3.

ભાષાને શું વળગે ભૂર, જે રણમાં જીતે તે શૂર— અખો

"Bhashane shun valage,bhoor
Je ranama jite te shoor." –Akho.[i]

Choisir entre supprimer le françaisetsupprimer la philosophie... Quel beau choix !Enleverplutôt le foieou le poumon ?Plutôtl'estomacou le coeur ?Plutôt les yeuxou les oreilles ?
Il faudraitinventer un enseignementstrictementmonolingued'une part - car tout peutêtretraduit en anglais, n'est-cepas ? - etstrictementdépourvu de toute interrogation (par exemplesurcequ'implique la "traduction" en général et en particulier de telle langue à telleautre). Uneseule langue débarrassée des parasites de la réflexionseraitune belle matièreuniversitaire, lisse, harmonieuse, aisée à soumettre aux contrôlesd'acquisition.
Ilfautdonc proposer de supprimerl'un et l'autre, le français et la philosophie. Et tout ce qui pourraits'enapprocher, comme le latinou la psychanalyse, l'italien, l'espagnolou la théorielittéraire, le russeoul'histoire. Peut-êtreserait-iljudicieuxd'introduire à la place, et de manièreobligatoire, quelqueslangagesinformatiques (comme java) et aussi le chinois commercial et le hinditechnologique, du moinsavantqueceslanguessoientcomplètementtranscrites en anglais. A moinsquen'arrivel'inverse. De toutesfaçons, enseignonsce qui s'affichesurnospanneauxpublicitaires et sur les moniteurs des places boursières. Riend'autre !
Courage, camarades, un monde nouveau vanaître!
--open letter by Jean-Luc Nancy[ii].
http://defendartsandhums.blogspot.in/2010/12/let-them-speak-java-jean-luc-nancy-in.html

3. English Studies in India: Skilling or Imagination

Outline:

This chapter seeks to locate English within the humanities by examining changes in departments of English, a space in which I am situated as both researcher and practitioner. It builds on earlier arguments about the devaluation of the humanities in academia which is governed by the neo-liberal logic of efficiency and productivity. English here occupies a special position: on the one hand, highly useful, on the one hand, as the dominant language of the market, and, somewhat irrelevant, on the other hand, in the prevailing academic climate when it comes to English literature. This ambivalent and shifting position has had an impact on the functioning of English departments as they adapt to the changing times. The chapter examines the resilience of English departments that can offer much sought-after language proficiency in a post-colonial and globalizing India. It also traces the way in which the discipline of English literature, entrenched in colleges and universities in British India, gradually broadened its base to include other literatures and cultures, leaving English literature to languish in a limbo of considerably reduced importance.

In the first section of this chapter I revisit the colonial introduction of English literature into the newly established universities in pre-independent India and the post-colonial legacy of these departments in Indian universities between 1947 and 1960. The second section discusses how the crisis of the 1960s besieging English departments in the West comes to disturb English departments in India twenty years later. I examine large chunks of time, each with its own moment of acute questioning in English departments of the relevance of English Literature in India to highlight both the disjuncture and the continuities until 2000. In the third section I grapple with another moment in history after 2001, marked by a shift, in policy and practice, towards

globalization and internationalization in higher education. This has drastically modified our understanding of the role of English departments. This shift, points to a changed policy for institutions of higher education, and new practices based on information-assimilation, skilling and application of knowledge. The chapter also examines the changing roles of English departments in private higher education institutions offering professional certification/degrees. The reincarnation of English in management education establishes its utility again today not only as an important 'language' but also as the source of 'soft power,' offering transferable skills to future entrepreneurs and managers in India. Having traced the transformation of English Departments in India from colonial to postcolonial to global moments in history, the chapter raises some critical questions concerning their future in India in its concluding section.

I. Colonial/Postcolonial: the birth and growth of English Departments

Till fairly recently a degree in English meant, in most cases, an education in English literature. It was introduced by the British to serve multiple purposes: of social control in Britain, and social reform in the colonies to build legitimacy for the expanding Empire and its political consolidation abroad (Palmer. 1965, Baldick. 1983, Viswanathan. 1989). While English Literature was introduced into universities in India even before it was offered as a subject of study in Oxford and Cambridge, it was meant primarily to uphold the Empire by producing a workforce comprised of middle-class Indians to assist the British superiors in managing the colony. They sorely needed clerks. People of the Indian middle class, who needed jobs and therefore had a stake in the colonial project were the first to ask for an education in English. They acted as a buffer between the colonial rulers and the aristocratic elite. "It was, for example, amongst the upwardly mobile Dadni merchants" says Rasool, "as well as other British

East India Company workers, whose job prospects within the bureaucracy would be enhanced, that the clamour for English had started during the 17th and 18th centuries. For this group of people, English Language fluency facilitated trade and also represented significant cultural capital to be exchanged within the labour market" (Rassool 2007, 21). The first institutions of English education were established by the colonial powers in the early 19th century with the Hindu (later Presidency) College in 1817 in Calcutta, the English School in Benaras (now Varanasi) in 1818, and later, the Elphinstone Institution in what was formerly known as Bombay. These institutions, which educated the sons of upper-caste Hindus in English, led to a gradual but growing reluctance among policy-makers to fund native languages because they believed that an education in indigenous culture and languages would inhibit the assimilation of the subject people with their English rulers (EVANS. 2002. 263). This attitude on the part of the rulers culminated in the much discussed Minute of Thomas Babington Macaulay, leading to the passing of the English Education Act of 1835, which directed the government to fund education in english and science rather than oriental scholarship through the medium of the English language. It was the 1835 English Education Act of William Bentinck that endorsed 'a new function and purpose for English instruction,' moral and religious in nature. As Gauri Viswanathan observes in her pioneering work *Masks of Conquest*, "With the Charter Act, the conflict between commitments of active intervention and neutrality pressed into existence a new discipline – English Literature" (Viswanathan. 1989. 44). It was the famous Wood's dispatch of 1854 that came next to leave its mark on Indian higher education with its decision to establish universities in India and its rapid institutionalization of the discipline of english literature. These men, rulers of the colonies, primarily educated in 'Classics', by which was meant ancient Greek and Latin literature, almost accidentally came to realize that the

introduction of English classics at university level in colonial India could create a nation of admiring subjects who spoke and wrote like themselves but could not compete with them since the language did not belong to them. This university education resulted in the emergence of a new class of English speaking professionals, lawyers, teachers, doctors, administrators, civil servants.

> Following the setting up in 1857 of the first three universities on the western model in the Presidency towns, the ramification of colleges affiliated to these far flung centres was particularly abundant in the Hindi-Urdu speaking areas of north India, and it was here that the fourth and fifth Indian universities were established in the 1880s, in Lahore and Allahabad respectively. By now, bright boys were beginning to pass the B.A. examinations and go straight on to the middle echelons of the provincial civil service on the strength chiefly of a certain proficiency in the English language, imparted then as, by and large, even now through a study of such literary classics as those of Shakespeare and Milton (Trivedi. 1991. 184)

It was only well after independence that the role and importance of English in post-colonial India began to be questioned. India then adopted and advocated a three language formula all through many of its policy documents after independence, namely the University Education Committee Report (1948-49), National Commission on Education (NPE) of 1986 (Chaudhari. 2017) and the Radhakrishnan Commission's report. The last-named had a detailed discussion on the language questions that faced Independent India, largely in terms of the medium of instruction. It offered recommendations for developing robust vocabularies in both the federal and regional languages in India, while retaining English as a language of access to another world of knowledge. The three language formula meant that the students were educated through the mother tongue to begin with; at a later stage the federal language Hindi was to be introduced. They would also be taught English, in such a way that they could read books by English authors with a fair degree of facility [iii](GOI. 1963).

> We have paid a heavy price for leaning through English in the past. Instead of laying stress upon thinking and reasoning we emphasize memorizing; in place

> of acquiring knowledge of things and realities, we acquired a set of mastery over words. It affected originality of thought and development of literature in the mother tongue. We have impoverished ourselves without being able to enrich the language which we so assiduously studied. It is a rare phenomenon to find the speaker of one tongue contributing to great literature in a different language. The paucity of great literature which is the inevitable consequence of devotion by the educated to a language other than their own is a double loss- intellectual and social, for great literature is a powerful factor in fostering culture, refinement and true fellowship" (GOI. 1950. 277)

This three language formula with its plan of nurturing and developing regional and federal languages never saw the light of day as the demand for (and popularity of) English grew steadily with time, making it an undisputed language of social and cultural power, economic opportunities and access in post-colonial India. A large number of universities, especially Central Universities and Indian Institutes of Technology, continued to teach courses in English. A provision for regional languages was made at the undergraduate level in state universities (Krishnamurti 2007, 20-1). English departments within universities enjoyed the pride of place in India for several years to come and were structured along the lines of the colonial British model of English Literary Studies. (Gupta et. al. 2017).

II. Crisis after Crisis: Postcolonial transformations of English Studies

If the historical moment that preceded the establishment of English as an academic discipline at Oxford and Cambridge, in 1894 and 1919 respectively, was the high point of nineteenth-century British imperialism, the historical moment preceding the crisis within English Departments in India in the late 1980s and1990s marks the disintegration of that same global British hegemony, following a number of civil rights movements across the globe. Theories modifying, even dismantling and taking down that sacrosanct canon of British texts, were under way in different parts of the world.

English departments everywhere were changing with the ascendency of critical theories in the 1960s and 1970s. New theoretical developments in sociology, philosophy, psychology were making waves as they entered English literature departments.

> When cultural studies began its work in the 1960s and '70s, it had, therefore, to undertake the task of unmasking what it considered to be the unstated presuppositions of the humanist tradition itself. It had to try to bring to light the ideological assumptions underpinning the practice, to expose the educational program (which was the unnamed part of its project), and to try to conduct an ideological critique of the way the humanities and the arts presented themselves as parts of disinterested knowledge. It had, that is, to undertake a work of demystification to bring into the open the regulative nature and role the humanities were playing in relation to the national culture (Stuart Hall: 15)

By the 1980s in the Western world, traditional departments of English which, resting on an almost unchallenged understanding of what constituted literature, had enshrined the bounded nature of texts and offered close reading of the text as a way to unfold its richness, were losing ground. Received opinions of standard literary critics were set aside as critical/literary theories of post- colonialism, deconstruction, psychoanalysis, feminism, and Marxism, opened up newer possibilities of appreciation and critique. In India too the theories came via English departments but they were late in coming and less readily accepted within the academy. The three most widespread areas that had impact across English departments were post-colonial theory, feminist theory, and a little later, cultural studies.

Post-colonial theory brought with it the first wave of self-reflection and a new criticality to English Studies. English Studies became a topic to be examined, both in the context of curricular reforms, and in the context of its *raison d^ etre* , its existential significance in the form of departments within the university system. The publication of *Orientalism* in 1978 was instrumental in laying bare the complicity of the structure of imperialism with the economic and political structures of colonialism via

'Foucauldian historiography' which questioned the academic and literary discourses of the West (Gupta. 2017. 10). "In the system of education designed for India, students were taught not only English literature but also the inherent superiority of the English race" (Said. 1978. 121). *The Empire Writes Back* by Ashcroft and others in 1989 was a significant milestone in the post-colonial rethinking of English Studies. In India, published in the same year as Said's *Orientalism*, Gauri Viswanathan's *Masks of Conquest* exposed the economic exploitation and material nature of the colonizing mission in India, and the vital role played by English literature in sustaining the structures of the Empire. She traced the genealogy of English departments back to colonial policy documents, emphasizing the complementarities of the relationship between the educational histories of India and England, and offering a critical understanding of colonial discourse that emphasized only the colonial masters' project at the expense of ideological fissures within the constituencies of the colonized in relation to English education. Viswanathan's work paved the way for the critical interrogation and historicizing of English studies in India, which had till then devoted itself to an 'Arnoldian/Leavisite,' liberal humanistic understanding of the British canonical authors, with an occasional glance at American writers and New Criticism.

In the wake of post-colonialism, a further layer was added to English Studies with the emergence of Indian literature in English, Commonwealth literatures, and literature in translation from continental European countries.. The traditional outlook of English Literature departments began steadily to change. Practical questions were faced by English departments in India. Discussing the changes in the University of Calcutta Sanjukta Dasgupta says,

> A very practical problem …is … how to satisfactorily situate and locate the authors and their respective texts without totalizing and strait jacketing texts. Therefore…can Naipaul be regarded as an Indian author? Should Bharati Mukherjee, Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni and JhumpaLahiri be taught as

> American literature or Indian English literature? Is Rushdie an Indian writer? (Dasgupta 2008, 8)

In many English departments a need was certainly felt for newer rubrics that could comfortably house these texts. While new courses in Diaspora Studies, Indian Literature in Translation, Comparative Literature, and Postcolonial Literature were yet to come, the BA English Special syllabus at St. Xavier's Ahmedabad, taking advantage of electives laid down by Gujarat University to which it was affiliated, began to offer in 1992 a course in Indian Writing in English.. The Literary Criticism course by now offered an introduction to contemporary literary/critical theories like post-colonialism. It had become possible for an English department to teach courses that included Kamala Das and Tagore, alongside courses in American literature, Chaucer and Shakespearean tragedy. The traditional canon existed as part of the reading lists side by side with an emerging understanding and appreciation of new writings in English that were neither euro-centric, nor masculine nor imperialistic.

The developments in postcolonial theories led to more reflective thinking and questioning of the Englishness of English departments, resulting in the publication of several significant critical works. Harish Trivedi's *Colonial Transactions: English Literature and India*, Rajeswari Sunder Rajan's *The Lie of the Land,* Sudhakar Marathe's *Provocations: The Teaching of English Literature in India,* Swati Joshi's *Rethinking English,* and, a little later, Susie Tharu's *Subject to Change: Teaching Literature in the Nineties* (1998) made possible the imagining of alternatives to British Literature. Harish Trivedi, for example, deconstructed the nature of the colonial enterprise, offering a nuanced understanding of colonialism as a cultural transaction taking place within a Foucauldian framework of knowledge/power. "In this perspective, to continue to teach English literature in independent India," he says, "is by definition a post-colonial practice, even though many of us have not yet begun to reflect or care

whether it is also at the same time an act of decolonization.…In order to move the universe, one needs not only a long enough pole of political will but also a foothold outside the particular universe one may wish to move. Not everything can always be subverted from within" (Trivedi.1995.7). When I joined the department of English at MSU in 1997, for example, it had pioneered an MA programme with a core course in English Studies in India titled "Politics, Ideology, and the Teaching of English in India." My M. Phil. dissertation from the department was titled, "Cultural Politics of English Studies in India: A case of Nineteenth Century Gujarat". The research for this meant studying the processes of subjectivity formation by examining dissonances and connections in the work of two English-educated Gujarati writers who wrote literary works in Gujarati but personal communication (e.g. diaries) in English.

The period from the middle of the 90s saw a second wave of drastic changes in English literary studies, leading to a much discussed crisis. Teachers in English departments tried to make sense of their roles not only by teaching translations of works from vernacular literature and Indian- English literature (the latter already having a significant body of work), but also through the new literary/critical theories that critiqued all earlier traditions. The movement towards critical theory had already had its heyday in the West. In India it led English departments there to question the dominance of classical texts by critically examining the 'margins' and to consider the 'othering' of different 'others' in terms of identity, race, gender, sexuality, and post-colonialism. The rise of feminism, gender studies, psychoanalysis and post-structuralism had led to a gradual examination, disintegration and reorganization of the revered established canon. This journey was very like the journey that Antony Easthope had illustrated in a Western context, except that English departments in India were undertaking it ten years later. The radical politics of a new understanding of

literary texts in a system of signs, ideologies, institutions, gender relations, psychology, and larger imperial structures inevitably led to an ongoing process of theory- building, and a breaking of the hierarchies that existed between literary over popular culture (Easthope, 1991). Literatures in English had come to question and replace the British canon that had been at the centre of meaning for English departments in colonial and post-independent India. Now in the mid-1990s, critical theory in turn, displaced literature itself from its central place in English departments. Critical theory in India brought with it its own sense of elitism and hierarchies to English studies. An English scholar was no longer engaged in the appreciation and study of "pure" literature in the privileged space of her classroom or study, but was at once connected with the political and social world outside the text and the academy. If theory brought a new meaning to the act of a literary scholar, bestowing a new language of power, a new understanding of texuality and a new sense of privilege, it also gave a new sense of self to teachers in English departments. They now saw themselves as engaged in quasi-scientific, quasi-psychological, quasi-historical, quasi-philosophical, quasi-sociological questioning and research. The sign pointing to Cultural Studies was already visible to many scholars.

It was the coming of Cultural Studies in the late 1990s that displaced the buzz on the high ground of theory. Culture became the crucial word in many English departments in India, allowing them to experiment both with pedagogy and curriculum. Popular culture in all its forms (audio, visual, performative, and written), made further inroads into English departments. Already inducted by the foregoing movements into the habit of critiquing received wisdom, English teachers were now ready for fresh insights into the cultures that had produced them and in which they lived. The new area of Culture Studies offered numerous exciting possibilities. Gone was the sense of

subservience to a superior European culture; so too the over-cultivated sensibility of close reading and aesthetic appreciation. Literary texts could now be interpreted in myriad ways, borrowing from many disciplines, from whatever constitutes a culture. The central point was the refusal to put disciplinary boundaries around the text being examined

Stuart Hall describes the new spaces opened up by Culture Studies in the following paragraph:

> Fending off what sociologists regarded as sociology to be, we raided sociology. Fending off the defenders of the humanities tradition, we raided the humanities . We appropriated bits of anthropology while insisting that we were not in the humanistic anthropological project, and so on. We did the rounds of the disciplines. What we discovered was that serious interdisciplinary work does not mean that one puts up the interdisciplinary flag and then has a kind of coalition of colleagues from different departments, each of whom brings his or her own specialization to a kind of academic smorgasbord from which students can sample each of these riches in turn. Serious interdisciplinary work involves the intellectual risk of saying to professional sociologists that what they say sociology is, is not what it is. (Hall, 15, 16)

In India, teachers of English in colleges and universities found it possible to study diverse and varied aspects and subjects, from Bhili Mahabharata, to Amar Chitra Kathas, to Bollywood movies. Discussions of the paintings of Amrita Shergil, wedding songs of Dalit communities in South Gujarat, the Maoist uprising in West Bengal, or the trauma of Kargil war soldiers[iv]---all were possible and valued subjects of study in a process of rediscovering one's own complex and rich culture.

The movement from the study of the classical British canon to post-colonial literatures in English and then to culture studies has shaped many English departments in India. It must be noted, however, that things did not change everywhere with equal intensity or rapidity. Pure literary studies remained dominant in many Indian universities for several years, especially in non-urban centers of learning (Tasildar. 2014). In other words, by the end of 1999, two perceptions of English departments

were prevalent in society. One set of departments was populated by scholars, anti-canonical in their approach, largely left- leaning in politics, deeply entrenched in theory, and actively connected with, or at least interested in social and political movements in India. Another set of departments was populated by traditional scholars of English, holding strong conservative views about "pure" literature and a close reading of the literary canon. It is interesting to note that neither set was deemed particularly useful for the forthcoming neo-liberal regime that was now looking for a more relevant, practical, application and employment- oriented learning.

III. The Second Coming: English in a Globalised world

The curriculum development committee of 1989 had observed that Shakespeare was a compulsory course in almost all universities, but by 2014 the situation had changed: a decline of interest in Shakespeare's work was noted (Taslidar. 2014). The attitude of Indian students towards English in the last few decades has more to do with its socio-economic benefits than with cultural appreciation (Chaudhary. 2009). In the absence of any kind of courses in linguistics, students think of a major in English literature as the only way to master the language. However, the more utilitarian approach to higher education starting in early 2000 prompted many universities, encouraged by the University Grants Commission, to address the linguistic dimensions of English Studies by offering courses in functional or application-oriented English at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels. In the late 90s Krishnaswamy and Sriraman (1994), and Seshadri (1997) emphasized the need for English departments to review, modify, and restructure the existing courses so as to make space for communicative English, thereby keeping pace with market conditions in a changing and competitive world order. Despite the fact that English departments in India have been sensitive and

receptive to many debates around the canon, curriculum, gender, critical theories and other fields of study, and despite the fact that a sizeable amount of intellectual and creative output comes from English departments in India, be it in English or in regional languages, what has dominated the discourse around English in the last few years is its instrumental role in the knowledge economy as a global language.

A serious debate about whether English Studies was to centre on English as language or on English literature has existed since the University Grants Commissions' Report 1948-49, when the issue of the medium of education and the space of English in the curriculum came up. The many commissions that had given their mandate on the teaching of English since then -- the Calcutta University Commission (1917-19), Kunzru Committee 1957, Banerjee Committee 1960, Study Group 1967, the UGC National Workshop on Syllabus Reform in English 1977 and the CDC 1989 -- had all emphasized the need to teach English as a language. Yet, English departments in India stubbornly retained literature at the centre. The crisis debate raised its head again in the late 1980s as teachers and researchers observed the disparities in class and background being reflected in language proficiencies in literature classrooms. These disparities further created and consolidated within and outside the class fissures, which literature by its very nature had to address. The 1990s debates, therefore, trained their gaze on the role of English Studies in perpetuating inequalities in India through educational policy and pedagogical practices. The irony is that, debates and seminars and their published proceedings notwithstanding, neither policy nor practice paid much heed to the linguistic disparities deepening the already existing social and economic divide in college classrooms. Rajeswari Sunder Rajan noted the mushrooming of informal educational institutions in the late 90s that responded to the linguistic demand for English:

> Since the demand for functional, specific, goal-directed language pedagogy is reflected only in a few school and university syllabi – in most cases it is the 'classic' texts, including Shakespeare, that are used for imparting language skills – there is a trend towards such teaching moving out of the academic arena of schools and colleges. The mushrooming of bazaar institutes offering crash courses in spoken English and for a variety of other 'real life' communication purposes – interviews, exams, business correspondence – is an indication of the marketplace response to this need (Rajan 1992: 19)

The debate of the 90s eventually began to foreground and theorize the unarticulated divisions within which English Studies in India was conceived and continued to operate in post-colonial times. The Programme of Action in 1992 said unequivocally that the three-language formula had not been successful, and that higher education in India had remained committed to English as the dominant medium of instruction (with the exception perhaps of Gujarat University which offered parallel streams in English and Gujarati). What the debate managed to do was to underline the growing demand for an education in language proficiency that outdid the demand for literary study. There were two sides: those who championed the centrality of literature to English Studies, and those who called for a separate space for, and greater emphasis on, language pedagogy. The government policies that were to come in the early years of the 21st century resolved the dilemma in favour of language studies.

As elaborated in an earlier chapter, in reforming and globalizing the space of higher education in India after 2000, education came to be linked more closely than before to the economic productivity of the nation State, and the global markets in terms of relevance of its outcomes, curriculum and pedagogy. The Birla-Ambani report acknowledged the importance of knowledge as an asset, an instrument for success and survival that is quickly replacing raw material and labour.

> Education is universally recognized as an important investment in building human capital. Human capital affects growth in two ways. First, human capital levels act as a driver of technological innovation. Second, human capital stocks determine the speed of technology. It is now widely accepted that human

> capital, and not physical capital, holds the key to persistent higher growth in per capita income (GOI 2000. 840).

The report had emphasized making India "a competitive, yet cooperative, knowledge-based society" rather than the non-competitive, labour-oriented society we have traditionally been. Higher education in India had to offer cutting-edge knowledge to its knowledge workers. The report claimed that the present curriculum was not in tune with the needs of the society and did not reflect its changing trends. The primary objective of education was seen as preparing a student for employment and the courses offered in universities should be not only be reviewed, updated, and evaluated in terms of their utility in a globally competitive world, but the curriculum should also have a market orientation. In such a climate, courses in literature, "oriental languages, archeology, paleontology, religion, and philosophy" were deemed important but not market-oriented, and therefore it should be left to state universities to offer these with state support. The private universities on the other hand, the report suggested, must offer education in the fields of science and technology, management, economics, financial management, and "other critical areas with commercial application."

> Higher Education should incorporate courses in the emerging technologies in areas such as telecommunication, robotics, automation, and biotechnology and constantly seek to embrace new and emerging disciplines. In the traditional courses, the focus should be on cutting edge technologies and courses. For instance, in Civil Engineering the cutting edge technology would involve constructing "intelligent buildings and intelligent roads." (GOI, 2000. 6.14).

The Birla-Ambani report is symptomatic of the changed attitude of the State towards privatization, professionalization, and market orientation in higher education. Nine years later, the report submitted by the National Knowledge Commission (NKC) continued to emphasize the partnership with industry and universities with a view to attract additional funding, improve employment prospects for students, and foster application-oriented upgradation and adaptation of curricula. The NKC also put the

three language formula debate to rest by pronouncing that "the teaching of English as a language should be introduced, along with the first language (either mother tongue or regional language) of the child, starting from Class I" (NKC. 2009. 13). The report does not debate the question of language instruction in higher education at all, but rather assumes and accepts the inevitable supremacy of English in transforming India into a knowledge society; and its power as a major determinant of access to higher education itself. As this instrumentalization of English was in process, making it as Said remarked "low, uninteresting and attenuated," English literature began to fall by the wayside[v].

The State policies emphasized language competencies in English and viewed English increasingly as a matter of pure function rather than an issue marked by social contradictions. Rashtriya Uchhatar Shiksha Abhiyan (RUSA: National Higher Education Mission), in 2013 marked eight future directions in higher education. One of them pointed towards the development of English Language Programmes:

> This is an area that has the potential to be extremely productive while thinking about the scope of Internationalization of higher education as many foreign students who choose to come to India do not have a background of education in English. Since knowledge of English is now nearly indispensable in a global context and since most of higher education in India is conducted in that medium, our educators have a natural advantage. The faculty in the concerned university then can - along with the specific course that the student has enrolled for-- offer courses in communication and writing skills in English. These courses have been seen to be extremely popular among foreign students and can be leveraged to best effect and the course *showcased as part of an all-round holistic educational experience that would perhaps be more attractive than a course with a single focus* (MHRD. 2013. 137). [emphasis mine]

The reports of the labour force in India name proficiency in English as a significant skill deficit (Apring 2012. (India report), 1); surveys indicate poor families choosing private English medium schools even when the choice seems financially less viable (Advani 2009 and Desai et al. 2008); and research articles demonstrate large and statistically significant returns on English skills in India (Azam et. al. 2013). The demand for English language proficiency in the new emerging India comes, therefore,

from two directions---top down as the workforce for the new economy demand the skills of the English language, and bottom up as traditionally disadvantaged sections of the society also perceive English as a 'goddess,' as a language of aspirations, opportunities, and social mobility (Pandey. 2011, Omvedt. 2006). While one agrees with Chaudhari that the absence of a national policy for development of English Studies, or a serious upgrading of English language training marks the field of higher education in India, one also observes efforts by the English departments to reposition themselves in the new world order within both public and private institutions. Efforts by the state government to conduct language and skill training outside the university campus are also on. The drive towards introducing English skills among students and teachers by the state in Gujarat is particularly interesting, if not new, in this context, given Gujarat's history of prioritizing the vernacular over English for many years.

Gujarat has had a conflicted relationship with English from the time the state was founded. When the former Bombay Presidency was divided in 1960 on a linguistic basis to allow the two states of Maharashtra and Gujarat to come into being, Gujarat chose to privilege the vernacular over English. A slanted interpretation of the Gandhian movement led to an "uncomplicated" prioritizing of the vernacular over English in Gujarat's education policies after the 1960s. Gujarati was welcomed as an official language of the state and was also made a medium of instruction at the tertiary level alongside English. Discussing the effect of such prioritization Vaidehi Ramanathan observes,

> By 1965, all official communication was only in Gujarati. This led to a decline in the amount of English used in the public sphere and to a decline in performance in English examinations. Indeed, Gujarat College, an old government college affiliated to the old Bombay Presidency (and one of its premier institutions), changed character as it 'Gujarati-fied' itself, and a Jesuit institution…became one of the better sites for English education in the state. (Ramanathan. 2005. 29).

Gujarati intellectuals were left with an ambivalent relationship towards English, as the idea of a westernized, anglicized elite in Gujarat also had to accommodate an allegiance to the Gandhian movement, unlike in Bengal. The debate in Gujarat over the medium of instruction, where one group advocated the introduction of English in school from grade 5 and the other from grade 8, took place between two Gandhians, both of whom had misunderstood Gandhi's stance on education in the mother tongue and the place of English[vi].

Despite this privileging of Gujarati in policy and making it a medium of subjects such as Economics and Psychology and History, departments of English Literature remained important in the academic landscape of Gujarat. A fascination with English literature and language in Gujarat dates back to the 19th century, where noteworthy political and literary figures---– Valaji Govind Desai, Kishorlal Mashroowala, Mahadev Desai, Gandhi himself, Govardhanram Tripathi, Manilal Dwivedi, Ramanlal Nilkanth and many more were both English-educated, (belonging, as they did, to a period before the formation of the state of Gujarat in 1960) and serious readers of English literature. A number of professors equally comfortable in more than two languages populated English departments in universities all through the twentieth century. English departments in St. Xaviers' College, Gujarat College, Shamaldas College, Baroda College (later Arts faculty) continued to enjoy social prestige through the late nineteenth and mid twentieth century. The Maharaja Sayajirao University in Baroda had some of the best known English scholars in the country.

The period between 1960 and 1999 was a mixed one. There was a marked decline of proficiency in English at one level, and a cherishing and nurturing of its literature at another level. A small privileged group of teachers kept the light of Shakespeare and the classics burning, but on the whole, proficiency in English fell to

abysmal levels compared with other states that had not switched to the vernacular medium at college level. This conflict ridden relationship has led to very poor English skills in Gujarat; English teachers in colleges have had to reach out to two groups in the classroom concurrently: a large number of people educated in the vernacular medium, and a few with a fair degree of mastery degree of mastery over the language. The gap only widened as globalization took over higher education in the state. Globalization, marking the turn of the century, conferred on English a new prestige and a mission that came unaccompanied by any baggage from its colonial past----that of serving the economy. This was also the time when the state started withdrawing from funding higher education and gave permission for starting self-financed colleges. Till now faculty positions in English had been few and not readily sanctioned, but after 1999 fresh English graduates got opportunities in the newly opened self-financed colleges springing up and offering professional education in the market-friendly areas of commerce and management. As discussed in an earlier chapter, UWGIC was one such college in the city to have started in the first phase of expansion. The private colleges were financially independent, but academically still affiliated to the Gujarat University, following the same syllabi in all subjects. This meant that the English department carried on teaching whatever was being taught in state-run commerce and management institutions. This comprised compulsory English and commercial communication, which included occasional literary texts along with basic grammar, writing and business correspondence. Communication, as understood currently, is tied up with the history of business management education. In the 60s at XLRI Fr. McGrath introduced a number of communication-related courses. The Indian Institutes of Management in Calcutta and Ahmedabad also had mandatory courses in written communication and analysis in their syllabi. While communication existed as a subject in management

institutions, it was only after 2010 that one began to see English departments transforming themselves into communications departments. In UWG, for example, English departments were renamed communications Area in 2013, and focused increasingly on courses related to business English and reading and writing skills in English. The transformation led to an immediate ideological connection with the discipline of management. When literature departments turn into communications departments, their very nature changes consciously and unconsciously. Literature is shot through with a very high degree of ambiguity. Literature does not tell; it shows. Communication on the other hand is rooted in the idea of clarity, with a basic belief in the whole process of encoding and decoding a message. However complex the issue, the goal is lucidity. Imparting skill in this area became central to the task of English departments even when they retained their old names. The new Curriculum Development Committee constituted by the UGC in 2001 mandated a minimum degree of linguistic competence to be ensured by any programme having "English" in the title, but accepted that levels of attainment may vary," while making provision at all levels for "applied, functional, and professional skills in English" (UGC, 2001. 14-15).

Gujarat-State Higher Education Plan 2014 (GSHEP 2014) put out a plan for English teaching centres offering a diploma in English Language to develop language proficiency among people. The aim was to get students better integrated in the labour market. "Proficiency in English is a major boost for employability and earning potential. This has become more important in a globally integrated economy. Given this reality, there is an urgent need to improve the English language proficiency of English language teaching skills of our teachers…It is proposed to set up an experimental English language Institute in the state with hostel facilities."(G-SHEP. 2014. 29). The Knowledge Consortium of Gujarat (KCG) also introduced tutorials to

be telecast during college hours to meet the shortage of English lecturers via SANDHAN. This was a Knowledge Management Programme for Faculty in Gujarat to aid the English language competencies of lecturers. But it was Society for Creation of Opportunities for Proficiency in English (SCOPE), one of the more ambitious programmes, introduced by the government of Gujarat in 2007 that actively transformed English language learning as skilling, imparted through an extensive network of information and communication technologies. In partnership with Cambridge Assessment English for designing assessment tests at multiple levels of competency, SCOPE was designed as a Public Private Partnership model that promised placement opportunities for students by improving their English language proficiency. There are more than 200 private centres and 800 centres with state of the art language labs in institutions of education (both school and colleges) that were established to give 90 hours to training to each candidate. At the end of five years the six hundred crore project programme did not seem to have achieved much, as companies in the market refused to recognize the certificate, and the not-so-committed owners of the franchises and language experts had doubts about the quality of the initiative in the absence of able trainers. (Ramesh. 2012, Desai. 2015)[vii] The push also came from UGC's idea of CBCS, which emphasized revising the syllabus to enhance employability and skills. Departments of English in public universities began introducing general electives (Academic writing, Media Communication, Language, Linguistics); ability-enhancing courses (Environmental Studies, English Communication), and skill-enhancing courses (English Language Teaching, Soft skills, Technical/ Business writing). These were offered in addition to other core literary papers in line with UGC's B.A. Honours English syllabus under CBCS.

English departments thus survived the new trend, thanks to their linguistic prowess. As discussed in the previous chapter, while many disciplines under the humanities rubric failed to survive in the new era of private universities in India by 2015, English flourished. The future of English as a global language was firmly established by 2010, and thus, even while all private universities coming up in Gujarat since 2009 deserted History and Philosophy, they continued to hold on to English departments, often changing them into communications departments, teaching soft-skills, leadership skills, and personality development to students[viii]. English was to be taught differently now, concurrently with the professional subjects required for the employability of the graduates. A BA Honours in English Studies at a private university in Bangalore, for example, offers the programme with three streams/specialization for example, Journalism-Psychology-English, Sociology-Psychology-English, or English-Political Science-History. The stated main objective of the programme is to learn "study skills, listening skills, reading skills, writing skills, search skills in library and in online databases, editing skills, bibliographic skills, dissertation skills, and critiquing skills," while social relevance, intellectual rigour, inter-disciplinarity, contemporaneity, employability, student-friendliness are mentioned forming integral features of the programme[ix]. Alternatively, another private university in Northern India describes the academic objectives of its BA Honours programme as acquisition of an ability to use language as a communication tool, to deliver various language skills through literature, and the instruction of language skills to understand leadership dynamics and use of language for skill development. There are yet others that offer electives in English with something of a link with actual literature in professional study programmes, for example, "Shakespeare's history plays and modern management theory" or "Leadership lessons from Literature" or "Theatre for education and social

transformation." All these are also expected to lead the student to become competent in applying 'transferable skills,' which are useful in almost any occupation. A private university in south Gujarat runs a Centre for Humanities and Development that offers short term modules in industrial training, academic training, personality development etc. The skilling and vocationalisation of the English curriculum has also spread across public universities where a student studies compulsory courses in Ability Enhancement as well as electives in Skill Enhancement each semester along with her major. These transformations that are taking place within English departments and overall in the humanities are significant; yet there has been little reflection on the role of English departments and even less on the role of the humanities in the public sphere in the Indian context though the importance of economic productivity in the knowledge society of the future has been made quite clear, as is evident from a government report quoted below:

> The ability to create and maintain the knowledge infrastructure, develop knowledge workers and enhance their productivity through creation, growth and exploitation of new knowledge will be the key factors in deciding the prosperity of this Knowledge Society. Whether a nation has arrived at a stage of knowledge society is judged by the way that country effectively deals with knowledge creation and knowledge deployment. (GOI: 2008)

But further change was in the making. While in Gujarat the instrumentalizing of English Studies had begun, the corporate world took a surprising turn in the direction of the humanities once again, talking about them as a productive force rather than as an adjunct enterprise. Corporate leaders in the Western world had begun by 2013 to see one more aspect of english and humanities . The humanities were beginning to be seen as exerting a useful influence on graduates in Technology and Management by providing a kind of exposure not to be had elsewhere. The moulding of young minds effected by the humanities is now seen as essential to the shaping of future managers.

Steve Jobs introduced the iPad 2 in March 2003 by saying, "It is in Apple's DNA that technology alone is not enough—it's technology married with liberal arts, married with the humanities , that yields us the results that make our heart sing." (https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/steve-jobs-technology-alone-is-not-enough).

A report of the Academy of Arts and Sciences titled *"The Heart of the Matter"* (published in 2013 made a case for spending time, resources, and energy towards research and education in humanities than simply focusing on STEM subjects. It is interesting to note that the report has taken its title from a 20th century novel of the same name by Graham Greene. This may be seen as a sign of recognition, however unconsciously made, of the relevance of literature. The report, surveying a number of employers, argued that a majority of them are in favour of a liberal education defined as an education that has both breadth and depth at the same time. "It also helps students develop a sense of social responsibility, as well as intellectual and practical skills that span all areas of study, such as communication, analytical, and problem-solving skills, and a demonstrated ability to apply knowledge and skills in real-world settings" (AAAS. 2013. 33). What is valued by employers today, the report argues, is not instruction in specific jobs, but rather a development "of long-term qualities of mind: inquisitiveness, perceptiveness, the ability to put the received idea to a new purpose, and the ability to share and build ideas with a diverse world of others" (AAA. 2013. 11). The President of the *Fortune 100* financial service organization Roger W. Ferguson, Jr., of TIAA-CREF said, "Business leaders today are looking for a diversity of skills, and not just technical knowledge. Pivotal right now in financial services- a relationship business—is trust built around empathy, understanding, listening skills, critical thinking. It's not enough in financial services to simply be able to work with

spreadsheet. You need to convince your individual or institutional clients to take the right set of actions. The skills that come out of the humanities , the softer relationship skills—listening, empathy, and an appreciation for context—are incredibly important" (AAA. 2013. 34). *The Huffington Post* has Steve Strauss, a lawyer, a businessman, a columnist, declaring in his blog, "I love English majors. I love how smart they are. I love their intellectual curiosity. And I love their bold choice for a major. Most of all, I love to hire them" (Strauss. 2013. https://www.huffingtonpost.com/steve-strauss/hiring-english-majors_b_3484409.html). In a news item in *Business Insider* Bracken Darrell the CEO of Logitech declared that he loves hiring English majors for the kind of skills they possess. "The older I get, the more I realize the power of words and the power of words in making you think ... the best CEOs and leaders are extremely good writers and have this ability to articulate and verbalize what they're thinking" (Darrell in Vivian Giang. June 21 2013. https://www.businessinsider.in/LOGITECH-CEO-I-Love-Hiring-English-Majors/articleshow/21059902.cms).

English majors were becoming the 'hot-new-hires' as employers' surveys started reflecting that what they valued among their employees were communication skills, writing skills, researching skills, critical thinking skills. Empathy was emerging as the must-have job skill (Martinuzzi. July 11, 2013. https://www.americanexpress.com/us/small-business/openforum/articles/why-english-majors-are-the-hot-new-hires/). Once soft skills started to attract jobs with salaries of more than a hundred thousand dollars, management schools began to take note. The "use value" of English was now seen as stretching beyond its linguistic skills. It was a useful means to teach communication and reasoning skills, to impart lessons in interpersonal relationships, organizational behavior, moral decision making. In other words, it was a training in soft skills, generic skills, and transferable skills. This kind of

training was now considered essential in a business environment where organizational structures were becoming more fluid and less hierarchical. In an environment governed by individual ownership and initiatives, cultural relativity and generic soft skills were of value. Ironically, the same skills that Martha Nussbaum saw as essential for competent democratic training are seen as essential for a global manager in a flexible ever-changing world of business populated with difference. A training in English (and by extension in the humanities) thus becomes a tool, a pedagogical tool directed towards quantitative results. The logic of efficiency, productivity, and accountability directed the inclusion of literary courses in management and technical institutions, with the goal of enhancing an awareness of multiple perspectives, better critical analysis, and articulation of arguments. The end is to produce a manager who can manage conflict, contain difference, channelize emotions, and produce consensus and tame the chaos that underlies situations in the absence of such management. The humanities are to be utilized in the service of an effective and efficient organization.

The presence of humanities and Social Sciences in a school that is primarily technical is not in itself a new phenomenon. IITs have always had departments of social science and humanities from the time of their inception. The reasons for their presence and validity there, however, have never been self-evident. This struggle for validity may have begun with the unstoppable march of positivism and scientism that came to dominate the field of knowledge in modern society. While a few influential visionaries saw the need of another kind of discourse that would counter or enlarge the field of knowledge that science was taking over, that vision was not widely shared in the institutions themselves. In tracing the cases of Purdue, MIT, and Stanford, Dr. Ravindra Kaur shows that many of the programmes in these primarily engineering institutions were started by either a director who was himself a humanist, or by those who saw in

the wake of political conflicts and wars that humanities and social sciences (HSS) were imperative to temper and make more complex ethical issues to counter the neutrality of science and technology. The masterful power and inexorable march of science and technology had to be contextualized in the social and political space ridden with the politics of power. This is the reason the humanities were introduced into such institutions. The Indian Institutes of Technology established in the 1960s recognized the value of knowledge that cannot be wholly quantified:

> The Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs) based themselves on the MIT model, keeping in special view the development needs of India as a new nation. The 1946 Sarkar Committee Report argued that then existing degree colleges did not integrate mathematics, science and humanities with the specialised professional subjects. This was seen as a lacuna to be filled. Henceforth, in the new IITs there was to be a strong emphasis on the integration of basic sciences and humanities in engineering education. It was further argued that strong departments of sciences and humanities should be established with a status comparable to engineering departments as opposed to a service role, as prevalent in the traditional engineering departments. (Kaur. 2005, 4)

However laudable the original intentions of the IITs in including HSS into their programmes, it is a fact that HSS continued to operate as a service model, remaining on the periphery where English is seen to be Communication, and Economics is merely commerce and accounting.. The reductionist service model of HSS presumes a quality of 'usefulness' in for humanities disciplines, which are chosen on the basis of their perceived or demonstrated usefulness.

Thus, in a society of people with different levels of English-language skills, a society that perceives a link between proficiency in English and professional success, English-language teaching takes on an important role. Success in the wider world is tied up with being able to speak 'good' English and, more importantly, with the ability to 'communicate fluently'. This has created an unquestioning acceptance of courses in 'communication skills,' and of their technological counterpart, 'the language lab', in all

technology institutes. A very legitimate financial investment in an HSS department is in the revamping and modernizing of language laboratories. The more technologically sophisticated the lab, the better the reputation of the programme (here, too, it appears that technology wins the day). A globalizing and highly competitive world demands marketable products; in this case, the students. The language lab is expected to provide the 'finishing school' effect to the immature, gawky engineering graduate. This polished product, additionally groomed by 'training and placement' centres attached to these institutions, is then picked up by the multinational companies scouting the elite and not-so-elite engineering school campuses. The 'language lab' with its technological aspects and 'doing' mentality is also something that is comprehensible to the engineer. This service model was to be found in private universities in India, where many new private institutions were offering programmes in management, applied sciences, technology, and engineering.

Many reports commissioned by the Government of India after 2000 were clear about the priorities of the government when it came to funding even as they began to conceptualize public/private partnerships. The boundary lines were clearly drawn here as the Private Sector was not interested in any partnerships meant to sustain non market-oriented disciplines. As dealt with in an earlier chapter, the Birla-Ambani Report on the Policy Framework for Reforms in Education in 2000 guided the government's thinking on education at the start of the 21st century. Authored by the heads of the two major industrial houses of India, this report advocated that the role of the government be restricted to the funding and delivery of, not higher education, but free and compulsory primary education. "Government must exercise its regulatory role to streamline higher education to ensure that it is meaningful, purposeful and cost effective. The Report suggests that tertiary education be left to the Private Sector. In essence, the

Government's role should be maximum at the primary stage and minimum at the higher education stage" (GOI 2000. 6.14). The primary objective of education, according to the report, was employment generation. It therefore recommended that the courses offered in universities should be reviewed, updated, and evaluated in terms of their utility in a globally competitive world, and all academic disciplines should have a market orientation; those failing the marketability test would be fostered by the government. The private universities in India since the 1990s have therefore offered education in the fields of science and technology, management, economics, financial management, and "other critical areas with commercial application." The Birla Ambani report was followed by the National Knowledge Commission's report and the Narayana Murthy Commission's report, all of which steered the Rashtriya Uchhatar Shiksha Abhiyan, and later, the "Skilled India" initiative. The growing emphasis on skills, efficiency, relevance, quality and access has seen in the last twenty years the proliferation of a large number of for-profit, unaided private colleges, and universities across India, offering degrees in Engineering, Technology, and Management. At the same time the departments of the humanities and social sciences, facing a declining popularity, have languished in government colleges.

The utilitarian understanding of education that rested on this thirst for national profits, 'overvaluation of 'useful and highly applied skills' over the 'useless frills' of the humanities ; has been critiqued by Martha Nussbaum in *Not for Profit: Why Democracy needs the Humanities* . She writes about the dangers for democracy of neglecting the humanities worldwide. An education in the humanities , she maintains, can give skills to students that are needed by competent citizens: a capacity for critical thinking and reflection, and an ability to co-exist and operate across cultural differences in globally interdependent economies. (Nussbaum: 2010). In recent years this idea of

creating better future leaders, better citizens for India, has led some private institutions to start a school of liberal education.

The change happened around 2013 as the Private Sector woke up to realize the relevance of the humanities to the world of business. This is how English Literature and the humanities made a return to the university departments through the backdoor of Management studies. In many other private universities in Gujarat, for example, management programmes are offering HASS-based electives to provide what is called 'liberal' or 'holistic' education to the students. The second Carnegie Report titled "Rethinking Undergraduate Business Education: Liberal Learning for the Profession" (2011) made a case for restructuring management education in the US by reintroducing liberal arts into the course.

> *Liberal education's purpose is to enable students to make sense of the world and their place in it, preparing them to use knowledge and skills as means towards responsible engagement with the life of their times*. To meet this purpose, liberal education requires academic content knowledge and several kinds of cognitive skills as well as capacity to bring this knowledge and skill to bear on complex and ambiguous issues in the real world" (53, *emphasis added)*

This seems to emphasize preparing students who fit in, ' make sense of their place in the world,' to accept, understand and not question, to learn skills that lead to 'a responsible engagement with life'. Nowhere is there any mention of critical self-reflection, the raising of uncomfortable questions; it is almost as if the liberal cast of mind is to be the handmaiden of capitalist entrepreneurship.

Such an idea of liberal education devoid of critical self-reflection works neatly with the students' need to prepare themselves for work in fields such as business. The report seeks to extrapolate the core liberal arts skills, namely, analytical thinking, multiple framing, the reflective exploration of meaning, into undergraduate management education, all through an array of diverse pedagogies involving

assignments, team-based activities, business-case analyses, simulations, and practice with oral presentations and written communication. (2011). Whether these pedagogies suit the content, the subject matter of history, literature or philosophy, is not an issue that is raised.

An issue of the *Journal of Management Education* also devoted itself to this 'liberal' turn in Management Education. Many articles in the issue discussed incorporating studio-based arts education, photographs, and digital story-telling for business with an emphasis on problem-solving that can bring in the much desired empathy and creativity to management education(Katz-Buonincontro. 2015, Nesteruk. 2015, Madden and Smith 2015). Another article by Wilson emphasizes the need for liberal arts subjects to develop critical thinking among students, who will be able to analyse change in ideas over time and take a balanced view. humanities , according to him, is also crucial for communication, especially in an age of social media. He advocates the study of "great writing" of the past to make students aware of how writing and the idea of greatness in writing change over time.

> Studying most liberal arts disciplines is as much about learning how to communicate and how to assess information as it is about learning from examples. Yes, history and literature can teach how the world works, how people interact with one another, and how problems can escalate to the point where there is little that people can do. But these subjects are also about learning how to talk about and write about such complex issues so that one can communicate imprecise and possibly non-rational ideas to others. This kind of communication requires intelligent explanation of and support for claims of cause and effect. It requires recognizing the difference between proof and opinion. Overall, communicating complicated ideas requires untangling the threads of complexity and explaining each so that the reader/listener gets a complete view of a situation clearly and without ambiguity (Wilson. 2015. 31)

What Wilson goes on to illustrate are the ways in which Management understands the humanities . Management institutions believe the study of the humanities , out of

context, shorn of all of its essential characteristics, will help management students reach their goals. A second reading of the excerpts from the Carnegie report and Wilson article makes one see this more clearly. One is reminded of the sophists in ancient Greece who saw philosophy in exactly this light, and taught their pupils all the tricks of rhetoric without delving deep into the serious questions that arise. For this reason Socrates despised them. A study of the humanities is not about case studies, studios or communication; they cannot be used as a generous seasoning over a platter full of management courses to produce the desired flavor of empathy and creativity. However, this is what has happened even in India, with private institutions incorporating courses in the humanities and social sciences as electives. Private participation in education, since its dramatic increase in the 1990s in India, has largely remained in the field of engineering, communication technology and management and it is only very recently that we have witnessed a growth in the number of corporate leaders getting actively involved in establishing institutes of liberal studies as well as management schools. Curricula that include courses in the h0umanities and social science under CBCS have been drawn up. The disciplines that have remained on the periphery in private educational institutions are now being drawn into the management fold in many other institutions in India. The pioneering effort by corporate leadership in India led to the establishment of Ashoka University in 2014, a university that offers an education in liberal studies alone, to contribute to building future leaders of India. Two years later, UWG came up with yet another attempt to put Liberal Education at the centre of its education mission in 2016. Much before the plans for the school of Liberal Arts and Sciences began to consolidate, UWG had started offering various courses in the humanities ,social sciences, and Fine arts in the form of electives from which students could choose. In 2012-13 UWG incorporated English literature in the curriculum of its

professional courses at the third year level. A series of elective courses in literary studies, culture studies, history, sociology, and philosophy were offered to the third year undergraduate students, in addition to business communication courses in the first two years. Questions were frequently raised however in meetings about the relevance of the literary electives offered to students in the name of communication electives. The proposal would often be made to create a few more electives in business/ corporate communication in the next cycle of syllabus revision, suggesting that courses in poetry or the short story were not exactly helpful. The change that came was very different when the structure was revised in 2016; the atmosphere had changed; there was a new management at the helm. Liberal Arts and Science were now to stand on their own.

A new plan for a School of Liberal Arts was to be at the centre of the 'liberal education, research-driven university;' it has a new tagline that announces its goal: "to foster continuous progress of self and society". The literature courses offered by the communications faculty then got a new lease of life and a new legitimacy but they continue to remain outside the School of Liberal Arts. The School of Liberal Arts, still in its nascent stage, has been busy building multiple divisions in humanities and languages, biological and life sciences, social sciences, mathematical and physical sciences. The school, with a British national as Dean, has been drawing the majority of its faculty base from institutions of international repute outside India. It proposes to build undergraduate and postgraduate programmes that are inter-disciplinary from the start. The communications department, a conglomeration of English literature professors in the School of Management, are part of the old legacy, trained at Indian universities, and largely teaching-oriented. These faculty members continue to operate within the communications wing of the management school, offering occasional electives across the university in areas of their interest, but largely designing and

teaching courses in English language with the Centre for Reading and Writing. Many of them also work with the upcoming MBA programme to offer courses in communication that are conceived at the intersection of other disciplines; finance, economics, marketing, and business organisation; and are therefore co-taught. All the faculty members including those of communications and English are also expected to orient themselves towards the new interdisciplinary approach to education and a new pedagogy of the university called ENABLE, which is the university's version of project based learning.

The question that arises is: Where exactly are the English departments housed? Ramachandra Guha once said that in the case of India, the divide of two cultures that C. P. Snow talked about has existed from the time the first universities were set up in the 19th century. "Almost from the beginnings of modern education, Indian men were brought up to believe that the 'arts' were inferior to the 'sciences.' Even in the universities where the two coexisted, science students or professors scarcely came into contact with their counterparts in the humanities. After independence, apart from the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR), the creation of the Indian Institutes of Technology has contributed to the further moving apart of the two cultures. Although the IITs had departments of humanities , their concerns, as mentioned earlier, were integrated in a desultory way into the curriculum. The precedent for this was set well before, by the Indian Institute of Science, whose original charter (influenced by the visionary founder, Jamsetji Tata) had room for a department of social science, which, however, remains to be activated a century after the institute's founding. And so the finest minds in the sciences have been encouraged to cultivate an indifference (even contempt) to the social sciences and to history." (Guha. 2008: 10). The question is whether a reorganisation of education as interdisciplinary, restructuring of university

campuses where schools of arts and sciences are being erected in the midst of professional schools will actually put an end to such a divide that C. P. Snow talked about years ago? English departments need to engage with questions about their role in the new professional schools and universities. Does English become meaningful when co-taught with finance and marketing? Is the only way to see the value of literature today is to see it as an instrument to teach management lessons? Do English departments need to prioritise their language teaching as it grows to be more and more undisputable language of the global economy? As the question of medium of instruction gets put to rest in a system racing towards global accreditation, are we reaching nearer to progress or moving farther away from the question of multilingualism in India? Should universities address the question of multilingualism in India, especially when it is so very different from the experience of European countries and so neatly tied to the questions of identity? "One language for ethnic identity, another for business transaction, another for official dealings, another for entertainment, another for rituals and so on. Identity is not restricted to ethnic identity alone and a speaker may carry different identities in different social contexts. He may use these different languages to exhibit these different identities" ((Dua1982) quoted in Annamalai 2001). How should a university in India engage with English today? Should it discard it wholesale as a dismal relic of the colonial period, or an instrument of oppressive power of the global super powers? Or should it Indianize it as we continue to use it in the public sphere while we guard our private spaces closely? The questions that are faced by the department of English in India today are pertinent and speak of its threatened status as a discipline.

These questions need to be examined in the broader context before one can attempt to answer them. The next chapter will try to place English in the larger context

of the humanities . It asks the question whether these dilemmas of the departments of English are unique to the discipline or are they indicative of the shared plight of all disciplines within the humanities ?

[i] Translated into English this medieval Gujarati poet's words mean: "What are you holding on to the language for? The one who wins in a battlefield is a strong one.

[ii] "To choose between doing away with French and doing away with Philosophy? What a fine option! Would you rather remove the liver or the lungs? Or the stomach or the heart? The eyes or the ears?

Let's invent a strictly monolingual education on the one hand --- since everything can be translated into English, isn't that so? --- and strictly denuded of all questioning (for instance on what it means to 'translate; in general and in particular from this language to that)! Even one language completely rid of the parasites (germs) of reflection would be excellent university material, supple, harmonious, easy to submit to the controls of acquisition.

One must therefore make a proposal to eliminate both, French and philisolophy. And everything else that may come close, like Latin or psychoanalysis, Italian, Spanish or literary theory, Russian or history. Perhaps it would be wise to introduce instead — compulsorily --- some computer languages (like Java), also commercial Chinese and technological Hindi, at least before these languages become completely render able into English --- unless of course the inverse happens.

In any case, let us teach what is on our publicity hoardings and on the monitor of stock exchanges. Nothing else!
Take heart comrades, a new world is about to be born!!" (translated by Dr. Sarvar Sherry Chand)

[iii] The three language formula envisioned by the Radhakrishnan Commission never saw the light of the day.

[iv] Syllabus revisions at Jamia Milia University and at Bangalore have made it to the national news as works of rock legend Bob Dylan's writings and the works of Jhumpa Lahiri and Amartya Sen, made it to the Jamia Milia Syllabus and Harry Potter, Mills & Boon, "Dostana" and "Slumdog Millionaire" made it to the Bangalore University syllabus in 2017. [neeti Sarkar hindu JUNE 07, 2011 20:19 ISTUPDATED: JUNE 07, 2011 20:19 IST) 12/12/2017 In the course of things - The Hindu http://www.thehindu.com/features/metroplus/in-the-course-of-things/article2084586.ece 2/6]

[v] Edward Said remarks in his *Culture and Imperialism* the global phenomenon of instrumentalisation of the English language when he is evaluating the English Programmes of the Gulf States. Commenting on their staleness and orthodoxy he observes, "The reason for the large numbers of students taking English was given frankly by a somewhat disaffected

instructor: many proposed to end up working for airlines, or banks, in which English was the worldwide *lingua franca*. This all but terminally consigned English to the level of a technical language stripped of expressive and esthetic characteristic and denuded of any critical or self-conscious dimension. You learned English to use computers, respond to orders, transmit telexes, decipher manifests, and so forth. That was all" (Said. 1994. 369).

[vi]Quote from Umashankar's article in sanskruti about the question of English.

[vii]http://www.dailymail.co.uk/indiahome/indianews/article-2924852/Modi-s-language-scheme-falls-flat-Gujarat-10-cent-students-rural-parts-read-English.html)

[viii] The effect of the neo-liberal instrumentality was not only seen in India but across the world as language departments began closing down. "Contempt was the directed at entire domains of knowledge, including ethnic studies and critical race studies (both of which have been declared illegal in the State of Arizona), and the public value of these activities has become rapidly less than obvious. ….But in addition to the highly publicized closing of the French department at the State University of New York at Albany and philosophy at Middlesex in the United Kingdom, numerous other universities within the United States have cut German, Latin, Italian, and French. In 2010, it was estimated that fifty four language programs that used to take ten to twelve students a year have been restricted to two or even none[viii]. History departments have also suffered a great deal, with clear implications for graduate education and placement. The Chronicle of Higher Education tells us that African history job openings fell 62 percent in 2010. Latin American history took a large fall, down by 43 percent. The largest fields as has been the case for years, were European and U.S. history, and even these fell by 34 and 28 percent, respectively" in Butler (17)

[ix] For more information on the way the college positions its humanities programme visit: http://christuniversity.in/humanities-and-social-sciences/english/bachelor-of-arts-(ba)-honours-in-english