhala is therefore understood as the accumulation of more symbolic resources. Individuals with more symbolic resources have access to better social positioning. As noted by Tamil BE students and their parents, the multiethnic BE pedagogy provides positive social conditions for the acquisition of Sinhala. Becoming trilingual, with the acquisition of Sinhala, is accumulation of embodied cultural capital. This grants symbolic value and students' position in society is enhanced; and the cycle continues. Like English, Sinhala linguistic capital is an

investment. It too is convertible to cultural, symbolic and social capital. For instance, being able to acquire Sinhala, students can now offer it as a subject at one of the most important public examinations. If they pass this exam, they acquire additional institutionalized cultural capital. They become more respected, valued and recognized among the Sinhala students. During the FGD Sinhala students talked about how Tamil students help them in academic matters: "If we don't understand or we feel difficult to understand something they [Tamil speaking students] also explain us in Sinhala" (Student4). Knowing Sinhala confers with social capital, especially *inclusive social capital*. Tamil students who know Sinhala may reduce the ethnocentric habitus demarcated by languages; and contribute to mutual acquaintance and recognition among students. This was further illustrated by a Sinhala BE student (Senior Prefect):

> *And I also feel it is also a sign of respect that you learn that language well because English is not our language it's somebody else's language. Even if it is a common ground people will appreciate more, for example, when I see a Tamil person speaking in Sinhala I feel guilty [because he cannot speak Tamil]. So I think as a fact that if you know both languages will make them respect you and you respect that culture as will. So it is more than communication*

Learning of the ethnic other's language is therefore seen as a mark of respect and recognition. When Tamil students speak Sinhala, they are perceived differently by the Sinhala students. They now share linguistic habitus with the Sinhala students, dispositions towards the Sinhala language. Similarly, the Tamil students' linguistic habitus is now transformed to a bilingual linguistic habitus – Tamil and Sinhala. Ethnic boundaries previously demarcated by language are now contested; they might have become permeable. Enthusiasm among Tamil students towards learning Sinhala, or investing in Sinhala, did not just 'happen'; it resulted in dialectical relation to "socially situated conditions" in the country which have been, I argue, instantiated by the "socially situated conditions" in the BE pedagogic field: its multiethnic and multilingual logic of practice (Bourdieu, 1990). It seems that Sinhala and Tamil languages are no longer perpetuating rivalry between the two speech communities. Tamil students have "a greater investment in becoming" trilingual. Even though it was "pretty hard" and they "felt disadvantaged" at the beginning, the students and their parents understand it was temporary. They realize that possession of Sinhala linguistic capital "yields profit of distinction for its owner" (Bourdieu, 1986, p.245). These are

supposedly the result of their "struggle to be noticed, validated, respected, [and] admired" (Kramsh, 2010). Being able to converse in Sinhala improves their social positions and therefore repositions the social identities or social group habitus offered by the ethnic other, and benefits Sinhala speaking students and society at large (Garcia-Mateus & Palmer, 2017) because the Tamil students now speak their language. The Tamils, on the other hand, seem to recognize the Sinhala language and appreciate learning it. Their dispositions or habitus will be less exclusionary or ethnocentric, less bounded or demarcated by language; the boundaries have now become blurred, welcoming crossing-over.

7.5.3 **Linguistic habitus transformation of Sinhala Students: inclination for Tamil language**

The data also illustrated that there is a growing enthusiasm towards the Tamil language among Sinhala students, though not to the extent of Tamil speaking students. This difference may result from the linguistic market outside the BE classroom, Sinhala being the most widely spoken language in the country. What is important here is that this change in Sinhala students' interest in the Tamil language emerges from the situated conditions in the multiethnic pedagogy whose logic of practices is the flexible use of all languages in the BE pedagogic repertoire, as indicated in Table 7.14 by the Sinhala students.

Table 7.14 Appreciation of Tamil language as a capital: Sinhala BE students

Raveendranath College	
Student1	*Some students in the class talk only in English, some in Sinhala and some in Tamil. When we overhear these we can have some knowledge about these languages. There our knowledge will improve so it is good.*
Student3	*When we take Sri Lanka there are parts English is compulsory, Sinhala is compulsory, and Tamil is compulsory. In other words, English with foreigners, like when you go to Jaffna definitely you need **Tamil** because all of them speak in Tamil. So we listen to them now and sometimes we ask the meaning of words, like that we come to know about their words and language and they also ask from us. Like that they take our knowledge and we take from theirs.*
South College	
Student3	*We can learn cultures of other ethnicities, moreover when we are with them we will be able to speak their language, also we can ask for what we don't know.*
Student3	*Using everyone's language we can share knowledge.*
Student1	*Tamil students help us to improve English we also help them.*
Students	*Yes, and also to improve Tamil.*

These students identify what they see to be the benefits of the heteroglossic environment prevalent in the BE programme. Such free navigation among languages, in the absence of teacher imposed language sanctions, is seen to provide them with exposure to all three languages so that they can learn them. In such a flexible linguistic landscape all linguistic capital seems to gain value, not only English, even the language of the people they have historically envied. So it is possible that Sinhala students' dispositions for interest in Tamil, or their wish to invest in the Tamil language, may have occurred in dialectic relation to the logic of practice in the BE programme, whose structure is shaped by and in turn shapes the value given to linguistic capital, in this case Sinhala students learning Tamil language. It is worth remembering that some of these Sinhala students were even fearful when they overheard Tamil for the first time when they came to Raveendranath College from monolingual schools, as discussed in Chapter five.

> **Student4:** *When I came here and heard Tamil I got scared instantly. I wonder if they will talk to me I wondered I have no place to go if something happens and I may have to hide somewhere if something happened. That is how I felt in the first few days.*

In contrast, these Sinhala students are now motivated to learn Tamil – the language which they once hated and feared. Even knowledge wise they seem to be sharing with each other.

> **Sstudent2** (Sinhala speaking Muslim): *And I wanted to talk to them [Tamil students] in Tamil since I wanted to improve my Tamil and in turn they would talk to us in Sinhala to improve their Sinhala.*

There is now a sense of reciprocity between Tamil speaking students and Sinhala speaking students in terms of interest in learning each other's languages *i.e.,* the 2nd National language of each group. This time it is the Sinhala students who are being driven towards investing in learning the Tamil language. As they commented above, learning Tamil delivers profits in the sense that they will be able to communicate with Tamil people when they possess this linguistic capital. This reflects validity granted to (once) rival languages by each other. As also discussed above, this mirrors reciprocal arrangement established between each other, or rather the mutual exchange of privileges, particularly in terms of contributing to each other's business or investment ventures through learning the other's language. This signals a repositioning of ethnic

identities, or rather of ethnic group habitus as defined by the two languages. All these shifts have been made possible due to the situated conditions of the multiethnic conditions. However, as mentioned, the Sinhala students' inclination to learn Tamil was not as high as Tamil students' interest and motivation towards learning Sinhala. This distinction results from social conditions that exist outside the BE pedagogic field. Interest in learning the language of a different ethnic group is largely resultant from dialectic relations to market values assigned to these languages in society at large; and Sinhala is a language spoken more widely than Tamil.

7.5.4 **Use of Tamil by Sinhala BE teachers in the BE pedagogy**

Elsewhere in the chapter, the data demonstrated that when the BE teachers are Tamil in ethnicity they usually use all three languages in the BE pedagogy. But it was different with most of the BE teachers who do not use Tamil because they are unable to speak Tamil. However, another important aspect that emerged through the data was that some Sinhala BE teachers deliberately promote Tamil in the BE classroom, even though they do not know the language. Out of the teachers who participated in this study, whose classrooms were observed by me, (n=6) three teachers deliberately use Tamil in their classroom teaching: two teachers at South College and the CE teacher from Raveendranath College. I interpret this as positive premeditated action by teachers to enhance a diversity responsive environment in the BE classroom. In this respect, the work of the CE teacher at South College was extraordinary. In cooperative group activities he prepared and utilized in the BE pedagogy the use of Tamil, Sinhala and English. His activities essentially promoted the use of Tamil by all students irrespective of their ethnicity (I explore this further later). These were aspects that I observed during classroom observations. To represent these three teachers I present Raveendranath College's CE teacher's views on why she used Tamil in BE pedagogy even though she did not know Tamil.

CE teacher: *So sometimes I use Sinhala and I ask about kind of Tamil terms from Tamil students, you may have noticed it in my teaching?*

Researcher: *It's because you don't know Tamil you get the Tamil students to contribute.*

CE teacher: *Yeah. It is a kind of recognition for them. We have to recognize them also, No? [Otherwise] They will think their teacher is always talking about us and we are not minority in the society, like that.*

According to this CE/Class teacher, she deliberately makes an effort to give respect and recognition to minority students by using their language. It can also be argued that as with Sinhala these teachers tend to use Tamil more in early grades, as the Math BE teacher at South College explained:

> ...in Grade 6 the students do not know English much, so sometimes I get Tamil equivalent from other teachers who know Tamil and I go to the class with Tamil words.

So this teacher uses Tamil equivalent terms in her Grade six classroom. Her intention, as indicated, is to make the content knowledge more comprehensible to Tamil students since they are not adequately proficient in English in the early years of the BE. Like the CE teacher at Raveendranath College, she may also have had the intention of recognizing Tamil language in BE pedagogy as she uses Sinhala anyway to make content knowledge more comprehensible to students in the early grades. This may be identified as metaphorical code-switching (Wardhaugh, 2011), in order to reduce the 'us' *vs.* 'they' distinction by recognizing the 'other's' language, as explained by the CE teacher at Raveendranath: "it is a kind of recognition for them". This can be seen as reflexive and premeditated action by the teachers in reducing symbolic power disparity between the Sinhala speaking and Tamil speaking students, which can be caused due to two "socially situated conditions" in the BE. First, if the teacher uses only Sinhala, it becomes the only 'legitimate' interim capital, and the Tamil language has no 'legitimacy' as an interim or pro-tem capital. On the other hand, the population imbalance, *i.e.,* the number of Tamil speaking students being fewer than that of Sinhala speaking students, it may also enhance the symbolic power that may have been enjoyed by the Sinhala students when the teacher legitimates only Sinhala capital by using only that language. These teachers' premeditated reflexive practice of metaphorical code-switching (Wardhaugh, 2011) reduces this imbalance, which is a commendable diversity responsive act. This type of 'socially situated conditions" facilitated by teachers encourages two ethnolinguistic groups to respect and recognize each other and to reduce ethnocentric exclusive dispositions.

7.5.5 **Cross linguistic flexibility in multiethnic BE pedagogy**

Elsewhere in this analysis, it was reported how the teacher imposed sanctions on the use of MT in BE initial grades. Both students and teachers explained that these

sanctions were to support English language improvement in early BE grades. However, such restrictions are not in practice in upper grades. Consequently, given this ubiquitous flexible language use in later grades, and the absence of sanctions, students were able to use the whole linguistic repertoire available to them, and ultimately opted to shuttle freely between languages to fulfil their academic and communication needs.

One interesting observation was that students' use of languages appears to be shaped by different contextual influences, as revealed by the Maths BE teacher at South College shown in Table 7.15. Elaborating on her view that teachers impose sanctions on MTs in early grades, she reported that the scenario changes when the students move up the grades.

Table 7.15 Fluctuating choices/uses of English capital by BE students: Teacher perspective

Math teacher	*However when students go to upper grades like 10 they decrease use of English and they give more importance to Tamil or Sinhala their MT.*
Researcher	*Even in BE classes?*
Math teacher	*Yes, by this time they can use English, but they tend to use either Sinhala or Tamil in contrast to Grade 7 and 8 where they use English more, even in 9 they use English more. When they come to Grade 10 and 11 they tend to use MT more.*
Researcher	*What do you think the reason is?*
Math teacher	*I think, even if they can speak in English they use Sinhala because they might be thinking that they are much capable of expressing themselves more in their MT, sometimes however much they know another language some ideas cannot be expressed in English unlike their own MT.*
Researcher	*But they use English in Grade 9 and not in Grade 10 and 11?*
Math teacher	*Even in grade nine it decreases [use of English]. In grade 8 we persuade them to use, we emphasize it, in Grade 6 & 7 we force them to use English, but when they come to Grade 10 they do not listen to us [teachers] they become more independent, so we cannot force them.*

As the teacher reported, the BE students become proficient in English by the time they reach Grade 10 and enter into adolescence. Yet their preference for MT in social interaction increases while their use of English gradually decreases during this time. According to her, this change occurs because emotions are better expressed in MT than in English. What is implied in this change in language preference would, as I interpret it, suggest that students seemed to value English only for instrumental purposes

(Tollefson, 2015a). This confirms what Canagarajah (2010) posited with regard to ESL learners in Sri Lanka: that Sri Lankans follow "product-oriented, philological approach" and do not acquire the status of language of the emotions (de Souza, 2010 originally 1979). If I can add an extra point to this discussion, it is my observation that Tamil speaking students tend to use Tamil when they talk to Tamil speaking peers and to use Sinhala language when they communicate with Sinhala peers. Even though these students complied with teacher imposed sanctions in the early grades by limiting their use of MT and using more English, it appears that their habitus takes them back to their embodied history, their individual systems of dispositions, their cultural roots or primary linguistic habitus (Bourdieu, 1977). This is an illustration of how language use (different languages) is driven by social conditions. For instance, when students were young, teachers had more control over them, whereas when they become adolescent students become more independent and teachers understand that they cannot control the students further. I suggest that these language choices by students are not intentional, or as Bourdieu (1987) would argue their actions are the results of unintentional intentions, their cultural linguistic habitus impels them, the dispositions of MT or the mother-tongue linguistic habitus may be stronger and more embodied as competencies or language skills in accordance with the social, emotional and academic social conditions.

What was evident from the above analysis is that the change of language 'choices' happens chronologically. Moreover, commentaries from Tamil BE students at Raveendranath College (in Table7.16) illustrate how a whole repertoire of languages is used by both teachers and students.

Table 7.16 Chronological change of language choices: Tamil Students Raveendranath College

Student1	*We actually talk in Sinhala in class (BE) mostly. More than English we talk Sinhala in the class because everybody knows Sinhala in our class. So we also try to improve our Sinhala and try to talk with them.... when the periods come we need talk English because it is English subjects.*
Student2	*Before period starts teacher speaks in Sinhala because everyone is there. After period started our teachers speak English only because all are English medium and we should improve English. If teacher talks in Sinhala some can't understand. That is why teacher speaks only English.*
Student1	*That means, in TM we should talk only Tamil. At English period we should speak only English. And Sinhala period we should speak only Sinhala. That's our rule.*

Clearly different languages are being used in different situations and different contexts. In other words, it can be suggested that all languages become legitimized languages among the students themselves. Sometimes a language is officially legitimized, but sometimes it is rather a case of implicit legitimization in dialectic relations to conditions in the field, which may have originated at a practical level to fulfil communication requirements at a particular moment. As shown in Table 7.17, the Sinhala BE students (Scholars) at Raveendranath College corroborate this with their accounts of lived experiences in response to my question on language they use to communicate with Tamil students in the BE class:

Table 7.17 Contextual language choices: Sinhala (Scholars) Raveendranath College

Student2	*Among Tamils they talk in Tamil and with us in Sinhala. We sometimes talk in English also. Some students are coming from other classes to do English medium subjects [...] when they talk in English we listen to them. We understand when they talk in English and we try to understand big words. [...]*
Student3	*With students who speak in English we use English. With Tamil students, since they also do English medium, we use English. Among us we talk in Sinhala.*
Students	*Actually we use whatever the language is convenient according to the purpose. We talk in Sinhala with who talk in Sinhala. With Tamils usually we use English. With Sinhala students just comes Sinhala. We don't have to think and talk in Sinhala.*

The above comments provide evidence of a situation of flexible navigation between the linguistic systems in the students' repertoire. These Sinhala students reveal that they speak to Tamil students in English "since they also do English medium", but that Tamil students are more into Sinhala than into English when they talk to them. This may actually be due to two reasons. One is that Tamil students' ambition to profit from the circumstantial chances i.e., to exploit every possible opportunity to learn Sinhala. It can also be a mark of solidarity, an act of recognition of the other ethnic language. It is clear that the language of communication among Tamil students is Tamil. It is also indicated in the above transcript that language proficiency is a key factor in determining the 'choice'. They also think that English should obviously be used since they are in the English medium class (BE). Hence, there seemed to be a flexible languaging in the BE programme, determined by contextual social conditions. Theoretically, these language 'choices' are certainly not the production of students'

own agency, but of the situated conditions at the point of time they engage in communication, with whom they are communicating and for what purpose (Bourdieu, 1977). I use ‘choice’ within quote marks to denote that these ‘choices’ may not in fact be rational choices but originate at a very practical level, mechanically in relation to logic of practice or situated conditions in the field (Bourdieu, 1987). What is implied here is that the logic of practice in this BE pedagogy is linguistic flexibility as opposed to monolithic linguistic dispositions. BE students use all the linguistic systems in their repertoire, regardless of whether the teachers follow an English-only monolithic approach or not. In fact, the “socially situated conditions” in the field are multiethnic, multilingual and multicultural. It is inhabited by individuals with different linguistic habitus, Tamil, Sinhala and English. In such a context, all three languages can claim importance. This is important in terms of balancing the symbolic power enjoyed by the groups that speak different languages. Had the BE pedagogy’s logic of practice been linguistic inflexibility it would have granted one language more legitimacy; one group of students would have enjoyed symbolic power over another group, a situation conducive to a socially situated condition for ethnolinguistic group cohesion.

In summary, in these BE programmes in the absence of linguistic restrictions, a flexible linguistic environment comes into being; one in which students make their own ‘choice’ of language to communicate in the classroom; a choice which arises from the dialectic relation to contextual or socio-emotional conditions in the field. As this analysis has thus far shown, these forms of linguistic capital carry different symbolic values; determined by values ascribed to each of them by social conditions, such as the purpose of use, the context, the interlocutors, the amount and quality of linguistic capital each speaker possesses. And these forms of capital are constantly fluctuating. In other words, the use of languages by students occurs in dialectic relations to the contextual circumstances at the point of utterance. This kind of linguistic flexibility was enhanced in South College due to the teacher’s use of cooperative group activities in ethnically heterogeneous groups, as I discuss in the following section.

7.5.6 **Heteroglossic environment and translanguaging in the BE pedagogy**

My analysis has revealed that even though English dominated teachers’ language in content delivery, and also in classroom management, teachers did not impose restrictions on the use of MT by students in the BE classroom. Students are allowed to

use any language in the classroom, apart from English, the legitimated linguistic capital. In fact, some teachers tried to promote the use of all three languages to facilitate content comprehension. In this respect, teacher practices at South College are outstanding. For instance, both CE and Mathematics teachers at South College elicited Tamil and Sinhala equivalents from students for important words during content delivery. During my observations, these teachers directed students to clarify and establish important terms and words in MTs by posing questions to the whole class. For example, teachers asked for Tamil clarifications by posing questions such as “what do you call this in Tamil”. There seemed to exist both explicit and implicit promotion of MTs by the teachers. As I observed, the CE teacher at South College explicitly promoted the use of all three languages in his pre-prepared tasks that essentially required students to use both Sinhala and Tamil languages and to seek help from each other. This kind of teacher practice encouraged linguistic flexibility, which resulted in free navigation between all the resources available in the students’ linguistic repertoire. I observed this practice throughout my classroom observations during these subjects at South College. As will be illustrated and discussed in the ensuing analysis, this practice created positive attitudes towards all languages in the BE pedagogy; hence the appreciation and recognition of the students who speak such languages. In contrast to teachers at Parakum College and Ravindranath College, BE teachers at the South College seemed “accomplishing significant education against the odds” (Comber, 2017, p. 2). Especially, the CE teacher at South College considered use of MT in the class not as a deficit but as a technique to make the classroom a site of collaboration, cohabitation and reconciliation.

The following classroom interactions during CE cooperative group activities in ethnically heterogeneous groups provide evidence that absolute linguistic flexibility and the creation of a heteroglossic environment prevailed in the BE pedagogy; and indicate the advantages of such practices.

Table 7.18 Classroom Interaction at South College

Tamil student: human activities

Sinhala student: *<L1> ekiyanne mokakakda demalen<L1>* {Sinhala student asks in Sinhala - "What is it in Tamil"}

***Tamil Student**: <L1> Enna? Athu eṉṉa? <L1>* {Tamil student also don't know the Tamil equivalent and he asks his Tamil another Tamil student}

Muslim Tamil speaking student: *<L1> nadavadikkaikaḷ <L1> (*activities*)* {other Tamil students give a try – translating word by word in phrase- unfavourable human activates}

Sinhala Student: human activities? {Sinhala student thinks that Tamil friend has given Tamil translation of only one word and hence repeats the whole phrase in English so as to stress the missing words}

Tamil student: *<L1> Maṉitha nadavadikkaikaḷ, Maṉitha Nadavadikkaikaḷ</L1> (*It is human activities.. it is human activities) {This student gives the answer i.e., the equivalent for the phrase but incomplete}

Tamil student: *<L1> Enna? <L1> <NL2>Ahithakara minis Kriya<NL2>* (What is it unfavourable human activities?) {This student notices that the word 'unfavourable' is missing in the translation and therefore highlighting the absence of the same and simultaneously trying to elicit the word from his peers}

Sinhala student: *unfavourable human activities <L1>ahithakara minis kriyakarakam</L1> (unfavourable human activities)* {Sinhala student repeats the whole phrase both in English and Sinhala to bring Tamil students' attention so that it would be easy for his Tamil speaking peers to get the Tamil equivalents}

Sinhala student (female): *<L1>Maṉitha nadavadikkaikaḷ <L1> English Unfavourable?* {This Sinhala student is trying to pronounce/read Tamil phrase to rehearsing it. She then realizes the Tamil equivalent for 'unfavourable is missing and foregrounds the English word 'unfavourable' with raising intonation to denote the missing Tamil word for unfavourable}

Tamil student: *<L1> Manitha Alivu Nadavadikkal </L1>* {This Tamil student then repeats the whole phrase in Tamil adding the missing Tamil equivalent for 'unfavourable}

Tamil student: *destructive? <L1>destructive <L1> enna solluṅka</L1>* {what is destructive, tell soon} [Tamil students ask for Tamil equivalent for destructive from his group members especially Tamil students]

Tamil student: *<L1>. Alivu nadavadikkaikaḷ<L1>*

As evident in the above transcript, Sinhala speaking and Tamil speaking students try to find Sinhala and Tamil equivalents for English terms. They already have the definition for 'natural disasters' and their root causes in English through two different forms of discourse: texts written in English in the Pupils' textbook and in spoken form when the teacher explained the phenomenon in English through whole class discussion before the activity started. The first half of the activity was to write the definitions of 'natural disasters', their root causes and outcomes in all three languages. To achieve

this, students had to consult with their other-language-speaking peers. It was evident both in audio-recordings of classroom interactions and my observation, students were using their "full linguistic repertoire without regard to watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries" (Otheguy, Garcia and Reid 2015, p. 281), of Sinhala, Tamil and English. The students reported a number of advantages of this approach, in which languages act as scaffolding tools. It contributes to academic knowledge comprehension via the use of different languages, and helps complete the cognitively and academically demanding classroom tasks (Kramsch & Whiteside, 2007). It also directly helps language recognition and improvement, especially in relation to the language of the 'other'.

These heteroglossic language practices, especially translanguaging in the BE classroom were discussed further with students during the FGDs at South College. All students, irrespective of their ethnolinguistic orientations, equally claimed that the heteroglossic environment prevailed. They also talked about how it helped them in various ways, for example in grasping subject matter more effectively when peers translate and explain. In fact, they declare that "it's like learning in all three languages". Consider the conversation below.

Table 7.19 Resourcefulness of heteroglossia: Muslim BE students South College

Students	*All three languages [in chorus] then it is easy to understand what they teach.*
Student2	*Even if we study maths in English, but we are thinking in Tamil, in our MT.*
Researcher	*But your math teacher doesn't know Tamil? So she will only explain in Sinhala is it okay for you?*
Student2	*Yes because we can ask and learn from Sinhala friends.*
Student1	*And we can learn new Sinhala words also*
Student5	*And also we can improve our English knowledge also.*
Student2	*When he speaks even in English, when he says in Sinhala we can match those words and improve our knowledge. Because if he says a word, if he says "education' and {addyapana} we can know what it means*
Student1	*so we can study or learn the English language more with more understanding*

These Muslim BE students believe that the teacher's code-switching to Sinhala represents an opportunity for them to learn Sinhala. If they could not understand any lesson/facts delivered by the teacher in English, Sinhala peers helped them by further

elaborating in Sinhala. They also appreciated group activities assigned by the CE teacher because those activities required all three languages, which was like "studying in all three languages", contributing to better comprehension and learning. In summary, the above comments indicate that translanguaging and its benefits are clearly validated. For instance, the Muslim students mention, "we are thinking in Tamil, in our MT" and do (write) mathematics in English. This confirms previous work that translanguaging not only "...maximizes both linguistic and cognitive resources, and helps achievement and progress" (Baker, 2011, p. 229), but as a new space where individuals "...consciously construct and constantly modify their socio-cultural identities and values" (Wei, 201, p. 1224). Another example of translanguaging that occurs during group work is the shuttle between different discourses or genres such as written texts, spoken discourse in the same language and also in different languages:

Table 7.20 Translanguaging among different discourses: Muslim BE students South College

Student2	*Even if we study maths in English, but we are thinking in Tamil, in our mother tongue because we can ask and learn from Sinhala friends*
Student4	*Now in civics class, sir doesn't use any Tamil to explain. But he gives a lot of work to do in all three languages. So we can learn all those words in other languages.*
Student1	*It's like studying in all three languages. According to textbook the lesson is in English but when he is explaining in Sinhala we can get the idea. And when we do group work in all three languages like writing definitions in all three languages, we can get the idea of that lesson in our mother tongue also.*

These comments provide evidence of translanguaging among all three languages. As Student 2 explains, students think in their own first language (here it is Tamil), then discuss in Sinhala and then write in English. As student 4notes, they also refer to English texts in the textbooks, they engage in discussions in mother tongues, and then complete the tasks in English. This is the process of translanguaging, moving between different genres of discourses – from the written discourse of English to the spoken discourse of their first language, and then to the written discourse in English. In students' own words, they are effectively studying in all three languages in their BE class. They are describing a heteroglossic environment in the classroom, in which there

is free navigation between languages and where languages are considered as meaning-making tools without boundaries.

As I discussed in the literature review, working in a heteroglossic language environment and having the ability to translanguaging contributes to making identities more flexible and to repositioning them towards the desired identities (Creese & Blackledge, 2015; Garcia, 2009; Garcia & Kleyn, 2016; Garcia & Wei 2014; Sayer, 2013; Otheguy, Garcia and Reid, 2015; Pennycook, 2017; Wei, 2011). In the context of this study, this can be interpreted using the overarching theoretical underpinnings of Bourdieu. The heteroglossic environment has become the logic of practice in the BE in this class; and it is achieved differently from the logic of practice in monolingual classrooms and families. From these students' commentaries it is also implied that now the logic of practice in the BE field is one of interdependence and recognition of all languages, including the language of other ethnic groups. There is therefore a need to synchronize their once monolingual, monoethnic habitus with the present logic of practice, which is multilingual and multiethnic. As I discussed in Chapter 5, before coming to the BE programme, these students *hated, feared* and *felt like hitting each other*. In contrast, their use of language now shows mutual recognition, respect and interdependence; this feels like an inclusive group of learners. In contrast to their previous out-grouping of ethnically diverse others, they now see them as part of their own group, with whom they collaborate and cooperate. The highest valued capital that structures this logic of practice is that of *inclusive social capital*: membership of a group that is inclusive of all ethnic diverse others. This is further from the ethnocentric habitus and more towards an inclusive supraethnic habitus.

Furthermore, the promotion of this kind of heteroglossic trilingual environment gives due recognition not only to the majority population's language, Sinhala, but also to the minority population's language, Tamil, even in the face of the high status ascribed to English. The discussions presented above illustrate mutual trust and interdependence among the students of different ethnicities, as a result of mutually building content knowledge in group tasks utilizing different languages; A heteroglossic linguistic environment with ethnically heterogeneous groups and an environment that enhances positive attitudes towards all languages and recognition of the 'others' who speak those languages. This in turn contributes to a collective identity, or one-group sense, where reciprocity and interdependence become indispensable and mutual acquaintance is promoted. This represents clear evidence of habitus reorienting

in dialectic relation to logic of practice or “socially situated conditions” of a field. In Chapter 5 it was evident that the ethnocentric habitus these students had was historically and socially acquired by being in monoethnic, monolingual fields before coming to the BE programme. Now, within the programme, the logic of practice is multilingual and multiethnic, and it requires these students’ habitus to realign in synchrony i.e., through a practical sense, in order to feel like “fish in water”. The once ethnocentric monolingual habitus is no match for the new bilingual/trilingual social space. Ethnolinguistic orientations are required to be repositioned or reshaped in response to the heteroglossic linguistic practices in the BE class.

Above all, respect, recognition and interest in learning each other’s languages are covertly enhanced in this context. It is argued that this would have created similar capital value for all three languages, especially when it comes to Sinhala and Tamil languages, which have traditionally been ‘dividing tools’ in the country between Sinhalese and Tamils. In this context values assigned to different linguistic capital tend to become relatively similar and ‘open’ to renegotiation (Grenfell & James, 2010, p. 74). This social condition created in this BE class, or the ‘network of linguistic relations” (Grenfell & James, 2010), in fact, can also be considered as a point of departure from the view that the education system of Sri Lanka acted as a dividing mechanism or system of national disintegration; one that created alienation or “…narrow formulation of identity” (Cohen, 2007, p.172) between Tamil speaking and Sinhala speaking communities due to Mother Tongue Instructions, since 1940s (Aturupane & Wickramanayake, 2011; Buckland, 2007; NEC, 1997; NEC, 2003; NIE, 1998).

7.5.7 **Section summary**

The analysis also demonstrated that in the absence of English language proficiency, when students come initially to BE pedagogy from monolingual MTI classes, Sinhala linguistic capital gained more market value as a scaffolding tool. I defined Sinhala as a “pro-tem capital”, one that comes into being as a practical, quasi-instantaneous solution in dialectic relations to conditions in initial BE grades. Sinhala gains the position of pro-tem capital due to three “socially situated conditions” in the BE programme. First, the majority of students in these classes are Sinhalese. Secondly,

most Tamil speaking students can speak Sinhala and some can understand at least a few words. Thirdly, most teachers are bilingual in Sinhala and English.

The analysis showed Sinhala becoming a scaffolding tool that has both benefits and disadvantages. Disadvantages faced by Tamil speaking students at the beginning proved to be temporary. It is in fact a profitable investment for them, since they become trilingual, which is appreciated both by Tamil speaking BE students and their parents. It is a profit of distinction for them because the accrual of ethnic others' language also accrues social capital for the Tamil students since they are now recognized as an integrated linguistic community among the Sinhala speaking community. This is interpreted as a repositioning of social identities conferred by the ethnically diverse others. Now it seems that identities bounded by languages become porous; and that cross-over is possible.

The fifth sub-section explored Sinhalese teachers' deliberate use of some Tamil words/phrases in BE classes, which demonstrates their reflexive premeditated actions. This is identified as metaphorical code-switching that contributes to recognition of ethnic others language. Such metaphorical code-switching facilitates, maybe minimally, the balancing of symbolic power enjoyed by the Sinhala language, the language of the majority population, as opposed to that of the Tamil language – these two being contesting languages. This deliberately created diversity-responsive act of giving recognition to others' language by teachers confers legitimacy to the Tamil language and creates a positive socially situated condition that triggers inclusivity in BE pedagogy.

The linguistic flexibility that was prevalent in the BE pedagogy, albeit to varied extents, illustrates contribution towards both academic knowledge scaffolding and language scaffolding. It was evident that the BE students shuttle freely between their particular linguistic resources in order to fulfil their communicative demands, both academically and socially. Their 'choice' of language, however, seemed to depend on context or conditions at the time of linguistic interactions, which suggests a triglossic situation. The absence of any language restrictions during cooperative group work in ethnically heterogeneous groups creates an environment of interdependence and recognition of all languages, including the language of ethnic others. This in turn might contribute to minimizing their ethnocentric racialized inclinations and disposition towards ethnic others.

Finally, the logic of practice that came into being due to the absence of teacher-imposed or legitimate embargoes on languages was cross-linguistic flexibility. This free navigation between languages in turn reduces (mis) appropriation of symbolic power that might result from unequal capital values accorded to different languages when restrictions are imposed on some languages while others are legitimized (Bourdieu, 1991). Such social conditions "open new identity options for groups and individuals…" (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004, p.13), where "...the individual feels a sense of connectedness with others..." (Wei, 2011, p.1234), and develops mutual recognition and independence (Hodkinson, Biesta & James, 2007) which can contribute significantly to collective identity and in-group sense. Through a Bourdieusian lens the BE pedagogic field necessitates a realignment of the habitus of its inhabitants in dialectic relation to its multilingual heteroglossic objective structure - that should not be an exclusive ethnocentric one but an inclusive supraethnic habitus.

7.6 CHAPTER CONCLUSION

This chapter examined the linguistic orientations that existed and were encouraged in the multiethnic BE pedagogic field in Sri Lanka; and how such orientations shape interethnic relations, in particular, ethnic habitus orientations of students. Language is a mechanism of power that determines one's social position in a field: who has the right - or more right - to speak or to be listened to, to question, in different degrees (Bourdieu, 1991). In the BE pedagogical context this phenomenon was commonly observed: that students with different amounts of differently valued linguistic capital seemed positioned differently. In addition, the value accorded to different capital is not the same for all; in different fields it is different; even in the same field their legitimacies are evolving and fluctuating (ibid). This may happen either in alignment with explicit rules or with the implicit rules that originate from practicalities in the particular field. This was the case in the BE pedagogic field. Students come from monolingual social spaces, such as monolingual schools/classes, family, media, to the experience of multilingual BE pedagogy. What has been inculcated in those spaces is monolingual linguistic habitus (Bourdieu 1991). In contrast, the explicitly legitimated logic of practice of the multiethnic BE pedagogy is that of bilingualism *i.e.,* the use of English and the mother tongue (MT). At practical level (implicit rules) also, students and teachers may use all three languages - English, Sinhala and Tamil - to achieve their communication goals in both educational

trajectories and social interaction. It is therefore strategic that students transpose their monolingual habitus to bilingual or even trilingual habitus, homologous to multiethnic multilingual BE pedagogy, so as to feel as "fish in water".

As evidenced in the analysis, entering the BE pedagogic field can be seen as an investment strategy in pursuing "profit of distinction" (Bourdieu, 1986). Basically, it is an investment in English linguistic capital in the pursuit of other capital, such as cultural, symbolic and economic capital in future trajectories. The most vital revelation which emerged from this study is the fact that the students see being together with ethnically diverse others in the BE pedagogy, and thereby understand each other, which represents an advantage to them. They see the BE programme as a space that enables them to learn ethnically diverse languages, which become their 2nd National Language (2NL) *i.e.,* in terms of Tamil speaking students (Tamils and some Muslims), Sinhala Language and vice versa; as well as learning the other's culture.

The analysis also revealed that English can become a neutral tool or a tool of reconciliation (temporarily at least) between two contesting linguistic communities, bringing them to a "single linguistic community". It was also evident that when a common language is used the difference or division based on Sinhala and Tamil appears to diminish and the students' experience of feeling more equal. Quite differently, English linguistic capital acts as a weapon that relegates groups as "English-knowing and English un/less-knowing", where those who know enjoy more symbolic capital than others, and are placed in hierarchical social positions; which is not a diversity- responsive, positive, socially-situated condition not only for interethnic relations but also intra-ethnic relations.

Like any other form of capital, languages have fluctuating exchange rates (Bourdieu, 1977). Agents who possess varied amounts of such linguistic capital are positioned at varying levels in a field according to values ascribed in that particular field. Such conditions shape habitus reorientation (Bourdieu, 1991). Asymmetry in power relations among ethnically diverse groups based on language contributes to ethnocentric habitus. On the other hand, in the absence of explicit restrictions on languages, there can emerge a heteroglossic environment in a linguistically diverse social space, as was evident in the BE pedagogic field. In such contexts, ethnic group separations defined by language become absorbent, and the "co-construction" of positive bilingual identities (Garcia-Mateus & Palmer, 2017) becomes the norm in

dialectic relation to the multiethnic and multilingual rules of the game in BE pedagogy. In other words, given the fact that the multiethnic BE pedagogy is ethnically and hence linguistically diverse, it would appear that the linguistic landscape of BE pedagogy seemed to be transformed to heteroglossic by default, though there might have been asymmetry in the amount and the frequency of use of the three languages: Sinhala, Tamil and English. These new conditions in BE pedagogy drive BE students to invest not only in English, but also in ethnic others languages. This can be interpreted, as argued above, as ethnic habitus reorientation. Ethnic habitus is marked by linguistic habitus; for example, as monolinguals either in Sinhala or Tamil; and now linguistic habitus is no longer limited to one linguistic system, but becomes collective integrated linguistic habitus or bilingual/trilingual linguistic habitus.

Linguistic flexibility appears to contribute particularly to balancing power hierarchies among students who possesses different values and forms of linguistic capital that have been hierarchically positioned in the linguistic market determined by forces inside BE pedagogy as well as neo-liberal and neo-imperialist market forces outside pedagogy (Phillipson, 2009). In other words, the "socially situated conditions" in the BE pedagogic field provided diversity-responsive "rules of the game" that drove students' linguistic habitus towards a more heterolingual habitus in a practical sense. The multiethnic, multicultural and multilingual BE field seemed to have acted as "sources of cognition without consciousness, of an intentionality without intention, and a practical mastery" (Bourdieu, 1990b, p. 12) towards mutual respect and recognition of each other's languages, while improving English as a conduit between the three ethnic groups.

What is of highest importance to the present study is not only to emphasize the significance of the contribution of linguistic flexibility and translanguaging to the academic performance of BE students or its intellectual benefits; but also to recognize the significance of emotional benefits (Otheguy, García, Johnson & Seltzer, 2017; Pennycook, 2017), and on how translanguaging may impact on students' ethnocentric identities. As Wei (2010) posited, the most important element is the "space created through translanguaging", "an intense social experience and emotional investment" (p.1234). In such translanguaging spaces individuals' "monolingual ideologies" may transcend historical conflicts between delimited languages; Sinhala, Tamil and English may reconcile. Language speakers may begin to feel equal power relations and hence

new identity positioning – to experience “open-ended identities (Kramsch, 2008): shifting from ethnocentric ethnolinguistic identities that resulted from resistance to others’ languages to multilingual identities; or from ethnocentric to cosmopolitan identities or “collective supraethnic conscience” (Barkan, 2012).

It was also noticed in the analysis that Tamil speaking students tend to switch to Sinhala language to a larger extent in South College and to a lesser extent in Raveendranath College, which Rampton (1995; 2011) defined as language crossing. Regardless of the reason why these students switch to Sinhala it is an act of using the language by an ‘out-group’ member. The most important fact here is that this act of using others’ languages contests ethnolinguistic boundaries (Rampton, 1995; 2011) and ‘allegedly reflects anti-racist practices” (Jaspal & Coyle, 2010, p. 203)

Grenfell (2010a), using Bourdieusian thinking, postulated that “[t] schemes of perception which individuals hold and the language which carries them are each homogonously linked to social structures” (p.49). The flexible linguistic practices of BE students reflect their new linguistic orientations to language, which in fact are homologous to objective rules in BE pedagogy - that the field is multilingual since it is occupied by linguistically heterogeneous groups, the implicit rules of the game are bilingualism legitimate programme objectives, the learning activities necessarily required to use all three languages. Correspondingly, all three forms of linguistic capital become legitimate and valued capital. In fact, the very existence of heteroglossic logic of practice in BE pedagogy should have minimised the possibility of one ethnic group dominating another ethnic group, and facilitated the weakening of ethnocentric habitus.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

8.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is a summary of the key findings of the study and a final discussion of implications resulting from the interpretation and explanation made thus far in the preceding chapters. In this qualitative study, I explored how ethnic identity orientations take place among ethnically diverse students when they study together in the multiethnic, multilingual BE classrooms in Sri Lanka. I identified and explained the potential contribution of Bilingual Education to the enhancement of ethnic social cohesion in Sri Lanka. Further, I identified shortcomings, within the parameters of this study.

The study was guided by three research questions:

1. What feelings, perceptions and dispositions towards ethnically diverse "others" do the students have before and after joining the multiethnic BE classrooms?
2. How do the overall environment and practices in the multiethnic BE classroom shape ethnic identity orientations of students?
3. How do languages in the multiethnic BE pedagogy shape the ethnic identity orientations of the students?

This study was framed through Pierre Bourdieu's Theory of Practice (1990b). His conceptual triad of habitus, capital and field and their relationship to 'practice', provided tools to make analytical insights into the observable empirical data. The overarching premise was that any social phenomenon is relational between the situated conditions of fields and the habitus of inhabitant individuals/groups which also in turn are relational to wider social existences.

In this final chapter I first outline the major findings that surfaced in the analysis of this study together with their implications in Section 8.2. In Section 8.3, I delineate the study's contributions to existing knowledge, as well as practical implications both at education policy and school implementation levels. Then, I discuss the limitations

of the study followed by the directions for future research in Sections 8.4 and 8.5 respectively.

8.2 KEY FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

This study revealed that the students of diverse ethnicities join the BE classroom with highly ethnocentric habitus or systems of dispositions. The findings also demonstrated that these ethnocentric identities are realigning towards more inclusive, supraethnic identities when students study together to achieve educational goals in the multiethnic BE classroom. The study also showed that the acquisition of an ethnocentric habitus and its transformation takes place in dialectic relation to the fields that the students pass through, namely family, ethnically divided MTI classrooms, and ethnically inclusive BE classrooms. The following sub-sections provide conclusions for these phenomena.

8.2.1 **Ethnic habitus transformation in relation to inhabited fields**

In this section, I summarize the most important findings and the conclusions with regard to research question 1 – the ethnic habitus transformation of the students. Chapter five provided evidence that the children who participated in this study acquired highly ethnocentric 'primary habitus' which consists of hatred and stereotypical, negative misconceptions towards ethnically diverse others through socialization in the familial field.

Furthermore, it can be concluded that the Sri Lankan school system has been failed to provide positive "socially situated conditions" to reform ethnocentric 'primary habitus' through 'secondary habitus' formation processes or realigning of the ethnocentric identities towards less ethnocentric inclusive identities. The gravity of ethnic segregation, even after six years of socialization in schools, was reported not only in the ethnically segregated single medium schools (either Sinhala medium or Tamil medium), but also in multiethnic bi-media schools where children are divided by MTI. While this has also been reported in previous non-empirical literature (Aturupane & Wickramanayake, 2011; Buckland, 2005; Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Cohen, 2007; Coleman, 2007; Kennet, 2011; Nadesen, 1957; Wickrema & Colenso, 2003; World Bank, 2005; 2011), the unique contribution of this study is that it gives fine-

grained, detailed analysis of the ethnic segregation of Sri Lankan children through emic perspectives using empirical data gathered in situ.

The most important finding of this study is that the use of BE pedagogies in multiethnic, bi-media schools are not common but are, in fact, the exception to otherwise ethnolinguistically divided classrooms. BE pedagogy in multiethnic schools brings ethnically diverse students together. In identifying the use of BE pedagogy, despite loose official guidance, this study demonstrated that the BE students "undergo[es] a process of *personal transformation* by sheer dint of being embedded within the field" (Shammas & Sandberg, p.196, original emphasis). Principally, this study provided evidence that the students' stereotypical misconceptions and hatred towards the ethnically diverse groups with which they come to the BE classes are being transformed into friendship, cooperation, interdependence, mutual respect in the BE multiethnic classrooms when they work together to achieve common educational goals. Hence, it is concluded that "socially situated conditions" in the multiethnic BE pedagogy can facilitate realigning of ethnocentric habitus that the students acquired through primary socialization towards less ethnocentric, inclusive or supraethnic habitus. It is concluded that unlike all the other classrooms in the public school system the multiethnic BE classroom in Sri Lanka can potentially contribute to social cohesion in the post-conflict Sri Lanka, which is one of the main educational and national goals of the country.

However, this is not to disclaim the possibility of transformation of ethnocentric dispositions through a two-way Bilingual programme. that is swabhasha bilingualism, where MOI is both are Sinhala and Tamil. In this regard, the data in this analysis show tri-lingual education involving Sinhala, Tamil and English, as it was in the BE classroom domain at South College, would be the most suitable MOI model for Sri Lanka. Yet, as discussed in the literature review, absence of resources especially trilingual teachers would not allow such a progressive accomplishment.

8.2.2 **Socially situated conditions in the multiethnic BE pedagogic field**

In this section, I present the conclusions with regard to research question 2 – How do the overall environment and practices, in other words – the "socially situated conditions" in the multiethnic BE classroom shape ethnic identity orientations of students. Overall, this study concludes that the "socially situated conditions" or logic

of practice in the BE pedagogic field is different from that of the monoethnic, monolingual fields such as family, monoethnic schools and monoethnic MTI classrooms that the participant students occupied earlier. In contrast to previous fields, the logic of practice in the multiethnic BE classroom required recognizing ethnic diversity, respecting diverse cultures and languages and became a profitable investment for the students as the study revealed. The study concludes that it is this logic of practice that shaped the identity reorientation of the participant students. A key theoretical premise of this study is that "...society becomes deposited in persons in the form of lasting dispositions, or trained capacities and structured propensities to think, feel and act in determinant ways, which then guide them" (Wacquant, 2005, p. 316). However, these "trained capacities and structured propensities" constantly change and are (re)legitimized through dialectic interaction between the habitus of individuals and social structures (Bourdieu, 1990b). It is based on these premises that the 2nd and the 3rd research questions were formulated. In accordance, the analysis of practices in the BE pedagogy in Chapter Six focused on teaching/learning practices, especially with regard to groupings and how teachers and school environments shape inter-ethnic relations among the BE students. Chapter Seven focused specifically on languages and language practices in the BE pedagogy since these emerged in the data as considerably significant. Major conclusions drawn from these two chapters are as follows.

Teacher Practices: This study demonstrated that teacher practices in all three schools, whether reflexively or pre-reflexive practice, create positive "socially situated conditions" in the BE pedagogy that facilitate interethnic relations and inclusivity, though to varying extents. These practices in the BE pedagogy seem to shape the transformation of the students' ethnic habitus away from ethnocentrism towards ethnic inclusivity, or supraethnic identity positioning. Teachers' interventions through classroom management procedures, such as equal delegation of classroom responsibilities among ethnically diverse students, and classroom seating arrangements enhanced responsiveness to diversity among the students. In addition, teachers' use of grouping techniques also contributed to constant positive interethnic relations in the BE classroom. Moreover, the analysis illustrated that the cooperative group activities in ethnically heterogeneous groups largely contributed to unlearning of ethnocentric dispositions of students, and learning of inclusive supraethnic dispositions. These activities, if carefully designed by teachers, create positive lived

experiences of reciprocity, mutual help, interdependence, cooperation and respect for each other's culture and language, in an unconscious pre-reflexive practical sense, as was clearly demonstrated in South College.

Separate Classrooms for BE: This study also showed that the allocation of separate classrooms for BE students strengthens the insulation of the BE pedagogic field and hence its autonomy, which is vital for harnessing/generating supraethnic dispositions in BE students. As the analysis showed, this insulation protects interference from MTI classes while creating "one community" which strongly facilitates feelings of connectedness to the 'one group' among students of diverse ethnicities where ethnocentrism becomes less obvious.

Schools' diversity responsiveness: Conversely, the findings also illustrated the negative consequences of teachers' and school authorities' pre-reflexive, taken-for-granted thinking and acting towards ethnic diversity in multiethnic schools. The analysis revealed that their dispositions and inclination and actions favour BE students, which is deleterious to MTI students. This results from the power of English in this field, and that English speaking students are from 'high society' (as reported by teachers), so they are treated better, not deliberately but in a pre-conscious practical sense by some teachers and school authorities. This negative treatment creates defensive dispositions in the MTI students and in the teachers towards BE students and causes the relegation of the BE students (of own ethnicity). This is ubiquitous between Tamil BE students and Tamil MTI students in contrast to Sinhala students. Ironically, though this division also seems to enhance a sense of 'one community' among the BE students where ethnicity becomes less regarded. Because when MTI students exclude the students from own ethnic group as "English Medium" students, it may strengthen the in-group sense among the BE students of diverse ethnicities.

Importance of lived experiences: This study highlights the importance of the 'lived experience' with ethnic "others" in reducing ethnocentrism. The capability of the general curriculum in inculcating ethnic cohesion without practical lived experiences in ethnically diverse classrooms is doubtful (Cross & Naidoo, 2012; Wijesekera, 2011). It is revealed that through 'lived experiences' one can rectify stereotypical conceptualizations of others, which was visible in students' opinions about other students before and after coming to the BE class. These findings reaffirms that

individuals/groups' habitus transformation takes place in dialectic relation to the logic of practice in the field that the agents occupy.

8.2.3 **Language practices in the BE pedagogic field**

I now present, in sum, the conclusions pertaining to research question 3 - How do languages in the multiethnic BE pedagogy shape the ethnic identity orientations of the students? This study reaffirms the findings of previous studies on fluidity of identity and its repositioning through language navigation (Bagga-Gupta, 2015; Garcia & Wei, 2014; Garcia & Kleyn, 2016; Garcia, et al, 2017; Giroir, 2014; McKinney, 2017; Pennycook, 2017; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). This was voiced by the students who declared – "when you switch language you switch personality". In Bourdieusian theoretical point of view, it is concluded that identity positioning of these students takes place also in relation to objective structures or logic of 'language' practices in the BE classroom. The following summarises how languages work both positively and negatively in the BE pedagogy.

BE is an investment in English linguistic capital: As Digiorgio (2014) posited, "…language represents[ed] the continuation not only of cultural capital but symbolic, social, and economic capital as well" (p. 53). The participants' narratives provided evidence that BE is an investment in the accrual of English linguistic capital. Their opinions also reflected that investment in English is investing in other capitals. According to them, English linguistic capital is convertible to other capitals such as cultural (through higher education), economic capital (through better positioning in the employment field), and finally, symbolic capital by means of better social positionality and status.

English as a neutral tool: The findings also support that English can act as a "neutralizing" or reconciliation tool between the contesting languages such as Sinhala and Tamil, and can create a sense of equality or balance of power. However, the use of "neutral", as I continuously emphasized in this thesis, is to convey the idea that it may act as a 'reconciliation tool' between the two contesting linguistic communities – Tamil and Sinhala. The data, as reported by participants in this study, provided substantial evidence that English works as a neutralizing and common linguistic space specifically in multiethnic BE classrooms in Sri Lanka in this case. In this context,

English's pervasive biases or its higher capital value over the other two national languages might neutralize or reconcile politically and socially created historical contestation of these two national languages. In the analysis, I interpreted that English being the linguistic capital with the highest value may have neutralized the competing hierarchies that exist between the other two linguistic capitals – Sinhala and Tamil. It appeared that English could create a "single linguistic community" (May, 2010) or 'collective linguistic habitus' in the BE classroom that integrates the two segregated speech communities: Sinhala-speaking and Tamil-speaking. This study also confirms what Canagarajah (2005a) asserted: that English brings "value for people whose local languages and identities suffer from discriminatory markings of caste, *ethnicity*, and gender" (p. 428, my emphasis). As such, it should also be mentioned that English as a reconciliation tool has been understood in a limited way and tied to specified contexts with specific socio-cultural and political circumstances, as discussed in the next section.

English as a tool of perpetuation of inequality: The analysis also confirms that the act of language use in the Sri Lankan BE pedagogy is by no means a neutral activity for many reasons. Among them two are primary to this discussion. First, the programme is earmarked for English language education, and English is pervasive and positioned at the apex of the linguistic hierarchy. The impact of this linguistic hierarchy in Sri Lanka, especially English as an elite language, was well explained in the literature review and also revealed in students' opinions on BE as an investment. It was further noticeable through school authorities' bias towards BE students as discussed above. Second, access to BE is limited. The BE programme limits access of some children while allowing some others in many complex ways where the gatekeeping is fundamentally based on English language, which will be further discussed under policy and practices below.

Teacher Language: It was found that language heterogeneity occurs in spite of the "English only" approach taken by teachers to language use in the BE classroom. The data showed two reasons for this inclination towards an English only approach in teacher language. First, teachers assume that the use of the majority's mother tongue *i.e.,* Sinhala, is unjust for the Tamil speaking students. The second reason is that teachers are reluctant to use mother tongues (Sinhala and/or Tamil) in the BE classroom since they believe it will risk their professional integrity as it might be seen

as a lack of English proficiency by the parents and the students. This again reflects the symbolic value of English language (Chamaar, 2007; Lo Bianco, 1999, 2008; May, 2010; Phillipson, 2009; Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas. 2013/2014; Raheem & Ratwatte, 2004; Saunders, 2007; World Bank, 2011).

Sinhala as temporary capital: In contrast to teachers' opinions, use of Sinhala was interpreted by Tamil students as advantageous in the long run though it was seen as a temporary barrier initially. The analysis revealed that Sinhala becomes an important scaffolding tool with the lack of required English language proficiency of BE students in initial BE grades. This was a strategy employed by both teachers and students at a preconscious practical level, which is exemplified by the fact that even though teachers believe that they do not use Sinhala they may in actual circumstance use it. From a Bourdieusian perspective, the Sinhala language emerges as a field- specific capital that gains a high exchange rate in relation to addressing communication gaps in the BE field at the time. I defined Sinhala language as a 'pro tem capital that quasi-instantaneously becomes the BE pedagogic field's capital "*specific to the time and place* in which it is acquired" (Hardy, 2010, p. 171, my addition in italics). Accrual of this pro tem capital was found to bridge language and content knowledge comprehension gaps that the students experience in the early grades of BE due to a lack of English language proficiency. As reported by the students and parents, the students ultimately become trilingual which guarantees their better positioning in the job market.

Cross-linguistic flexibility, heteroglossia and translanguaging: This is one of the most important findings of this study. In general, the findings illustrated that students end up in using all three languages – Sinhala, Tamil and English in the BE classroom despite the teachers' English only approach to delivery of content knowledge. The absence of teacher imposed sanctions on mother tongue use may also have supported the heteroglossic environment. This heteroglossic language use may have come to being as a strategy generated at a preconscious, practical sense even though most teachers dare not to use Mother tongues, but only English. This study provided evidence that this heteroglossic environment greatly contributes to reciprocity, interdependence and cooperation among the students of diverse ethnicities since they begin to use all available languages in the accomplishment of educational tasks. Moreover, the analysis indicates that through free navigation between languages,

students develop respect and recognition towards the language and the culture of the other students. Lack of respect and recognition towards language diversity was one of the root causes of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka (Buckland, 2005; Cohen, 2007; Coleman, 2007; Davis, 2015; De Silva, 1997; Nadesen, 1984; Perera & Kularatne, 2014; Wickrema and Colenso, 2003; Wijesekera, 2011). However, when the students become more and more proficient in English, their use of mother tongues in the BE class may reduce, as it was in the case of Parakum College and to a certain extent in the Raveendranath college.

The study also demonstrated that even when some students were very fluent in English or even when English is the first language acquired at home, they still consider either Sinhala or Tamil as their 'mother tongue'. In fact, the students whose first language is English and were not able to speak/write their mother tongue reported that they learn mother tongues later in the BE class. In that sense, this study concludes that devaluation of mother tongues or even attrition of them are mere hypothesises that are formulated based on common sense. If well-planned policies are formulated and well-enacted in the BE classroom, the aims of bilingualism and biliteracy (Mother tongue and English) could be achieved through the BE classroom without threatening mother tongues or national languages.

8.2.4 **Implications for policy and practice**

This study confirms the underdeveloped nature of the BE programme in Sri Lanka, still fledgling and emerging. The main issue appears to be the lack of a concrete policy. This has caused misrecognition leading to many issues at the implementation level. Consequently, this study recognizes that achieving the loosely-defined, official objectives has been problematic and challenging for schools as has been similarly recognized by the National Education Commission (2016).

Incongruity between 'policy' and actual practice: Accessibility to BE: As discussed earlier in the literature review, one example of inconsistency between the 'policy' and practice is who has access to the BE programme. This study illustrated that English language plays a significant role in determining 'equity' in social mobility – between who have the access to English education and who do not. The 'policy' recommendation for BE is to promote English language proficiency in those who lack it. This legitimized rule has not been considered at Raveendranath and Parakum

Colleges, and only those who possess English have the access to BE programme. In addition, most schools that offer the BE programme, including the three schools which participated in this study, are 1 AB schools which are usually attended by above average students. In addition, the gatekeeping processes in all of these schools, on the whole, permit only a special or privileged cohorts of students for BE, *i.e.,* who could pass a selection test – either English language proficiency or general academic achievement test. Most of these students may be more advantaged socially, economically or academically, either in all them or some of them, than the average Sri Lankan children. However, school authorities seem to be helpless due to the high demand for BE, and they are compelled to 'give into' those existing, circumstantial trends. Hence, this study has concerns over the reproduction and perpetuation of power hierarchies and social stratification by means of pedagogic work through formal education (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). Unless the government takes steps to widen the access to BE by expanding the number of schools where BE is available, the country may return to social stratification based on English that prevailed during the colonial era. This stratification based on English is already in process due to "International" fee-levying schools that offer either national curriculum or British curricular. In such a context, it is pertinent to point out that despite its limited availability, the BE programme in public schools is vital in balancing social stratification based on English, at least to some extent. Because the BE programme in public schools creates opportunity for English education for Sri Lankan children irrespective of their economic affordances, albeit limited. This is because other schools where English education is available are fee levying international schools.

Incongruity between the national educational aims and the education system: Another important macro level issue that surfaced in this study was the contradiction between the logic of practice of the Sri Lankan public education system and its very aim, which appears to be in "conflicts and tensions" within, arising from its "misrecognized nature" (Grenfell, 2014, p.38). In particular, this study questions the benefit of the policy in national languages and media of instructions that are based on linguicism or "ideologies and structures which are used to legitimate, effectuate, and reproduce an unequal division [...] between groups which are defined on the basis of language" (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 2013/14, p. 1). It appears that for the sake of language maintenance (Sinhala and Tamil) the whole nation is compelled to live

ethnically divided and alienated through education. The incongruity here is that the government policy on medium of instruction sits in contrast with its own National Education goals: social cohesion. Instead, the education system is perpetuating and nurturing existing ethnic segregation through its own medium of instruction, though MTI is not the only cause for this segregation. This study illustrates that the state gives into powerful "contexts or sequences of social and political events sprung from the frameworks of ethnic diversity, ethno-nationalism agendas" (Omoniyi 2006) at a preconscious level. Because their "unthought categories of thought [...] delimit the thinkable and predetermine the thought (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p.40).

Dire need for professional education: Another important finding of this study is the scant nature of professional education for BE teachers, and the failure in 'delivering the message' to classroom practitioners by the policy level authorities. It is important to remind ourselves that whatever educational policies introduced "…it is the enactment of the pedagogy in situ that actually count, which may be contingent upon teacher knowledge and skill in practice" (Hayes & Comber, p. 7-8). The study revealed a lack of awareness in teachers and school authorities of the underlying theoretical bases and the practical application of the BE programme. The severity of this failure was evident that many teachers asked what terms such as "bilingualism" and "biliteracy" mean during the semi-structured interviews with me. Furthermore, teachers who participated in this study revealed that they have not been given any sort of education and training on BE methodology and classroom management, or on the theoretical underpinnings of the Sri Lankan BE programme, let alone education on diversity responsive classrooms. Consequently, this study emphasizes the need for training and education of teachers and school authorities.

Continuing teacher professional programmes should address significance of techniques such as translanguaging, code-switching, translations and other teaching/learning strategies in teaching contexts such as CLIL. In addition to continuing professional development programmes, the initial teacher preparations programmes conducted by the National Colleges of Education should seriously consider these aspects. It is hoped that this study will provide them some guidance. All these educational programmes must promote teacher autonomy through reflexive practice so that they can adapt to contextual affordances and challenges, "in interpreting ambiguous, constraining and constantly shifting policy […] despite

limited professional development" (Alford, 2015, p. ii). In particular, a special education programme especially with regards to diversity responsiveness for the BE teachers in multiethnic schools is recommended. This very significant in a time reconciliation is underway in post-conflict Sri Lanka (Lopes & Hoeks, 2015). It also warrants mentioning that despite a lack of professional training, some BE teachers do exceptionally well both in delivering the content knowledge, in language learning improvement, and in facilitating interethnic relations, as was the case at South College. This college could be a case for others to learn from. They set up exemplary examples of teacher agency in teachers as agents of change (Priestley, Biesta & Robinson, 2013) that is stimulated by socially situated conditions in classrooms in delivering the curriculum in line with the Sri Lankan National Goals of Education for the betterment of the country, whatsoever the policies.

Need for informed policies: There is also a need for the policy level to revisit a rigorous understanding of BE pedagogy, and realize its potential capacities for contributing to ethnic reconciliation in the country. When designing the new policy, policy makers need to be well informed of the consequences of their policies at the implementation level, that is, the contextual affordances and challenges. One example is to stop the banning of the allocation of separate classrooms for BE students in schools, which disregards the capacity for enhancing supraethnic environments in multiethnic schools – one of the few places where institutions can bring diverse ethnic groups together and where pedagogic work in relation to ethnic cohesion is one of the legitimized aims. In brief, policy makers need to understand that when making 'tailor-made' polices, there should be some flexibility at the implementation level to address contextual affordances.

Language in Education: This study provides descriptive examples of micro-level language choices/practices. Despite the top-down "language policies" in education, language practices in the three BE classrooms in this study differ in certain ways, as this study illustrated. Following Fishman (1972), the social space of each BE classroom could be taken as a domain, which, as Spolsky (2007) agued, "has its own policy". This study showed context specific "language policy" in each of these domain. This study also illustrated how "language policy as beliefs" works (Spolsky, 2007, p. 3) - the values assigned to ethnically diverse others' language or the individual linguistic habitus positively changed, which was a significant factor that contributed

to "inclusive membership" or supraethnic identity positioning. The BE pedagogic "language policy as practices" (Spolsky, 2007, p.3) explored in this scholarly study provides examples of micro-level existences of 'language policy' that should be more and better used within the language policy planning in education with "a new optimism" (Lo Bianco, 2014, p.331).

Finally, this study emphasises the need for all stakeholders from policy level to grassroots levels: policy makers, teacher training authorities, school authorities, and teachers to engage in "systematic exploration of the unthoughtful categories of thoughts" via conscious reflexivity in carrying out their duties and responsibilities – not in a predisposed pre-reflexive taken-for-granted manner (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). In this regard, considering empirical research, such as the present study, in making both policy level and practice level decisions is one initiative that these stakeholders should engage in.

8.3 CONTRIBUTIONS

This study re-legitimatized the conceptual underpinnings of Bourdieu's theory of practice, and its applicability, useability and validity as a theoretical framework for sociological inquiry. The findings support that habitus is "an infinite capacity for generating products – thoughts, perceptions, expressions and actions" yet its "*limits are set by the historically and socially situated conditions* of its production" (Bourdieu, 1990b, p. 55, my emphasis). The findings of this study provide evidence that the logic of practice or the objective structures in the BE field and the subjective structures of the individuals transform in relation to each other where new capitals are generated.

The most vital explorations of this study is the recognition of a field-specific capital at stake immanent in the BE pedagogic field, which is quasi-instantaneously emergent – that is, '*inclusive social capital'* as extensively discussed in Chapter 5, and also in Chapters 6 and 7. Through analysis of empirical data, this study reflects that the BE pedagogic field requires a new network of relations among the students who were previously ethnocentrically divided. I interpreted this field-specific capital as a sub-type of social capital that "act(s) as field capital... specific to the time and place in which it is acquired" (Hardy, 2010, p. 171). It is relationships of mutual acquaintance of ethnic others and recognition of the membership of ethnically inclusive groups that is immanent or latent in this new social capital. This new network of relationships is

an asset to BE students which yields profits because possessing it helps them better accomplish the educational goals as a community in the BE pedagogy. Through the analysis this *inclusive social capital* was interpreted as “long-lasting dispositions in the *habitus* that indicate a familiarity with the practical logic of the field or, to put it differently, a practical competence and knowledge in field struggles” in its embodied state (Denord, Hjellbrekke, Korsnes, Lebaron & Roux, 2011, p. 91).

This study contributes to Social Identity Theory (STI) and Tajfel’s minimal group studies (Tajfel, 1972; 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). As discussed in Chapter 2 these studies were criticized for involving only monolingual and monocultural participants and also not taking their diverse socio-historical baggage into consideration. The present study shows that out-grouping and in-grouping is a constantly evolving process that the individuals engage in. It also illustrated that BE students formed a new in-group – ‘one community” irrespective of ethnolinguistic differences because this new in-group was the most self-satisfying for them to be an accepted and recognized member of the new BE pedagogic social space that promotes their self-image. Similarly, this study illustrated that there is out-grouping between BE students and MTI students where their ethnic, linguistic and cultural difference became irrespective. In brief, this study contributes to SIT - especially this study fills the gap for which STI has been criticised that SIT studies on did not involve multicultural participants. This study involved multicultural participants, and the findings show that even the culturally diverse individuals reposition their social group identities towards new in-group identities where cultural diversities become immaterial when it is the most self-satisfying identity positioning in a particular social space. This is in Bourdieu’s perspective forming a new collective habitus disregarding cultural diversities with dialectic of objective structures in the field.

Theoretically, this study was based on the overarching premise that ethnic habitus is “a way of being habituated state ... a predisposition, tendency, propensity or inclination” (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, p. 214) towards ethnically diverse others, which has “an infinite capacity for generating” yet the “limits are set by the *historically and socially situated conditions* of its production” (Bourdieu 1990b, p. 55, my emphasis). Bourdieusian theory does not presuppose what “socially situated conditions” can trigger the generation of ethnocentric habitus towards inclusive supraethnic habitus. These “socially situated conditions” were explored by this

research. Initially, I did not have any guidance provided by Bourdieu's theory with regard to what "socially situated conditions" in BE classrooms I should be looking for or what the foci of my data collection protocols should be. For this reason, I went beyond Bourdieu's theory and adapted Allport (1954)'s four conditions for positive intergroup contacts as an initial guide to prepare my research instruments such as classroom observation protocol even though they were not limited to Allport's four favourable conditions for positive intergroup contacts. Bringing Bourdieu and Allport together is a contribution made through this study. Most importantly, these insights arose from this qualitative study in situ. Identification of the "socially situated conditions" that are conducive for inclusive social capital generation is a key contribution to BE programme in Sri Lanka in particular, and any context where education system be used as a tool of reconciliation.

Moreover, bringing together Bourdieu's sociological standpoint and Allport's psychological standpoint is a kind of metanoia; a rupturing of the pre-given – following Bourdieu's epistemological stance of breaking dichotomy of psychological and sociological stances. In fact, this study reflected that they complemented and resonated with each other. This study shows how these two aspects – psycho and social are interconnected and the structuring nature of these two structured structures dialectical to each other – habitus and field. In fact, according to this study, Bourdieu's sociological perspective, theory of practice, supports and elaborates the psychological standpoint on individuals' social identity positioning or their preference for a particular group membership. This study discussed how Bourdieu's ontological stance as an overarching theory explains why social identity of individuals generates; that it is not a complete rational choice but induced by socially situated conditions/logic of practice/objective structures in a given field.

Additionally, the findings of this study indicate that Bourdieu's perspectives of socio-psycho dialectics may shed light on ecological theories of language acquisition (Larsen-Freeman, 1997; Kramsh, 2007). I believe that ecological theories of language learning that is more or less based on sociocultural theories of learning could be better explained using Bourdieusian conceptual tools and the theory of practice in terms of investment in linguistic capitals. This study shows it is not only the capital values ascribed to each linguistic capital in a social field that shapes investment in learning of languages. The individuals' historically acquired dispositions towards those linguistic capitals – linguistic habitus, also shape investment in languages. We also

noticed participant students' "ability not only to approximate or appropriate for oneself someone else's language, but also shape the very context in which the language is learned and used" – symbolic competence (Kramsch, 2007, p. 400). Considering these perspectives in English language teaching in Sri Lanka may help find remedial measures to continuous failure of English language teaching in Sri Lanka. At present, after ten years of learning English as a subject in the core curriculum students cannot talk a few sentences in English (NEC, 1997; Wijesekera, 2011/2012). This study confirms that the social conditions in the multiethnic/multilingual BE pedagogy in Sri Lanka is a rich environment for language acquisition when acquisition of language is considered from an ecological perspective.

This study shows the vital role that BE can play in terms of social cohesion among the ethnic groups in Sri Lanka. It is vital that a sense of solidarity is felt among the peoples of a country that creates a 'supraethnic national identity' irrespective of their ethnic origin (Rubdy, 2005). Based on the findings, this study poses questions on language policy in educational planning in one country that may be important for other countries with similar ethnolinguistic contexts and experiences. For Sri Lanka itself, several questions remain: Is it worth continuing this divided school system that was introduced long ago, resultant from struggles of linguicism between the Sinhalese and Tamil speaking activists in the pursuit of enhancing capital values for the respective mother tongues? Hasn't the time come to seriously think about establishing bi-media classrooms where BE is offered for the sake of social integration? I suggest that policy makers are yet to understand that unless language in education is used for reconciliation processes, it is doubtful any other process of reconciliation would be sustainable. If the formal education system continues to inculcate and perpetuate ethnolinguistic division, then there is no other place where Sri Lankan children's 'primary habitus' acquired in early socialization, which is usually ethnocentric as evident in this study, can be realigned towards inclusive supraethnic national identity.

With regard to available multiethnic schools, neither the policy makers nor most of the stakeholders understand yet the vital capacity of the BE pedagogy with respect to the present reconciliation process. In fact, in referring to BE students in multiethnic schools, one of the top policy makers asked me during the interviews, "How can we use this (BE) group to build ethnic harmony? I don't think. Very small group, isn't it? Say only 50,000 [actual figure is 80,000] out of 4 million... that is a very small group". To me, neglecting the more than 80,000 students who undertake BE, is unjust and

unhelpful for the future of the country. More importantly, the views of bureaucrats are not based on any empirical research, and such research is not available in Sri Lanka, except for this study to the best of my knowledge. This study contributes to fill this gap by helping the policy makers to see the actual circumstances at the ground level. The Sri Lankan government and other donor agencies are spending a lot of money on short term 'patch work' reconciliation disregarding the vital capacity of BE programme in enhancing ethnic cohesion. It is hoped that this study will provide important leadership in this matter following the dissemination of the findings. The government should seriously consider establishing secular (multiethnic) schools where all media is available – Sinhala medium, Tamil medium and Bilingual Education (English medium) at least in areas where multiethnic populations live.

Despite its critical stance, this study did not take any educative attempts to modify the realities in the BE pedagogy. However, during the interviews and focus group discussions, I noticed critical reflection in some participants in this study, especially with regard to teachers and other stakeholders. For instance, it will be recalled from Chapter 7, that the MOE official understood that their teacher awareness/professional development programmes had not been able to achieve the set targets. In fact, they requested from me the names of the schools so that they can arrange teacher professional development programmes. Another example is the NIE official declared that they are willing to offer special teacher education programmes for the BE teachers in multiethnic schools. It is worth appreciating the humbleness of both MOE and NIE officials who considered positively what was revealed by me in the discussion we had during the semi-structured interviews. Another example was that for some teachers, the interview with me became an awareness-raising discussion on theoretical underpinnings of BE programme of Sri Lanka and its practical level applications and teaching/learning approach including CLIL and techniques such as code-switching, translanguaging, and the value of team teaching.

In returning to Sri Lanka, one of the academic assignments I am required to engage with is to make arrangements to commence the offering of a new course for teachers - the Postgraduate Diploma in Bilingual Education. This is the very first postgraduate level, BE teacher professional development programme in Sri Lanka designed for Sri Lankan BE teachers which has now received University Grants Commission approval. The knowledge, understandings and insights I have gained through this study will be

invaluable in designing the course which I hope, will contribute to a substantial and effective programme. Among many, one such important aspect is incorporating key principles of positive "socially situated conditions" that should prevail in the BE pedagogy as revealed in this study - use of languages, teachers'/school authorities' involvement in creating equal status, intergroup acquaintance. Another is to address lack of awareness of theoretical and practical underpinnings of BE among the teachers as this study showed.

This study also contributed to my personal 'salvation' and provided resolutions for many professional and personal philosophical dilemmas in my life. For instance, Bourdieu's "new gaze" at things and beings has been a kind of renaissance. I started to be more reflective than acting in a taken-for-granted or *doxic* manner as an academic, an educator, a researcher, a Sinhalese, a Sri Lankan, a global citizen, a mother, wife, sister – infinite systems of dispositions or identity positions in me.

8.4 LIMITATIONS

The present study is not without its limitations and there are several limitations that warrant mentioning. This study cannot show a direct correlation between the impact of multiethnic BE pedagogy on ethnic habitus transformation of the students. For such an exploration, a comparative study should be conducted to compare the ethnic habitus of the BE students in monoethnic schools with that of BE students in multiethnic schools which may be done through quantitative means. It was deemed more important at this juncture in Sri Lanka's BE programme history to explore the particular research questions chosen. In addition, the scope of the study was already sufficient for a PhD project in order to achieve timely completion. Three schools in this study were one 1AB National School, a mixed-gender 1AB Provincial Council school in a remote area, and a government assisted Catholic school. My intention was to make the sample as representative as possible, which is achieved to a certain extent though it is not a requirement of qualitative interpretivist studies. It brought a wide array of perspectives from different contexts to the study. Even though the findings of this study might be similar in the same type of schools, the results cannot be generalized. The present study is a qualitative study whose findings are situational, and the reported experiences of the participants were interpreted by me within the stated parameters of credibility and trustworthiness discussed in Chapter 4. I invite

other researchers to make judgments on the transferability of the present study to their contexts. Future researchers may especially adapt the present study's methodological and theoretical aspects to their own situations of similar concerns, so as to have a new gaze on 'social conditions and conditioning' (Larsen, 2015, p.2) - but in their own *modus operandi* because "a particular case that is well constructed ceases to be particular" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 77)

The knowledge produced in this thesis came into being through my analysis, my interpretation and my reporting. Hence, what is reported in this thesis is a "relational reality" of one interpretation of "reality" or may be partial reality. I am aware that the predisposed dispositions that I have acquired historically and socially might have shaped what has been disseminated in this thesis. I have attempted to reduce this limitation in many ways: firstly, through participant triangulation that is bringing perspectives of different participants such as students, teachers, parents and other stakeholders to the study; secondly through instrument triangulation via use of different instruments such as classroom observation, audio-recordings, focus group discussions, and semi-structured interviews; and, thirdly via researcher reflexivity. My previous experience in multiethnic and multilingual social spaces as a student, teacher, and lecturer; and also as a PhD student in the multicultural Australian society helped to reduce the "partiality' or limitedness of "truth" reported in this thesis. I acknowledge that it is a limitation of the study.

8.5 FUTURE RESEARCH

There are many aspects that arose through the analysis of data in this study which I did not discuss in this thesis due to its required scope. For instance, this study provides data with strong evidence for ecological theories of language acquisition and learning. Moreover, there is much potential in evaluation of language Related Episodes - LREs (Swain & Lapkin, 2001; Wijesekera, 2012) in classroom interaction in terms of both language learning and content knowledge scaffolding. Moreover, translanguaging data affirm learning strategies in the bilingual and multilingual classrooms (Garcia, 2009; García, Johnson, & Seltzer, 2017; Baker & Wright, 2017;

McKenny, 2017; Pennycook, 2017) which warrant fresh analysis of existing data and gathering of new data.

It could be efficacious to do interventionist research to mediate classroom learning for ethnic habitus transformation. I recommend that such an intervention should engage in "[p]lanning and providing positive lived experience...for triggering the necessary disequilibrium for reviewing habitus" through Mediated Learning Experiences (Feuerstein, R & Feurerstein, S. 1991 cited in Cross & Naidoo, 2012, p.228). Furthermore, such interventionist Action Research has the potential to be used as BE teacher professional development while employing mediated learning for students' identity realigning towards more supraethnic identity. Also, the positive teaching /learning practices that were traced in this research (see Chapter 6) could be utilized as a guide to intervention techniques.

Both non-government and government agencies spend a lot of money on reconciliation in Sri Lanka. As I mentioned above, it is doubtful that "patch work" such as bringing Tamil and Sinhala students together for a few days and engaging them in a few activities would do much in ethnic habitus transformation. Because the "process of inculcation...must last long enough to produce durable training, *i.e.,* a habitus [that transcend ethnocentrism]" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, p. 31, my addition). Also, it is utopian thinking that the government will establish new multiethnic schools in the country. As such, I recommend that both government and non-government agencies that work hard for reconciliation should initiate a substantial student exchange programme on which research can be conducted. Such a programme would bring BE students from monoethnic schools in the area together in one BE classroom in a roster system, as it is done within the school in Raveendranath College in this study. For instance, BE students from a Tamil medium school could be accommodated in a BE classroom in a Sinhala medium school which are located in the same area. If hostel facilities are available in these schools, this initiative could be expanded to schools that are situated far from each other.

The original idea of my PhD research was for a mixed-method study. The original idea was to gather empirical data using Multicultural Attitude Scale Questionnaire (MASQUE) with a non-probability proportional quota sample of student population from MTI students in single media schools and BE students. The

idea was to compare their attitudes towards ethnic diversity; ethnic identity; sensitivity to diversity; willingness to accept equal opportunities for all irrespective of ethnicity. I hope to do this quantitative part as a post-doctoral study.

Another important aspect is that the 'policy' decision-making process should not be limited to making a decision and sending out circulars and then forgetting everything. In this study, it was noticeable that no monitoring of how these policies work at grassroots level is carried out. Had such practices existed the government would not have banned separate classrooms for BE students in multiethnic schools. Neither would teachers have been ill-informed of teaching/learning approach to BE, use of languages in the BE class, as revealed in this study. Therefore, it is pertinent that the policy makers should constantly evaluate how policy works in classrooms and why. They may then be able to amend existing policies or take new decisions. It is pertinent that policies should not be made in a haphazard manner based on anecdotal accounts, as was the case in banning separate classes for BE students. Policies need to be based on research and research on implementation of such policies can enable the cycle to continue.

8.6. CHAPTER CONCLUSION

In summary, this study provides a comprehensive and significant understanding of the BE programme in Sri Lanka and how it can shape students' ethnolinguistic identities. In particular, this study shows the potential of the multiethnic BE classroom as a potential site of ethnic reconciliation in Sri Lanka and other like contexts. The study also presented both positive practices and practices that should be avoided not only in the BE pedagogy at implementation level but also at policy making level. It is anticipated that findings of this study sheds light on BE programmes in similar contexts elsewhere.

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Appendices

APPENDIX A: CLASSROOM OBSERVATION PROTOCOL/GUIDE & RATIONALE

Rationale for Observation Protocol

Richard (2011) describes four approaches to data collection during classroom observation *viz.* seating charts, checklists, field notes and narrative summary. Seating charts focus only on arrangement of desks, position of the teacher, teacher questioning and vice versa and therefore have limited focus. Even though the checklists provide clear focus for observers, "they can only be used for certain aspects of a lesson, such as features that are easy to count, and should focus on only one or two aspects of the lesson" (p.94) during an observation session. Therefore, the observer should decide what particular aspect/s of the checklist would be on focus during a particular lesson. Moreover, checklists are mostly used for classroom observation by teacher-educators or supervisors mainly for evaluation/assessment of teachers by tallying teachers' action with targeted specific actions expected of teachers which are pre-determined by 'authorities'. My intention of observation for this study is not evaluation/assessment of classroom teaching, but to explore what occurs in varied BE classrooms. Highly structured and pre-determined checklists assume that a rigid set of occurrences take place in every classroom irrespective of varied contextual realities. This view also contrasts with my epistemological and ontological stances in this study where I believe reality is socially constructed, transcontextual and subjective, which requires a descriptive approach to observation.

Field notes, on the other hand, allow the observer to describe key events during the lessons which may be time based. Narrative summary allows the observer to make written account of main things that occur during the lessons. This is to capture "as much information as possible" without "any evaluation" (p. 95). For my classroom observations in this study my intention is to capture realities in the classroom with an open mind. Therefore, I will use a combination of field notes and narrative summary as given above. However, my focus will be following three themes which are the foci of research question 1, guided by Bourdieusian conceptual tools and levels of analysis of a field. To recognize individual student during observation, each individual student will be requested to wear a number (code) assigned.

Observation Protocol/fieldnotes (No.....)

School/ Class: Period/Date:........./.........................

Subject: Lesson: ....

1. Seating arrangements: who are with whom (Draw)

Areas focused/Observations to be guided under

2. **Intergroup Relations**
   a. How interaction takes place generally among students (without teacher directions), when and why (Examples and remarks)
   b. Any individuals/groups leads the class: who, when and why (Examples and remarks)
3. **How does the teacher create opportunities for intergroup /intra-group interaction**
   a. Teacher directed Group formation/engagements: composition of groups (ethnic), cooperative/collaborative groups, who are competing with whom (Examples and remarks)
   b. Facilitating (or not) interaction between students of different ethnicities - which ways/actions (Examples and remarks)
4. **Language and interaction** (simultaneous audio-recording in progression so cross checking in compilation and in analysis)
   a. Overall, how different languages are used and encouraged in the class by the teacher: in lessons, interaction, activities (Examples and remarks)
   b. Who is talking to whom, when, which language/s (Examples and remarks)
   c. Which language/s dominates interaction- between who, for which purposes

Events, actions, descriptions, remarks and reflections

Teacher	Student/s

Example

Observation 01

1. **Background information**

School: South | Period: 03/21 Tues

Subject: Civics | Lesson: Disasters

2. **Seating arrangements**

Peace / Harmony	Co-operation (Olympus)
Peace: S T S S / M M S; Harmony: S M S S / S S T S	S S S / S S T
Unity – (my Olympus) – B/08/09 T T T S M S	Brotherhood- (Sony) T M T S S S S

Teacher	Students
Starts the lesson by asking questions. Discuss about floods and landslides recently occurred in the country.	Give answers in chorus
Names two T students and asks them to come forward to the WB to paste the definition written in English – "An event that causes a lot of harm or damage" – teacher pre-prepared. Asks students to read the definition	Two Tamil students paste Whole class read in chorus
Names 2 S students to paste the definition written in Tamil Asks Tamil students to read it	Tamil students read in chorus Some other students (S) try to read, listen attentively, try to repeat
Name two Tamil students to paste the definition in Sinhala	As students to read. All most all students read irrespective of ethnicity
Asks what can be the today's topic Gets a student to paste the English term disasters Asks for Tamil equivalent Asks for Sinhala equivalent	Sts name "Disasters" Tamil sts provide the equivalent Students (mainly S but T/M also provide
Asks T sts to paste the Tamil term for disaster Asks S st to paste the Sinhala term Gets sts to read all three	All students irrespective of ethnicity either read or try to read all three Disaster, Anakkam, apadava
Classifies disasters (natural and manmade) and simultaneously ask for Tamil and Sinhala equivalents for different categories he gives in English	Provides equivalents (T/M- Tamil, S-Sinhala)
8.00 Instructions for group work. Get sts to count 1-5	Get into groups and group members moves to teacher assigned places to respective groups

Comment [HDW1]: So no deliberate or explicit instructions to be in ethnically heterogeneous groups. So students got into groups as they wished. But seems groups became somewhat ethnically heterogeneous in the way the groups were formed

Distributes pre-prepared tasks written in Bristol boards. Each group is given a name written in these task sheets. Name is written in all three languages Asks each group to read the group's name	Each group say their name (harmony, unity, peace, brotherhood, co-operation) Group members read Sinhala and Tamil equivalents
Explain the tasks – write definition of each type of disaster – e.g. floods, droughts First in English then Tamil and finally in Sinhala	All write English version. Sinhala students appear helpless in writing Tamil version. Yet they appear interested. Tamil and Muslim students together with Sinhala students write the Sinhala versions
Goes round the class and help	Students sometimes calls the teacher and ask questions to verify
Asks groups to present	One by one all groups present. Each member is given a role

Remarks

Lesson is on "Disasters". Overall the lesson engaged students in from lower order (definition) to higher order critical thinking. By questioning teacher got students involve in in-depth engagement by making connections to related concepts (tsunami, recent landslides, droughts, recent floods) as well as to day today experiences by asking questions so that the students provide example from their own country.

Teacher was able to maintain very cooperative atmosphere within the whole period. S, T and M students worked together talked to each other (mainly in Sinhala). Students of different ethnic origins worked to achieve a common goal. Students also wanted to complete the given task before the other groups. Hence there were motivation resulted from friendly competition.

There were intergroup interactions also where students sought help from other groups.

The activities used by the teacher (especially translations or finding equivalents in own MT) promoted inter ethnic dialogue, acquisition of intercultural skills and vocabulary (harmony, unity, peace, etc) i.e. inductive learning.

Classroom atmosphere appeared respect towards all students by the teacher and also among students; active participation of all ethnic groups was directly and explicitly promoted by the teacher through activities and questioning. Students' ideas and contributions were valued.

The translanguaging opportunities directly promoted by the activities.
The whole class atmosphere was a kind of appreciation of diversity, was democratic and encouraged student participation. Interaction within the groups and between the groups reflected co-operative and collaborative relationships respectively.

Even though teacher promotes use of all three languages among students he uses only English

Comment [HDW2]: At the end I asked the teacher why he used these terms since they have no connection to the lesson in hand. These themes are related to the preceding unit they have done

Comment [HDW3]: Teacher should have discussed the similarity or close relationship of Sinhala and Tamil words

Comment [HDW4]: For instance, in Unity who were beside me, Sinhala sts ask Tamil words and they should be pronounced.

Comment [HDW5]: There were also intergroup interactions. I overheard students seeking help especially in finding tamil and Sinhala equivalents for English words

Comment [HDW6]: I overheard how students in groups rehearsed what they are to say. How each part was assigned to each student by discussion/negotiation among group members

Comment [HDW7]: Overall students were helping their group members
The students from minority (T/S) appear leading some groups
I may attribute two reasons for this
1. They are capable of handling all three languages most of the times
2. They seem more proficient in English also.

Comment [HDW8]: I wonder if minority students are taking lead in groups – why – But they use either English or Sinhalese not their MT – two good questions to ask – what opinion teachers have in this regards?

Comment [HDW9]: Why? Good question to ask during semi-structured interviews?

APPENDIX B: PROBING QUESTIONS FOR FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION

Focus Group Discussion Protocol

Topic: "Our experience in BE classroom and beyond: friends, groups, relations and languages"

Procedure:

1. **Before the commencement of actual discussion**
   a. The participants will be given paper and pen in case they prefer to write some remarks/comments. They will be requested to write the same number badge on written comments.
   b. Icebreaker activity and simultaneously refreshments are served.
   c. Moderator/Researcher welcomes the participants.
   d. Explain ground rules: duration (60-90 minutes), audio recordings, importance of everyone's participation, no right or wrong opinions but what is important is every one's personal experiences and opinions, speak whether agree or disagree on an opinion/s. etc.
   e. Reiterate that they remain anonymous since no bio information is needed; their opinions are kept confidential, what they said stays in the room, so convince them to feel comfortable and relaxed.

2. **Actual discussion:**

i. Engagement question: Why did you choose to study in the Bilingual education?

ii. Exploration questions (Probes):

Question	Analysis Level Focus
What feelings, experiences and opinions did you have about Muslim/Sinhala/Tamil students before you joined BE education programmes? Were they same or different?	*ethnic/racial habitus*
Are your feelings and opinions about them same or different now? What are your opinions and experiences about having them in your BE class?	*changes in ethnic or racialized habitus*
How do you prefer to be in a group? Would you prefer to be in a group where all students (Muslim/Sinhala/Tamil) work together? Why?	*ethnic habitus/ethnically based collective habitus and/or new un/less-Racialized collective habitus*
Any changes in your friendship groups in relation to their ethnicity (e.g. Facebook friends, friends in school, and outside) after becoming a student in the bilingual classroom?	*ethnic habitus and collective habitus based on ethnicity and/or new un/less-Racialized collective habitus*
What are your opinions about use of different languages (English, Sinhala and Tamil) in the BE classrooms?	*linguistic capital* *legitimate linguistic capital* *positioning in BE field*
What are your opinions about the role of different languages in the BE classes?	*contribution of linguistic capitals to new un/less-racialized collective habitus or to social capital*

iii. Exit questions:
   a. Is there anything else you would like to add to this discussion?

Thank participants and leave taking.

APPENDIX C: PROBING QUESTIONS FOR SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS WITH TEACHERS

Probing questions: Semi-structured interviews with BE Teachers

**These questions were used only as a guide but the spoken discourse was co-constructed by the researcher and the other participant (teacher)*

1. *Setting the scene:* How do you define the aims of bilingual education program? What strategies do you use to achieve these aims in your classroom teaching? What opportunities and barriers are there? (*E.g.* institutional barriers, language)? Can you elaborate on this example?

2. How do you group students for these activities, any technique, why? : Group composition: e.g. ability, ethnic homo/heterogeneity

3. In which ways do the students in your BE classes form groups when given the choice? Who prefers to work/play with whom? Why?

4. Do you notice any differences between interethnic relations among Sinhala, Tamil and Muslim students in BE classes, and that of students in monolingual classes? Can you elaborate your answer with examples?

5. Overall, what are your opinions about the students of different ethnic groups in the BE class? For instance, students' participation in teaching/learning? Are there similarities and differences with regard to classroom performances, cooperation, language issues, etc.?

6. How does English as a medium of instruction and the other two National Languages play out with regard to relations among Muslim, Sinhala and Tamil students in BE classes and in the school in general

7. At policy level BE classrooms should promote English and also students' mother tongue by using all languages in classroom activities (bilingualism and biliteracy). What is your opinion about this?

8. Would you like to express any other opinion or comment

Question	Analysis Focus
1	Teachers' dispositions about BE pedagogic field and logic of practice
2	Relations between agents: how relations between agents are legitimized
3	Students' ethnic habitus are they ethnocentric : how authority sees it
4	Agent's habitus, relations between agents and changes in ethnicised habitus
5	Recognition, legitimization of different groups by authority
6	Linguistic market in the BE pedagogy, positioning of individuals/groups, what is legitimized use of languages and actual use
7	How values to linguistic capitals in the BE pedagogic *field* are determined by wider field of language

APPENDIX D: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS WITH STAKEHOLDERS – PROBING QUESTIONS

Probing Questions: Semi-Structured Interviews with Additional Stakeholders

**These questions were used only as a guide but the spoken discourse was co-constructed by the researcher and the other participant (Stakeholder)*

1. Setting the scene: How do you define the aims of Bilingual Education programme? What steps have been taken by you and the institution to achieve these aims?

2. What steps are taken, implemented and monitored to achieve the second aim of BE programme *i.e.* social harmony between different ethnic groups using English as a link, what progress has been made, what pitfalls, barriers; what remedial measures are taken at policy and grassroots levels?

3. Could you explain the expected professional knowledge and skills of content subject teachers who teach in English in the BE programme (for example, education/training given to them), especially in relation to use of different languages and grouping in a multiethnic BE classroom?

4. How do you see the importance of different languages to students (namely English, Sinhala and Tamil)? Could you elaborate your answer with examples?

5. What are your opinions about the relations among the students of different ethnicities in MTI or monolingual, compared to BE classrooms?

6. Any other comments you would like to express pertaining to BE programme, languages and social harmony in the country in relation to education system?

Question	Analysis Focus
1	BE pedagogic field in relation to other fields: Institutional habitus: BE pedagogic field in relation to other fields
2	Institutional habitus & impact on BE pedagogic field
3	What teaching/learning practices in the BE pedagogy are institutionally required and legitimized
4	Linguistic markets in the BE pedagogic field in relation to other fields Institutional habitus - explicit/implicit institutional legitimization of languages and social capital or collective supraethnic habitus in groups categorized by ethnicity
5	Ethnocentric and/or inclusive supraethnic habitus in the institution/school How authorities can facilitate change of racialized habitus in the country through education (wider field where BE field a part)

APPENDIX E: TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

Adapted from VOICE: Vienna Oxford International Corpus of English Transcription Conventions [2.1]

Speaker Identities	
Student1, Student2 or S1, S2	Speakers were numbered in order the spoke in the discourse
Ss	When an utterance is build up in unison by more than one speaker
Non English Utterances	
Sinhala student*:<L1> ekiyanne mokakakda demalen<L1>*{Sinhala student asks in Sinhala - "What is it in Tamil"}	Utterances in a speaker's first/cultural language (L1) are presented between tags indicating L1
Tamil student*: <L1> Enna? <L1> <NL2>Ahithakara minis Kriya<NL2>* [What is it unfavourable human activities?]	Utterances produced in speaker's Second National Language 2NL i.e., Sinhala for Tamils and vice versa are presented between tags indicating 2NL
Enna? <L1> <NL2>Ahithakara minis Kriya<NL2> [What is it unfavourable human activities?]	English translations of either Sinhala or Tamil are given with square brackets []
Tamil student*: <L1> Enna? <L1> <NL2>Ahithakara minis Kriya<NL2>* [What is it unfavourable human activities?] **{**This student notices that the word 'unfavourable' is missing in the translation and therefore highlighting the absence of the same and simultaneously trying to elicit the word from his peers**}**	Other important contextual information is given between curly brackets{ }

APPENDIX F: STEPS TAKEN TO MAINTAIN RESEARCHER INTEGRITY

Steps taken to maintain researcher integrity: Ethical considerations

i. Firstly and most importantly, throughout the data collection process, I tried make myself be always conscious that I understand and respect participants' right to decline their involvement in the study, and their participation was exclusively voluntary.

ii. Furthermore, even if they agreed to participate, with informed consent, they had the right to quit at any stage of the study.

iii. Participants' informed consent was drawn in writing in their own preferred language (English/Sinhala/Tamil). They were explained orally as well in writing about general aims of the present research to the extent it will not harm normal setting and practices of the participants. In case of children, their parents' written informed consent was sought.

iv. I also understood participants' right to inquire about any matter/issue of their concern related to the study during field work and thereafter. I encouraged and facilitated such information seeking as a part of this study which was of reciprocal benefit – on the part of research such openness enhanced trust between the researcher and other participants, eased away possible anxieties protecting their rights while facilitating emergence of new themes for discussions.

v. Given the fact that the foci of the study is fairly sensitive and its political nature the study respected anonymity of all participants including their schools and hence use pseudonyms throughout the research process and afterwards in an event of dissemination of findings in conferences or forums, so as to prevent the participants and their schools from any unconstructive wash-back effects.

vi. Use of Bourdieusian thinking tools to minimize biases – These tools provide meta-language or thinking tools that would minimize possible misinterpretations not only of social realities but also language itself since both the vehicle and destination mainly being language itself in this study.

vii. Having explicitly recognizing my potential misrecognitions and therefore question of legitimacy of the study mainly contributed by my ways of perceiving and interpreting social realities in the *field*. In addition, I also believed that since this study is theory led, the Bourdieusian conceptual tools and his three levels of analysis might minimize such biases to a certain extent. The directions of my three supervisors' whose opinions might have been neutral than mine since they are 'outsiders' i.e. not from my country (I am mindful that I am a member of the majority ethnolinguistic group) had been very vital for the maintenance of trustworthiness and credibly and hence legitimacy of conclusions.

viii. Through the above means, I attempted to maintain both 'internal integrity' and 'external integrity' (Glen, 2000) through a reflexive nature of gaze at social realities of BE pedagogic *field*. I believe such a monitoring process supported maintaining a balance between my split *habituses* - as an "agent embedded in a scientific practice in the scientific *field"* (Larsen, 2015, p.2) and as an agent embedded in the majority ethnolinguistic group among many others.