CHAPTER III

3.0.0 PLANNING AND ORGANIZATION-1

3.1.0 Selection of Industries

Ideally, the planning and organization of a survey of the present kind should be undertaken by a team of workers each of whom is allotted a particular task. The progress of the project depends on each member's report on the particular task he performs. This study, however, is of an exploratory nature and has been conducted by the present researcher with a view to discovering suitable procedures for a similar survey which could be conducted on a larger scale.

3.1.1 Criteria for Selection of Industries

Having determined the professional context, i.e. industries, and the user of English, i.e. the employee in industries I made a selection of industries. It was influenced by the following general considerations:

(a) Different types of industries, in terms of structure and management i.e. public sector, private sector, and the size might reflect corresponding differences in language behaviour and in attitudes towards English.

(b) The location of industries in terms of the area (North/South/East/west) and the extent of development,
urbanization etc. of the area (city/small town) might be an important factor affecting language use in general and English in particular.

(c) As a corollary to (b) the range of an organization's business transactions (intra-State/inter-State, intra-national/international) might determine the quantum of English used by its employees for intra/inter-organizational communication.

On the basis of these considerations 4 industrial organizations, 2 public sector undertakings and 2 private sector undertakings, in the developed and industrially advanced city of Hyderabad were selected. The criteria for the selection of these were:

(a) The organization should as far as possible be representative of a number of large public sector/private sector undertakings in the country.

(b) Alternatively, it should have branches in other parts of the country so that chances of its having employees from different parts of India would be greater.

(c) Each industrial organization should manufacture a different product so that as far as possible a variety of organizations is covered.

The four industrial organizations located in Kurnool District (A.P.) were included in the study on the basis of the following criteria:
(a) In contrast to an industrially developed city like Hyderabad, which is not representative of the industrially backward State of A.P., it was considered necessary that an industrially backward district in the State be selected for envisaged differences in language behaviour.

(b) The industries be located in small towns with a population of not more than 2½ lakhs in contrast with industries in a large city like Hyderabad which has a population of 27.91 lakhs (1971 census).

(c) The organizations selected be representative of the main industries of those towns.

The industries selected for the study according to the type of industry and its location, are shown in Figure 1. Apart from classification into type and location of industries, detailed information regarding the history, the communication patterns of industries, the facilities made available to employees in each industry, the extent of their contact with other organizations was obtained. This provided me with a clue to the range of communication of the employees, and to the situation-types in which they generally communicated with each other within the organization and outside.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Industry</th>
<th>Public</th>
<th>Private</th>
<th>Rural (Small Town)</th>
<th>Urban</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ECIL</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. HMT</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. WHL</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. IDL</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. SRPM</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Kothari (Madras) Ltd.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Rayalaseema Spinning and Ginning Mills</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Yemmiganur Co-op. Weavers' Society</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1: Industrial Organizations selected for the Study.

3.1.2 General Observations

The information obtained regarding each of the organizations* in the study is indicative of

(a) the availability of a common set of facilities to all factory employees irrespective of type of industry or its location according to the provisions in the Indian Factory Act. Amenities other than the ones available to all factory employees vary from organization to

*See Appendix-F.
organization depending on the type of organization and its management. Public sector undertakings for instance, provide accommodation for their employees so that each undertaking has what is called a 'colony'. Private sector undertakings, however, by and large do not have this arrangement. On the whole, though there are similarities between the organizations, no two organizations are identical. The situation-types that emerged as common to the employees in most of the organizations were, the office, the canteen and a get-together. Communication in the office was most frequent. In the canteen there was very little communication because the total amount of time spent in the canteen per day was not more than half an hour. A get-together was less frequent as well, because get-togethers of the employees were few and far between.

(b) the difference in the size and number of employees of the public and the private sector undertakings. The public sector undertakings are on the whole larger and have a larger number of employees than the private sector undertakings.

(c) the smaller number of functions as represented by designations in the private industries particularly in the rural areas.
(d) the wider range of communication of the employees in the industrial organizations located in Hyderabad. These organizations have contacts and a clientele both in the Indian and the international markets. The employees' use of language would vary according to the people they communicate with. They would be required to know and use a large number of languages — an Indian language in addition to the mother tongue, English and/or a foreign language. The organizations in Kurnool on the other hand, cater to the Indian market mainly and so communicate with the Indian customer. Hence a knowledge of English would not be imperative and its use would be restricted. A knowledge of an Indian language in addition to the mother tongue would, however be an advantage. It would facilitate communication with people from other parts of the country. In some cases only the mother tongue was required for communication, for example, the weaver need not use any other Indian language apart from the mother tongue.

3.1.4 Constraints

(a) Contact with people who knew members of the higher management in an organization was a necessary requisite for initial access to its premises and for the subsequent cooperation of its management and employees. Even a
letter of introduction regarding the researcher and the nature of her research was not effective. This restricted the range of selection of a sample to those industries the Management of which could be approached through contacts. So the entire selection was not made in the beginning but spread over a length of time.

(b) Limited time for investigation restricted the selection of industries to a smaller number and range.

(c) Though an attempt was made to include a number of types of industries (private, public, co-operative, small-scale, joint sector) it was not possible, owing to (a) and (b) above, to give each type equal representation. Small scale industries and co-operative societies, for instance, have not been included in the sample from the urban area of Hyderabad.

(d) A term such as 'rural', though useful for the purpose of contrast to 'urban', cannot, according to the strict definition of the word, be used to describe the industries selected from the semi-urban taluks of Kurnool district. The sample does not include industries from a 'rural' area for the following reasons:

(1) A rural area defined in terms of a comparatively small population and an absence of the infra-structure required for urban development naturally does
not have large or medium scale industries. Cottage industries which are the most common in a village are so small that they normally do not have more than 5 or 6 workers. Thus the population is too small for the selection of a sample. Moreover each village has only a few such industries to choose from.

(2) As the focus of the present project is on the use of English, it would not have been worthwhile selecting a sample from villages where English is not used at all.

3.2.0 PLANNING AND ORGANIZATION-II

3.2.1 Sampling Procedure

(1) Criteria

A representative sample according to Johnson (1977:143), "has characteristics which are similar to the population from which the sample was drawn". The representativeness of a sample "is almost always more significant than size". He makes it clear that though guidelines on the size of the sample may be desirable, no rule is to be found in deciding this. Keeping in mind the importance of the quality of a sample, therefore, I decided that in order to have a fair representation of the functions and positions of employees in industries four functional categories i.e. scientific research,
marketing, production and administration, and three positional categories i.e., managerial, middle managerial, and supervisory, and possibly a fourth i.e. workers' category, be considered for the selection of a sample. This meant that the sample would comprise about 400 employees.

It was, however, found that (a) there was no clear cut distinction between position and function and the same person played two or more roles e.g. a production manager could at the same time be a scientist or an engineer. A scientist could at the same time be the head of a department. The choice of language by an employee playing a multiple role would naturally be influenced by the role he plays in any given situation-type; (b) a few industries e.g. Warner Hindustan Limited had only the production division in Hyderabad and the marketing division in Bombay. Hence it was difficult to use these four functional categories as a basis for the selection of a sample. As we shall see below, it was more feasible to consider two broad functional categories and three broad positional categories as a basis for the selection. The method of stratified random sampling (Van Dalen 1979:133) was used to select subjects from the list of officers on the factory roles according to the following criteria.

(a) There should be a fair representation of the functions of the employees in their organization along the horizontal axis i.e. employees of the same rank but with different functions.
(b) There should be a fair representation of the positions held by the employees along the vertical axis, i.e. employees at different levels in the hierarchy.

According to criterion (a) the functions of the employees were considered under two main heads -- Line, i.e. employees directly related to production, and staff, i.e. employees indirectly related to production (Kempner 1971, 1976, 1980: 230).

The second criterion emerged directly from a division of employees according to their function in an organization. The positions held by employees according to the functions were roughly as follows:

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Staff</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Executive Directors</td>
<td>General Managers, Personnel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief Engineers</td>
<td>Managers, Secretaries,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(General Managers)</td>
<td>Senior Accounts Officers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Engineers,</td>
<td>PROs, Senior Accountants,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Technical</td>
<td>Librarians, Welfare Officers,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Officers</td>
<td>Statisticians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Security Officers, Assistant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PROs, Clerks, Stenographers,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Typists.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

Middle Management
Junior Management
Senior Management
Middle Management
Junior Management
These were considered under three main points along the vertical axis, i.e. Senior management, Middle management and Junior management. On the basis of the assumption that decision-making in an organization takes place above the supervisors' level and that the maximum amount of inter level and intra level interaction is likely to take place above that level I considered it suitable to make the supervisors' level the cut off point for the selection of respondents, and to exclude the workers from the sample. Preliminary observation of interaction between workers on the shop-floor had confirmed my hunch that verbal interaction was rare and when it took place it was scarcely ever in English. The reason for this is that the lower we go in the hierarchy the more we find that there is a movement in the direction of either no language or telegraphic language or a local language for communication.

Other important variables that I considered essential for the selection of the respondents were, age, education, medium of instruction, mother tongue or first language. Given the employment statistics relating to women, I felt that it was not possible to have a systematic sampling of women workers in the various categories.

3.2.2 (ii) Methodological constraints

(a) Registers with background information of the employees in each organization were not made available to me either
because there was no single register from which all the information required could be obtained or because all such information was considered confidential and therefore not disclosed to any outsider. As a result of this I had to discuss my requirements for the selection of respondents with the Public Relations Officer who was to give me a list of employees according to those requirements.

(b) The variables were so many that it was not possible to select each employee on the basis of a simple combination of all of them. Selection on the basis of even my two main criteria i.e., function and position, was constrained by the nonavailability of an officer for interview at a particular time. A number of officers, supervisors spent the greater part of their time on rounds of the factory or at meetings.

(c) The constraint on availability of officers greatly reduced the number of employees I could select my respondents from. This was largely owing to the fact that the survey was being conducted by one researcher only with limited resources in terms of time, equipment, and man power.

(d) The designations in different organizations had different values in terms of functions and positions. The position of an employee in the hierarchical order was determined by the individual organization. Thus a supervisor in an urban organization was placed in the lower management
whereas a supervisor in a rural organization was placed in the middle management. Positions depended on the range of functions, range of positions and range of education of the employees of a particular organization. By and large industries in rural areas had a comparatively narrow range of functions and consequently a narrow range of positions. As a result of this difference each organization had to give me its own placement of an employee in the hierarchical order. There was thus no one-to-one correspondence between the higher, middle and lower management of urban organizations, and the higher, middle and lower management of rural organizations.

(e) Owing to differences in the educational requirements for similar positions in different organizations there was no one-to-one correspondence between educational qualifications of employees holding a particular position in one organization and the educational qualifications of an employee holding a similar position in another organization. Workers in ECIL, HMT or IDL, for example, naively and large studied up to middle school or at least primary school. Workers in Warner Hindustan on the other hand were mostly graduates. This was considered essential for them to be able to read the labels of the medicines etc.

(f) Sometimes the high position held by an employee was the result of long and commendable service in an organization, rather than high educational qualifications. There was in
such cases a gap between the actual education and the expected education of a person holding such a high position.

In spite of the constraints, an attempt was made to select employees representing all the levels in the different organizations, so that the smaller the number of employees at a level of management the higher was the percentage of respondents selected for the sample, and the larger the number of employees at a particular level of management the lower was the percentage of respondents selected for the sample.

3.2.3 (iii) Tools for collection of data

The tools I used for the collection of data comprised those that were comparatively simple, for example, face to face interaction or the interview, and those that were comparatively complex, for example, an observation schedule and a questionnaire. Though the usefulness of these tools has been established, problems that arise in the course of their application are unique in the case of each survey. Sometimes these problems can be frustrating, for example, poor response and no cooperation from the informants.

Labov (1972:210-11) discusses the usefulness of observation particularly long-term participant observation for studying the language behaviour of groups and collecting systematic data. My observation of the interaction of employees in
industries was recorded on an observation schedule prepared for the purpose of initially using the information obtained as a base for the framing of the questionnaire. This was done by

(a) determining the situation-types in which interaction was most frequent in industries.
(b) assessing the types of participants involved in oral interaction and the frequency of interaction between them.
(c) making a note of the topics that usually formed part of the interaction at different levels in the organization.
(d) relating the topics to the language used for communication.

It is common knowledge that for all surveys the questionnaire has been one of the most suitable means of collecting data. It has been used for obtaining information on the reported use of language, language attitudes in different parts of the world. So flexible is the questionnaire as an instrument for data collection that it has been used to serve a variety of purposes. The traditional dialect geography surveys used it to publish the information obtained in the form of maps. Surveys on language use and attitudes e.g. Sibayan Bonifacio, P. (1975:115-144), Tucker, G. Richard
have used the questionnaire as a tool for collection of data.

Investigators have often found it useful and rewarding to interview their respondents and to record these interviews for transcription and analysis. The interview has been used either as an independent tool e.g., Survey Research Group 1975 in Singapore, Labov, 1966, or to supplement and cross check information obtained by means of a questionnaire or by observation e.g. Greenfield and Fishman (1971a:233-251). Though recorded conversation/interaction among respondents may be wrought with problems it can provide samples of the 'actual' use of language (Gumperz 1964, Labov 1966) in addition to samples of 'reported' use of language provided the use of a questionnaire.

Initially my plan to examine the use of English by employees in industries was to include information on their 'reported' use of English and a recording of their 'actual' use of English at their place of work as well. My aim in recording conversation/interaction was (a) to indicate the difference, if there was any, between the 'reported' and the real use of English, between the language an individual thinks he ought to use in a particular situation and the language he actually uses; (b) to highlight the constraints on the reliability of the reported use of language; (c) to present actual samples of interaction among employees in industrial organizations.
3.2.4 (iv) Plan

Even prior to the administration of a draft questionnaire it was considered essential to conduct preliminary interviews and to observe interaction among employees in an organization. A few of the employees from the same organization, selected at random, could then be asked to fill in the draft questionnaire, which would be revised in the light of their response and administered to the entire sample of respondents.

I decided to select the E.C.I.L. for preliminary observation and interviews and for the administration of the draft-questionnaire. Before administering the draft-questionnaire, I considered it useful to

*(a) understand the functioning of the organization, i.e. the general method of operation within the organization and the network of communication;

(b) obtain information regarding the number of employees in the organization and the educational and other qualifications required for posts at different levels in the organization.

*(a) and (b) were essential prerequisites for administering the questionnaire at all the other industrial organizations selected for the study and as is evident from pages 66-73, a necessary first step for the collection of data in these organizations.
(c) observe anonymously, as far as possible, verbal interaction between employees of different ranks. For this an observation schedule was to be used.

(d) explore the possibility of using a taperecorder to record interaction between employees of different ranks, of the same rank, and with different functions.

A small number of respondents from one Group (the Computer Group) which was fairly representative of employees at different levels in other groups I felt would be adequate for the administration of the draft-questionnaires and for the interview.

In trying out the questionnaire I aimed at (a) assessing the time taken by the respondents to fill it in (b) making sure that the language used in the questionnaire was clear to a respondent and that he interpreted the questions as they should be interpreted (c) obtaining the respondents' attitude to the questionnaire (d) being able to predict the problems of administering the questionnaire to large numbers of respondents in other organizations.

3.2.5 (v) Procedure

Initially I observed* interaction at the office of the head of the Personnel Group and then at the office of the head of the Computer Group. This was followed by a series of

*Please refer to samples of observation sessions in Appendix B.
sessions of casual conversation with some of the employees after their consultation with the head of the Group was over. From my experience of observation of interaction I got the indication that it would be difficult to vary the situation/location and keep the participants and topic constant, though it would be possible to keep the situation/location constant and vary the participants and topic in an interaction. Observation of interaction in less formal situations such as the canteen, the playground, or get togethers would be possible only if I got better acquainted with the employees over a fairly long period of time, and only if there happened to be occasions on which they had sports or get togethers during the period of my investigation in a particular organization. Therefore information regarding the language(s) preferred in these situations could only be obtained by means of the questionnaire and the interview.

Twenty employees were selected at random from the Computer Group which is the largest in the ECIL, and the questionnaire given to them to be filled in within three days. (I was told that if I did not set a time limit the questionnaire would not be filled in at all.) The office was asked to fill in a separate form on background information for each of these respondents. The questionnaires were collected three days later from the office and examined. Of the twenty questionnaires only eleven were returned. Of the other nine, one was not filled in as the respondent had gone
out of town, six of the respondents forgot to fill it in and two of them lost the questionnaire. All the questionnaires returned were by those who were directly concerned with production. Unfortunately those who were indirectly concerned with production i.e. staff, did not fill in the questionnaire at all. Three of the respondents who filled in the questionnaire belonged to higher management, three to middle management and five to lower management in the organization. Of these one from higher management, two from middle management and three from lower management were interviewed for about forty five minutes each. My aim in conducting interviews was (a) to obtain additional information regarding the language(s) used for communication in an organization with special reference to English, and regarding attitudes towards English vis-a-vis Indian languages, and (b) to check whether there were any differences in the interpretation of the questionnaire. The first ten minutes of each interview were spent in establishing a rapport with the interviewee and explaining briefly the nature of the project. Brief notes on the answers given and the points of view expressed by the respondents during the interview were made on the reverse of the questionnaire. The following items were focussed on

a) the background of the interviewee, his education, the languages he knew, his use of these languages i.e. occasions on which he used each of them or felt compelled to use each of them;
b) his place of work -- his occupation, the nature of his work, the people he communicated with and the language(s) he used to speak to his seniors, equals, and juniors;

c) his opinion about the importance of each of the languages he used -- the position of English vis-a-vis Hindi and the regional languages;

d) his opinion about the effect of the language policy and consequently the education policy of the Government on the use of language in general and English in particular. Also, the usefulness of English for science and technology and in the professional context; and

d) his interests, his experience in his profession, in the organization in which he was working and had worked in the past.

3.2.6 (vi) Constraints

(a) Even during the initial stage of the investigation, that is, my observation of interaction within the factory premises (G.C.I.L.) prior to the administration of the draft-questionnaire I was not permitted the use of a taperecorder for reasons of security and on the ground that employees would object to their conversation being recorded. Unfortunately none of the organizations in Hyderabad allowed me to take a taperecorder inside the premises. As a result of
this I was compelled to modify my original plan and use observation, interviews and a questionnaire as means of collecting data for a study of only 'reported' use of English.

(b) The interviews too could not be recorded and I had to depend entirely on my notes and on the answers to the questions in the questionnaire. The absence of recorded interviews deprived me of the feedback my earlier interviews would have given me in terms of the usefulness of the questions I asked, the answers that were given and their relationship to my aim.

(c) As the interviews could not be recorded each interview was written down and was much more time consuming than a recorded interview. Owing to this the number of interviews conducted in each organization had to be reduced to about one fourth of the number of questionnaires filled in.

3.2.7 (vii) General observation on the response to the draft-questionnaire*

(a) The questionnaire was not long and the respondents took 15–20 minutes to fill it in.

(b) A few of the respondents did not fill in the questionnaire carefully, either because they found no time or because they were indifferent.

(c) The office did not fill in the sheet on background

*See Appendix-A.
information for each respondent, but gave it to the respondents for them to fill in.

(d) One of the eleven respondents did not fill in the sheet on 'personal information' for he considered it an insult to do so; he expected the office to provide it. Another respondent did not fill it in because a copy of the form on 'personal information' was not given to him.

(e) Seven of the eleven respondents ignored/overlooked the words 'other' and 'Indian' in question (3) and mentioned their mother tongue or/and English under 'other Indian languages'. It is possible that some of them had not ignored it but considered English to be an Indian language.

(f) Six of the eleven respondents made the same mistake as in item 3 in answering item 14.

(g) Some questions were not answered at all.

(h) Some questions, i.e., 17(b) and 18(a) and (b) were not applicable to those respondents whose children were under one year of age and those whose children were under two years of age respectively.

(i) Some of the statements in question twenty (20) particularly statements (e), (h), (p) and (t) confused the respondents. This was owing to the use of expressions like 'there is no need ...' in some statements and 'one must ...'
in others. These statements were interpreted according to the meaning they had for an individual in his idiolect.

3.2.8 (viii) Alterations in the draft-questionnaire

(a) The following general note at the beginning of the questionnaire was inserted for the sake of those respondents to whom certain questions were not applicable, and to make sure that no question remained unanswered.

"Some questions may not be applicable to you. Please write N.A. (Not Applicable) against them."

(b) Questions (3) and (14) were re-worded and the portion overlooked earlier by respondents underlined.

(3) "What other Indian languages apart from your mother tongue do you know?"

(14) "What other Indian languages apart from their mother tongue do they know?"

(c) In order to include those whose children were not of school-going age and to restrict the choice of alternatives questions 18(a) and (b) were re-worded.

18(a) "What kind of school would you like to send your children to?" (Tick the appropriate box.)

Private  [ ]  Government  [ ]
(b) "What would you like the medium of instruction in school to be?" (Tick the appropriate box.)

| English | Hindi | Any other regional language (specify) |

(d) Items 20(e), (h), (p) and (t) were revised as follows:

(e) "English is essential for any professional/technical training."

(h) "It is important to speak English with one's colleagues at one's place of work."

(p) "English is an effective form of oral communication between people from different States."

(t) "It is a good thing to be able to speak to one's boss(es) in English."

(e) Item 21(y) was added to the statements in item 20 of the old questionnaire.

(y) "We can discuss scientific topics effectively in our mother tongue."

(f) Question 11(a), (b) and (c) on language(s) used with members of the same language group were introduced in the revised questionnaire, for, it was felt that a common language might be the deciding factor in an individual's choice of language, and might override other factors such as situation-type and status.
3.2.9 (ix) Problems anticipated in the administration of the revised questionnaire

From my experience of initial observation of communication within the factory, of the administration, of the questionnaire and of the interviews held, I anticipated the following difficulties in the administering of the revised questionnaire and the conducting of interviews in other industrial organizations as well:

(a) Mobility within the premises of an organization was likely to be restricted for reasons of security, and I would be dependent on the availability of an escort.

(b) The employees to whom the questionnaire was to be administered may or may not be available for an interview depending on the requirements of their job in general and on their schedule for a particular day.

(c) It was likely that a large number of employees would not fill up the questionnaire at all, for it is natural in a survey of the present kind not to get even a 50 per cent response.

(d) Some of those employees who did fill up the questionnaire may have queries regarding some questions. Others may not fill in the questionnaire carefully.

Due to the difficulties anticipated above it was felt that my presence in any one organization for a reasonable
length of time was imperative. This would depend on the time available and on the number of days the organization allowed me to administer the questionnaire.

3.2.10 (x) The Revised Questionnaire

The use of a questionnaire in the present survey had four broad aims:

(a) It would help me obtain background information given by the respondents, for this could not be recorded or committed to memory for such a large number of informants.

(b) It would supplement the information obtained by general observation.

(c) It would facilitate a quantitative analysis of the relationship between language use variables and social variables.

(d) It would give me an opportunity to check the reliability and consistency of statements made by respondents at different stages in the survey.

To facilitate empirical evaluation the questions were the alternative type of closed questions rather than the open ended essay type questions. The questionnaire had three main sections. Section I had items that related to

a) personal information, including place of birth, age, religion, mother tongue, education, occupation, knowledge of
languages, medium of instruction at school and at college, language(s) used for communication with fellow employees at work place, with friends and with members of the family.

b. Information about the respondents' family, including the parents' and the partner's place of birth, mother tongue, and their knowledge of English and Indian languages.

Section II* related to information regarding language(s) used for general interests, including interests in reading (newspapers, magazines, journals), listening and viewing (news broadcasts, other radio programmes, T.V.) writing letters.

Section III dealt with items relating to a respondent's opinion regarding the place of English in the educational system, at work, in society and at home, in relation to the Indian languages, and the importance of English for intra-national and international communication.

The questions in section one on 'personal profile' were intended to provide me with the background information necessary for an insight into an employee's use of English and/or Indian languages at work and outside. The first two items, the name and address of a respondent were required in

*The philosophy underlying this section is my belief in the concept of domains and the choice of language in these domains. The notion of choice has two parameters, (a) self-generated choice which is influenced by considerations such as prestige etc. (b) choice which is influenced by the demands of one's job and is essential for one's enhancement.
case I needed to contact him outside the factory at a later stage. Item 3 i.e. place of birth was included with a view to ascertaining whether a respondent had spent the early years of his life in a rural or urban setting. This it was felt might throw light on his linguistic behaviour. A respondent's religion may indicate his preference for a particular language. A Muslim for instance, though his mother tongue may be Telugu would prefer to use Urdu as a link language for communication with colleagues. Also, even though Urdu may be his mother tongue, he might use Telugu as a link language. Items 5, 6 and 8 i.e., a respondent's educational qualification, his occupation and his mother tongue were considered to be important social variables that might influence his linguistic behaviour. Item 7, i.e., the number of years an individual had spent in an organization might be responsible for the high position he held in that organization rather than the educational qualifications required for that post which he may not have had.

It was expected that some informants would have one language as their mother tongue, another language as the language they learnt first and yet a third language as the effective first language, for in India the mother tongue need not be the same language as the one learnt first and the language first learnt need not be the one which is predominantly used. The mother tongue of a Tamilian, for example, may be Tamil, but having been to school and college in Delhi his first language
would be Hindi. Yet since he may be working in Kerala his effective first language could be Malayalam. Hence item 2 under the head "The Language(s) you know". Items 3 and 4 deal with an individual's knowledge of Indian languages and English. Greater flexibility in the use of English and the various Indian languages it was felt, might stem from a knowledge of a large number of Indian languages in addition to English. Items 5 and 6 were on the medium of instruction at primary school, secondary school and college. The medium of instruction particularly at school would be an important social variable influencing an individual's use of English or its non-use. Item 8 pertained to the medium of instruction during the respondent's professional training. The medium of instruction, it was felt, would vary according to the nature of the profession, and might have been carried over to 'use' at work place. Item 9 was intended as a means of assessing the extent to which an individual's job required him to communicate with his fellow employees at his work place. Items 10 and 11 comprised important language-use variables. In the former, the respondents were required to mention their use of English, Hindi or other regional languages with their seniors, equals and juniors, the assumption being that the relationship between participants in an interaction very often affects their choice of language. Item 11a, b, c, on what language is used by respondents with those seniors, equals and juniors with whom they share a common
Indian language was included in the questionnaire with a view to investigating the extent of influence this common factor may have on the respondents' use of English. An additional language-use variable included in this item was that of situation. The degree of formality of a situation is likely to affect an individual's choice of language. Items 13, 14, 15 and 16 were introduced to obtain information regarding the respondent's parents and spouse, their place of birth, their mother tongue, other Indian languages they knew and their knowledge of English. Information about the mother tongue of the parents and the spouse (which may not be the same) and their knowledge of Indian languages and of English would provide useful clues to the number of languages a respondent had acquired informally at home. A respondent's use of language at home (Item 17) would be to a certain extent constrained by the language(s) the members of his family could speak. The language used by a respondent with his children (Item 18) might be an indication of the respondent's view of the importance of that language for the future of his children, and of the social prestige of that language. Item 19a on the language used by a respondent with his friends would serve as an indication of the respondent's peer group and the language(s) he used for communication with them. Item 19b was included to get an idea of the extent to which English is used for written communication both official and non-official as compared to the quantum of English used for oral communication. Items 19c and d regarding the kind
of school i.e. private or government,* a parent would like his children to go to and the medium of instruction he would like his children to have in school was intended to obtain a respondent's view of the extent to which English ought to be retained in the educational system in schools, and the prestige that English has in India.

Section II of the questionnaire regarding the respondent's interest in reading (newspapers, journals and magazines), listening (news and other radio programmes) and writing (official and non-official correspondence) and the language he preferred for these, aimed at assessing a respondent's overall exposure to and active use of English. This would enable us to relate it to (i) his reported use of English in different situations with other employees occupying different positions; (ii) his assessment of his own ability in English; (iii) the social variables of education, position and function.

Section III of the questionnaire entitled 'Your opinion' consisted of twenty-five statements each of which the respondent was required either to tick if he agreed with the statement or to put a cross if he disagreed with it, or to put a question mark against it, if he was not sure. The section had five main

*Private schools in India have English as the medium of instruction and are therefore very popular with the middle and upper middle classes for whom English, besides being useful for a good career, has a prestige value as well. The majority of Government schools on the other hand have an Indian language as the medium of instruction and English is taught as a subject. It therefore occupies a secondary place in the school curriculum.
heads under which English was considered, (a) English in education (b) English at work (c) English for professional training (d) English for social prestige and at home, and (e) English for intranational communication. The aim of the statements in Section III was (a) to cross-check information that a respondent had supplied me with in the first two sections of the questionnaire; (b) to assess a respondent's opinion of the need for English and its importance for different spheres of activity in India. This would be indicative of his prediction about the future status of English in India; (c) to help me compare and contrast a respondent's report of the occasions on which he used English with his attitude towards the position of English in relation to the Indian languages i.e. compare the actual in use, and the hypothetical in attitude.

Statement (a) being an extreme one I expected those respondents who agreed with it to agree with statements (o) and (x) as well and to ignore the remaining statements. Statement (b) dealt with the level at which the teaching of English ought to be introduced and statements (c) and (d) with the stage at which English should be introduced as the medium of instruction. Statements (e) and (h) were about the importance of English/Indian languages for professional/technical training and for consulting professional journals. Statements (y) and (n) were concerned with the use of English/Indian languages
for the discussion of topics of scientific interest. Statements (f), (g), (h), (j), (l), (m), (q), (t), and (u) related to the use of English as a means of getting a good job and the use of English/Indian languages for success at work and for the success of an organization. Statements (i), (k) and (r) were intended to ascertain a respondent's opinion about English as a language of social prestige, and as a language to be used at home or for daily chores. Statements (p), (s) and (t) aimed at assessing the opinion of respondents regarding the importance of English vis-a-vis Hindi as a language for intranational communication.

My aim in having a separate column for Hindi apart from other regional languages in the questionnaire was to assess the respondents' opinion about the position of Hindi, its importance for communication, for education, and for professional training vis-a-vis English on the one hand and other regional languages on the other.

3.2.11 (xi) Quantification

The coding of the questionnaire was done with a view to analyzing the data manually and facilitating the entry of the entire data on a coding sheet for the purpose of quantitative analysis.

In the section on 'personal profile' the name, place of birth, address and religion were to be noted. 'Age' was
classified into three groups

A₁ — 30 years.
A₂ — 31-40 years.
A₃ — 41 + years.

'Education' was classified into four groups E₁ to E₄ in ascending order, according to the number of years of education.

'Occupation' was divided into three groups, O₁, O₂ and O₃ in ascending order, i.e., low, middle, and high. The number of years of stay in the organization were divided into three categories, (a) short stay, i.e. 12 months, (b) medium stay i.e. 13 to 108 months, and (c) long stay i.e. 109 + months.

The mother tongue and the first language were to be noted down in full.

Under the section on the respondents' own knowledge of Indian languages, a monolingual was to be given a zero, a bilingual one point and a multilingual 2 points. For each skill that a respondent knew well he was given two points and for that which he did not know well only one point; thus he could score a maximum of 8 points for a language he could understand, speak, read and write well. His total score would be the score on the number of languages plus how well he knew each language.

A respondent's knowledge of English was marked according to a scale ranging from 0-4. Thus the maximum score would be 16, if a respondent ticked the point indicating a very good knowledge.
of all the skills. Items 6, 7 and 8 were not intended for purposes of quantification. Item 9 on the frequency of communication with colleagues at work was given a score ranging from 0-4.

Under the section on the languages used by the respondent items 10(a), (b), (c) and 11(a), (b), and (c) were given a score according to the following scale.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>English + Indian language; English 1st preference</th>
<th>English + Indian language; English 2nd preference</th>
<th>Indian languages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus the higher the score the greater the quantum of English used. These were later classified under three broad categories —

- English only = E
- English plus an Indian language = E+
- Indian language/s only = -E

The third category was retained, though it was expected that this would not be relevant in some cases, as will be seen later.

Information obtained by means of items 12-15 was to be recorded. For item 16, i.e., the parents' and spouse's knowledge
of English, two points were given for every skill that they knew well, one point for every skill that they did know so well and a zero for the skill they did not know at all.

Items 17, 18 and 19(a) were given the following scores:

- Only English = 3
- Sometimes English and sometimes your mother tongue = 2
- A mixture of English and your mother tongue = 1
- Only your mother tongue
- Sometimes your mother tongue sometimes another regional language = 0

Thus the scale 0–3 was used

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>All English</th>
<th>A large amount of English</th>
<th>Some English</th>
<th>No English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Items 19(b), (c) and (d) were to be recorded. For items 20(b), (l) and (m) a 0–4 point scale was used. Items 20(c), (k) and (p) had three categories — English only, English plus an Indian language, or no English. 'English only' was given four points, 'English plus an Indian language' two points and 'no English' a zero.

Item 21 had a scale ranging from a very unfavourable attitude towards English to a very favourable attitude towards English. The statements in item 21 of the questionnaire were given to eleven teachers selected at random by me at my place of work. These were experienced teachers who were specialists in English literature, English language teaching and testing, Linguistics and Phonetics. Some of them were senior Professors and Readers at the Institute,
while others were Ph D. scholars. They were asked to classify the statements according to five categories, i.e., (i) very unfavourable (ii) mildly unfavourable, (iii) neutral (iv) mildly favourable, and (v) very favourable towards English. The majority of them placed statements (a), (o), (s), (w), (y) under (i) statements (b), (j) and (n) under (ii), statements (f), (p), (x) and (m) under (iii), statements (d), (h), (l), (t), (v) under (iv), and statements (c), (e), (g), (i), (k), (q), (r), (u) under (v).

These groups of statements were placed on a scale 0-4 from very unfavourable to very favourable towards English, so that for each statement ticked in category (v) a respondent scored 4 points, for each statement ticked in category (iv) a respondent scored 3 points, for each statement ticked in category (iii) he scored 2 points; and so on. With increasing information, this scale was found to be inadequate and it was considered necessary to develop a finer scale for the scoring of attitudes as on pages 1.

3.2.12 (xii) General Observations

(a) It was made clear to me that the employees would refuse to fill in a long questionnaire. The questionnaire had to be restricted in length so as to enable an employee to fill it in within twenty minutes. Thus scope for experimenting with different questions was limited.

(b) Since the questionnaire could not be prepared in consultation with a statistician or a computer programmer no regular coding format for processing the data with the help of the computer was incorporated into it. I developed my own system
of coding with a view to analyzing the data manually. Though rather primitive and more time consuming this would have the advantage of giving me an insight into the language behavior of individuals in addition to the language behavior of groups in an organization.

(c) As was the case with the draft-questionnaire the revised questionnaire could only be administered to one organization at a time, at different points in time. The information collected did not therefore represent any one uniform point in time. This 'spread' in time which was owing to the survey being carried out by one researcher only, was, however, negligible and would not affect the results significantly.

(d) In rural areas some of the respondents asked for a questionnaire in Telugu. The questionnaire had therefore to be translated into Telugu. It is possible that in the process of translation some of the statements particularly in item 21 changed slightly in meaning. The present researcher having no knowledge of Telugu was not in a position to make sure that the meaning had not changed and the items were clear to the respondents.

The questionnaire was administered to the various industrial organizations selected for the study. In the next two sections I shall discuss briefly the procedure followed for its administration and the demographic characteristics of the sample.
3.3.0 Administration of the Questionnaire

The administration of the questionnaire and the conduct of interviews was spread over a period of two years from August 1978 to July 1980, the visits to the organizations depending mainly on the vacations at my place of work. Owing to this and to the constraints on the selection of industries, the collection of data comprised roughly four phases, each phase being slightly different from the others.

3.3.1 (i) Phase One

During the first phase I visited ECIL and HMT, two large public sector undertakings. The first few days in each of these organizations were spent in talking to employees, getting acquainted with the nature of their work and establishing a rapport with them. This was followed by a series of systematic observation sessions and interviews in which I succeeded in overcoming the "'observers' paradox" to the extent that I was no longer looked upon as an outsider and my presence for observation and interviews* seldom inhibited spontaneous speech. Unfortunately a recording of these was prohibited in both the organizations and I had to depend entirely on my notes on each observation session and each interview.

3.3.2 Procedure

In both the organizations the Public Relations Officers (PROs)

*Refer to samples of observation sessions and interviews at these two organizations in Appendix B.
gave me (as far as possible according to my requirements) a list of employees who would be available for interview. At the ECIL, however, it took nearly three months to convince the PRO that the normal routine would not be disturbed by my presence in the organization. This was probably due to my inability to contact the head of the organization. In these organizations the questionnaire was distributed to one division at a time while some of the respondents filled it in as soon as it was given them, others preferred to take some more time to fill it in. I did not wait for all the questionnaires to be filled in but went to the other divisions. Since I was present in the organization during working hours to answer queries and to conduct interviews, it was possible for me to collect the questionnaires and interview the respondents as and when it was convenient for them. In the meantime the filled-in questionnaires were scrutinized to ensure against mistakes, contradictions due to oversight and incomplete questionnaires. During each interview I did not strictly follow the sequence of questions that had been prepared as a guideline for all interviews. I generally began an interview by getting acquainted with a respondent's professional experience, his family, his friends, then gradually steering the conversation to his use of English at work, his opinion about the relative importance given to English and Indian languages in our educational system. Sometimes there were informal
group discussions on the subject by respondents in one division. These yielded valuable information.

The response in both organizations was good. At ECIL 65 questionnaires were distributed, of these 56 were filled in, 5 of them by women. 50% of the respondents were interviewed. At HMT 65 questionnaires were distributed, 55 were filled in, one of them by a woman. 52% of the respondents who filled in the questionnaire were interviewed.

3.3.3 (ii) Phase Two

During this phase I administered the questionnaire, conducted interviews and observed interaction among employees in two private sector undertakings -- WHL and IDL. To begin with, an interview with the managing director of W.H.L. gave me a very clear idea of the history of the organization, its structure and the communication pattern within the organization. The cooperation of the management facilitated the selection of respondents from a list of all the officers and non-officers, and the smooth conduct of observation sessions and of interviews. A couple of days were spent in getting acquainted with the employees by participating in informal discussions with them. At IDL I was not able to contact the managing director. It was the head of the personnel department who granted me permission to administer the questionnaire. It was, however, made clear that for reasons of safety I would
not be allowed free movement within the premises even with the help of an escort. Therefore observation sessions and informal discussions were not possible. In both organizations I could not work for a continuous period of time as I had done at ECIL and HMT, and had to visit them as and when it was convenient for them. Both the organizations forbade the use of the tape recorder.

3.3.4 Procedure

As has been said earlier, it was possible to begin with the first stage of the investigation i.e. observation, discussion and establishment of rapport, only at W.H.L. My contact with the employees at IDL was very brief and the interviews with them very formal and restrained. I did not meet some of the respondents who filled in the questionnaire at all, and had to depend entirely on the information given by them in the questionnaire. At W.H.L., though fewer interviews were conducted, I met each employee who was to fill in the questionnaire and handed it to him after an informal chat. An attempt to interview respondents before and after they filled in the questionnaire failed owing to their non-availability. In both organizations all the employees did not fill in the questionnaire immediately. Some of them took a fairly long time to do so.

The interviews were conducted using similar questions as a guideline as had been used for the public sector.
undertakings. At IDL only 34 of the 60 questionnaires that were distributed were filled in. The comparatively poor response from IDL could be attributed to lack of rapport with the employees there.

3.3.5 (iii) Observations on the first and second phases of the administration of the questionnaires

The predictions made by me after the try-out of the first version of the questionnaire proved true.

(a) It was found that to function more effectively and to get the full cooperation of the administration of both public and private sector undertakings, it was essential to contact the head of an organization. This did not, however, affect the cooperation of individual employees who often evinced a keen interest in the project.

(b) There was a perceptible difference in the administrative functioning of each organization, and this affected the procedure I was to follow for the collection of data.

(c) Modification in the original plan and the procedure was necessitated by the nature of the organizational layout and related access restrictions. It was not possible for instance, to have access to employees on the job in an explosives factory, or in a factory manufacturing equipment for the Ministry of Defence.
(d) It was realized that for a better understanding of interaction between the employees of an organization, much more time ought to be spent there than was actually possible.

(e) From the small number of women who were interviewed and who filled in the questionnaire I noticed that the proportion of women to men was rather low in all the organizations, though there were more women in the private sector than in the public sector. Since the male versus female differential has not been taken up for consideration, there is no loss of significant information.

(f) In spite of the varied experience I had had while collecting data at the public and the private sector undertakings in Hyderabad, I was not equipped with any knowledge of the functioning of rural industries and had to begin the third phase of the investigation with no experience.

(g) One of the reasons for the restriction on movement within the factory premises and on the use of tape recorders, it was felt, was that the project was a private one and was being conducted by one researcher.

3.3.6 Phase Two (A)

This phase was one during which I extended the procedure followed for phases I and II to one public sector undertaking, Bharat Electronics Limited (BEL) and one private

sector undertaking, Delhi Cloth Mills Chemicals Limited (D.C.M. Chemicals Ltd.) located on the outskirts of Delhi and in an industrial area in Delhi respectively. I changed one parameter i.e. industrial organizations in the North of India instead of the South, and kept other parameters such as urban, public and private sector constant. The intention was to note the difference (if there was any) in the methodological constraints on the collection of data and the study of the language choice and language attitudes in the North. This, though not within the scope of the present study, was an experiment in comparing the use of English in industrial organizations in the South and the North.

At B.E.L. I had an interview with the managing director who was a South Indian. He showed keen interest in the project and extended all the cooperation possible. Though movement within the factory was restricted for security reasons, communication with the respondents was made easier by means of a telephone that was at my disposal for as long as I was on the premises. The telephone did not ensure the availability of respondents, but it had two distinct advantages,

(a) it enabled respondents to contact me whenever they had queries regarding the questionnaire. Even when I was on a round of interviews, messages were taken for me and I contacted the concerned respondent later;
(b) it saved a great deal of my time, for before inter­viewing members of a particular division/department I could verify whether they were available.

At B.E.L. 60 questionnaires were distributed. Of these 45 were filled in. Though twenty of the 45 respondents who had filled in the questionnaire were formally interviewed, I informally met all the respondents and had group discussions with them as well.

I was introduced to D.C.M. Chemicals by an officer in the organization. I met the head of the organization and took his permission to collect data. Though this was the only organization that made available to me a list of all the employees with all the information required about each employee, selection of respondents was constrained by the absence of a number of officers — either away on tour or on business outside the factory. The employees were selected with the assistance of the officer in charge of recruiting and training through whom the questionnaire was distributed. I was not permitted to have any observation sessions and was not able to establish any rapport with the employees, and did not go to the shop floor at all. The majority of the employees were indifferent and some of them refused to fill in the questionnaire. 65 questionnaires were distributed and 40 filled in. Two of these were incomplete and two were filled in by women. I was able to meet and interview only 10
respondents. My experience in these two organizations brought to light the following methodological problems:

(a) there would be restrictions on mobility in most industrial organizations for various reasons;

(b) the use of the taperecorder by a private researcher would be allowed by very few organizations, perhaps not at all;

(c) the proportion of women to men would be very low in most organizations; and

(d) though it would be ideally desirable to interview all the respondents who had filled in the questionnaire, it may not be feasible within a short time owing to (a).

3.3.7 Phase Three

This phase was comparatively more exploratory in nature than phases I and II owing to (a) lack of prior first hand knowledge of the industries selected from among the lists of small scale industries at the office of the Commissioner of Industries and (b) lack of knowledge of the availability of facilities such as accommodation and transport. On arrival at Adoni I decided to visit the first industry I had on my list which was the carpet manufacturing industry. My task was to explore the possibility of collecting data at industries that manufactured carpets. The first hurdle that had
to be crossed was one of language. A lack of knowledge of Telugu and Kannada, the languages used by a majority of people in Adoni made communication rather slow and laboured. To overcome this difficulty I took the help of an interpreter.

I contacted the manufacturers of carpets in Adoni most of whom were Muslims. They were hostile to the idea of communicating with a woman and refused to fill in the questionnaire because it was in Telugu and not in Urdu -- an indication of hostility towards everything including the language associated with the Hindus in the area. Apart from the refusal to communicate with a woman I found that the number of workers (ten) in these organizations was too small for a sample.

The next industrial unit on my list, The Weavers' Cooperative Society, Yemmiganur, was about 45 km from Adoni on the main bus route and easily approachable. The response from the head of the Society i.e. the President (honorary) was very encouraging, though he was too busy to fill in the questionnaire. He knew very little English and observation of interaction in his office revealed that Telugu/Kannada was used most of the time. There was no occasion (during the period of my presence) on which he spoke English to those in his office not even to the Secretary who introduced me to him. He asked the Secretary a few questions about the nature of my project and then approved the plan.
During my observation of interaction among the employees I noticed that Telugu or Kannada was used most of the time by employees of all ranks and with different functions. The reason for this was that officers in the middle and higher management, even the Secretary, were in direct contact with the weavers who were members of the Society. The weavers being illiterate or having studied up to the 3rd or 4th class could not speak any language other than their mother tongue. All the employees except the workers communicated with me in English. The observation schedule was of no help, for with the exception of a few English words like 'dye', 'lot' I could not understand the conversation at all. A taperecorder would have been the most useful tool under the circumstances, but that was not permitted. Even the interpreter found it impossible to keep pace with interaction and translate what transpired between the employees. The Secretary gave me a list of the employees to whom the questionnaire could be administered. Mobility on the premises was not a problem for the area was comparatively small. The response was, however, not as good as I had expected. Only 18 of the 40 questionnaires distributed were filled in. The Secretary and a few other officers considered it an insult to be given questionnaires in Telugu and asked for questionnaires in English. However, I had to help them to fill in the questionnaire in English. About 9 of the 18 respondents were
interviewed. The impression I got from the interviews was that English was rarely used and if at all, it was used with visitors from outside the State who did not speak either Telugu or Kannada. With the exception of two respondents, the personnel officer and the checking inspector, all the others belonged to the lowest educational group ($E_1$). Though the personnel officer belonged to $E_3$ and the inspector to $E_2$ they were placed in the middle management ($O_2$); whereas two other respondents who belonged to $E_1$ were in $O_3$, and five others were in $O_2$. There was thus no correspondence between high educational qualifications and occupational status.

The second factory where I was able to collect data was the Rayalaseema Ginning and Pressing Mills, Adoni. The Secretary of the organization gave me a list of employees who could be given the questionnaire, and relevant information about them. During my observation of interaction in the Secretary's office as also in the office of the labour welfare officer and the accountants I noticed the conspicuous absence of English. It was not possible to take observation notes on what the topic of conversation was as I did not know Telugu. The Secretary, the welfare officer, the accountants, and a few other employees used English to communicate with outsiders who did not know their language. I was not permitted to observe the language behaviour of the employees on the shop floor on the ground that all those working inside the factory were illiterate.
Of the 25 questionnaires that were distributed 17 were filled in and seven of the respondents who filled in the questionnaire were interviewed. The others refused to be interviewed and managed to fill in the questionnaire in Telugu with great difficulty. Only six of the respondents were graduates, some of whom had diplomas as well. The others had passed the tenth or eleventh classes. The Secretary, who also had a bachelor's degree in commerce was the only one placed in the higher management (O₃) -- an instance of the narrow range of functions, educational qualifications and positions in rural industries. All supervisors were placed in the middle management (O₂).

This phase of data collection was the least rewarding owing to the complete indifference of the employees to the project, to their unwillingness to respond to my questions and to fill in the questionnaire.

3.3.8 Phase Four

By the time I reached the fourth and last phase of my investigation I had gained considerable experience of the constraints under which I might have to collect data. The possibility of contacting the management of other industrial organizations in Kurnool district was explored and I was successful in getting introductions to the manager of Kothari (Madras) Spinning Mills Limited, Adoni (KSL) and to the managing director of Sri Rayalaseema Paper Mills, (S.R.P.M.) Kurnool.
At K.S.L. I was for the first time permitted to use the taperecorder during observation sessions and for interviews.* The area of the factory being small, it was possible to observe interaction between employees in the office, the recreation room, the canteen and the shop floor. Owing to background noise, however, the quality of the recording that was made turned out to be very poor and could not be transcribed. This was probably because the cassette recorder (Philips N 2218) was not good enough for a good recording inside the factory.

Of the forty-five questionnaires distributed 37 were filled in. I interviewed 29 informants, some of them in groups. There were no women employed in the factory. As the organization had its parent concern in Madras some of the senior officers who had Tamil as their mother tongue were in Adoni on transfer.

Before visiting the production unit of SRPM in Kurnool I spent three days at their marketing and accounts section in Adoni. The employees were mainly Telugu/Kannada-speaking with a few exceptions, one of them being the personal secretary to the managing director. His mother tongue was Tamil. I observed that most of the time interaction among employees in the office was in Telugu even at the highest levels in the organization. English was spoken only when an outsider did not know the local language. (Some English words did, however,

---

*Refer to sample observation sessions and sample interviews in Appendix B.*
Twenty-six questionnaires were distributed; some of these were in English, the others in Telugu. Surprisingly most of the respondents who filled in the questionnaire in Telugu found it very difficult to do so and frequently consulted one another. A senior officer who was present said that they were not used to filling in questionnaires in Telugu -- an indication that most of their official correspondence was done in English. They were therefore more used to English than to Telugu for formal written communication. Three of the 18 questionnaires that were filled in were incomplete. I interviewed 10 respondents. Accompanied by a guide and an interpreter, I then visited the production unit in Gondiparla village, Kurnool, with a letter of introduction to the commercial manager. I was permitted to use the cassette recorder during observation and during the interviews in the administrative building. The recording was not, however, clear owing to the background noise of the machines. I distributed 50 questionnaires to employees representing all positions and the two main functions. Thirty-nine respondents filled in the questionnaire and I was able to interview only 18 of them. It was very difficult to interview those respondents who were on the shop floor most of the time. I did, however, manage to have an informal talk with some of them in spite of the noise of the machines.
3.3.9 Observations on phases Three and Four of the Administration of the Questionnaire

From my experience of the collection of data in a rural area I found that

(a) investigation regarding the nature of industrial organizations in rural areas could only be made on the spot. The information provided in directories was not always adequate and up to date;

(b) there was sometimes no transport to some organizations located on the outskirts of a town;

(c) it was imperative to have an interpreter during one's visit to rural industries if one did not know the language(s) of the area;

(d) being a woman was an added disadvantage, for, during initial investigation employees in the small scale industrial units looked askance at me and were unwilling to be interviewed. This was not, however, true of the larger organizations;

(e) the percentage of respondents who were from outside the State and did not speak Kannada/Telugu, was much lower (17.46%) in rural industries than in urban industries (41.62%). Most of these people in rural industries knew the local language before they came to the district, or learnt the local
language afterwards. Thus their need to have a link language
to communicate with the local employees was not felt to be
an urgent one.

3.3.10 Interim Phase

Though this phase of my investigation was concerned
with the collection of data, yet it was not directly connected
with the four phases during which I administered the question-
naire and conducted interviews.

In the absence of recorded samples of the language(s)
actually used by employees in industries for oral communi-
cation, I decided to explore the possibility of obtaining written
samples of the English actually used by the employees in the
industrial organizations in Hyderabad as a reference point
for their own estimate of their knowledge of written English
in the questionnaire. An indication of the preference for
the use of English with superiors, and for English as a more
effective language for oral communication between people from
different States, was obtained from an analysis of some
randomly selected questionnaires. These results were men-
tioned in a letter (See Appendix B-V) addressed to each
respondent and he was asked to tell me what he thought the
reasons were for the pattern of behaviour indicated in the
sample analysis. Three hundred letters, with self-addressed
stamped envelopes enclosed, were sent to the respondents from
all the urban organizations where the questionnaire had been administered. After waiting for replies for three months I received only fifty two of them (3 women). Eleven of the replies gave me the impression of being written in telegraphese, and were of no use. Thirty eight replies contained details, of which 15 were from the industrial organizations from the North and 23 from the four organizations in Hyderabad. Unfortunately, with the exception of two letters, all the others were written by respondents from the senior and middle management, thus reducing the range of positions and functions represented in the entire sample. The experiment though unsuccessful in this respect, provided me with the views of the respondents on the possible reasons for some of the results indicated in the letter. It also proved that the collection of any data by post generally meets with very poor response.

3.3.11 Coding of the Questionnaires

Before I proceeded with the analysis of the data collected, each questionnaire was given a serial number according to the type and location of the industrial organization. Thus questionnaires filled in by employees of public sector undertakings in Hyderabad were given a serial number preceded by the letter PU.H. and questionnaires from private sector undertakings in Hyderabad were marked PR.H. followed by the
serial number. Similarly, questionnaires from rural public sector undertakings were marked PU.RU. followed by the serial number and those from private industries were marked PR.RU. followed by a serial number. The questionnaires were then coded according to the format for quantification given on pages 88-92.

THE SAMPLE

3.4.0 Demographic characteristics of the sample

3.4.1 (i) Distribution of the sample according to type of industries

The total sample according to the type of industry i.e. *public/private sector comprised 159 respondents in the public sector and 152 respondents in the private sector. The number of respondents in both types of industries was fairly well balanced. According to location of industries i.e. along the urban-rural parameters there were 185 respondents from urban* industries and 126 respondents from rural* industries as given below.

* Refer to pages for classification.
Industries in Andhra Pradesh

Distribution of Sample according to type and location of industries

Total Sample 311 (South)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Public</th>
<th>Private</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>159</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

North* (81)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Public</th>
<th>Private</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(45)</td>
<td>(36)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.4.2 (ii) Social Variables

(a) Age

On the basis of the approximate number of respondents of different ages I divided the sample into three age groups, the first group comprised those who were below thirty years of age, the second group was of those respondents who were between the ages of thirty-one and forty and the third group comprised those respondents who were above forty one. As can be seen from Table I the largest number of respondents belong to the age group 31-40 years in both public and private

*The number of respondents from industries in the North did not form part of the main sample of 311 from Andhra Pradesh. Hence the parenthesis.
Table I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Public Sector</th>
<th>Private Sector</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>UR</td>
<td>RU</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-30 years</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>32.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-40 years</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>49.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 + years</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>18.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Abbreviations: UR = Urban Industry
R U = Rural Industry
P U = Public Sector
P R = Private Sector
sectors and the smallest number to the age group 41+ years. A larger percentage of employees in this age group is indicated in the private sector than in the public sector. The reason for this may be that there are fewer restrictions on the maximum age for recruitment and a tendency to serve the same organization for a long period of time in the private sector, particularly in rural areas. This applies more to rural industry in the private sector where 34.72% of the employees belong to the age group 41+ years. It was hypothesized that age would be very closely associated with language use and attitudes to language. This will be examined later.

3.4.3 (b) Education

It was at first decided that education be classified according to three levels $E_1$, $E_2$, $E_3$ in ascending order relating to the total number of points scored by each respondent. Each degree/diploma was given a score from the school leaving certificate to Ph.D. and/or a post-doctoral degree. Thus the minimum score was 1 for those who had passed High School, 2 for those who had passed higher Secondary, 4 for a B.A., B.Sc. degree, 6 for M.A./M.Sc. and 12 for a Ph.D. or post-doctoral degree. A separate score was given for technical qualifications. Thus a one-year diploma was given 2 points, a 2-year diploma 4 points and a degree 6 points. A sum of the total number of points scored by an individual was to be his score. Those who scored 1-5 points were placed in $E_1$;
those who scored 6-11 points were placed in E_2 and those with 12+ points were placed in E_3. This system, however, proved problematic for an employee who had an M.Sc. degree for instance, scored 6 points whereas an employee who had a Bachelor's degree in engineering scored 10 points. The scoring system was not effective in establishing correct equivalences. It was found that educational groups divided according to the number of years of education were much more balanced. The four educational groups were: Education Group 1 comprising those respondents who had not passed the Senior School Certificate, those who had passed Senior School Certificate or equivalent, those who had passed senior school leaving certificate and those who had passed intermediate. This group consisted of those who had had up to twelve years of education. It formed the second smallest group in the sample, the smallest being of those belonging to Educational Group 4 with the highest qualifications and the greatest number of years of education. Educational Group 2 comprised those who had a B.A., B.Sc., B. Pharmacy, B.Com., Diploma in Engineering, in Textile Technology or equivalent. This group is the largest in both the public and the private sectors as can be seen from Table II. Educational Group 3 which comprised those with a Bachelor's degree in Engineering or Technology or B.Sc., Engineering, or an M.A., or M. Commerce, M.Sc., or M. Pharmacy or an A.M.I.E., is the second largest group in the Public
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Group</th>
<th>Private Sector</th>
<th>Public Sector</th>
<th>PU</th>
<th>PR</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>UR</td>
<td>RU</td>
<td>Total %</td>
<td>UR</td>
<td>RU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ed. Grp. 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below SSC</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6 3.77</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSC equivalent,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>75 47.17</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ed. Grp. 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.A., B.Sc.,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Pharm., B.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Com., Dip. Engg.,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text. &amp; equivalent</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>64 40.25</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ed. Grp. 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.E./B Tech.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.Sc., Engg., MA.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Com., M.Sc.,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.Pharm., AMIE.</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14 8.80</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ed. Grp. 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.Tech., M.E., Ph.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table II: Distribution of Sample according to educational qualifications
sector undertakings but not in the Private sector undertakings. The low percentage of employees in this group in the private sector is owing to the conspicuously low number of employees i.e. 3 in rural industries in the private sector. As has been said earlier the narrower range of functions in rural industries, particularly in the private sector and their structure did not require very highly specialized officers. It was not necessary for an employee to have high educational qualifications in order to occupy a high position in the organization. This is borne out by the absence of employees in educational group 4 in rural organizations. Though this is naturally a comparatively smaller group in all the organizations yet it is not entirely absent in urban industries. The narrow range of educational qualifications in rural industry too has its implications for language use as we shall see later.

3.4.4 (c) Occupation

The classification of occupational status into three categories, 0₁ or junior management, 0₂ middle management and 0₃ senior management was based on the categories that the organizational structure generally has provision for. The respondents were placed in these categories by the organization concerned. We did not frame any criteria for their placement in a particular category. However, their placement by the different organizations did not guarantee
uniformity of criteria adopted for placement in these organizations. The distribution of the sample in the junior and middle managements in almost all the industries as we can see in Table III is fairly even and there is very little difference in the numbers. The sample, however, comprises a smaller percentage of respondents in the higher management — $O_3$ than in $O_1$ and $O_2$. This was expected owing to the much smaller number of employees in that category in each organization.

3.4.5 (d) Medium of instruction at high school

Though the respondents were required to mention the medium of instruction at primary school, high school and at college, I found that ninety percent of the respondents had an Indian language as the medium of instruction at primary school* and English as the medium of instruction at college.

*This is the natural outcome of the strong feeling among educationists that a child's primary education at least must be in its native language. The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education, published by UNESCO in 1953, states (page 11) that: 'It is axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child is his mother tongue. Psychologically, it is the system of meaningful signs that in his mind works automatically for expression and understanding. Sociologically, it is a means of identification among the members of the community to which he belongs. Educationally, he learns more quickly through it than through an unfamiliar linguistic medium.' Also, in India, the introduction of English even as a subject in primary school would be a colossal waste of national resources.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Public Sector</th>
<th>Private Sector</th>
<th>PU</th>
<th>PR</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>U  R  RU Total</td>
<td>U  R  RU Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>01 Junior management</td>
<td>41  20  61  38.36</td>
<td>27  38  65  42.76</td>
<td>61  65  126</td>
<td>40.51</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02 Middle management</td>
<td>41  24  65  40.88</td>
<td>34  25  59  38.82</td>
<td>65  59  124</td>
<td>39.87</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03 Senior management</td>
<td>23  10  33  20.75</td>
<td>19  9  28  18.42</td>
<td>33  28  61  19.61</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>105  54  159</td>
<td>80  72  152</td>
<td>159  152  311</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Abbreviations: U R = Urban Industry.
RU = Rural Industry.
PU = Public Sector.
PR = Private Sector.

Table III: Distribution of Sample according to Occupation
There was a difference in the choice of the medium of instruction only at high school. Hence this variable. The highest percentage of the total number of respondents i.e. 48.7% had South Indian languages as the medium of instruction at high school. Of the rest 42.53% had English as the medium of instruction, and only 8.77 had Hindi, Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi, Punjabi, Urdu etc. as the medium of instruction.

The figures in Table IV indicate that a higher percentage of respondents (48.65) in urban industries had English as the medium of instruction in high school as against only 33.33% in rural industries. Along another parameter, in the public sector 49.06% of the respondents had English as a medium of instruction as against 35.37% in the private sector, the total percentage thus being reduced to less than that of the respondents with a South Indian language as the medium of instruction. The percentage of employees who had Hindi, Bengali or other non-South Indian languages as the medium of instruction in high school is negligible. This is possible owing to the small number of non-South Indians in the sample. Even of these some had English as the medium of instruction. To the extent that this group is very small the sample is a biased one and does not represent the majority of the language groups in the rest of India. This was contrary to my expectations of large public and private sector undertakings.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Medium of instruction at high school</th>
<th>Public Sector</th>
<th>Private Sector</th>
<th>Public Private Sector</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>U  R  R  U  Total</td>
<td>U  R  R  U  Total</td>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M₁ South Indian languages</td>
<td>41  23</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>40.25</td>
<td>35  51</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M₂ English</td>
<td>52  26</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>49.06</td>
<td>38  15</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M₃ Hindi, Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi, Punjabi, Urdu, and others</td>
<td>12  5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10.69</td>
<td>7  3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>105 54</td>
<td>159</td>
<td></td>
<td>80 69</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table IV: Distribution of Sample according to medium of instruction at high school

Note: Percentages for Urban (Public and Private) and Rural (Public and Private) Industries have not been indicated separately in the table; but have been calculated from the figures available from the table.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mother Tongue</th>
<th>Public Sector</th>
<th>Private Sector</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>UR</td>
<td>RU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telugu</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kannada</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malayalam</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Konkani</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tulu</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengali</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kashmiri</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marathi</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarathi</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saurashtra</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oriya</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table V: Distribution of Sample according to Mother Tongue
3.4.6 (e) Mother tongue

The unequal representation of people with different mother tongues may be seen in Table V. The number of speakers of languages other than Telugu was so small that 'mother tongue' could not be included in the present study as a social variable. The percentage of respondents with Telugu as their mother tongue was higher in the public sector, the possible reason for this being that private sector undertakings tend to employ more people from outside the State than public sector undertakings do. This view was expressed by the majority of officers who answered the letter I wrote to them.*

3.4.7 (f) Function

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Public Sector</th>
<th>Private Sector</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>UR  RU Total</td>
<td>UR  RU Total</td>
<td>PU PR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Line</td>
<td>82  26 108</td>
<td>51  33 84</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff</td>
<td>23  28 51</td>
<td>29  39 68</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>105  54 159</td>
<td>80  72 152</td>
<td>311</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table VI: Distribution of the sample according to function

*Refer to 'Interim Phase' in Section 3 of this chapter, pages 121-122.
The percentage of respondents not directly concerned with production i.e. those belonging to staff in most of the organizations selected for the present study is lower than those respondents belonging to Line. The reason for this may be that the proportion of those employees directly concerned with production in each organization tends to be larger than employees not directly concerned with production. Figures 4 and 5 in Appendix-F containing complete information regarding the employees in two of the organizations are an indication of this. Also, in a description of the pattern of communication (in large industrial organizations) between various members of a division, the P.R.O.s' emphasis was on Line and not on Staff. Possible reasons for this were that the Staff communicated with all those belonging to Line, and that Staff did not form the majority of those employed in an organization. This is, however, only a hunch, for my information on the structure of each of the organizations in terms of numbers in each group is not complete. There is a balance between the percentages of Line and Staff in rural organizations, probably because of smaller numbers and a narrower range of functions there.
Table VII: Distribution of Sample according to knowledge of Indian languages

The percentages of all the industrial organizations irrespective of the type of industries or the location of industries uniformly range from lowest for monolinguals to highest for multilinguals in the sample. This is an indication of the pattern existing in urban areas in general. More people are multilingual in urban areas in India than are bilingual and more people are bilingual than are monolingual. As I have said earlier, (pp.38-39) an individual does not learn only his mother tongue, and/or the regional language, Hindi and English, which are part of the system of education, but also informally learns the language(s) of the region(s) where
he works. Interestingly, with the exception of one respondent whose mother tongue is Telugu, five of the ten monolinguals in urban industries are from Uttar Pradesh and two from Tamil Nadu. As mentioned in Chapter I, these two States have not effectively implemented the three-language formula proposed by the Central Government. People belonging to these States are multilingual only if they informally learn other Indian languages, not as a result of their education. Some of the older people, above the age of 35 may be monolinguals because they did not have to learn more than one Indian language and English at school, according to the old system of education. The number of the respondents who know only their mother tongue is, however, negligible. It was not possible to devise a suitable instrument to assess the respondents' claimed knowledge of Indian languages. I depended on each respondent's own evaluation of his knowledge of the skills of listening, speaking, reading, writing, in each language, the constraint being that the criteria used for evaluation by each respondent might have been different.

3.4.9 (h) Exposure to English

The items in the questionnaire intended to obtain information about a respondent's exposure to English concentrated on his exposure to English along 5 dimensions, 3 in reading and 2 in listening*. The simple scoring procedure mentioned under

*See revised questionnaire in Appendix A-II.
Quantification (pp. 99-104) was adopted and for each dimension a respondent could score a maximum of 4 points and thus a total of 20 if he scored the maximum for each dimension. Each respondent was given a score out of 20, and no negative score was given to those who did not read a magazine in English or a newspaper in English or listened to Indian music only, for this I felt, was a matter of individual choice. Some respondents, for example, may not read the newspaper at all but listen to the news on the radio only because they did not have the time or for any other reason. Instead of giving each respondent a simple score, therefore, I divided the exposure to English into three levels: (a) Level One i.e. minimum exposure to English, would apply to those who scored more than two zeros and had thus no contact with English in three or more of the five dimensions; (b) Level Two, i.e. average exposure to English, would be applicable to those respondents who scored not more than two zeros and had scored 4 points for one dimension; (c) Level Three, i.e., maximum exposure to English, would apply to those respondents who scored four points in at least two of the dimensions, two points in at least two dimensions and not more than one zero.

As can be seen from Table VIIIa, 23.79 percent of the sample had a minimum exposure to English. 24.76 per cent had average exposure to English and 51.45 percent had a maximum

*Refer to Questionnaire in Appendix A-II.
Table VIIIa: Distribution of Sample according to Exposure to English

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Exposure to English</th>
<th>Public Sector</th>
<th>Private Sector</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>U R R U Total</td>
<td>U R R U Total</td>
<td>P U P R Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minimum Exposure</td>
<td>13 13 26 16.35</td>
<td>9 39 48 31.58</td>
<td>26 48 74 23.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Exposure</td>
<td>26 15 41 25.79</td>
<td>17 19 36 23.68</td>
<td>41 36 77 24.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maximum Exposure</td>
<td>66 26 92 57.86</td>
<td>54 14 68 44.74</td>
<td>92 68 160 51.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>105 54 159</td>
<td>80 72 152</td>
<td>159 152 311</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

exposure to English. The difference in percentages between levels one and three is greater in the public sector than in the private sector. This is probably owing to the reversal of these percentages in private rural industries where the majority of respondents i.e. 54.17 per cent, had a minimum exposure to English. 26.39 per cent had an average exposure to English and only 19.44 percent had the maximum exposure to English. We perceive a reversal in percentages when we compare urban and rural industries as well. Whereas in urban industries
the percentage of respondents in levels one, two and three was 11.89 percent, 23.24 percent and 64.86 percent respectively, in rural industries it was 41.27 percent, 26.98 percent and 31.75 percent respectively. The main trends can be highlighted in the Tables VIIIa to VIIIb. Hence while the

Table VIIIb: The figures under Urban and Rural industries have been converted to percentages and they have been shown in the graph to highlight the difference in percentages.
difference between the levels in public and private industries, that is, ownership, does not seem to be a very significant factor affecting differences in exposure to English, the difference between urban and rural industries is sharp. It can be seen mainly in the range of percentages of $L_1$, $L_2$, and $L_3$ employees in these industries and in the percentage of employees belonging to each level. The wider range in urban industries and the comparatively narrow range in rural industries may be due to the larger size of urban industries and their wider range of functions. The difference in the numbers in each level may be due to the greater demands of modern technology which is imported as compared to the traditional weaver's craft in rural areas where no English is required on the job. This difference in exposure to English in urban and rural industries may also be due to reasons outside the work place. One reason may be that owing to an increasing number of newspapers, magazines and radio broadcasts in regional languages, the need to read these in English or listen to programmes in English is not compelling in a rural setting. Moreover, the focus of the rural programmes on radio and T.V. is on familiarizing the people with various areas of interest in their local language.