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Multilingual Education (MLE) Practices in India

A Process Study of the Bastar Programme

2026





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Abbreviations

ASER	: Annual Status of Education Report
BAC	: Block Academic Coordinator
BEO	: Block Education Officer
BRCC	: Block Resource Cluster Coordinator
CAC	: Cluster Academic Coordinator
DEO	: District Education Officer
DIET	: District Institute of Education and Training
DMC	: District Mission Coordinator
FGD	: Focus Group Discussion
FLN	: Foundational Literacy and Numeracy
IRE	: Initiation-Response-Evaluation
L1	: First language / home language of the child
L2	: School language / second language in multilingual context
LLF	: Language and Learning Foundation
LMS	: Language Mapping Survey
LoI/ MOI	: Language of Instruction/ Medium of Instruction
MLE	: Multilingual Education
NCERT	: National Council of Educational Research and Training
NCF-FS	: National Curriculum Framework – Foundational Stage
NEP	: National Education Policy
NIEPA	: National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration
NIPUN	: National Initiative for Proficiency in Reading with Understanding and Numeracy
OLD	: Oral Language DevelopmentSCERT
PDR	: Process Documentation Research
SCERT	: State Council of Educational Research and Training
TET	: Teacher Eligibility Test
TG	: Teacher Guide
TLM	: Teaching-Learning Materials
ToT	: Time on Task
TPD	: Teacher Professional Development
TPR	: Total Physical Response



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1	11	21	31	41	51	61	71	81	91
2	12	22	32	42	52	62	72	82	92
3	13	23	33	43	53	63	73	83	93
4	14	24	34	44	54	64	74	84	94
5	15	25	35	45	55	65	75	85	95
6	16	26	36	46	56	66	76	86	96
7	17	27	37	47	57	67	77	87	97
8	18	28	38	48	58	68	78	88	98
9	19	29	39	49	59	69	79	89	99
10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100

Aa	Bb	Cc	Dd	Ee	
Ff	Gg	Hh	Ii	Jj	
Kk	Ll	Mm	Nn	Oo	
Pp	Qq	Rr	Ss	Tt	
Uu	Vv	Ww	Xx	Yy	Zz

न + ल = नल, क
प + व + न = पवन
ब + च + प + न = बचपन
शब्द प
अ - अमर, अजय,
क - कदम, करना
स - सर, समय



Executive Summary

Background and Programme Overview

Neev, a multilingual education programme for improving foundational learning, was implemented in Bastar district of Chhattisgarh by Language and Learning Foundation (LLF) in collaboration with the Chhattisgarh State Education Department from 2022 onwards. The multilingual approach for this programme begins with the children's mother language or the most familiar language (L1), followed by a calibrated use of both L1 and Hindi (the official medium of instruction) until Grade 3. Neev was initially implemented in 200 schools where the children's L1 was Halbi and later expanded to all 1,524 primary schools in Bastar district in 2023, encompassing other mother languages and varied linguistic contexts.

Rationale for the Bastar MLE Programme

India's National Education Policy (NEP) 2020, NIPUN Bharat, and the National Curriculum Framework—Foundational Stage (NCF-FS) 2022 emphasise the use of children's home language (L1) at the foundational stage through a multilingual approach. In Bastar's multilingual context, a 2022 language mapping survey revealed a stark mismatch between students' home languages and the medium of instruction at the foundational and preparatory stages. Only 5% of children reported Hindi—the school's medium of instruction—as their home language. These findings, along with a conducive policy environment and lessons from LLF's earlier Multilingual Education (MLE) pilot programme (the Ajuvaroo MLE programme in Rajasthan), informed the design of the Bastar MLE programme. Neev programme was conceived as a demonstration programme for implementing MLE at a scale in similar socio-linguistic settings.

Programme Design

Neev envisioned systematic and strategic use of the children's home language (L1) alongside the school language (L2) in their early grades. This was implemented through a bilingual-biliteracy pedagogical framework with a multilingual underpinning. The approach integrated four key components of literacy within a structured pedagogy framework (the Four-Block model prescribed in NCF-FS 2022): Oral Language Development (OLD), decoding, reading and writing. Together, these elements, integrated into a 90-minute classroom session, aimed to support foundational learning by building skills in both L1 and Hindi. Grounded in multilingual education theory and translanguaging practices, the programme envisioned a systematic strengthening of L1 in a way that facilitates more effective L2 acquisition. The programme's Teacher Guide outlined seven core components that work synergistically:

- L1 as a foundation for learning
- Gradual and systematic introduction of L2
- Balanced literacy approach
- Structure pedagogy
- Regular teacher training, review, and planning meetings
- Academic support at the school level
- Community connection

Process Documentation Methodology

This study adopted a mixed methods approach, focusing on the evolving engagement of teachers, community members, parents, children, and the programme implementation team. Data were collected from teacher surveys (486 responses) across the districts, classroom observations in 20 randomly selected schools from 200 programme schools that were initially selected in 2022, interviews with 20 teachers, and focus group discussions with community members and programme staff. Data collection was completed in three phases between February and December 2024. Initial analysis from early phases informed subsequent data collection, enabling an iterative and responsive research process.

Key Findings

A. Classroom Processes and Pedagogical Practices

- **L1 Use in the Classroom:** Classroom practices indicate a gradual integration of L1 (37% of total observed interaction time) into teaching–learning processes, signaling a desired pedagogical adaptation from monolingual instruction in the language used as medium of instruction towards multilingual practices. However, 42% of classroom interactions remain Hindi-dominant, while approximately 17% involve a combination of both languages. When L1 use is considered alongside mixed-language practices, it accounts for 54% of total classroom interaction time, reflecting a substantive incorporation of L1 into classroom practice, marking a significant pedagogical shift.
- **Classroom Interactions:** Frequency of classroom verbal interaction suggests that classroom interaction remains largely teacher-led (teacher were talking in 55% of total observed frequency), with limited student utterance (21% of total observed frequency) and only 17% dialogic exchanges where both teacher and students were talking. However, higher use of L1 is associated with more interactive classrooms, including greater individual and small-group engagement and more elaborate student responses, with 19.6% interaction in classrooms with more than 50% L1 use, 19.2% interaction in classrooms with 25-50% L1 use and 12.5% interaction in classrooms with 10-25% L1 use. L1 use appears to facilitate better comprehension and supports emerging dialogic practices, particularly through bilingual and mixed-language interactions. The findings suggest that while L1 creates important pedagogical opportunities, its full potential is realised only when combined with more dialogic, student-centred teaching approaches.
- **Instructional Practices:** The structured pedagogy design allocates 90 minutes to oral language development, decoding, reading, and writing. While overall on-task engagement was 93%, classrooms with greater L1 use showed more active engagement in oral exchange, reading and writing. In contrast, low-L1 classrooms relied more on drills and copying which demonstrated higher level of distraction in students
- **Interactive Learning:** As an overall conclusion, while many classrooms remained teacher-directed, schools that followed the bilingual lesson plans more systematically showed a greater inclination towards interactive methods. Systematic use of L1, mediated through comprehensive bilingual Teaching-Learning Materials (TLMs), created more inclusive, participatory learning environments and elevated student voice.

B. Teachers' Attitudes

- **Initial Reservations and Constraints:** Many teachers initially resisted using L1 in their classrooms, believing that this shift would obstruct the cognitive growth of students. Two-thirds of the teachers who were non-Halbi speakers also lacked training in multilingual pedagogy, and often viewed L1 as inferior. These factors reinforced monolingual practices, ranging from the exclusion of L1 to unstructured code-switching.
- **Evolving Beliefs:** At the time of data collection, 90% of the teachers showed an openness to use L1 in their classrooms. Surveys indicated that 87% used the children's home language for teaching, 92% encouraged its use for expression, and 71% rejected the idea that multiple languages confuse learners. Most shifted to pragmatic bilingual strategies, though a small minority still preferred L2-only approaches.
- **Sustained Efforts:** The shift in teachers' attitudes was driven by the programme's comprehensive scaffolding structure, including regular training, mentoring, and providing bilingual TLMs and their systematic use in classrooms. In contrast to one-off workshops, the programme implemented cycles of demonstration during onsite support, feedback, and peer learning.
- **Practice-Based Adaptation:** Teachers reported adopting MLE practices after witnessing tangible improvements in the classroom, such as greater student participation, engagement, and confidence. This practice-based MLE adoption occurs gradually, with each new element building upon previous ones.
- **Ongoing Support Needs:** Adoption was negotiated, uneven, and gradual. While many teachers moved from viewing L1 as a challenge to a pedagogical resource, some continued to struggle, demonstrating that continuous mentoring, need-based academic support, and dialogue remain critical for ensuring sustained adoption across all schools. This implies that sustained efforts are required to make MLE as classroom reality.
- **Purposive Engagement with L1:** The comprehensive programme design and systematic use of L1 prompted purposive engagement with L1 among teachers. Many non-Halbi-speaking teachers also began learning the language with the explicit objective of integrating it into classroom pedagogy to support instruction and learning processes.

C. Implementation Dynamics

- **Phased Trajectory:** Implementation dynamics were non-linear and followed distinct phases. The first year (2022-2023) was marked by resistance to using L1 in classrooms and scepticism towards structured pedagogy. It took three rounds of training and continuous effort in the subsequent years of programme implementation at the school level to witness a gradual acceptance among teachers of the proposed pedagogy.
- **Inter-School Variance:** Adoption showed significant variance between schools, slowed by two systemic factors:
 1. **High teacher turnover:** Approximately 40% of teachers were transferred or replaced within two years, which necessitated entirely new training of incoming teachers in MLE approach and practice in classrooms.
 2. **Language Proficiency Gaps:** Teachers fluent in Halbi implemented MLE methods more effectively, while non-speakers of the language faced steeper learning curves. The recruitment of new teachers, often non-native Halbi speakers, further delayed the implementation process.
- **Trajectory of Change:** Despite challenges, the intervention strategies received positive response. Initial scepticism shifted to acceptance and, eventually, routine implementation. By the end of Year 2, many teachers progressed from mere compliance to creatively adapting MLE strategies in their classrooms.



D. Challenges

- **Inter-school Variance in Classroom Practice:** Schools differed widely in their use of L1 in the distribution of activities—OLD, decoding, reading, and writing—and in the extent of student participation. These variations were not incidental but reflected the sociolinguistic diversity of Bastar, entrenched biases towards monolingual teaching and the disruptive effects of frequent teacher transfers.
- **Managing a Changing Teacher Pool:** Nearly 40% of teachers were replaced within two years, which repeatedly disrupted consolidation efforts. Each new cohort required fresh orientation, training and mentoring, while classroom integration of MLE strategies often lagged behind the training cycle.
- **Gaps in Teacher Preparedness:** Teacher training, both pre-service and in-service, showed limitations in preparing teachers for early-grade language instruction and multilingual pedagogy. Many teachers required support not only to understand MLE principles, but also to strengthen foundational literacy pedagogy in reading, writing, decoding and OLD.
- **Partial Integration of L1 into Pedagogy:** While many teachers began using children's home language more frequently, its use often remained limited to classroom management, explanation or oral interaction. In several classrooms, L1 was not yet fully integrated into structured reading, writing, reasoning and meaning-making processes. Also, some teachers insisted on transitioning more quickly to Hindi.
- **Persistence of Linguistic Hierarchies:** Some teachers continued to view children's home language as less academically valuable than Hindi. As a result, L1 was often accepted for oral expression but not equally recognised as a resource for literacy development, conceptual learning and higher-order classroom engagement.
- **Limitations in Field-level Academic Support:** Field teams were effective in initiating implementation and supporting early adoption. However, as the programme matured, they faced challenges in identifying and responding to more nuanced pedagogical issues, particularly around reading, writing, translanguaging practices and higher-order thinking.
- **Inconsistent Use of Teaching-Learning Materials:** Big books, conversation charts and other bilingual TLMs were valued by teachers and students but were not used systematically across schools. Teacher transfers further weakened continuity, as incoming teachers were often unfamiliar with the purpose and use of these resources.
- **Limited Curricular Integration of Community Initiatives:** Storytelling festivals and school museum programmes generated enthusiasm and brought local stories, artefacts and cultural knowledge into the school space. However, these initiatives often remained peripheral because clear mechanisms for integrating them into everyday classroom pedagogy were not sufficiently developed.

Key Recommendations

- **Teacher Orientation and Beliefs:** Teachers require continued support to move beyond monolingual practices and view the mother tongue as a resource rather than a barrier. Stronger integration of Halbi into the Four-Block model, onsite support through demonstration, dialogue and reflexive practice is critical for sustainability of initial gains of the programme. Training should explicitly address teacher beliefs, linguistic hierarchies, and practical ways of using Halbi and other children's languages within classroom instruction. For non-native language speaking teachers the programme requires more tailored strategies and structured scaffolding techniques to integrate children's language in classrooms. Providing bilingual or trilingual dictionaries and primers to use pedagogical translanguaging can facilitate more planned and consistent L1 use in classroom practices.
- **Classroom Pedagogy and Student Learning:** To build on early gains, pedagogy should place greater emphasis on translanguaging and oral language development as bridges to literacy. Clearer guidance and materials can help teachers balance oral fluency with decoding, reading, and writing and OLD ensuring a smoother progression from speaking in Halbi to systematic scaffolding of Hindi orally to independent reading and writing in both languages.
- **Build Field Team Capacity and Mentoring Structures:** Effectiveness of field teams can be enhanced through more intensive training in bilingual pedagogy and mentoring skills, combined with stronger reflective platforms for sharing experiences and challenges. This will ensure that on-site support remains responsive and grounded in real classroom needs.
- **Programme Design and Implementation Processes:** MLE adoption follows specific phases, from initial groundwork to consolidation. Aligning planning and monitoring with these stages will improve rollout. Training cycles should be better synchronised with classroom realities so that mid-year training sessions (which happen in December) address emerging challenges. The mid-term training in the first year should focus of acceptance of MLE while at the end of third year more nuanced aspects of MLE pedagogy can be addressed through training.
- In response to the identified challenges, it is recommended that the use of L1 be systematically extended up to

grade V through well designed language-responsive pedagogies. Such an approach should focus on scaffolding the acquisition of academic language and conceptual understanding, reducing language-disadvantage in primary education.

- **Systemic Anchoring and Sustainability:** Long-term success depends on embedding MLE within state policies, district-level implementation structure and teacher education systems. Building advocacy based on classroom evidence, teacher practice, and student outcomes will foster ownership at the systemic level and ensure that the approach continues beyond the programme's lifecycle. To this end, orienting the school support system from the cluster and block to the district level in MLE is critical for its long-term sustainability. Putting efforts into place to prepare and capacitate academic ownership of MLE by District Institute of Education and Training will be critical.



Since 2022, the Language and Learning Foundation (LLF), in collaboration with the Chhattisgarh State Education Department, has been implementing a Multilingual Education (MLE) programme in the Bastar district for grades 1–3 to improve foundational literacy and numeracy (FLN). Initially, the programme was implemented in 200 primary schools across two blocks of the Bastar district, including Darbha, using the Halbi language. In 2023, it was expanded to the remaining 1,324 primary schools in the district with some needed modifications in other linguistic contexts. By combining MLE and structured pedagogy methods, the programme aims to enhance foundational literacy and numeracy competencies of the students, in alignment with the National Initiative for Proficiency in Reading with Understanding and Numeracy (NIPUN) Bharat mission (Ministry of Education, Government of India, 2020).

To capture learnings from this implementation, a process documentation research (PDR) approach was adopted. PDR explores both planned events and contingencies that influence a programme's outcomes. This study, titled Multilingual Education (MLE) Practices in India: A Process Study of the Bastar Programme, aims to empirically document the implementation process in the field and offer a comprehensive overview of the current practices, including their understanding and execution.

1.1. Neev : The Bastar MLE Programme

Backdrop

Inadequate learning outcomes in elementary education across India have created an urgent need for action in national policy. The National Education Policy (NEP) 2020 recognises that disregarding a child's home language (L1) in education is a critical factor in suboptimal learning outcomes. It highlights the use of children's L1 within multilingual pedagogy at the foundational stage as a crucial strategy for attaining foundational literacy and numeracy (FLN). The National Curriculum Framework for Foundational Stages (NCF-FS, 2022) further provides detailed guidelines to incorporate children's home language in early grades.

In a multilingual society like India, determining a child's L1 is a multilayered process. To do so, LLF, in collaboration with SCERT, Chhattisgarh, in 2022, conducted a Language Mapping Survey using a working linguistic typology. Findings showed a significant disparity between a child's L1, the language of instruction (LoI, i.e., L2) in school and the teacher's familiarity with the child's L1, particularly in areas with large tribal populations like Bastar. Therefore, a need for targeted multilingual education intervention in such areas is highly significant.

Box 1.1

Language Mapping Survey

The Language Mapping Survey was initiated to address critical gaps in data-driven planning for multilingual education (MLE). Objectives of this survey included identifying children's home languages and assessing the proficiency of both students and teachers in the LoI of a school and the children's L1, respectively. The collected data were classified into five sociolinguistic typologies.

Type I: Linguistically aligned classrooms (child's L1 = MoI; teacher knows L1)

Type II: Homogeneous L1 different from MoI; teacher knows L1

Type III: Homogeneous L1 different from MoI; teacher does not know L1

Type IV-A: Multiple home language classrooms with a link language

Type IV-B: Multiple home language classroom with no link language

To this end, LLF supported and technically guided systematic Language Mapping Surveys (LMS) in Chhattisgarh, Rajasthan (Phases I and II), Jharkhand, Assam and Odisha between 2022 and 2025. This exercise provided a

school-level language mapping framework for inclusive, differentiated, and scalable MLE programme planning.

In the Bastar district, 1,442 schools and 14,696 children from Grade 1 participated in the language mapping exercise. The exercise identified more than 10 home languages of the students. The data revealed that only 5% of children's home language was Hindi, which was the medium of instruction in the schools, across all districts. In approximately 82% of schools, more than 90% of children belong to a single home language: Halbi constitutes 42%, followed by Bhatari (19%), Gondri (12%), and Dhurwa (2%). In 18% of schools, Grade 1 classrooms comprised children from two or more home language groups. Notably, in 262 schools (approximately 18% of the surveyed school), all or most teachers had very limited linguistic proficiency in the children's home languages.

A convergence of factors—including national policy shift towards MLE, insights from the Ajuvaroo MLE programme¹, the findings of the Chhattisgarh Language Mapping Survey, and LLF's erstwhile engagement in Bastar—culminated in the conceptualisation of Neev, the Bastar MLE programme. It was envisioned as a demonstration-cum-research programme so that implementation learnings could inform and expand the scope for scaling MLE across districts. It was also intended to serve as a proof of concept for similar sociolinguistic contexts within Chhattisgarh and beyond.

Neev (interchangeably referred to as the Bastar MLE programme henceforth) expands the scope of MLE from the demonstration and research MLE programme, Ajuvaroo (interchangeably referred to as the Dungarpur MLE programme henceforth), in three ways to promote multilingual and translanguaging practices at the classroom level along with fostering community engagement.

The Bastar MLE programme began by intensifying the strategic use of L1 in early grades more than Ajuvaroo. The instructional design for Bastar includes guided activities and an assessment framework for reading, writing, comprehension, and Oral Language Development (OLD) in both L1 and L2, whereas Ajuvaroo primarily limited L1 to OLD. It then developed a series of TLMs similar to those in the Dungarpur MLE programme. L1 in these TLMs went beyond the simple paradigm of translation. An extensive TLM development exercise was implemented to create poems, conversation charts, and illustrations relevant to the local socio-spatial contexts. Next, the programme design introduced initiatives to ensure community involvement. Innovations such as storytelling festivals and school museum programmes were implemented to promote community engagement and ownership of the programme.

Key Assumptions

The Teacher's Guide of the Bastar MLE programme describes the following six components as salient features of the programme:

- Giving due importance to children's home language (Halbi) and using it as a resource
- Utilising a balanced literacy approach in the teaching process
- Adopting a structured pedagogy approach
- Teacher training, regular review, and planning meetings
- Academic support at the school level
- Strong community connection

The underlying assumption is that these six components work synergistically to enhance the programme's effectiveness and improve learning outcomes. It is important to note that these components are not mutually exclusive and should be understood in relation to one another.

Theoretical Orientation

The Bastar MLE programme design draws on contemporary multilingual and translanguaging theories. The importance of integration of children's L1 in early education is well established in current debates on MLE and policy pronouncements including NEP 2020 and NCF-FS 2022 (Cummins, 2000; García, 2009; Heugh, 2011; Jhingran, 2009; Ministry of Education, 2020; Mohanty, 2009; National Council of Educational Research and Training, 2022; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1989). In alignment with these theoretical positions and policy frameworks, the MLE programme was envisioned to integrate children's L1 in early grade classroom teaching.

Jim Cummins (2005, 2007, 2021) critiques the rigid separation of languages in education as counterproductive. Instead,

¹Prior to the MLE programme in Bastar, Ajuvaroo was LLF's first multilingual education programme implementation in Dungarpur district, Rajasthan from 2019 to 2023.

he and others advocate for approaches that allow cross-linguistic connections, positing that enabling students to use L1 can facilitate L2 development. He argues that bilingual instruction should not be reduced to ad hoc code-switching. Instead, it should involve “teaching for transfer,” whereby teachers deliberately and systematically create connections between L1 and L2 for instructions in the classroom. Aligned with these insights, the Bastar programme was conceptualised to transform classroom pedagogy by systematically integrating children’s L1 into everyday instructional practices. This was operationalised through a structured pedagogy framework that included the strategic use of L1 alongside L2 and the implementation of a 90-minute Four-Block literacy plan.

The programme assumes these practices make classrooms a space of translanguaging: “the fluid use of multiple languages to maximise understanding and learning” (García & Lin, 2017). This fluid use—where children not constrained to operate in one language at a time but could discuss a story in L1 and write an answer in L2—makes classrooms more inclusive. García (2009) refers to it as “dynamic bilingualism”. Similarly, Baker (2001) noted, processing content in one language and then using another language to express it forces a deeper cognitive engagement, which in turn deepens comprehension capacity.

Global experience in MLE programme implementation indicates that teacher capacity building is often the weakest link, as many teachers lack pedagogical competencies required to teach bilingually (Benson, 2009; Mohanty, 2009). The Bastar programme design addresses these challenges through MLE-specific teacher training, structured teacher guides, and on-site support and coaching. These efforts are broadly aligned with principles of explicit training in bilingual pedagogies including translanguaging strategies, translation practices, and the development of bilingual materials (García & Kleifgen, 2010). Moreover, scholars argue that systematic inclusion of the community within the schooling process is crucial for the sustainability of MLE programmes (Hornberger, 2003; Benson, 2005). In Bastar, two specific strategies—the Story Telling Festival and the School Museum project—were implemented to foster sociolinguistic inclusion and deepen community connection with the MLE programme.

At the same time, it is also important to critically reflect on the limitations of the Bastar MLE programme. One key criticism is that it aligns with the “early-exit model” (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2012), and therefore, share similar limitations. Early-exit models implemented in parts of Africa and Asia, where systemic and institutional constraints—such as the shortage of qualified teachers, limited L1 curriculum materials, and the absence of sustained multi-level institutional support—revealed that the implementation of late-exit model is difficult (Benson, 2009; Trudell, 2023).

Addressing these structural constraints and ensuring multilayered institutional support are imperative for any serious effort to implement a genuinely late-exit model. In the Indian context, the NEP 2020 offers considerable promise in promoting MLE. However, translating of these policy pronouncements into effective institutional mechanisms will require sustained institutional commitment and time.

Acknowledging the early-exit model’s limitations while operating within prevailing systemic realities, the Neev MLE programme represents a concrete step towards mitigating language disadvantages under current conditions.

1.2. Process Documentation Framework

The Bastar MLE Programme Process documentation research exercise aligns with the broader scope of process documentation research frameworks. It involves long term field immersion and intensive engagement with various stakeholders, including schools, teachers, students, communities, and programme team. It also requires a flexible research design, continuous data collection within an evolving context, and the use of diverse data collection tools.

Objectives and Sub-objectives

The objective of this study is to document the implementation process of MLE Bastar and provide a comprehensive overview of the programme implemented by LLF. The broad objectives are as follows:

- To document the implementation process and present a holistic account of the MLE programme undertaken by LLF.
- To identify pathways for improvement and guide future LLF programmes.
- To develop a framework that can serve as a reference for MLE programmes in India, particularly in light of policy advancements such as NEP 2020, NIPUN Bharat Guidelines for ensuring FLN for all, and NCF-FS 2022.
- To contribute to a body of actionable research in MLE in India.

The study addresses three sub-objectives:

Sub-objective 1: Classroom Processes.

This study aims to capture classroom processes and children's participation in selected schools using two tools: language use, and Time on Task (ToT) analysis. The study will examine the overall implementation of MLE, focusing on L1 use and its impact on children's on-task engagement and classroom participation.

Sub-objective 2: Teacher Attitudes.

The study recognises that teachers' existing practices are not arbitrary but are shaped by both unconscious and conscious processes in language learning and teaching, knowledge systems, biases, and hierarchical structures. The study aims to understand how specific aspects of the programme influence teachers' attitudes towards teaching and learning processes.

Sub-objective 3: Implementation Process in the Field.

The programme design introduces changes in classroom processes through comprehensive intervention strategies that require pedagogical adaptation by teachers and the academic support system at the school level. Pedagogical adaptation in school settings is not a linear process. Rather, field experience suggests that it is a layered process that unfolds through multiple phases, including scepticism, discontent, and gradual adaptation by various stakeholders. The study, therefore, intends to capture the dynamics of these adaptive processes.

Methodology and Research Design

Given the scope of the study, this exercise adopted a mixed methods approach, integrating both quantitative and qualitative data collection processes across multiple stakeholder groups, including teachers, community members, parents, children, and the programme implementation team. The mixed methods design incorporates multiple data collection tools, including surveys, classroom observations, in-depth teacher interviews, and focused group discussions. The research design commenced with three rounds of intensive workshops conducted with programme team members in Delhi, Raipur and Bastar. These workshops were followed by development of data collection tools which were subsequently reviewed by the academic team of the Bastar MLE programme.

Selection of Schools and Teachers

For the teacher survey, an online questionnaire—a Google Form—was shared with all programme schools in the district, and teachers were invited to participate on a voluntary basis. For classroom observations and teacher interviews, a more rigorous sampling method was employed. At the commencement of the programme, 200 primary schools were selected based on Chhattisgarh's language mapping survey data, followed by an on-ground situational analysis. The majority of schools had teachers with proficiency in the children's L1, while a smaller set had teachers with limited L1 proficiency. For this study, 20 schools (10% of the total schools) were selected through simple random sampling. The four groups of L1 use was not applied as a stratification criteria at the sampling stage; it emerged inductively from the analysis of the classroom data.

Data Collection Process & the Evolving Research Context

Data collection occurred in three phases, reflecting the evolving research context. The first phase lasted from February to April 2024, during which data were collected through an online teacher survey and fieldwork covering six selected schools. The second phase took place between June and July 2024, covering the remaining 14 schools and members of programme team. The third phase of data collection occurred between October and December 2024 and primarily focused on engagement with programme team.

Box 1.2

Tools of Data Collection

- **Teacher Survey Questionnaire:** Administred online, this tool was designed to gather insights into the teachers' experiences, perceptions, and assessment of the intervention. It included key dimensions such as pedagogical strategies, student engagement, and the impact of training sessions.
- **Classroom Observation Tools:** Two tools—language use and time-on-task—were used in this study. Both

tools captured classrooms processes by using two different units of observation. The language-use tool is designed to document language practices at the whole-class level whereas time-on-task tool focused on small groups of students. Analysed together, these tools provided critical insights into how the envisaged bilingual strategies unfolded in everyday classroom practices.

- Semi Structured Teacher Interviews: This tool was designed to elicit detailed teacher accounts related to their background, language use, and their perspective on effectiveness of various components of instruction design.
- Semi Structured Interview and Focus Group Discussion of Community Members, Children and Educational Functionaries: These tools were used to capture perceptions of the programme's overall reception from multiple stakeholder perspectives.
- Semi Structured Interview and Focus Group Discussion of LLF Field Staffs: These tools were employed to understand field-level dynamics and processes associated with the implementation of the multilingual education (MLE) programme.

In February 2024, the teacher survey questionnaire was distributed via Google Forms to Bastar MLE Programme schools. A total of 486 teachers participated in the survey on a voluntary basis. One advantage of Google Forms is the immediate compilation and tabulation of data, which enabled the research team to capture the broader picture of the Bastar MLE Programme in real time. The insights generated were subsequently used to refine other data collection tools including classroom observation, in-depth teacher interviews, focus group discussion with children, community members, and programme team.

Qualitative data were collected through field visits conducted in two phases. The first phase took place in March and April 2024 and covered six schools. This phase included classroom observations of students who had just been promoted from Grade 1 to Grade 2, in-depth teacher interviews, and focus group discussions with community members and the field team.

This phase yielded several new empirical insights that proved critical to the overall research process, including greater clarity on what constitutes a teacher's familiarity with the children's language and the implication of teacher transfers. Some of these insights were incorporated into the research design, and after a one-month pause, data collection resumed during the second phase in June and July 2024. Analysis of data from the first two phases indicated gradual progress in programme implementation, as well as in variation in how teachers and the academic support system were performing. It also highlighted the dynamic linguistic characteristics of Type II and Type III schools (see Box 1.1), as defined by the Language Mapping survey typology. Additionally, in-depth teacher interviews revealed a conflicting stance among teachers, reflecting a mix of support and scepticism. For instance, many teachers expressed concerns about using children's L1 even as they voiced their endorsement of expanding the programme's intervention.

Subsequently, a third phase of data collection took place between October and December 2024 to address the evolving educational landscape and overcome analytical challenges encountered in the research. During this phase, the twofold objectives were to situate teacher groups within Bastar's broader socio-educational context and to explore the implementation challenges faced by the programme team at the school level, emphasising their firsthand narratives. Semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions were conducted with the field team to examine implementation process and challenges across the programme's duration.

Data Analysis and Report writing

The data collection process generated a comprehensive dataset including teacher surveys, classroom observations, in-depth interviews, and focus group discussions. As noted earlier, data collection and data analysis were not sequential processes but iterative ones involving multiple rounds of consultation, which is also reflected in the analysis and report writing.

All collected data and preliminary analyses were organised under four broad themes: the educational context of Bastar, classroom processes, teacher attitudes, and the narratives of field team. The thematic arrangement provides a greater degree of flexibility for triangulation across the different datasets collected during the process documentation exercise.

1.3. Report Structure and Flow

In addition to this introduction chapter, the report is structured into six chapters.

Chapter 2 examines the educational context of Bastar district including its socio-spatial characteristics and key educational indicators. It also highlights the current status of teacher preparedness and discusses its implications for MLE programme schools.

Chapter 3 delves into the classroom processes in the Bastar MLE Programme, using both qualitative and quantitative methods to analyse language use, and Time on Task (ToT). It shows how L1 and L2 are currently used in classrooms and reveals broader patterns of time utilisation within the 90-minute classroom period. The chapter also explores the relationship of use of L1 and its impact on on-task engagement, classroom activities, and student participation.

Chapter 4 examines the question of pedagogical adaptation from the teacher's perspective. It explores ongoing adaptation in areas such as shifts in attitude towards monolingual bias, teachers' strategic use of L1 and L2 in classroom, and their attitudes towards key pedagogical inputs, including structured pedagogy, the Four-Block model, and bilingual teaching-learning materials (TLMs).

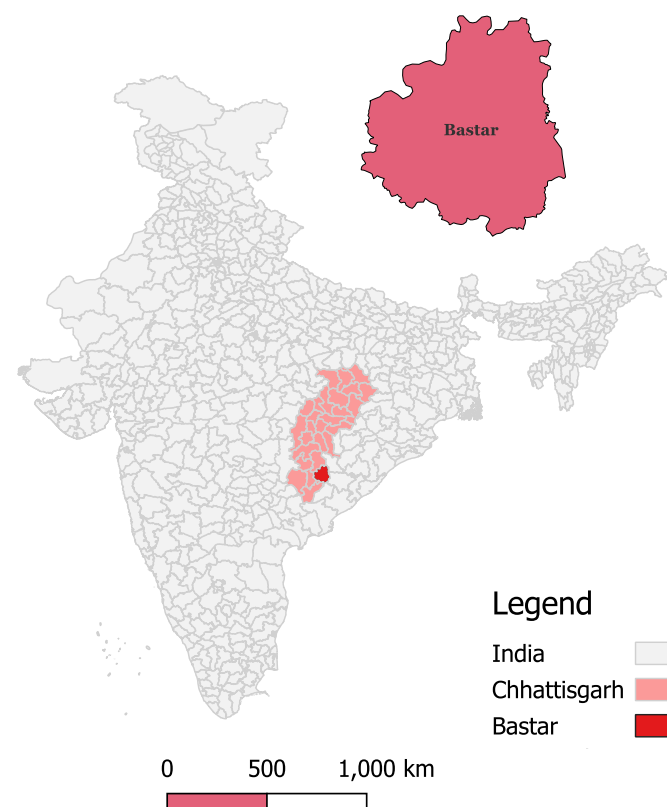
Chapter 5 presents the field team's narratives, offering firsthand accounts and reflections on the dynamic implementation process. It examines both implementation challenges and successes across three stakeholder levels: teachers' pedagogical adaptation at the school level,, challenges related to Cluster Academic Coordinators (CACs), and community engagement through two strategies—storytelling festivals and the school museum .

Chapter 6 presents the study's conclusions, highlighting successes, addressing key challenges and suggesting new avenues for research. It offers insights into the implications of the findings and identifies areas for further exploration in the field of multilingual education.



Understanding the Bastar MLE Programme requires examining the socio-spatial dynamics that shape the district's educational landscape and influence programme implementation in primary schools. This chapter briefly outlines key socio-educational factors in Bastar to provide insight into the district's educational context.

2.1. Overview of Bastar's Educational Indicators



Map 1.1. Bastar, Chhattisgarh in Map of India

Bastar District lies in the central-eastern part of the Bastar Division, with Jagdalpur as its district headquarters. It is one of the most densely forested areas in central India and has long been home to numerous tribal, indigenous, or Adivasi communities. Scheduled Tribes constitute 66% of the district population. Prominent tribal groups in the region include the Gond, Maria, Muria, Bhatra, Halba, and Dhurwa community.

Bastar is also among the least urbanised regions in both Chhattisgarh and India. According to the 2011 Census, 86.12% of the population lives in rural areas—much higher than national average of 68.8% and state average of 76.76%. Outside of the few urban centres and larger villages, settlements are widely scattered, with each village having only a small number of households.

The district is linguistically diverse, with seven main languages spoken. Halbi serves as the major link language, accounting for 38.39% of the population. Other significant languages include Bhatra (26.82%), Gondi (14.55%), Hindi (10.75%), Duruwa (2.99%), Chhattisgarhi (2.62%), and Odia (1.14%) (Language and Learning Foundation, 2022).

Table 2.1: Literacy Rate in Bastar, Chhattisgarh, and India (Census of India 2011)

Region	Total Literacy Rate (%)	Male Literacy Rate (%)	Female Literacy Rate (%)
India	74.04	82.14	65.46
Chhattisgarh	70.28	80.27	60.24
Bastar District	54.4	64.82	44.26

Educational Context

Bastar district is among the most educationally deprived regions of India, as reflected in all major educational indicators. Table 2.1 provides a comparative overview of literacy rates in Bastar district, Chhattisgarh, and India from the 2011 Census. Bastar's literacy rates are significantly lower than both the state and national averages. Additionally, gender disparity is more pronounced, with the male literacy rate being 15.45 percentage points below the national average and the female literacy rate being 21.2 percentage points lower.

Expansion of School Education in Rural Bastar

Bastar's low literacy levels must be viewed in the context of historically limited access to schooling in scheduled areas (Bétéille et al., 2016; Govinda & Mathew, 2018; Velaskar, 1990). The total number of schools in the erstwhile undivided

Bastar region—comprising the seven districts that today comprise the Bastar Division—was 2,659 in 1981, which increased to 10,129 by 2016–17 (Dubey, 1983; National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration [NIEPA], 2017). Bastar district had 1,898 primary schools in 2002–03, rising to 3,479 by 2011–12 (NIEPA, 2004, 2013). Following the further bifurcation of Bastar and Kondagaon in 2012, Bastar district had 1,830 primary schools, which subsequently declined to 1,677 by 2016–17 (NIEPA, 2017). This expansion indicates a growing integration of formal education into everyday life in rural Bastar over the past two decades.

In this context, many primary school students in rural Bastar are likely to fall into the epistemic category of “first-generation learners.” This means that they often lack parental educational support, have minimal exposure to print materials, and face linguistic marginalisation. Consequently, their academic progress depends heavily on the schools’ institutional support structures and the effectiveness of the teachers.

Table 2.2: Learning Outcomes from ASER 2018

Indicator	Bastar District	Chhattisgarh	India
% Children (Std III to V) who can read Std II level text	37.2%	45.5%	Approximately 50% nationally
% Children (Std III to V) who can do at least subtraction	15.6%	34.4%	Around 40 - 50% nationally

Students’ Learning Outcome

The Annual Status of Education Report (ASER) 2018 provides data on basic literacy and numeracy skills in Bastar. It shows that only 37.2% of children in Grades 3 to 5 can read a Grade 2-level text, compared to 45.5% in Chhattisgarh and approximately 50% nationally. This underscores substantial challenges in developing basic literacy skills. Numeracy skills are even weaker: only 15.6% of children in Bastar can perform basic subtraction, compared to 34.4% in Chhattisgarh and roughly 40–50% nationally. These figures highlight a wide foundational learning gap.

The baseline survey (covering 168 of the 200 schools) found that the majority of students scored zero in most literacy tasks. Moreover, students who speak Halbi as their first language performed significantly lower in key literacy tasks—such as vocabulary, letter fluency, word accuracy, reading comprehension, and dictation—compared to students whose first language is Hindi.

2.2. Bastar MLE Programme- Evolving Empirical Context

This documentation exercise highlights two critical empirical dimensions of teachers that hold significant implications for the Bastar MLE Programme. The first dimension pertains to the status and gaps in pre-service teacher training, which influences the professional readiness of teachers. The second dimension concerns the sociolinguistic composition of the teachers, which is closely linked to the implementation of the MLE Programme in Bastar.

Teacher Qualification and Pre-Service Training Profile

Following the implementation of the Right to Education Act (2009), pre-service training became mandatory for all teachers. However, interviews revealed that many teachers obtained certification only after their appointment. Data from 200 programme schools indicate that, of the 174 teachers for whom data was available, 52.87% had higher secondary education as their highest qualification, while 47.13% held graduate or higher degrees at the time of appointment. Furthermore, 62.07% of the teachers were untrained, while only 37.93% had completed pre-service teacher training.

Table 2.3: Teacher Qualifications and Pre-service Training Status at Appointment

Total Teachers (available data)	Highest Educational Qualification at Appointment		Pre-Service Teacher Training Status	
	Higher Secondary (%)	Graduate or higher (%)	Untrained	Trained
174	92 (52.87%)	82 (47.13%)	108 (62.07%)	66(37.93%)

The data clearly indicate that a large proportion of teachers entered the teaching profession with higher secondary education and no pre-service teacher training. They began teaching by adopting prevailing classroom practices, receiving informal guidance from peers, and participating in in-service teacher training programmes. As a result, their teaching practices are shaped more by practical experience than by the theoretical foundations of formal teacher education programmes.

Given this situation, two broad trajectories are possible. On one hand, teachers may continue to rely on prevailing methods, such as monolingual teaching, and rote learning, which provide limited meaningful engagement. On the other hand, with adequate support and guidance, teachers may embrace innovative approaches and integrate more effective pedagogical methods into their teaching.

Teacher Continuity and Attrition in Programme Schools

The Bastar MLE Programme was designed for Type II linguistic situations (see Box 1.1), which assumed that teachers possessed a certain level of proficiency in children’s L1. To meet this assumption, the team conducted a language mapping survey and field-based situational analysis prior to selection of schools in 2022. However, early field observations revealed significant gaps in teachers’ actual L1 proficiency.

Among the six schools studied during the first phase of data collection in 2024, teachers in four schools had minimal or no knowledge of the children’s home language. In addition, frequent teacher transfers in programme schools have compounded these challenges. According to the field team, most newly recruited teachers lack the required L1 proficiency. The data supports this pattern: of the 178 teachers who were placed in school in August 2022, 71 had discontinued by October 2024 (See Table 2.4).

Table 2.4: Teacher Continuity and Attrition in Bastar MLE Programme Schools (2022–24)

Total Teachers	Continuing Teachers	Discontinued Teachers
178	107 (60.11%)	71 (39.90%)

Further exploration revealed that the recent changes in the teacher recruitment processes—specifically, the requirement of the teacher eligibility test (TET)—have led to a new recruitment pattern. Many new teachers now come from more educationally advanced districts or urban centres like Raipur and Bhilai. These external recruits often lack the L1 proficiency required for a Type II linguistic situation.

Teachers’ Familiarity with Children’s Languages

In the second phase of data collection, some teachers from Bastar’s urban areas reported they were unfamiliar with Halbi, the lingua franca of the region, and identified themselves as native Hindi speakers. This indicates that non-Halbi-speaking teachers are from Bastar’s urban centers and outside the district. This suggests that non-Halbi speakers constitute the majority of the existing teachers pool. According to the online teacher survey data (N= 486), 321 teachers (66%) do not have Halbi as their native language.

These findings raise an important aspect of field reality: what do teachers mean when they claim to know the children’s language? In practice, this may range from familiarity with a few everyday lexical items to native-level fluency. For most teachers, however, “knowing children’s language” does not equate to the proficiency required for a Type II situation for the programme requirements.

Programme team were not surprised by teachers’ limited L1 proficiency; they considered it the norm even in an MLE programme. This underscores the normalisation of limited L1 proficiency among teachers in areas such as Bastar.

Oral and Written Traditions of Language

Another important factor is the distinction between oral and written language traditions. Halbi has historically belonged to an oral language tradition. Prior to the MLE programme’s material development efforts, Halbi had limited published reading material available for structured second language learning. This suggests that, apart from interaction with native speakers, such languages are difficult to learn through conventional second-language pedagogical approaches. Given the urban-rural linguistic hierarchy and the prevalence of Hindi as the dominant school language, it is challenging for

most teachers to learn and use Halbi independently, despite individual efforts. For the Bastar MLE Programme, this implies that, apart from native-Halbi speaking teachers, it is generally not feasible for others to attain the level of Halbi proficiency required for a Type II classroom.

Educational Expansion and Teacher Profile in Rural Bastar

Studies suggest that teachers from urban areas often dominate rural schools, partly because formal education reached urban areas earlier (Govinda & Bandyopadhyay, 2008). For example, Jagdalpur town established its first school in the 1890s, whereas many villages in the Darbha block of the Bastar district saw schools established in the last 20 to 25 years. Although Jagdalpur and these villages of Darbha belong to the same geographical region, the late arrival of schools has significantly shaped the pool of teachers available to teach in these villages.

Given the urban-rural linguistic divide and the educational capital required for centralised hiring, teachers from urban backgrounds will likely continue to predominate. This suggests that teachers' limited L1 proficiency is structural rather than reflective of individual shortcomings.

This dynamic interplay between the linguistic demand of the MLE programme and teachers' L1 proficiency in Bastar creates both challenges and opportunities. Most teachers come from non-native Halbi-speaking backgrounds; however, by working in Halbi-speaking villages, they may acquire some degree of familiarity with the language. Whether this familiarity is sufficient to classify a school as a Type II situation must be verified empirically at the classroom level. As this study suggests, many schools fall within the Type III category, which implies that teachers do not know the children's home language. What were designed as a Type II intervention is empirically being implemented under condition closer to Type III.

This structural limitation, therefore, raises an important pedagogical question: to what extent does the integration of L1 into instructional design encourage teachers to learn and use local languages in classroom practice within a Type III situation? This shift has profound implication for the analysis that follows in subsequent chapters.

2.3. Chapter Summary

This chapter outlined Bastar's educational context and examined key aspects of teacher profiles and the scope of L1 use in classrooms. It highlights the district's poor learning outcomes, as evidenced by large-scale assessments and the baseline survey conducted at the programme's outset. Situating these outcomes alongside language-mapping data provides a clear rationale for the MLE programme in Bastar.

The subsequent section examined the evolving context pertaining to teacher preparedness for MLE implementation. It noted the limitations of pre-service teacher education among teachers in the 200 programme schools and the implications for adopting MLE-specific pedagogical practices. At the systemic level, frequent teacher transfers and the appointment of teachers from outside Bastar have hindered programme implementation. Together, these factors constrained teacher readiness to implement the MLE approach.

The issue of teachers' familiarity with L1 in Bastar primary schools is complex. The findings indicate that many teachers from urban centres are not familiar with Halbi. Only native Halbi speakers or exceptionally motivated teachers who have learned the language are able to use L1 effectively in the classroom. However, given Halbi's predominantly oral tradition, even these efforts face considerable limitations. With only 34% of the 486 teachers identifying as native Halbi speakers, classroom use of L1 must be understood within this constrained context. This is explored further in chapter 3.

This chapter critically examines classroom practices in MLE programme schools, focusing on two key dimensions: language usage and time-on-task (ToT). These datasets were captured using specific tools during classroom observations, providing critical insights into how the envisioned bilingual strategies unfolded in the classroom.

In this chapter, language-use data are analysed first, followed by analyses of classroom interaction patterns and time-on-task. Based on observed language-use patterns, the schools were categorised into four groups, which were subsequently used to analyse classroom interaction patterns and time-on-task. This additional analytical layer enables a more critical examination of how the inclusion of children's first language (L1) shapes other dimensions of pedagogical adaptation.

3.1 Language Use in the Classroom

At a theoretical level, MLE bilingual programmes in non-dominant languages emphasise maximising L1 use, given its potential to transfer metalinguistic skills and improve L2 learning (Benson, 2009; Baker, 2000; Thomas & Collier, 2002). The Bastar MLE programme design aligns with this approach by adopting the purposive use of L1 and L2 in the classroom (see Table 3.1). The instructional design ensures that L1 is used 70%–90% of instructional time in Grade 1 initially, tapering to 50%–70% as the academic year progresses. This progression continues into Grade 2, where the initial months maintain approximately 50%–70% L1 use, accompanied by a corresponding increase in structured L2 exposure. These trajectories are explicitly detailed in the Teacher Guide (TG).

School-level data collection was conducted in two phases (March–April and June–July 2024) with Grade 2 students. In both rounds, teachers followed the TG-prescribed plan for the first six weeks, which emphasises Oral Language Development (OLD) through L1. In the absence of pre-intervention baseline data on classroom language use, the prescribed language-use plan serves as a reference point for analysing and interpreting observed patterns in the classroom.

Table 3.1: Language Use Guidelines in the Teacher Guide

Use of Halbi (L1)	Use of Hindi (L2)
- For all kinds of classroom interaction and discussion - For children's open and spontaneous expression - For open-ended questions and higher-order thinking - While discussing new concepts - While introducing children to Hindi vocabulary	- In TPR and oral activities - While working on poems and stories, using simple Hindi words along with Halbi - For simple and short instructions (in both languages) - For simple expression in close-ended questions - For mixed use of Halbi and Hindi

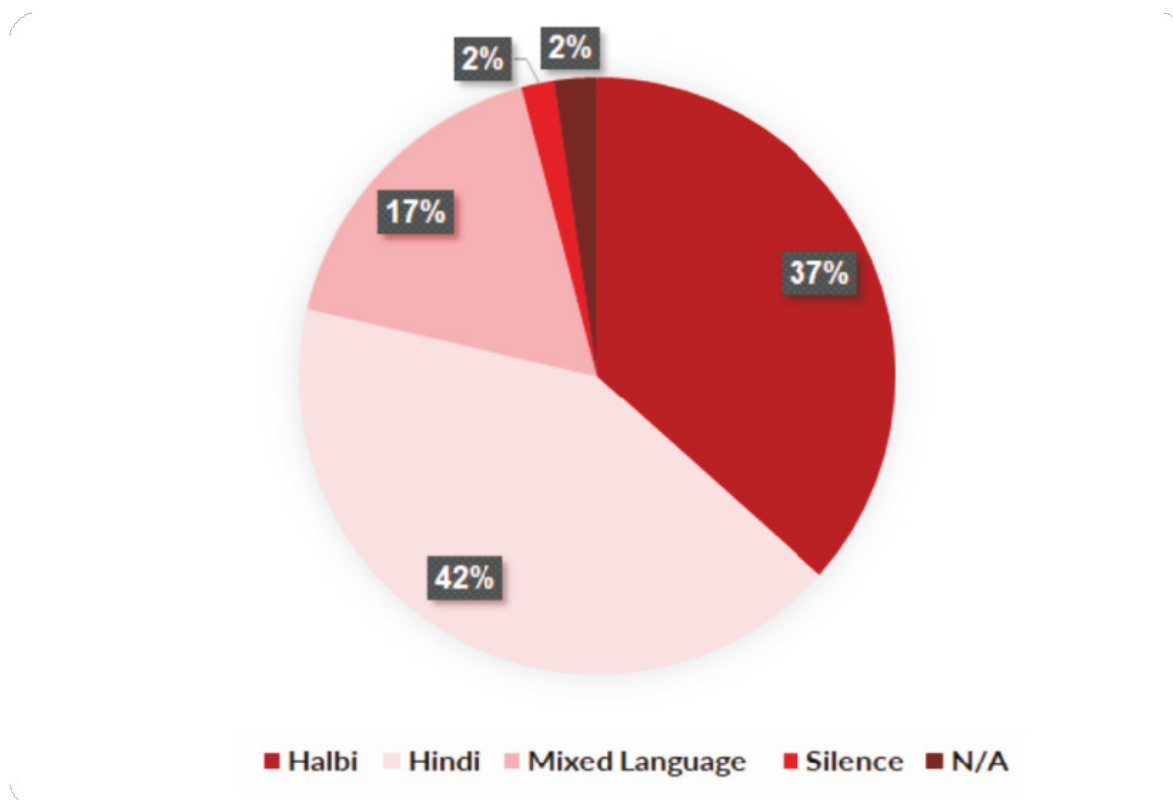
Overall Language Use Pattern

Figure 3.1 presents the aggregate language use observed across 20 schools, addressing the question of how much L1 is used in the classroom. On average, 37% of classroom interaction time was in Halbi (L1), 42% in Hindi (L2) and approximately 17% involved mixed language use - that is simultaneous use of both language within the same observational interval. Only a small fraction of time (approximately 4%) was observed as either silence or "off task".

When L1-only and mixed-language interaction are combined, Halbi accounted for approximately 54% of total observed time. This indicates a substantial incorporation of L1 into classroom practice, given that prior to the MLE programme, Halbi was minimally used in formal instruction. In other words, more than half of classroom communication now takes place

²Given the absence of baseline data, findings on language use and time on task (ToT) are interpreted against the programme's design benchmarks and the analytical insights presented in Chapter 2.

Figure 3.1: Aggregate Classroom Language Use (Proportion of L1, L2, and Mixed)



Variance Across Schools in L1 Use

Although the overall trend indicates substantial L1 use, the data also reveal wide variation across schools in the degree of adoption. Figure 3.2 illustrates that in some observed classrooms, Halbi was almost entirely absent (0% of interaction time in Schools 1 and 3), whereas in others, it dominated classroom discourse (up to 79% in School 15). Conversely, Hindi usage ranged from as low as 6% (School 15) to entirely Hindi-only interaction (100% in School 3).

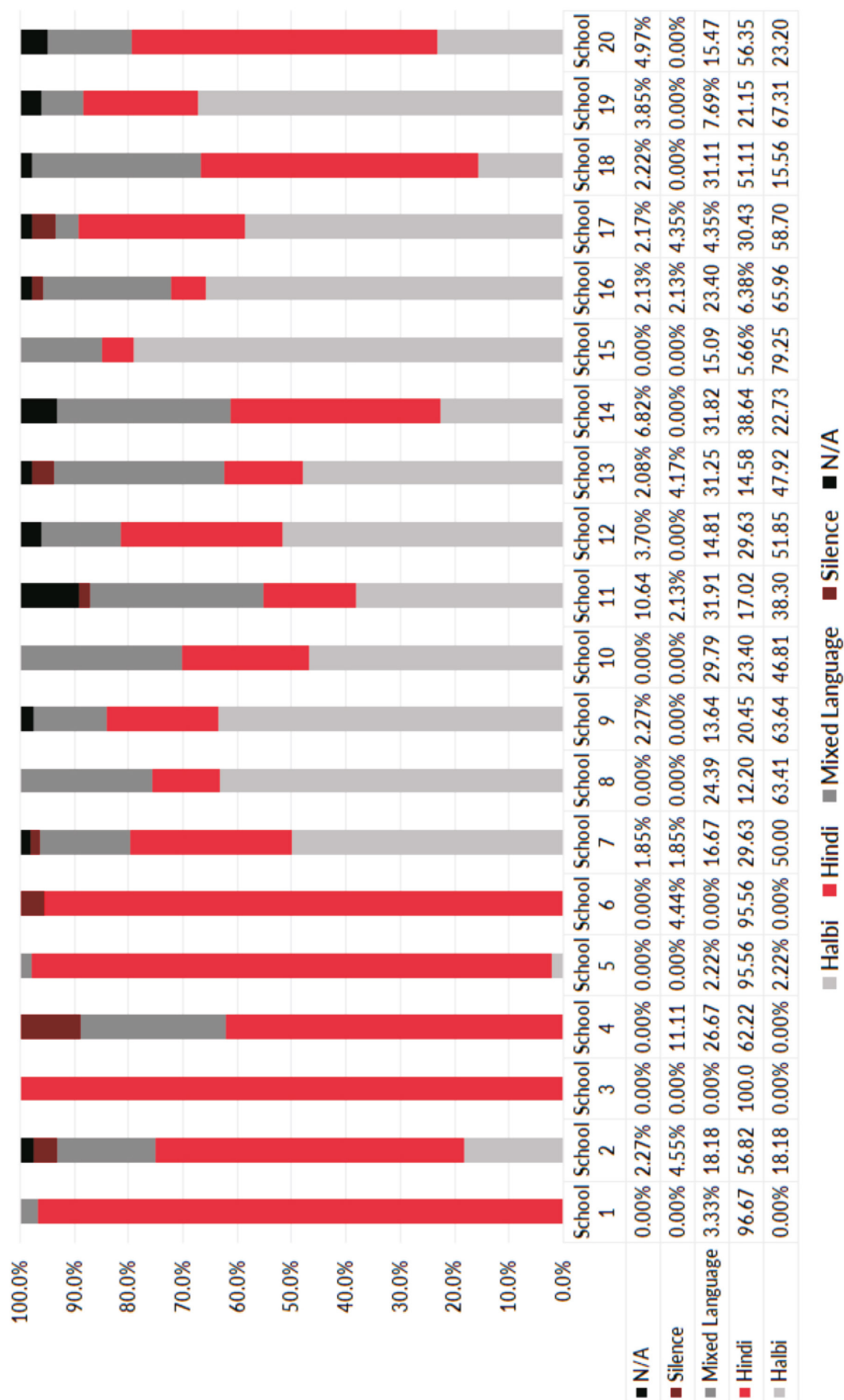
A similar trend appears in mixed-language usage, ranging from 0% in a few schools (Schools 3 and 6) to approximately 32% in School 11. This wide variance suggests that MLE programme implementation is far from uniform across schools. Approximately 45% of the schools used L1 for less than 25% of total interaction time. The remaining 55% incorporated L1 more substantially.

L1 Use-Based Grouping of Schools

For analytical purpose, schools are grouped into four clusters based on their observed L1 use (See Table 3.1).

- Group I (<10% L1 Use): Five schools (1, 3, 4, 5, and 6) fell into Group 1, essentially continuing a Hindi-only approach, with average L1 use below 1% and mixed use less than 7%. A notable exception is School 4, where teachers without Halbi proficiency implemented certain MLE-specific inputs to an extent and adopted mixed use of Halbi in the classroom. In contrast, teachers from Schools 1, 3, and 5 either resisted or demonstrated minimal incorporation of L1 in classroom practices.
- Group II (10%–25% L1 use): This group comprises four schools (2, 14, 18, and 20). On average, Halbi accounted for 19.92% of interaction time, Hindi for 50.73%, and mixed use for 24%. In Schools 14 and 18, combined L1 use exceeded 40%, whereas Hindi predominated in the remaining two schools.
- Group III (25%–50% L1 use): This group includes three schools (10, 11, and 13). On average, 44.34% of interaction time was in Halbi and 30.98% in mixed language. Notably, all teachers in these schools were non-native Halbi speakers who made efforts to learn L1 after their appointment in rural Bastar.
- Group IV (> 50% L1 Use) : Eight schools in Group IV used Halbi most extensively in classrooms—on average, 62.52% of classroom interaction time in Halbi alone and 15% in mixed language. Almost all teachers in this group demonstrated working proficiency in Halbi.

Figure 3.2: School wise Distribution of Language use in Classroom



This language-use-based grouping provides an additional analytical framework for comparing classroom practices across schools. However, the uneven distribution of schools across groups, with relatively few in the middle ranges, poses challenges for comparison. This is taken into account when interpreting the data.

Table 3.2: School Groups by L1 Use

L1 use	Average L1 Use (%)	Average Mixed Use (%)	Average Hindi Use (%)	Silence / Not Applicable	Teacher's Proficiency and approach towards L1
Group I: < 10%L1 Use (1, 3, 4, 5 and 6)	0.44 %	6.44 %	90%	3.12%	Limited L1 proficiency; Some teachers resisted using L1.
Group II: 10%-25% L1 Use (2, 14, 18, and 20)	19.92%	24 %	50.73%	5.35%	Partial L1 proficiency, not strong resistance, but predominantly adhered to L2.
Group III: 25%-50% L1 Use (10, 11, and 13)	44.34%	30.98%	18.33%	6.35%	Non-native teachers, self-learnt Halbi.
Group IV: >50% L1 Use (7, 8, 9, 12, 15, 16, 17, and 19)	62.52%	15.01%	19.44%	3.03%	Most teachers proficient in L1 use; Showed openness to using L1.

Dynamics of Mixed Use of Language in Group I Schools

A closer examination of mixed-language use data shows that in Schools 1, 3, 4, and 6, the percentage of Halbi use is zero. However, with the exception of Schools 3 and 6, the data indicates mixed-language use in classroom interactions—notably in School 4, where it reaches 26.67%. This appears to be because several teachers possess limited familiarity with L1.

By contrast, in Schools 3 and 6—where mixed-language use was recorded as zero or negligible—teachers expressed strong opposition to incorporating L1 into classroom practice during interviews. This highlights the critical role of teachers' attitudes in MLE implementation within non-dominant language contexts: without acceptance of the MLE approach among teachers, effective programme implementation is unlikely.

Forms of L1 Use: L1-only use and Mixed-Language Practices

Classroom observation notes identified the following forms of children's L1 use in the classroom:

- **Control-oriented L1 Use:** Some teachers used L1 primarily as a tool to assert authority and manage classroom discipline. In such cases, after employing L1 for management instructions, teachers reverted to L2 for pedagogical practices. This form of L1 use is associated with limited teacher proficiency in L1.
- **Task-oriented L1 Use:** Beyond classroom control, some teachers also used L1 to explain cognitively challenging concepts or tasks. However, this often resulted in extended teacher monologues in L1 without creating space for dialogic interaction. This form of L1 use requires a moderate level of teacher proficiency in L1.
- **Individualised/Small-group Engagement L1 Use:** In addition to the above forms, some teachers used L1 for engaging individual students or small-groups. These interactions often evolved into teacher-led explanations in L1, based on real-time assessment of students' difficulties with cognitively demanding tasks. This form of L1 use requires relatively high teacher proficiency in L1.
- **Teacher Guide L1 Use:** This form was observed in schools where teachers closely adhered to the prescribed lesson plans outlined in the Teacher Guide. In such contexts, teachers' use of L1—both in exclusive and mixed forms—was mediated through planned integration of L1 into teaching practices, supported by L1-based materials and structured activities.

These forms of language use indicate that L1 use is not fixed but operates along a continuum. At one end of the spectrum, L1 is employed mainly as a tool of classroom control, while at the other end it is used in a more systematic and pedagogically integrated way, largely through adherence to instructional designs and L1-based materials. Movement along this spectrum reflects both an increase in the amount of L1 used and a gradual intensification of its pedagogical integration into teaching practices.

The data also indicate clear limitations in the current patterns of L1 use. Most of the identified forms point to predominantly teacher-dominated L1 use, as will be discussed more clearly in the next section. Notably, except for the fourth form, the first three forms offer limited scope for dialogic engagement in classroom interactions. Even the fourth form remains heavily dependent on the Teacher Guide (TG), rather than reflecting an in-depth mobilisation of L1 as a pedagogical resource within classroom practice.

Evolving Translanguaging Practices

Within these constraints, one of the most notable developments is the increased mixed use of languages in the classroom. The data indicate that mixed-language use accounted for 17% of the total observed instructional time (see Figure 3.1), suggesting that teachers are beginning to move away from a strict language separation. This trend was more pronounced in some Group II schools and across all Group III schools, where mixed language use rose to approximately 24% and 30.98%, respectively (see Table 3.2).

A particularly significant aspect of this pattern is that it emerged in Group III schools despite teachers' limited proficiency in L1. All three Group III teachers were non-native Halbi speakers who learned Halbi only after being posted in rural Bastar. They had made initial efforts to learn Halbi prior to the commencement of the MLE programme. However, their use of L1—both in exclusive L1 and mixed forms—became more structured and pedagogically oriented following MLE training and exposure to the programme's instructional design.

This shift towards mixed-language use reflects a move away from rigid language separation towards more flexible bilingual practices. Such practices may be understood as an emergent steps towards translanguaging pedagogy, wherein both languages are deployed as integrated resources for meaning-making and learning (García & Wei, 2014). According to teachers' own accounts, this development was largely mediated through L1-based teaching-learning materials (TLMs), sustained MLE training, and close adherence to the prescribed Teacher's Guide (TG) activities.

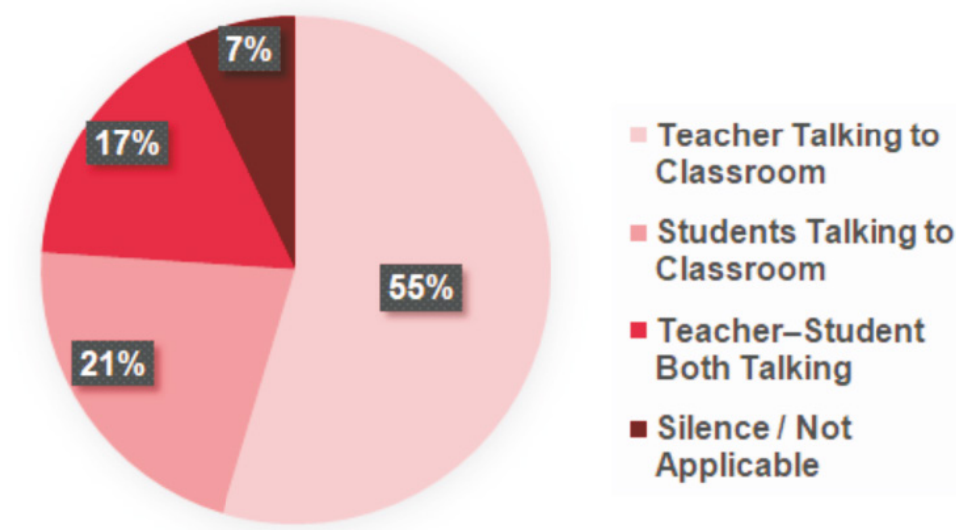
Summary

The classroom data indicate a mixed response to the integration of MLE strategies in programme schools. On the positive side, the availability of bilingual teaching-learning materials (TLMs) and their systematic use in classroom instruction (as outlined in the Teacher Guides) appear to have supported the initial adoption of translanguaging practices. These measures open up new possibilities for MLE implementation in classroom contexts where teachers do not speak the children's home languages. At the same time, the findings suggest that sustained and targeted efforts at the school level are required to achieve wider acceptance of MLE approaches among teachers, particularly in challenging deeply entrenched monolingual pedagogical orientations.

3.2. Teacher-Student Interaction Pattern

The instructional design of the Bastar MLE programme assumes that the detailed and systematic use of languages, particularly L1, creates pedagogical space for dialogue and foster students' participation in classroom interaction. In an ideal dialogic classroom, students' voices should balance teachers' talk, with at least half of verbal interaction contributed by students and teachers' talk reduced to approximately one-third (Alexander, 2008). Another important aspect is individual and group interactions: in MLE settings, small-group or individual interaction patterns often reflect the processes of meaning negotiation, which are less evident in non-MLE settings. These MLE-specific considerations are important for interpreting observed classroom interaction patterns. This section further examines teacher-student interaction patterns to provide a more nuanced understanding of whether increased L1 use translates into dialogic interaction or if the interaction patterns still remain teacher-centred and monologic.

Figure 3.3: Classroom Interaction: Aggregate Pattern

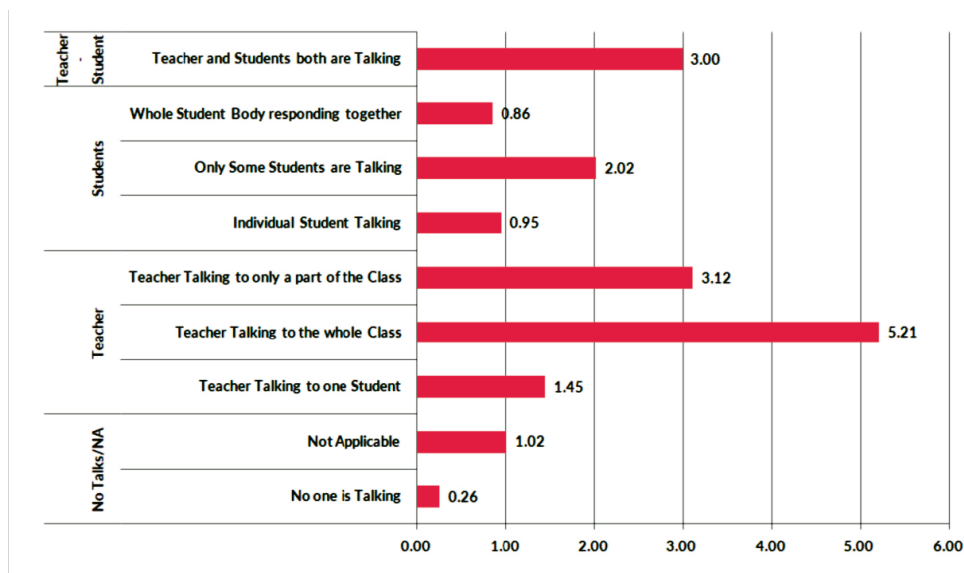


A. Classroom Interaction: Aggregate Pattern

Figures 3.3 and 3.4 summarise aggregate classroom talk in 14 studied schools (across the L1-use groups)³. These figures chart the frequency of classroom verbal interactions in three categories: teacher talk, student talk, and teacher-student dialogic interaction.

The data show a clearly teacher-dominant communication pattern. Converting the observed frequencies to percentages, on average, 55% of all utterances were teacher talk, approximately 21% were student responses, and only 17% were dialogic exchanges between the teacher and students.

Figure 3.4: Teacher—Student Classroom Interaction



The combined share of teacher talk and student responses (approximately 76%) indicates that classroom interaction primarily follows an Initiation-Response-Evaluation (IRE) pattern. Any “dialogue” in the classroom mostly results from teacher-initiated questions and brief, limited students replies. Within this broad trend, the teacher-student dialogic interaction category (17%) suggests that, although teacher-dominated talk remains the norm, classroom interactions are beginning to shift towards more dialogic engagement, creating greater space for students’ voices.

³During the first phase of data collection, interaction pattern data were not adequately captured across the six schools in Group I. Consequently, the analysis presented here is limited to the 14 schools comprising the remaining three groups.

B. Inter-group (L1 Use Group) Interaction Pattern

Table 3.3 and figure 3.5 presents a breakdown of interaction patterns across 14 schools by L1-use groups (Group II–IV).

- **Teacher talking to the Whole Class:** The highest rate of whole-class teacher talk was observed in Group III (on average 37.86% of interactions), followed by Group II (33.07%), whereas Group IV (26.82%) had a comparative lower share.
- **Teacher talking to Individual Students:** Group IV showed the highest incidence of teacher-student individual interaction (9.3% of interaction time compared to below 6% in other low-L1 use groups), indicating more personalized engagement in L1-rich classrooms.
- **Teacher and Students Talking Together:** Instances of joint teacher-student talk were more frequent in higher L1 use groups: approximately 19% of interactions in Groups III and IV, compared to only 12% in Group II. This trend suggests that greater use of L1 may help create more space for dialogic student participation.

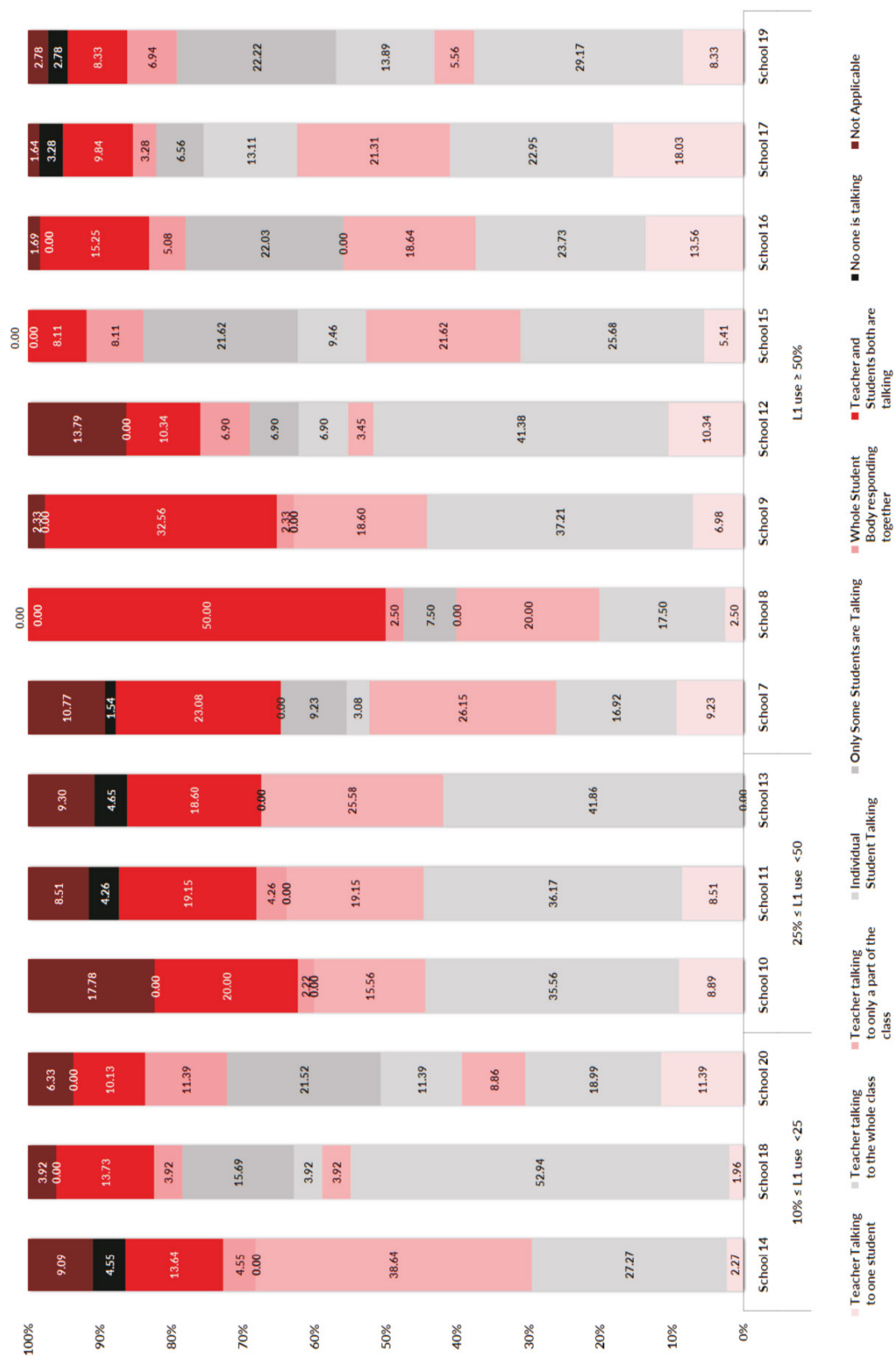
Table 3.3: Classroom Interaction Patterns by L1 Use Groups

Interaction Pattern	Group II: (10-25% L1 Use)	Group III (25-50% L1 Use)	Group IV (>50% L1 Use)
Teacher talking to one student	5.21	5.8	9.3
Teacher talking to the whole class	33.07	37.86	26.82
Teacher talking to only a part of the class	17.14	20.1	16.92
Individual student talking	5.1	0	5.8
Only some students are talking	12.4	0	12.01
Whole student body responding together	6.62	2.16	4.39
Teacher and students both are talking	12.5	19.25	19.69
No one is talking	1.52	2.97	0.95
Not applicable	6.45	11.86	4.12

Insights from Classroom Observation Notes

- In Group II schools, Hindi dominated overall classroom interactions. Teachers addressing the whole class spoke primarily in Hindi. But during small-group interactions and one-on-one interactions, they often used L1 or mixed language. Students' responses were generally brief and lacked elaboration.
- In Group III, mixed-language use and Hindi dominated whole-class interactions, while pure and mixed use of L1 dominated small-group interactions (particularly for the negotiation of meaning). Small-group activities were more prominent in this group, and teachers used TLM and peer-group mediation to scaffold learning.
- In Group IV, teachers addressed the whole class primarily in L1 (with some L2 use, though not consistently). L1 was also used extensively during dialogic classroom interactions. Students provided more elaborated responses compared to other two groups. However, in some Group IV schools, teachers engaged in monologic use of L1 without providing opportunities for student dialogue.

Figure 3.5: Who is Talking? Inter-School Variance Grouped by L1 Use



Summary

Analysis of classroom interaction patterns shows that teacher-led communication still dominates, although classrooms with greater L1 integration are making tentative shift towards more interactive engagement. The data suggest a positive but modest relationship between L1 use and dialogic pedagogy: higher-L1-use groups created slightly more opportunities for student voice and bilingual dialogue, accompanied by more elaborated explanation. However, significant intragroup and intergroup school variation persists, and even the strongest cases fall short of a 50:50 benchmark. Small-group activities and peer-group interaction emerged as tools for pedagogical mediation in some schools.

These findings reinforce that MLE is not only about language allocation but also about transforming teacher-student interaction practices. For the MLE programme, this implies that efforts to increase L1 use must go hand in hand with training in dialogic teaching methods and translanguaging pedagogy, if the full benefits of multilingual education are to be realised.

3.3. Classroom Processes: Time on task

Time on task (ToT) refers to the amount of time students remain actively engaged in learning activities. It is premised on the idea that higher levels of academic engagement (time spent focused on educational tasks) generally lead to improved learning outcomes.

This section explores time-on-task data in two ways: absolute terms and in relation to L1 use in the classroom. It examines the relationship between L1 use, student engagement, and instructional processes, while also analysing teacher-student on-task engagement patterns.

A. Aggregate Instructional Time Use: On-Task and Off-Task

Figure 3.6 provides an overview of student engagement across all observed classrooms. On average, students were on-task 93% of the time, with only approximately 7% of time coded as off-task. This represents a remarkably high level of engagement, indicating that teachers kept students involved in some activity throughout the lesson period. Such a high on-task percentage suggests that the intervention strategies and activities introduced by the MLE programme were effective in minimising idle or disruptive time. However, high time-on-task levels can also mask qualitative limitations, as repetitive practices such as copying or choral recitation keep students busy without deepening learning. The Teacher Guide instead promotes integrating all four components of the Four-Block model—Oral Language Development, decoding, reading, and writing—into everyday classroom practice. How effectively this balance was realised is examined in the subsequent section.

Figure 3.6: Average Distribution of Instructional Time: On-Task vs Off-Task

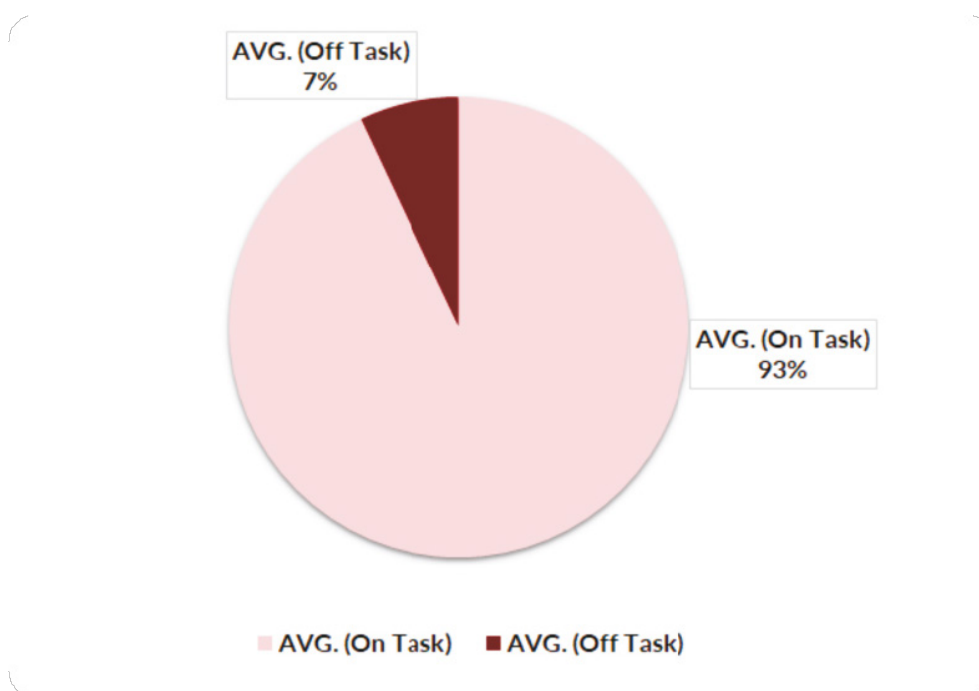


Table 3.4: On-Task and Off-Task Time by L1-Use Group

L1-Use Group	Average On task (%)	Average Off task (%)	Performance Range (Highest–Lowest)
Group I (L1<10%)	94.08	5.92	Highest: School 1 – 97% Lowest: School 3 – 90.6% Range: 6.4%
Group II (L1 10–25%)	92.03	7.98	Highest: School 14 – 96.5% Lowest: School 20 – 84.4% Range: 12.1%
Group III (L1 25–50%)	96.50	3.50	Highest: Schools 10 & 13 – 100% Lowest: School 11 – 89.5% Range: 10.5%
Group IV (L1≥50%)	90.08	9.93	Highest: School 19 – 95.1% Lowest: School 12 – 85.3% Range: 9.8%

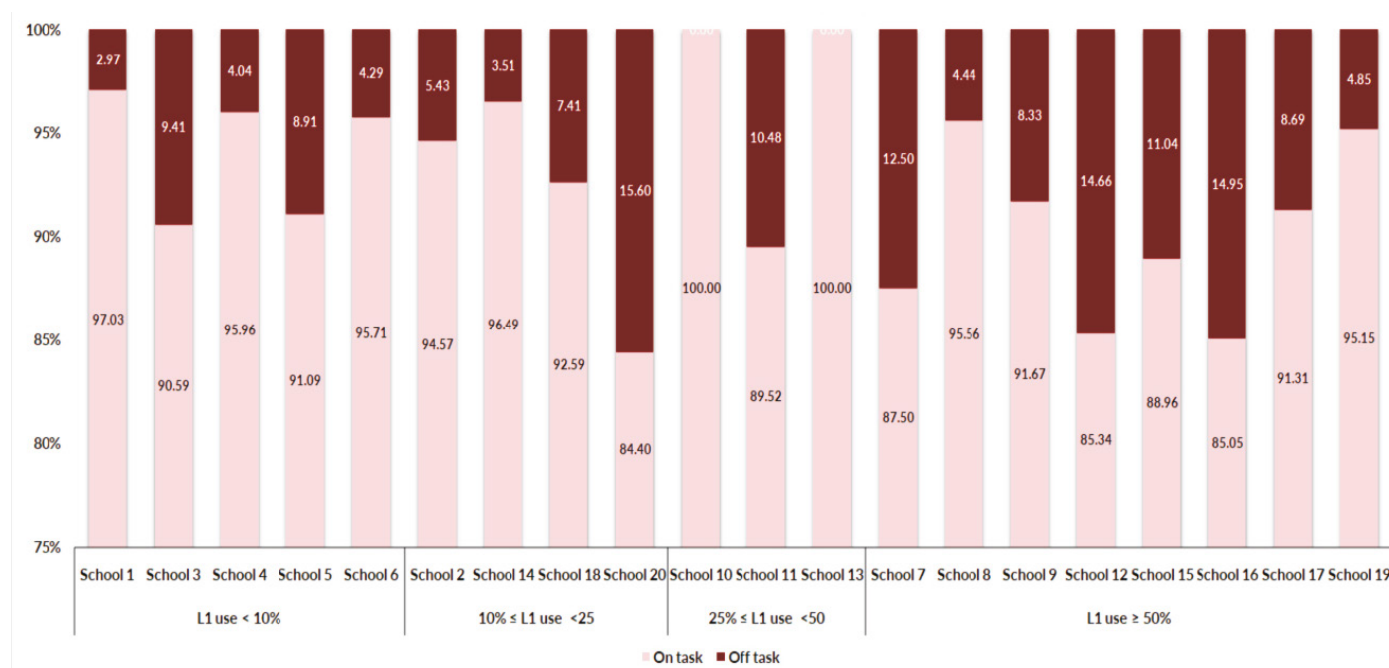
Variations in Engagement by L1-Use Group

Table 3.4 and figure 3.7 together summarise the average on-task percentage for each L1-use group, along with the performance range observed within each group.

- The data shows high on-task engagement across all four groups. This suggests that even in predominantly Hindi-medium classrooms, teachers kept students engaged in classroom tasks.
- Group II (10%–85% L1 Use) showed a slight decline to an average of 92% on-task time, along with a wider internal range (from a high of 96.5% down to a low of 84.4% in school 20).
- Group III (25%–% L1 Use) had the highest mean on-task rate (96.5%) and also the most consistently high engagement (Schools 10 and 13).
- Group IV (>50% L1 Use) had a slightly lower average on-task rate (90%) with considerable variability and highest off-task rate (9.9%, versus 3%–8% in other groups).

Overall, moderate L1 use (Group III: 25%–50% L1 use) was associated with the highest and most consistent student engagement in studied schools, whereas extremely low or extremely high L1 use was associated with either minor declines (94.5%) or greater variability in engagement (up to an 11.1% range). The data do not show a simple one-to-one correlation between L1 use and children's engagement, as even largely Hindi-only classrooms kept students on task.

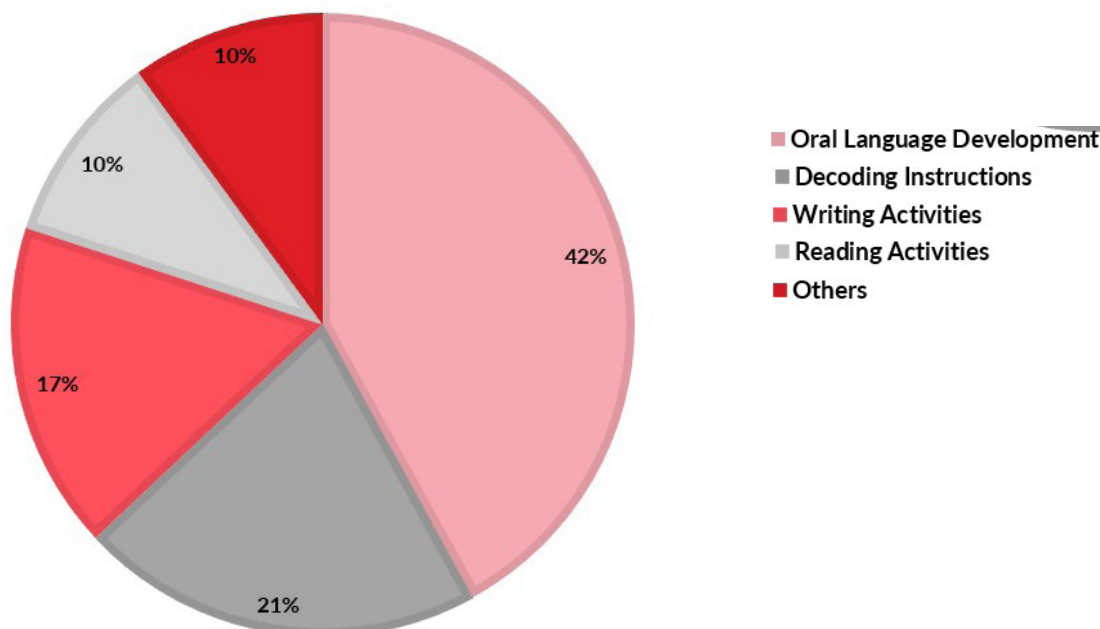
Figure 3.7: Instructional Time Use Across Schools Grouped by L1-Use



B. Classroom Time Allocation and Activity Patterns

To understand how classroom time was allocated to different activities, Figure 3.8 shows the percentage distribution of observed classroom activities. These activities are grouped into four broad categories corresponding to the components of the Four-Block model: Oral Language Development, reading, decoding, and writing.

Figure 3.8: Frequency of Classroom Activities: Aggregate Pattern



The Bastar MLE programme’s Teacher Guide provides a structured plan for each 90-minute lesson, broadly following a “Four-Block” model of balanced literacy and language learning. According to the TG, about 30%–35% of time is devoted to Oral Language Development (OLD) activities including TPR, 20% to Reading, and 40%–45% to a combination of decoding (phonics/word recognition) and writing activities.

The time on task observation tool was designed to capture these intended practices by coding class time into various task categories. The defined benchmarks for each activity type are used in this section for comparison to analyse the nature of on-task engagements.

It is important to note that in practice, many activities span more than one of these components. For example, a writing exercise might also involve oral language use and decoding. Given such overlaps, this activity categories are not strictly mutually exclusive; they are presented here separately for analytical purposes.

Overall Distribution of Classroom Activities

Figure 3.8 presents the overall average distribution of classroom activities. Oral Language Development accounts for 42%, which is nearly 7 percentage points above the prescribed upper band in the TG. Reading activities stand at 10%, falling short of the 20% target by 10 percentage points. Decoding (21%) and Writing (17%) together constitute 38 %, which is about 2 to 7 percentage points below the prescribed 40–45% range band. The category “Other Activities” occupies 10% of instructional time, reducing the time available for the Four-Block framework. Overall, except for reading activities, the other activity distributions deviate only moderately from the prescribed range. Importantly, these figures should be interpreted within the lesson structure for the first five weeks in grade II, which emphasises OLD. Nonetheless, the low frequency of reading activities remains a noted concern.

Table 3.5: Average Classroom Activity Distribution across L1-Use Groups

Activity Type	Prescribed Range in TG	Group I (<10% L1 Use)	Group II (10–25% L1 Use)	Group III (25–50% L1 Use)	Group IV (≥50% L1 Use)	Range (Highest–Lowest)
Oral Language Development	30–35 %	31.85	43.06	52.10	43.70	20.25
Decoding Instructions	40–45%	33.86	19.95	10.77	17.94	23.09
Writing Activities		20.29	17.63	16.19	14.24	6.05
Reading Activities	20%	12.24	7.21	11.65	8.21	5.03
Other Activities		1.76	12.15	9.28	15.91	14.15

C. Disaggregated Classroom Activity Patterns

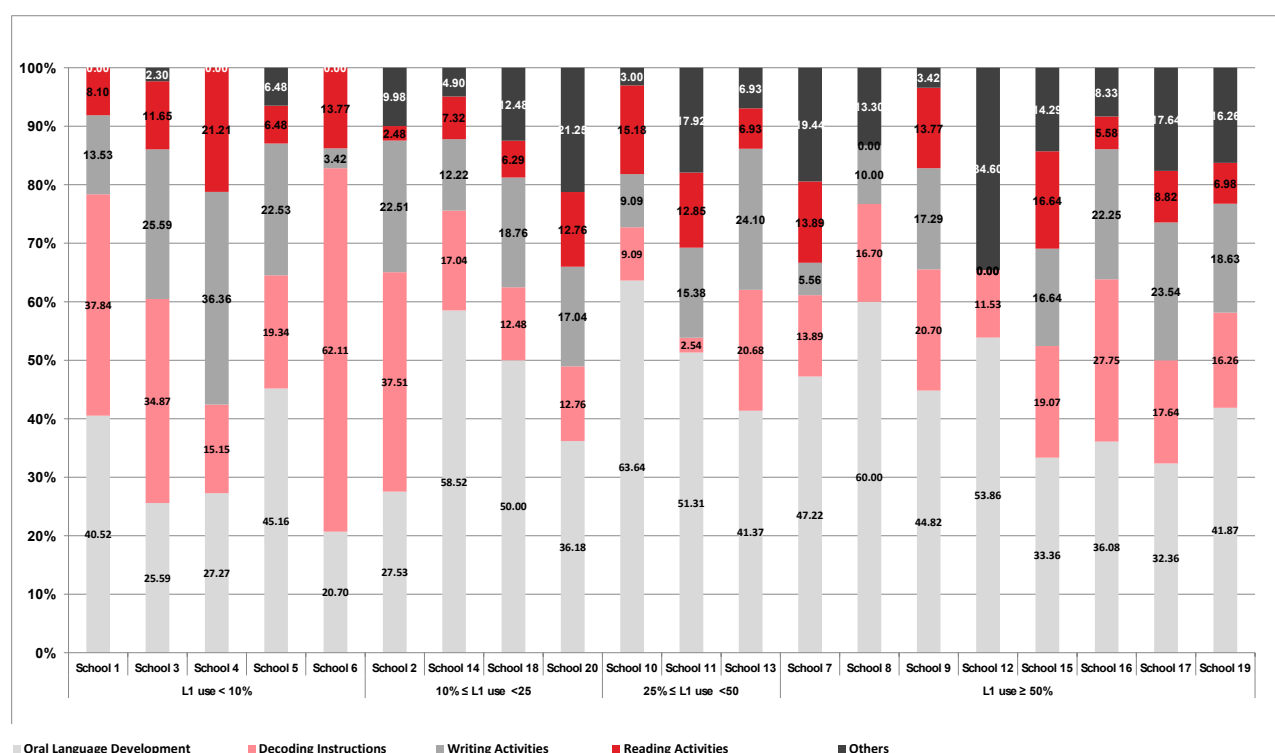
To understand classroom activity patterns, this section presents two sets of data. The first shows the distribution of classroom activities across L1-use groups (see Table 3.5). The second presents disaggregated classroom activity distribution in relation to group-level L1 use (see Figure 3.9). These patterns are further substantiated by qualitative classroom observation notes. Analysed together, the data highlight broad intergroup patterns and school-level variation in classroom activities.

Oral Language Development (OLD).

Table 3.5 shows a positive relationship between L1 use and time spent on OLD-related activities:

- Overall, time spent on OLD increased progressively with greater L1 use. Values ranged from 31.85% (Group I) to 52.10% (Group III), with a 20.25 percentage-point intergroup spread.
- Groups II and III exceeded the prescribed TG band for OLD. The highest shares of OLD time were observed in School 10 (Group III: 63.64%) and School 8 (Group IV: 60.00%), and in School 14 (Group II: 58.52%) from Group II. The three lowest values were observed in Group I schools: School 6 (20.70%), School 3 (25.59%), and School 4 (27.27%).
- The data indicate that OLD activities have gained acceptance across schools, reflecting the uptake of the MLE programme's pedagogical inputs.

Figure 3.9: Inter-School Variance in Classroom Activities by L1 Use Groups



Insights from Classroom Observation Notes (OLD).

- A strong positive relationship between students' participation in OLD activities and L1 use was observed. Students were more expressive and enthusiastic to participate in Group IV schools, where teachers with L1 proficiency mobilised it as a pedagogical resource and extended its use for scaffolded classroom dialogue.
- In Group III schools, TLMs were used for OLD in more pedagogically structured way. This systematic use of TLM contributed to their spending more time in OLD than other groups, despite the teachers' limited L1 proficiency.
- In Group I schools, OLD activities tended to rely on choral repetition with limited use of bilingual TLMs. Without integrating bilingual TLMs into classroom activities, OLD in these classrooms often resulted in limited or disengaged student participation.
- Notably group IV (>50% L1 use) recorded lower OLD time than group III, suggesting that very high L1 use without strong pedagogical structure may shift activity proportion back towards teacher monologue.

Decoding Activities.

Table 3.5 shows a clear decline in the frequency of decoding activities as L1 use increases, with a 23.09 % percentage-point intergroup range. At the school level, the highest proportion was observed in Group I schools (Schools 1, 3 and 6) and Group II (School 2), whereas the lowest was recorded in School 11 (2.54%, Group III). This pattern indicates that with increasing L1 use, decoding activities tend to move closer to the prescribed TG band, suggesting a pedagogical shift towards oral and meaning-based practices.

Insights from Classroom Observation Notes (Decoding).

- In most Groups I schools, inconsistencies and mismatch were observed between phonological awareness activities and decoding activities prescribed in the TG. With a greater emphasis on L2, most teachers in this group appeared to move directly to decoding without working on phonological awareness with students.
- Group III schools appeared to be the most methodical in their approach to decoding. These schools spent more time on phonological awareness as a continuation of OLD. During decoding, they focused on segmenting and blending using TLMs.
- In Group IV schools, some teachers were able to mobilise children's linguistic repertoire during phonological awareness activities by bringing local objects and vocabulary into the classroom.

Writing Activities.

Time spent on writing activities stayed close to the prescribed range but showed a downward trend as L1 use increased. Group I recorded 20.29%, Group II 17.63%, Group III 16.19%, and Group IV 14.24%, yielding a range of 6.05 percentage points. The highest writing share was observed in School 4 (36.36%, exceeding the prescribed band), whereas the lowest was recorded in School 12 (0%).

Insights from Classroom Observation Notes (Writing).

- Across all observed classrooms, writing activities were predominantly teacher-led, indicating a systemic reliance on guided practice rather than learner-initiated writing.
- Passive writing behaviours, such as watching the teacher or peers write, were more concentrated in low-L1 classrooms (Group I and II) and were almost absent in higher-L1 settings.
- Classrooms with very low L1 use (<10%) showed a high dependence on copying and other passive tasks. As L1 use increased to moderate levels (10%–25% and 25%–50%), copying declined sharply and writing activities became more interactive.
- Dictation practices were entirely absent across all classroom types, pointing to a critical instructional gap in bridging oral language and written expression in both L1 and L2.

Combined Decoding and Writing Activities.

Taken together, decoding and writing activities accounted for 54.15% of class time in Group I, well above the TG band of 40%–50%. Group II recorded 37.58%, slightly below the prescribed range. Group III dropped to 26.96%, and Group IV recorded 32.18%, both considerably below the target. In Group III and Group IV schools, teachers covered a substantial portion of phonological awareness (part of decoding activities) under OLD, which may have reduced the time allocated to formal decoding and writing tasks.

Reading Activities.

Reading remained the weakest block across all groups, with all values falling well below the 20% TG target (see Table 3.5). The intergroup variation was minimal, and every group showed a substantial shortfall relative to the benchmark. Only one school came close to the target; in others—most notably Schools 8 and 12—reading activities were entirely absent. This pattern points to a consistent lack of emphasis on reading as a classroom practice.

Insights from Classroom Observation Notes (Reading).

- Despite the low time allocated to reading, a positive relationship between L1 use and active reading was observed across schools. Classrooms with low L1 use continued to be dominated by passive reading activities.
- Compared to Group I and II (<10% and 10%–25% L1 use), classrooms with moderate to high L1 use (25%–50% and >50%) showed markedly higher levels of student engagement in active reading.
- Group III (25%–50% L1 use) classrooms emerged as the most effective in reading engagement, showing the highest levels of active reading and a complete absence of idle book-handling.

Other Activities.

The category “Others” showed a rising trend with higher L1 use. Group I recorded 1.76%, Group II 12.15%, Group III 9.28%, and Group IV 15.91%, resulting in an intergroup range of 14.15 percentage points. The highest proportion was observed in School 12 (34.60%), whereas the lowest was recorded in Schools 1, 4, and 6 (0%).

Insights from Classroom Observation Notes (Other Activities).

Increasing L1 use appeared to make classrooms more diverse in terms of activities. As discussed, the more methodical approach in Group III (compared to Group IV) imposed some constraints on unplanned “Other Activities,” but it did not completely eliminate students’ spontaneous engagement.

Summary

The classroom activity data show that all schools are broadly following the proposed Four-Block model, which represents a positive development in practice. Within this overall trend, group-wise (L1-use) data reveal distinct patterns in terms of intergroup adherence with prescribed range.

With increased L1 use, OLD activities gained prominence and a logical outcome, as L1 use naturally creates space for students’ linguistic repertoires. Conversely, with little or no L1 use, time allocated to OLD activities decreased and shifted towards decoding activities.

Time allocated to writing remained within a moderate range, and writing instruction was strongly teacher-driven across schools, with minimal opportunities for independent or generative writing. Within this general trend, the data and classroom observations indicate that use of L1 influenced the nature of writing tasks by reducing mechanical copying and increasing interactive writing engagement.

Taken together, these patterns underline a pronounced development towards oral engagement in high-L1 classrooms, while also raising concerns about continued weaknesses in reading and the balance of decoding/writing activities.

3.4 L1 Use, Classroom Engagement, and Pedagogical Implications

Viewed holistically, the time-on-task (ToT) data, combined with language use and activity distribution, paint a layered picture of the pedagogical impact of L1 use in Basta’s primary classrooms. Moderately bilingual classrooms (approximately 25%–50% L1 use) demonstrated the most balanced and cognitively engaging student experience. Students in these classes were more likely to engage in active reading rather than merely flipping pages, purposeful writing rather than copying, participation in discussions or individual responses, and sustained task-oriented thinking. Collectively, these factors contributed to a classroom culture that facilitated students’ active participation and exhibited minimal boredom or distraction. This suggests that these teachers effectively combined L1 support with interactive pedagogy—using Halbi to ensure comprehension and inclusion while also engaging students in substantive literary activities, including meaningful reading and writing.

In very high-L1 use classrooms, students certainly understood the language of instruction and encountered more culturally familiar content. However, data also showed that some teachers relied on lecture-based instructions in L1. This led to high levels of passive listening, less student output, and considerable off-task idleness or side-talk. Group work and cognitively demanding tasks were less frequent in some of those classrooms. Overall, this suggests that extensive L1 use alone is insufficient; it must be integrated with robust language pedagogy and active learning strategies. Otherwise it risks becoming a comfortable yet still teacher-centred environment.

In contrast, in L2-dominant classrooms (very low L1 use), students were often on-task physically but cognitively engaged at a low level: prolonged listening to the teacher, choral repetition, copying from the board, and instances of mental disengagement, possibly due to incomprehensible or monotonous instructions. Teachers likely maintained control and kept students “busy,” but the engagement lacked cognitive depth and equity.

From a multilingual education perspective, these findings reinforce the importance of combining translanguaging with dialogic pedagogy. The most effective classrooms were likely those where teachers fluidly integrated Halbi and Hindi (translanguaging) to explain concepts and ensure inclusion while also fostering discussion, group problem-solving, and student-led activities. This combination resulted in high engagement and low off-task behaviour.

By contrast, classrooms that either adhered rigidly to one language or only superficially switched languages without transforming teacher-centred practices did not realise the comparable levels of student engagement. These findings resonate with Cummins’s argument that enabling children’s L1 alone is insufficient unless accompanied by cognitively demanding, context-embedded tasks that promote the transfer of skills (Cummins, 2000).

3.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter examined classroom processes through two observation tools: language-use mapping and Time on Task (ToT). It focuses on analysing how children’s home language (L1) mediates classroom interaction, instructional practices, and student engagement in programme schools.

Language-use findings indicate a clear post-intervention increase in L1 use during classroom instruction, suggesting growing teacher acceptance of multilingual pedagogical approaches. However, substantial inter-school variation persists. Based on the proportion of L1 use, schools cluster into four distinct groups: a small group remains predominantly Hindi-medium (Group I), while a substantial proportion demonstrates moderate to high L1 integration (Groups II), with nearly two-fifths of schools using L1 extensively.

Among the four groups, Groups II and Group III, in particular, exhibit emerging mixed-language practices that resemble translanguaging, often supported by structured lesson design, bilingual teaching-learning materials, and programme-led scaffolds. In contrast, Group I schools show minimal L1 use and continue to rely on monolingual, teacher-centred practices, indicating the need for deeper ideological and pedagogical engagement with teachers.

Classroom interaction patterns reveal the continued dominance of teacher talk, typically organised through an initiation-response sequence. Nonetheless, classrooms with higher L1 use show more dialogic exchanges, greater student participation, and increased opportunities for individual expression. These trends suggest that L1 use, when pedagogically integrated, enables more interactive and inclusive classroom practices.

Time-on-task analysis shows high overall engagement (93%); however, activity patterns and classroom observations reveal important differences in the nature of this engagement. While low-L1 classrooms often maintain procedural

or passive on-task behaviour—such as copying, repetition, and prolonged listening—moderate L1-use classrooms demonstrate more cognitively demanding participation, including discussion, active reading, and purposeful writing. Activity analysis further indicates that moderate L1 use is associated with a more balanced distribution across the Four-Block model, particularly strengthening Oral Language Development.

Taken together, the findings suggest that the pedagogical benefits of multilingual education arise not from the mere presence of L1, but from its integration with dialogic, activity-rich, and child-centred pedagogical practices. L1 use functions most effectively when combined with structured scaffolding, meaningful tasks, and opportunities for student agency.



Drawing on classroom observations, in-depth teacher interviews, and a large-scale online teacher survey, this chapter explores the dynamics of evolving classroom practices from the teachers' perspective. It specifically focuses on teachers' evolving engagement with intervention strategies and pedagogical inputs. For this purpose, the data collection process drew on reflexive accounts of teachers in relation to their past classroom practices. This approach is grounded in the premise that pedagogical adaptation to new methods generates self-reflexivity, expressed through a comparative reflection on prior practices.

This chapter is structured into seven sections. The first provides a brief reflexive account of past (pre-MLE programme) classroom practices, followed by an exploration of teachers' attitudes towards using children's language in education. The third and fourth sections examine teachers' perception of key intervention strategies and their reflections on specific pedagogical inputs. The fifth section discusses changes in classroom organisation and children's participation; the sixth describes emerging developments in classroom language use, and the seventh synthesises the main insights and their implications.

4.1 Pre-implementation Classroom Context in Bastar

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the absence of MLE components in teacher professional development—both pre-service and in-service—limited the systematic integration of the L1 in the classroom. During interviews, monolingual practices predominated in teachers' narratives in multiple forms (see Box 4.1).

This does not imply that the language question was completely ignored by the government education system. For example, the SCERT Chhattisgarh published bilingual textbooks in Halbi and Gondi; however, in practice, these books were rarely used in classrooms. The assumption that simply providing bilingual textbook would result in bilingual pedagogy in classrooms falls flat. In particular, teachers' unfamiliarity with children's language imposed serious limitations on any such self-initiated pedagogical adaptation, as discussed in previous chapters.

These conditions illustrate the predominance of linguistic imposition at the classroom level, restricting or discouraging any form of L1 use. Deprived of their linguistic repertoires, students were compelled to assimilate to the school language. This imposition appeared explicitly in the approaches of two teachers (School 3 & 6), though it was expressed implicitly in varied forms by many others.

Box 4.1

Teaching Then and Now: Excerpts from Teachers' Interview

"The way we teach now under the multilingual education programme is very different from before. Earlier, most of the time in class went into reading and writing. Now, we do many different activities, and because of that, children learn much faster."

"Earlier it was all textbook-based teaching. Read the lesson once, write it on the board, and ask the children to copy it. That was all. Now we have so much teaching material that even if we use it just once a week, the children pick up a lot."

"In this programme, teaching takes more effort from us. We have to prepare in advance, and in the same class, we have to do different kinds of activities. For that, we also need to prepare ourselves. Earlier, we didn't have to do so much."

In such situations, students were faced with two options: overcome this linguistic challenge or risking falling behind, potentially leading to dropout. This scenario is commonly described in MLE literature as "sink-or-swim" (Skutnabb-

Kangas, 2009). Existing scholarship suggests that even those students who continue in school adopt silence in the classroom as a survival strategy. Field team reflections (see Chapter 5) further confirm the prevalence of such a culture in many classrooms, particularly in the early phase of programme implementation.

The teaching-learning process requires a degree of dialogue between teachers and students. A prevailing culture of silence has obstructed such interactions. Many teachers confirmed the prevalence of a culture of silence in classrooms and identified it as one of the most significant challenges for teaching. However, very few of them located such culture in pedagogical practices or language mismatch in early grade. Rather, some interpreted it as a form of discipline and an affirmation of their authority. A few teachers interpreted it as a sign of low intellect. Overall, the teachers' reflection reveals multiple classroom-level implications of language mismatch. In the absence of pedagogical orientation and training, such situations are often interpreted as issues of student discipline or learner-related challenges.

4.2 Teachers' Attitudes towards Children's Language

Recognising children's home language as a resource is one of the foundational assumptions of the theoretical debates on MLE. To translate MLE into practice, a certain degree of alignment with this foundational assumption is required. The field data, both teachers' surveys and interviews, presented in subsequent sections, show the persistence of monolingual practices, despite encouraging shifts in attitude towards children's language.

Survey Findings on Language Attitudes

Table 4.1 presents some key survey items pertaining to teachers' attitudes towards language use in classrooms.

Table 4.1: Teachers' Attitude Towards Language Use (N=486)

S. No.	Questions	Agree	Disagree	Uncertain
a	Higher-level thinking skills can be best taught to children through the Hindi language.	65.2%	23.5%	11.3%
b	The teacher should speak in Halbi for the first 5-6 months until children feel comfortable in the class and then switch completely to Hindi.	43.8%	45.9%	10.3%
c	The best way to learn Hindi is to make everyone in school talk only in Hindi.	37.7%	56.6%	5.8%
d	A teacher can start using Hindi in the classroom when most children can understand it, even if they do not speak it yet.	65.4%	27.6%	7%
e	Paying more attention to Halbi in class will reduce time for teaching Hindi to children.	31.1% 16.7%*	49.6% 2.7%**	
f	Learning through one's familiar language has a negative impact on the learning of other subjects.	7.6%	87.9%	4.5%
g	Using more than one language in the classroom creates confusion for children.	22%	71.4%	6.6%

*Partially Agree/ ** Partially disagree

- **Cognitive Value of L1 Vs School Language:** A significant proportion of teachers (65.2%) believe that higher-order thinking skills are best taught in Hindi, indicating a persistence belief that the dominant language is superior for children's cognitive development.
- **Transitional vs. Additive Use of L1:** Regarding the transitional use of Halbi for only the first six months, the data show a near-even split, with 43.8% supporting and 45.9% opposing this approach. This suggests that although teacher's preference for Hindi over Halbi continues to be dominant, yet, a significant undercurrent of change is also evident. It also suggests that ongoing training programmes and programme adaptation may have encouraged teachers towards greater use of L1 in classroom.
- **Mandating Hindi Only:** On the question of mandating Hindi for effective learning, a majority (56.6%) rejected the idea of exclusively using Hindi in schools, although a sizeable minority (37.7%) still supports it.
- **When to Introduce Hindi:** On the question of when to transition to Hindi, a significant majority (65.4%) believed the shift should occur once most children understand the language, even if they are not proficient in it. This further substantiates the teacher's tendency to shift relatively early towards Hindi and reflects limited recognition of how L1 proficiencies transfer to L2.
- **Perceived Impact of L1 Use:** Regarding the impact of familiar languages on subject learning, an overwhelming 87.9% of teachers rejected the idea that using a familiar language negatively affects learning in other subjects. This indicates a substantial level of acceptance among teachers for integrating students' home languages into the learning process.
- **Time for L1 vs L2:** Opinions were divided regarding the time allocated to children's languages. While 31.1% of teachers felt that prioritising children's language adversely impacts Hindi instruction, 49.6% expressed disagreement.
- **Use of Multiple Language in Classroom:** Teachers largely supported multilingual practices, as 71.4% disagree with the notion that using multiple languages in classrooms causes confusion. This reflects a generally positive attitude towards multilingual education and its perceived potential to enhance learning outcomes

The table highlights a clear pattern: long-standing preference for Hindi continue to dominate when the two languages are compared directly, even as teachers acknowledge the value of L1 and express openness to several aspects of MLE. Overall, the survey paints a picture of cautious yet significant attitudinal development towards the MLE approach. A dominant language ideology clearly persists; however, there is a broader acceptance of the MLE principles. Most teachers did not perceive L1 use as harmful and were open to multilingual strategies. The coexistence of these views suggests that teachers are transitioning from strongly monolingual orientations towards greater openness to MLE practice.

Three Approaches to L1 Use

Teachers' interviews reveal three distinct approaches, while confirming a general attitude towards language use. These approaches corresponds to a set of classroom practices and are rooted in a dominant language ideology that favours the use of school language for teaching-learning processes.

Approach 1: Rejection of Children's Languages.

In this approach, teachers take a clear stand against the inclusion of children's languages in any form. They deliberately communicate in Hindi and impose restrictions on any use of the home language in the classroom, including inclusion of oral use of L1. Of the 20 teachers interviewed, two adhered to this approach. They did not feel the need to learn children's language and justified it by stating that "the world is now moving towards Hindi and English, so why should children here study in Halbi? We should also move in that direction. The hierarchy of languages—where local tongues are treated as dialects—was a recurring theme in their justifications.

Approach 2: Cautious and Limited Inclusion.

Teachers expressed apprehension about using children's languages in their classrooms, but were open to adaptation if it helped them to manage the classroom effectively. Approximately 40% of teachers interviewed fell into this category. They justified their preference for Hindi by referring to the structure of higher education which largely excludes children's language.

Approach 3: Pragmatic Inclusion alongside Hindi Preference.

Teachers with a certain level of proficiency in the children's language often utilised spontaneous translanguaging practices to convey complex concepts. However, in interviews, they maintained a formal preference for Hindi, grounding their reasons in the existing languages hierarchy.

At the time of data collection (April–December 2025), nearly 90% of teachers fell into the second and third approaches, indicating a greater flexibility and openness to new pedagogical practices.

Table 4.2: Teachers’ Approaches to Children’s Languages in the Classroom

Approach	Forms	Sources of Justification
Rejection of Children’s Languages	1. Explicit opposition to the inclusion of children’s languages. 2. Exclusive reliance on the school language.	1. Dominant language ideology privileging the school language. 2. Adherence to the language– dialect epistemic fallacy.
Cautious and Limited Inclusion	1. Mild openness to children’s languages but with visible apprehension. 2. Willingness to experiment with new approaches albeit reluctantly.	1. Linguistic structures are shaped by higher education. 2. Prevalence of dominant monolingual practices.
Pragmatic Inclusion alongside Hindi Preference	1. Spontaneous translanguaging practices. 2. Openness to adapting innovative approaches while maintaining preference for Hindi.	1. Linguistic structures are shaped by higher education. 2. Existing dominant monolingual practices.

This adherence to language ideology was not uniform but layered. It reflected in three distinct approaches to language use. Most teachers expressed a willingness to adopt classroom strategies that yielded effective outcomes. As the Bastar MLE Programme was among the first such initiatives in the district, the intervention appears to have initiated shifts in teachers’ attitudes towards integrating children’s languages into classrooms, though without their fully embracing all the critical dimensions of MLE.

The programme design promotes the use of L1 without completely negating L2 in the classroom. This eased teachers’ ambivalence over choosing between L1 and L2, allowing them to incorporate L1 without fundamentally challenging their monolingual perspectives. As teachers began using L1, the latent potential of MLE was gradually activated, which in turn reinforced the incorporation of L1 in the classroom.

4.3. Teachers’ Perceptions of Key Intervention Strategies

A major component of the Bastar MLE Programme was a set of comprehensive intervention strategies designed to transform classroom practice: regular teacher training, on-site coaching by programme team members, the provision of new teaching materials in L1, and structured pedagogy. Reflecting on these key interventions, both teacher interviews and the survey data (see Box 4.1) substantiate the effectiveness of the multimodal intervention strategies adopted in the Neev MLE programme. In interviews, teachers often discussed each component separately; however, across their responses, they described the ongoing trainings, materials and support as mutually reinforcing. For example, one teacher, reflecting on how continuous training supported her adaptation, said:

Training had been conducted earlier as well, often in the month of June–July. We often forget many things after training and return to our old practices [...] In this programme, the continuous training sessions, the materials provided, and the interactions with the BACs and CACs (LLF team members) who demonstrate activities, all come together to encourage us to apply these learnings in the classroom.

This teacher's reflection underlines a typical pattern of conventional in-service teacher training, which often consists of a one-time exposure. In contrast, the comprehensive intervention model—comprising biannual training, materials in L1, and on-site support throughout the year—worked synergistically to orient and motivate teachers to adopt MLE practices in classrooms. This is also reflected in teacher's survey (see Box- 4.2) in the form of broader adoption of new practices, such as improved classroom planning, increased student talk in L1, and a richer use of TLM.

Both data sets reaffirm that best practices in teacher professional development require systematic and sustained efforts, echoing major criticisms of existing training programmes that treat training as a one-time event. Further analysis of this comprehensive intervention model highlights two complementary and mutually reinforcing themes: the continuity of biannual training and the use of scaffolding tools such as the TG.

Biannual Training

Many teachers emphasised that the existing biannual, two-phase training model helped them situate their evolving engagements with the nuances of intervention strategies within the broader programme design as the programme progressed.

One teacher noted:

I attended all the trainings, but I don't understand everything at once [...] how to use different types of reading in the classroom [...] or what to do next once children start learning to write a little understood these aspects gradually by the third-year of training.

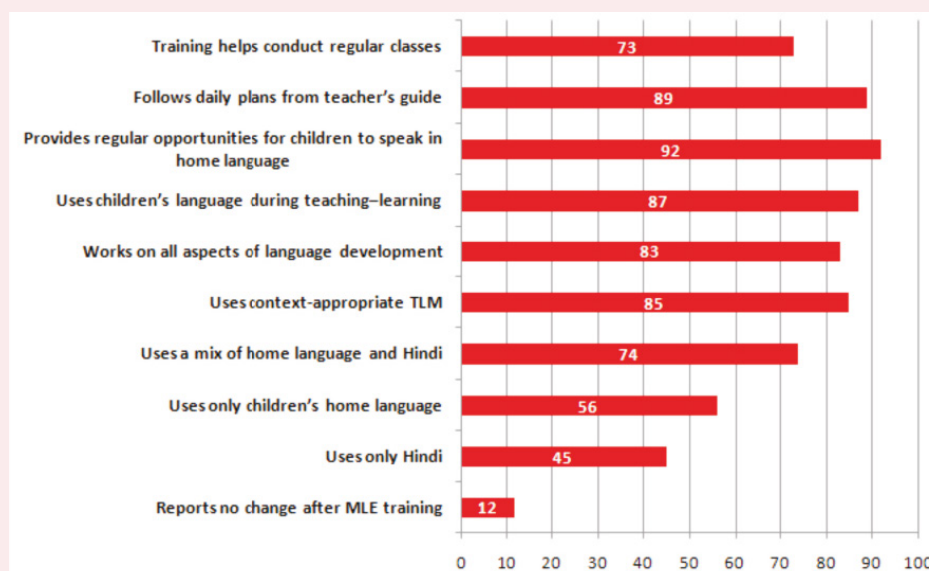
Box 4.2

Teacher Survey: Impact of MLE Training on Classroom Practices (N= 486)

- Improved classroom regularity and structure: 73% teachers report that MLE training supports regular class conduct; 89% follow daily plans from the teacher's guide.
- Strong increase in student voice through home language: 92% teachers provide regular opportunities for children to speak in their home language; 87% actively use children's language during instruction.
- Shift towards comprehensive language pedagogy: 83% teachers work on all aspects of language development, indicating movement beyond isolated literacy skills.
- Greater use of context-sensitive materials: 85% teachers use teaching-learning materials appropriate to classroom and local contexts.
- Mixed language use as the dominant practice: 74% teachers use a combination of home language and Hindi, reflecting transitional bilingual classroom practices.
- Partial persistence of monolingual approaches: 56% teachers use only the home language, while 45% continue to use only Hindi, indicating uneven pedagogic transition.
- High overall impact of MLE training: Only 12% teachers report no change in classroom practice following MLE training, suggesting broad acceptance and influence of the programme.

Overall, the survey indicates that MLE-specific training has contributed to improvements in classroom organisation, adherence to daily plans, student participation opportunities, use of TLMs, and the integration of children's languages.

Figure 4.1: Teacher Practices after MLE Training (%)



Teachers' reflections underline the critical role of repeated exposure and the progressive layering of MLE-specific concepts in solidifying their understanding and adoption of the MLE approach in everyday teaching. This highlights the iterative nature of adoption, which requires a systematic feedback loop: new pedagogical inputs are introduced, followed by implementation that generates further "how" and "why" questions

Teacher Guide

Within a structured pedagogy framework, Teacher Guides (TGs) play an instrumental role in ensuring fidelity to the teaching and learning process. Some teachers noted that their increasing use of the TG enabled them to approach classroom organisation more systematically:

Earlier, while teaching, we often missed the proper sequence [...] Now, with the teacher's guide provided, specific methods for different tasks are outlined [...] For example, in Oral Language Development, it specifies the steps to follow. When we work according to these steps, children learn much more effectively.

Following the TG for classroom organisation necessitates planning activities, engaging with TLMs and conducting assessments. Teachers' accounts suggest that this increasing engagement with the TG translated into improved classroom processes. In this way, the TG functions as a scaffolding tool in everyday teaching practices.

Alongside these positive aspects, some teachers also underlined the challenges of fully adopting all components. One teacher praised the programme but admitted: "Overall, this programme is very good, but it is somewhat difficult to follow. At times, certain aspects feel demanding. This programme places high demands on teachers". As this comment highlights, the programme requires teachers to redesign their preparatory work. Nonetheless, teachers' growing acceptance indicates that they found value in it despite the required additional effort.

In conclusion, teachers generally viewed the programme's key interventions—training, mentoring, TG, etc.—positively and recognised them as enabling scaffolding tools for change in their classroom practices. These findings resonate with teacher education literature that underlines how meaningful changes in the classroom requires synergistic effect of TPD, context embedded material, and on-site support.

4.4 Teachers' Reflections on Pedagogical Inputs

A central pedagogical innovation in the Bastar MLE Programme was the Four-Block Model. In the TG, the four components—OLD, decoding, reading, and writing—implemented in an integrated manner into classroom within a 90-minute language class.

In both interviews and surveys (see Box 4.3), the data indicate that teachers overwhelmingly reported a positive experience with the Four-Block model and recognised that it helps them to organise their classroom processes systematically:

Earlier, we conducted activities in the classroom but struggled with organisation. The Four-Block Model helps streamline our work, allowing us to focus on Oral Language Development, decoding, reading, and writing within a single class.

Some teachers, both implicitly and explicitly, referred to the Four-Block model as a framework that helped them organise classroom processes amidst the workload of everyday teaching.

In primary schools, there are multiple classes [...] Each with various subjects, and the syllabus has to be completed [...] This often creates a rush, and some things inevitably get missed [...] Working with the Four-Block Model brings organisation to the classroom. Now, teaching follows a sequence, there is detailed discussion, and reading and writing activities are effectively carried out. Earlier, many things were left out.

Other important reflections highlighted that the Four-Block model helps teachers go beyond the sequential process of learning, engaging children more meaningfully, and imbuing them a sense of professional gratification:

Earlier, when we taught Hindi, we followed the sequenced letters, syllables, words, then sentences—which took a long time to progress reading. In the Four-Block Model, the process is divided into segments, and reading begins right from the start. This approach feels very effective and rewarding.

Along with these positive aspects, teachers also acknowledged the challenges of implementing the Four-Block model in classroom, as it requires significant preparation on their part:

Using this (Four-Block Model) requires significant preparation, but the way we teach through it feels much simpler for the children. Earlier, they had to make them memorize a lot, but now, many things have become much easier.

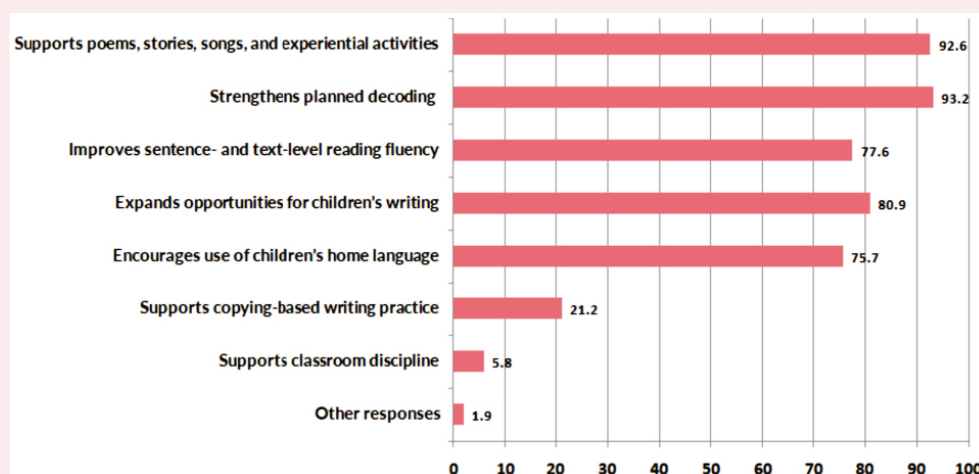
Box 4.3

Teachers' Survey: Perception of the Four-Block Model (N= 486)

- Supports organising activities: 92.6% teachers report that the Four-Block model helps them organise classroom work around poems, stories, songs, and activities based on children's experiences.
- Strengthens planned decoding: 93.2% teachers state that the model supports systematic teaching of letters, sounds, and blending through planned reading instructions.
- Improves sentence- and text-level reading fluency: 77.6% teachers observe improvement in students' ability to read sentences and short texts fluently.
- Expands opportunities for children's writing: 80.9% teachers report providing more regular writing tasks for students.
- Encourages use of children's home language: 75.7% teachers indicate that the model supports the inclusion of children's home language in classroom interaction.
- Supports copying-based writing practice: 21.2% teachers report the use of copying tasks as part of writing activities.
- Supports classroom discipline: 5.8% teachers associate the model with maintaining classroom discipline.
- Other responses: 1.9% teachers report other forms of support not covered in the listed categories.

Overall, the responses show that most teachers associate the Four-Block model with structured literacy activities, planned reading instruction, writing opportunities, and home-language use, while relatively fewer link it with copying practices or classroom discipline.

Figure 4.2: Teacher Practices under the Four-Block Model (%)



Teachers' excerpts juxtapose the required efforts with the resulting ease for students (less reliance on memorisation). This further signifies the teacher's ongoing efforts to translate MLE into practice and the positive role of the Four-Block Model in deepening their professional involvement in classroom practices.

Oral Language Development (OLD)

Reflecting on Oral Language Development (OLD), almost all teachers recognised its positive impact on students' classroom participation. The programme design prescribed a series of TLMs developed in L1 and L2 for OLD activities. Most teachers underlined that the prescribed activities and TLMs enabled them to implement OLD more effectively in the classroom.

Most of the children used to sit quietly, unable to mingle. Activities like storytelling, reciting songs and poems, or discussing pictures and charts help them open up. Through these, children start expressing themselves freely and communicate with us more openly and effectively.

These reflections indicate that OLD in L1 helped teachers break the culture of silence in classrooms. As the data from chapter 2 suggest, a greater emphasis on OLD in L1 shows potential to transform classroom into a space for inclusive education and dialogical interactions.

The instruction design emphasises extensive use of material and TLMs in OLD activities. Survey data (see Box 4.4) confirm that teachers widely adopted the new TLMs and resources in OLD activities. One teacher noted that the integration of these materials in OLD worked well even children previously labelled as having a "slow intellect". This shows that by simply providing better training and materials to engage children meaningfully in the classroom, they have the potential to contest many such misconceptions.

Decoding, Reading, and Writing

Compared to OLD, the other three components of the Four-Block model—decoding, reading, and writing—received less attention in teacher reflections. This trend aligns with classroom observation data presented in Chapter 2. Teachers' reflections praised the effectiveness of a systematic approach towards decoding. The teacher survey (see Box 4.4) indicates that teachers significantly diversified the literacy materials in their classrooms and used most TLMs in activities related to decoding, reading, and writing.

Box 4.4

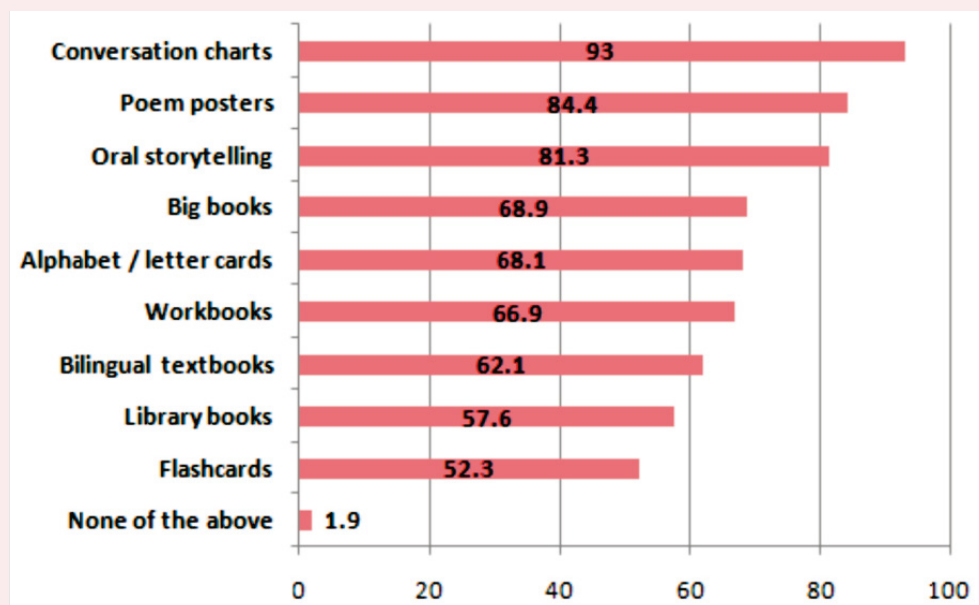
Teachers' Survey: Use of TLM in Oral Language Development (N=486)

- Conversation charts: 93% teachers report using conversation charts for facilitating oral language activities.
- Poem posters: 84.4% teachers use poem posters as part of classroom interaction and language practice.
- Oral storytelling: 81.3% teachers incorporate oral storytelling in classroom processes.

- Big Books: 68.9% teachers use Big Books during shared reading or group activities.
- Alphabet/letter cards: 68.1% teachers employ alphabet or letter cards for letter and sound recognition.
- Workbooks: 66.9% teachers use workbooks for structured language tasks and exercises.
- Bilingual textbooks: 62.1% teachers report using bilingual textbooks in instruction.
- Library books: 57.6% teachers make use of library books for reading and language exposure.
- Flashcards: 52.3% teachers use flashcards during teaching-learning activities.
- None of the above: 1.9% report not using any of these materials.

Overall, the survey indicates that most teachers use a range of print-rich and oral interaction-based materials for Oral Language Development, with conversation charts, poem posters, and storytelling emerging as the most employed resources.

Figure 4.3: TLM Use for Oral Language Development (%)



Linking OLD in L1 to Reading and Writing

The programme design envisions role of OLD as foundational in scaffolding other components of the Four-Block model including decoding, reading, and writing. Reflecting on this relationship, some teachers explained how OLD in L1 development reinforced the reading and writing blocks and facilitated transfer from L1 to L2. During the interviews, one teacher explained:

The workbook includes lessons in both Halbi and Hindi. The Halbi text comes before the Hindi text[...]First, the Halbi lesson is taught—whether a poem or a story, it is recited and discussed in Halbi...Then, exercises are introduced in Hindi. This helps children understand that what they did in Halbi is the same as in Hindi. As a result, they do not face many difficulties (with Hindi).

Teacher excerpts suggested that familiarity with objects and concepts in L1 positions the learner advantageously for literacy-related tasks. Once decoding skills were acquired, this prior knowledge facilitated easier recognition of L1 words in print. Moreover, the familiarity developed in L1, particularly both in oral and print form, enabled quicker comprehension when encountering equivalent terms in L2.

4.5 Classroom Restructuring and Student Participation

The programme design promotes the integration of all the components of the Four-Block model within a 90-minute period and envisions children's active participation in all four activity domains. The field team (See chapter 5) however, noted that implementing this has been an ongoing struggle since the inception of the programmes. Teacher survey data further confirm this challenge: only about half of the teachers appear to have adopted the model reasonably well, while a substantial number continue to struggle to fit all activities in the 90 minutes slot (see Box 4.5).

In their interviews, many teachers highlighted that integrating all aspects of the Four-Block model in a 90-minute classroom initially appeared somewhat unrealistic. This perception stemmed from previous difficulties in engaging students meaningfully beyond the first 30 minutes. However, a period of immersion and sustained practice, mitigated this challenge to a considerable extent. A teacher said:

Earlier it was difficult to imagine that children would sit together for 90 minutes and perform all task [...] Integrating Four-Block models in everyday teaching through activities made it possible [...] Children now sit together for longer period.

As a general trend, some teachers reported that they still struggle to complete the full 90-minutes cycle, often falling short by about 10 to 15 minutes.

Children's Participation

Perhaps the most notable change, emphasised by virtually every teacher, was the marked increase in children's participation and active engagement in the learning process. Teachers repeatedly used phrases like "children now actively participate", "they express themselves", "they have more opportunities to speak", etc.

Teachers attributed this development to the comprehensive intervention strategies—such as the Four-Block model, structured pedagogy, culturally embedded TLMs, and the use of L1—as contributing to an environment where children felt comfortable and motivated.

In an interview, a teacher noted:

In the earlier process, there was no fixed sequence for teaching, and many things were left out. Children also didn't get enough opportunities to speak. Now, we teach in a structured manner and provide more opportunities for children to actively participate in the classroom.

Box 4.5

Teachers' Survey: Perceptions on 90 Minutes Classroom (N=486)

- Survey findings reveal that 56.2% teachers reported being able to complete all components of the MLE daily plan within the 90-minute period, while 36.6% said they could not. An additional 4.5% responded "don't know," and 2.7% provided no response.
- 53.3% teachers felt that they faced a shortage of time, whereas 41.8% reported no shortage. Another 3.5% said "don't know," and 1.4% gave no response.

Teacher's narratives indicate that the increase of children's participation resulted from the systematic implementation of programme design. During interviews, many teachers underlined the positive impact of TLMs in L1 on student's classroom participation. For teachers, increased participation was not limited to merely mechanical reproduction of activities. Rather, it gradually shifted from a teacher-centred space to more learner-centered one, aligning with dialogical and child friendly pedagogy.

4.6. Emerging Translanguaging Practices in the Classroom

Almost all teachers reported a strongly positive impact of increased L1 use on overall classroom process and children's participation. Given teacher's limited L1 proficiency (Chapter 2), any such increase represents a significant pedagogical adaptation leading to more fluid use of L1 in classroom. One teacher noted:

We used to speak in Halbi in the classroom earlier as well. Children couldn't understand much when we spoke in Hindi. Initially, we used Halbi only when something was unclear. Now, we use Halbi most of the time.

The teacher attributed this shift partly to the programme's inputs.

As another teacher explained:

We were familiar with the children's language earlier as well and used it then too. After the introduction of this programme, there have been significant changes in the use of Halbi. The programme provides poems, stories, and other materials in Halbi, encouraging its increased use.

Both narratives reveal two aspects:

- Teachers felt encouraged and, to a certain extent “legitimised” to use L1 once the programme provided TLMs and content in L1 and trained them in their use.
- The availability of quality materials in L1 and a systematic plan for its use made sustained classroom integration possible.

In other words, this increased use of L1 differs from earlier instances where L1 was merely inserted into an otherwise L2- dominant curriculum; it is now embedded within a consciously designed bilingual curriculum. For teachers, this constituted a qualitatively different pedagogical situation, enabling them to adopt more flexible bilingual practices.

This suggests an important conclusion: clarity in bilingual orientation, concrete instructional design, and availability of TLMs in L1 are critical for the adoption of MLE approach among teachers. Taken together, these aspects indicate that the programme’s bilingual approach has positively influenced L1 use and encouraged a more strategic application of translanguaging in many schools.

Despite this development, classroom observation data do not provide sufficient evidence to categorise present practices as fully purposive translanguaging. Importantly, the data indicate that dominant language ideology continues to play a significant role in shaping classroom language use. Overall, current practices reflect a transitional phase in which teachers demonstrate growing alignment with proposed bilingual approach without fully abandoning earlier monolingual practices.

Purposive Engagement with L1

As shown in Chapter 3, mixed-language practices became more visible in Groups II and III, where teachers have limited L1 proficiency. Reflecting on this, some teachers from Group II and III underlined that the programme implementation initiated a more purposive engagement with the non-dominant L1, which gradually translated into more flexible mixed use of L1 in classrooms:

Earlier, I didn't make much effort with Halbi [...] Since joining this programme, I have started using Halbi more frequently [...] Now, the thing is, in the classroom, there are books, poems, posters, and stories in Halbi, so I must speak some Halbi [...] The children also use Halbi in the classroom, so I am learning it as well.

The narrative indicates an important brewing dynamic in the programme schools: teachers are making deliberate efforts to learn Halbi. This dynamic is mediated through the systematic use of L1 prescribed in the TG, with L1-based materials functioning as scaffolding tools in this process.

Considering the present landscape of teacher education (as discussed in Chapter 2), a rapid structural transformation in the existing teacher pool appears unlikely. Implementing an MLE approach in contexts such as Bastar, therefore, necessarily involves working with teachers who have limited linguistic proficiency. In this context, this evolving purposive engagement with L1 demonstrates significant implementation potential in similar linguistic situations (Box 1.1: Type III linguistic typology). Language mapping surveys, particularly in tribal-majority districts, suggest that these linguistic situations are prevalent in approximately 40 %–45% of schools in several districts (Language and Learning Foundation, 2022, 2023, 2024a, 2024b).

4.7. Chapter Summary

This chapter explored the question of teachers’ attitudes through the lens of comprehensive intervention design and its implementation in the Bastar MLE programme. Based on these narratives, following conclusions and inferences are drawn:

- Positive Attitudinal Change Towards L1: The narratives suggest an overall positive development in teachers’ attitudes towards the use of L1 in the classroom. Teachers have increasingly recognised the pedagogical value of

L1. These findings are broadly consistent with those presented in Chapter 3. Notably this recognition emerged from practicing MLE-specific pedagogical inputs. For MLE implementation, this implies that demonstrable classroom success is crucial for generating bottom-up conviction in the approach.

- **Role of Support and Scaffolding:** The shift in L1 use and pedagogical adaptation was primarily facilitated by the comprehensive intervention design, including biannual training, on-site support, and concrete scaffolding tools. Building on this, the structure of on-site support—demonstration, constructive feedback, continuous dialogue—created a community of practitioners at the ground level that facilitated the adoption of MLE inputs. Additionally, teachers' narrative underlined that the programme's TG, TLMs, and L1 based literature served as practical scaffolding tools for pedagogical adaptation.
- **Impact on Classroom Processes and Learning:** Perhaps the most important realisation among teachers was the significance of L1 for Oral Language Development (OLD), which not only enhanced children's oral proficiency and confidence, but also positively influenced other components such as reading, comprehension and writing. Another notable outcome was improved classroom management and student engagement. Classroom interaction pattern gradually inclined towards dialogic engagement.
- **Variability and Continuing Challenges:** Despite overall positive trends, the data reveal substantial variation among teachers in the degree to which they have embraced the new approaches. This highlights that attitudinal change is not monolithic; within any reform, there are early adopters, and those who lag behind. The programme, therefore, needs to continue supporting those who are slower to adopt, possibly through peer mentoring by more experienced or proficient teachers.



From providing training and on-site support in schools to contributing to material development, the LLF team members have been working regularly with teachers in the Bastar MLE Programme schools. This chapter examines the evolving engagement of three main stakeholders in this programme—teachers, CACs, and the community—from the perspective of the programme implementation team.

5.1. Engaging Teachers on MLE Classroom Practices

The narratives of the field team draw attention to the multilayered intricacies involved in implementing the Bastar MLE programme at the school level. Teachers are at the centre of all these initiatives. Working with them involves engaging and negotiating with existing monolingual practices and persuading them as they gradually adopt the intervention strategies envisioned in the programme design.

Teacher's Evolving Engagement: Phases and Inter-school Variances

The field team highlighted that the programme implementation occurred in distinct phases. The first year was marked by initial scepticism and resistance among teachers; the second year reflected evolving engagement with various programme strategies; and by the start of the third year, teachers had begun to understand the nuances of the intervention.

Within this broader trajectory, the team noted wide inter-school variance in the acceptance of the programme's intervention strategies, attributing it to differences in teachers' evolving levels of engagements. One of the most important reasons for this differential engagement was the frequent transfer of teachers from the programme schools. Nearly 40% of teachers were transferred or replaced during the beginning of the programme cycle in August 2022. For the field team, this often meant a complete restart of their efforts in schools from where teachers had been transferred. In addition, they highlighted the variance in the evolving engagement of teachers and CACs, which were influenced by several factors discussed in previous chapters. These factors include: the degree of acceptance and openness to adopting children's languages, teachers' expertise in children's languages and their participation in training sessions, and their duration of engagement at the school level.

Use of L1 in the Classroom.

According to the programme team, the inclusion of children's L1 in the classroom was met with resistance from teachers during the first two phases of the programme's implementation. Teachers expressed their resistance during teacher training sessions, monthly meetings, and regular school visits. Some teachers even refused to entertain any kind of intervention in their schools. A member of the programme team noted:

In the beginning, when we started going to school after the first phase of training, the most common question we encountered was, "Why do we need to work in L1?" The same question was repeatedly raised by teachers during cluster and block-level monthly meetings. This situation persisted in some schools even after the third phase of training.

Broadly, this impasse was addressed through sustained dialogue and gradual implementation strategies. For example, displaying printed material in the classroom generated a positive response from students, which helped the programme team to further negotiate with the teaching staff of the schools during subsequent visits. Similarly, positive response from students during the demonstration of OLD activities allowed the programme team to encourage the teachers to implement the OLD specific pedagogical inputs without directly challenging their position on using L1 in their classrooms. This pragmatic approach proved effective in most schools, with the exception of a small group of teachers who continued to adhere to rigid language hierarchies and conventional teaching practices.

Approach towards Materials.

Before the implementation of the programme, children in early grades primarily learned from textbooks and notebooks. From the teachers' perspective, viewing TLMs as tools for scaffolding in everyday classrooms required a qualitative shift in pedagogical orientation, as it involved meaningful integration of TLMs into classroom activities. Materials such as picture charts, Big Books, and poem posters naturally engaged children in the early grades and demanded less effort from teachers, particularly in the context of emergent literacy. In most programme schools, these materials and TLMs gained acceptance among teachers by the end of the first year. However, their systematic use in classrooms, as prescribed in the TG, began only by the fourth phase of teacher training.

Teachers found workbooks challenging to use due to the presupposition that they were meant to encourage writing merely as an extension of the classroom notebook. It required substantial time for teachers to understand why and how to use workbooks in the classroom, along with all other TLMs. These specific challenges with material use further reinforced the importance of the TG in organising everyday classroom practices.

Print-rich Environment.

Creating a print-rich environment in school was one of the key strategic decisions pursued by the programme team in the first two phases of programme implementation. For many teachers, this was initially viewed as merely displaying materials within the school premises. A team member noted, "In the beginning, teachers understood the concept of a print-rich environment to mean that posters should look clean and tidy, making the classroom appear lively."

A resource conservation perspective was also evident in statements such as, "Many teachers also said that if posters were placed lower, children would tear them apart. Therefore, it was necessary to keep them out of the children's reach." This view was rooted in the historically poor condition of printed resources in schools. For the field team, creating a print-environment began with negotiating this pre-existing dominant view. To do so, they initiated dialogue with teachers through a framework of access and persuaded them to integrate these materials into everyday teaching practices. While some teachers continued to adhere to previous perspective, most shifted towards viewing the print environment through the lens of accessibility and pedagogical use.

Implementing the Four-Block Model in the 90-Minute Period

When teachers returned to their schools after completing the first phase of training, they initially experienced confusion regarding the implementation of the Four-Block model. Generally, they perceived it as addressing four components over four consecutive days in a week and repeating them sequentially. Field team reflections highlighted this initial misunderstanding, which stemmed partly from the limitations of the first phase of training. During this phase, teachers were introduced to comprehensive intervention strategies for the first time, making it difficult for them to internalise and sustain these practices at the classroom level. This challenge was gradually addressed through iterative biannual training and sustained school-level dialogue. Following the completion of the third phase of training in June 2023, most teachers demonstrated greater alignment with prescribed pedagogical framework. Additionally, the field team emphasised that most teachers initially viewed integrating all four components within a single 90-minute period as unrealistic and impractical. This concern was expressed by teachers across multiple forums, including teacher training, onsite support, and monthly meetings. This challenge persisted in many programme schools. By October 2024, after two years of sustained effort, many teachers' approaches to the 90-minute classroom period shifted from apprehension to active exploration of ways to implement it. As noted in previous chapters, many teachers now operate in the range of 75 to 105 minutes, which approaches the proposed 90-minute duration.

Within this broader trend, the field team's narratives also reveal significant variance in the implementation of the all four components of the Four-Block model at the classroom level. Oral language development and decoding occupy the highest proportion of instructional time compared to reading and writing activities.

Oral Language Development.

The programme design recognises the foundational role of Oral Language Development (OLD) in literacy development. This emphasis is reflected in the Teacher's Guide (TG) and in the time allocation prescribed within the 90-minute classroom design. The most critical dimension was the systematic use of L1 through OLD activities.

Alongside general resistance to the use of L1 in the classroom, teachers in the initial phase of programme implementation

also resisted the increased emphasis on OLD.

Teachers constantly raised questions about oral language development... They often said that our primary role is to teach children to read and write, so why is there a need to devote so much time for oral language development?"

Reflecting on this gradual shift, the field team underlined that apprehension towards OLD persisted until the third phase of programme implementation. A gradual process of change began to take shape at the classroom level following the second phase of training, organised in January 2023. Children's positive response to structured OLD activities and their increasing classroom engagement helped teachers organise their classrooms more effectively.

This development fostered greater acceptance of OLD activities and enabled the field team to introduce additional components of the intervention strategy in schools. One important shift occurred in everyday discussions: teachers gradually moved away from debating language hierarchies and the legitimacy of L1 use during school visits and monthly meetings. Instead, discussions increasingly focused on the practical implementation of OLD activities in the classroom. Consistent with broader patterns, these developments exhibited significant inter-school variation, particularly in the acceptance of OLD activities. Field team narratives highlighted two critical dimensions of this variation: first, the acceptance of OLD was contingent upon teachers' linguistic proficiency in L1, and second, certain activities require considerable time and repeated training before being internalised at the level of classroom practice. For example, the adoption of Total Physical Response (TPR) at the classroom level occurred only after the third round of training.

Additionally, the field team identified two key areas of concern: the slow progress in integrating higher-order thinking questions within OLD and the continued dominance of teacher talk during these activities in many schools. They also acknowledged their own limitations in effectively addressing these issues.

Decoding.

Reflecting on decoding activities, the field team unanimously agreed that, along with activities related to Oral Language Development (OLD), the comprehensive design of decoding activities was among the most appreciated components by teachers. One field team member summarised the initial challenge:

Almost all teachers in the school have been struggling to teach decoding in the classroom [...] One key challenge in this regard is complete absence of an understanding of how to work systematically on phonemes and letters in early grade teaching practices [...] This also becomes an obstacle to thinking about the possibility of carrying out such work through structured activities.

The team further noted that two phases of training, and most importantly on-site demonstration, helped teachers realise that decoding could be taught through diverse activities in which children would actively and enthusiastically participate. The field team observed that the positive response from children encouraged teachers to implement decoding activities more consistently at the classroom level.

Time on task (ToT) data, presented in Chapter 3, underline the pattern of teachers preferring decoding over writing activities. In response to the concern that greater emphasis on decoding might sideline other aspects of the Four-Block model—particularly writing activities—the field team offered only general observations.

Reading and Writing.

Regarding reading and writing, the field team reported that these two components were the most challenging aspects of programme implementation. They also acknowledged that substantial work remained, even at this final stage of the programme.

In the initial phase, most teachers approached reading as a singular, isolated activity and largely continued to rely on traditional methods in the classroom. For example, they often recited Big Books and frequently conflated shared reading with logographic reading (memorising whole word by shape rather than decoding) practices in their classrooms. These issues hindered effective reading instruction and delayed the development of fluent reading in most schools.

In relation to these challenges, the field team noted that although some encouraging developments had occurred in programme schools, reading had not been progressed as robustly as OLD and decoding in most of them. A similar pattern was observed in writing. Except for writing tasks embedded within other activities, students remained highly dependent on teacher input, as reflected in classroom data in chapter 3.

Multigrade Teaching.

Multigrade teaching emerged as another major challenge for the field team. Members explicitly mentioned that it took considerable time to understand and internalise the proposed approach to working in multigrade settings. Some teachers also underlined the issue of small classroom size as an infrastructural constraint in facilitating students in multigrade settings.

During discussions, the team observed that working in a multigrade setting requires a certain level of proficiency in implementing the programme's comprehensive intervention strategies. It was challenging for both teachers and the field team to work and demonstrate activities effectively in such classroom settings. As a result, teachers often used the same activities simultaneously for both grade levels.

After the third phase of training, both the field team and teachers in single teacher schools were able to implement multigrade teaching practices in alignment with the Teacher's Guides (TGs). As a general trend, Oral Language Development and decoding activities continued to dominate in multigrade schools as well.

What Works with Teachers

During the focus group discussion (FGD), the field team emphasised that the comprehensive intervention strategies—from material development and teacher training to on-site support, including activity demonstration and continuous dialogue—facilitated positive changes in teaching practices. Furthermore, they noted that these changes were the cumulative result of three core approaches within the Bastar MLE Programme. The first approach involved incorporating the sociocultural context into L1-based Teaching and Learning Materials (TLMs) and children's literature to enhance student engagement. The second approach emphasised the use of the L1 in the initial phase, which unlocked numerous possibilities, especially in enhancing children's oral expression. The third approach combined the first two with a systematic classroom approach outlined in the Teacher's Guide (TG). This enabled teachers to move beyond their previous practices and adopt the programme's intervention strategies.

Two critical challenges also emerged during the discussion. First, the team struggled to assess the relative effectiveness of the multiple strategies employed. Second, after outlining a broad narrative of programme implementation, nearly all team members found it difficult to articulate a clear future course of action to further facilitate teachers' engagement with the programme's strategies. For example, despite acknowledging the challenges of reading and writing in programme schools, the team struggled to devise effective strategies to encourage teachers to strengthen these components within the Four-Block model.

5.2 Supporting Cluster Academic Coordinators

Revitalising the existing structure of supportive supervision has been one of the key challenges in the elementary school system in India (Bell, 2024; Sarangpani, 2011). In this context, the Bastar MLE Programme suggests that a critical mass of CACs can be reoriented through training, continuous dialogue, and joint visits.

In the first year of programme implementation, the programme team struggled to engage CACs in regular school visits. Joint visits were difficult to organise, and even when CACs accompanied the programme team, there was limited scope for academic engagement with teachers. The prevailing scepticism regarding their academic role was difficult to overcome, as reflected in their narratives:

During school visits, cluster coordinators paid very little attention to academic aspects. Their focus was primarily on matters such as mid-day meals, toilets, and the condition of school building.

This prevailing culture was evident even in the cluster-level weekly and monthly meetings. The non-academic approach left little scope for substantive academic discussion in these forums. In addition to these challenges, programme team encountered apprehension among CACs regarding the inclusion of L1 in the classroom. Many CACs expressed their apprehension during the first years of programme implementation, particularly at collective forums such as cluster- and block-level meetings.

In discussing the factors that contributed to changes within the existing pool of CACs, the field team reflected that it adopted a multifaceted working approach. This included organising training workshops for CACs, regularly engaging them in joint field visits, and conducting classroom observations. They also facilitated a constructive and structured feedback process for the teachers. A team member noted:

We assigned CACs the responsibility of documenting classroom observations and providing feedback to teachers. Based on these classroom observations, they offered suggestions to teachers for the development of future action plans. Over time, they began to take greater interest in this work and gradually shifted towards a more academic orientation.

Some field staff noted that MLE approach-specific training, organised during the third phase of training (the first training of the second year), played an instrumental role in reorienting CACs towards their academic responsibilities. Others suggested that demonstrations, collective discussions, and feedback mechanisms enabled many CACs to more fully inhabit their academic roles, as corroborated by teacher accounts discussed in previous chapters.

During the FGDs, a generalised narrative emerged regarding the shift in CACs' orientation. After initial resistance, role-specific training, followed by on-site support and structured dialogue before and after period during school visit, enabled some CACs to reconfigure their academic roles. As discussed earlier, the field team also acknowledged its limitations in articulating a structured sequencing of the intervention strategies that contributed to changes among CACs.

During interactions with CACs in the third phase of data collection, one CAC who performed considerably well in schools, shared his thoughts in following words:

Often, when you continue working in the same way, it becomes difficult to understand how to break out of that pattern [...] I have always been interested in academic work, but I didn't know how to start after being appointed as CAC [...]. Conducting one or two meetings was manageable, but more preparation was needed for any systematic work [...] After participating in MLE trainings programme, I gradually started enjoying interacting with children and teachers. Now, I even teach alongside teachers and observe classrooms [...] I feel good doing this kind of work. It is truly fulfilling.

His detailed reflection illustrates the gap between the aspirational academic role of CACs and their limitations in conceptualising a structured plan of work within the existing institutional framework. In this sense, the Teacher's Guide not only supports teachers (as discussed in the previous chapter) but also enables the CACs to systematise their work within the framework of supportive supervision.

This CAC's narrative also reflects a dimension of intrinsic professional motivation in embracing an academic role. The emerging critical mass of academically engaged CACs within Bastar MLE Programmes suggests that there is substantial potential for revitalising academic roles within the existing cadre. This potential can be realised provided that grounded and contextually meaningful intervention strategies are put in place.

5.3 Fostering Community Involvement and Ownership

Building strong community connections was a key component of the Bastar MLE Programme. To this end, two intervention strategies were introduced: storytelling festivals and school museums. Both were designed to embed local knowledge, culture, and language into early-grade curriculum and to actively involve the community in this process. The school museum initiative was envisioned to collect and preserve everyday rural objects, displaying them within schools, and exploring their use as pedagogical resources in early-grade teaching.

Storytelling Festivals

In interviews, the field staff outlined two primary objectives for the storytelling festivals: first, to organise large-scale storytelling events that would strengthen school-community connections, and second, to integrate the collected stories into classroom activities through the development of Big Books, picture books, and other visual-textual teaching-learning materials (TLMs).

The field team's reflections underlined both the scale and the novelty of these events in rural Bastar, as many communities had not previously hosted such festivals. During the festival, villagers expressed appreciation for being invited to share local stories in schools and being documented by students and festival committees. Overall, the festivals created new opportunities for meaningful school engagement.

The team further emphasised the largely unexplored pedagogical potential of local oral narratives. Through these festivals, numerous such stories were collected and documented. In a few schools, motivated teachers displayed these local stories on chart paper and utilised them as instructional aids. However, this practice remained limited and was typically driven by individual teacher initiative.

The team also identified a significant impact of the festivals that extended beyond the school setting. Some parents who attended the festivals began retelling local stories at home to encourage their children's oral expression. Although only a few such cases were reported, they point to the strong potential for meaningful parental engagement at home, particularly among families of first-generation learners.

School Museums

Reflecting on the school museums initiative, the team emphasised that establishing a museum requires sustained planning and community engagement. As a completely new concept, it was a time-consuming endeavour that required significant effort during the first two years, particularly in persuading teachers and community members of its value.

These challenges shaped the pace at which school museums were established across programme schools. In the 2022–23 academic year, seven museums were established; by 2024–25, this number had increased to 57. Due to the concentrating of efforts on establishing the museums, the team was unable to systematically emphasise their pedagogical potential. However, during school visits, the team initiated discussions with teachers regarding how the museums might be used as classroom resources. Over time, these efforts contributed to a growing recognition of the pedagogical value of school museums. In interviews, the field team reported that although approximately 14% of museum-hosting schools (7-8 of 57) integrated the museums into weekly instruction, this represents an early but limited uptake.

Challenges

The field team's narratives highlighted both the achievements and the limitations of these initiatives. They observed that, in rural contexts, school-community engagement is often viewed primarily through the lens of resource mobilisation. In contrast, the storytelling festivals and school museums moved beyond this conventional understanding by offering structured opportunities for community participation within schools. In this sense, the initiatives introduced new dimensions to school-community relations, albeit in a limited manner.

In the first year, the team was sceptical about the feasibility of organising storytelling festivals at scale across programme schools. Despite logistical difficulties, the initiative proved largely successful, resulting in the collection of a substantial number of local narratives. Similarly, the establishment of school museums in 57 schools was a considerable achievement, as such an initiative had never previously occurred at the scale.

The concentrated efforts devoted to organising storytelling festivals and establishing museums limited progress on their secondary pedagogical objectives. As a result, the pedagogical potential of the collected stories and school museums remained underutilised.

Overall, these community-focused strategies strengthened the school-community relations within the programme schools. However, fully integrating local stories and artifacts into everyday teaching required additional time and effort; nonetheless, the initial outcomes were promising in generating interest among teachers, CACs, and community members.

5.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter presents an overview of the dynamics involved in implementing the MLE programme in a region such as Bastar from the perspective of the programme implementation team. Their narratives offer critical insights into both the implementation process and the evolving challenges encountered on the ground.

The field team's narrative suggests two primary factors underlying inter-school variance: first, frequent teacher transfers; and second, varying level of engagement among teachers and CACs with the intervention strategies. Teacher transfers often necessitate a complete restart of implementation efforts in affected schools. The varying levels of engagement were linked to three underlying factors: teachers' acceptance of using the first language (L1) in the classroom, their existing proficiency in L1, and the number of training sessions attended and the level of on-site academic support received.

Another key insight from this chapter concerns the pivotal role of classroom practices in shaping and reinforcing teachers' attitudes towards programme intervention strategies and the overall MLE approach. More specifically, when intervention strategies are implemented through a comprehensive set of classroom activities, they generate meaningful changes in teaching practices. These shifts, in turn, further strengthen teachers' perspectives on MLE.

Furthermore, the field team identified a significant challenge pertaining to the overall programme implementation: the difficulty of addressing evolving academic challenges with teachers and CACs. As teacher engagement with intervention strategies evolved over time, this challenge adversely affected multiple dimensions of implementation. These observations suggest a need to better align ongoing capacity-building efforts with the shifting realities of field implementation.





Multilingual Education (MLE) implemented in Bastar has been a non-linear, negotiated process marked by deep historical, cultural, and pedagogical complexities. Such work demands not only sensitivity to these intricacies but also creative strategies capable of responding to them without losing sight of the larger objective: bringing about meaningful change at the classroom level. The preceding chapters systematically engaged with these complexities, paying attention to the processes of changes in classrooms, as they unfolded within the Bastar MLE Programme. This concluding chapter synthesises the central insights of the study. It is organised into four parts: major findings, challenges and limitations, emerging areas of research, and recommendations.

6.1 Key Findings: Bastar MLE Programme

This documentation exercise emphasises that MLE programme implementation is not a linear process; rather, it is a negotiated and evolving trajectory shaped by structural constraints and teacher dispositions. Based on these findings, this section is structured around six interconnected themes: implementation intricacies, classroom practices and their variance, dynamics of evolving pedagogies, shifts in teacher attitudes, community engagement, and the interplay between structured pedagogy and teacher agency.

Implementation Intricacies

The programme was premised on the assumption that most teachers in programme school would share the language of their students. However, this study reveals that nearly two-thirds of the teachers did not speak children's first language (L1), the lingua franca of the region. Combined with an entrenched monolingual habitus, this limited their willingness to learn and use in their classrooms. Frequent teacher transfers compounded this gap; between August 2022 and October 2024, nearly 40% of teachers were replaced, disrupting continuity despite prior training.

Equally striking was the systemic weakness in teacher preparation. Two-thirds of the teachers began their professional journey without formal pre-service teacher training and later completed their qualifications through distance education, with little or no exposure to early grade language-teaching pedagogy in multilingual context. This absence of grounding in pre-service teacher development programme reinforced monolingual tendencies, which were evident in three distinct patterns: exclusion of L1, situational use without pedagogical intent, and unstructured translanguaging practices.

In this context, this documentation exercise suggests that these practices are not random but are rooted in deeper epistemic fallacies and historically embedded assumptions. These include the persistent dichotomy between "language" and "dialect," the normalisation of monolingual teaching as "natural," and the conflating of early grade pedagogical needs with the linguistic reality of higher education. This implies that the implementation process must engage with these epistemic fallacies, and programme design must possess the capacity to address them.

Box 6.1

Key Findings: Implementation Intricacies

- Two-thirds of the teachers did not share Halbi as their home language, thereby undermining the assumption of shared linguistic competence in L1 among them. Consequently, L1 use in classroom was largely dependent on programme design and L1 based scaffolding tools.
- High rate of teacher transfers and the recruitment of non-native speakers adversely disrupted the implementation process and contributed significantly to inter-school variance.
- Systemic challenges in pre-service training left teachers unprepared not only for language teaching in multilingual context but also, more broadly, for effective early-grade language teaching pedagogy.

- These factors were constitutive of classroom teaching practices and manifested in persistent monolingual practices and other patterns—such as the exclusion of L1, situational use of L1 without pedagogical intent, and unstructured translanguaging—that continued to dominate.
- Deeper epistemic biases such as language dichotomy, normalisation of monolingual practices, and teachers' higher education trajectories, reinforced resistance to L1 integration among a small group of teachers.

Classroom Practices: Patterns and Variance

Despite these challenges, classroom observation data indicate encouraging development in the form of notable departures from entrenched monolingual biases and the gradual adaptation of MLE-specific pedagogical inputs. The use of children's first language (L1) yielded promising results, with 37% of teachers employing it directly. The combined use of L1 and L2 raised the overall share above 50%. The introduction of a systematic and structured use of L1 marked a critical shift from spontaneous translanguaging to a more intentional and pedagogically grounded integration of L1. However, this change remained uneven across schools.

Classroom data further suggest emerging pedagogical adaptations, particularly through the increased use of oral and activity-based classroom interactions. Although the overall communication pattern remained largely teacher-dominated, a gradual movement towards more dialogic interaction was also discernible.

Time-on-task (ToT) analysis recorded a high level of student engagement (93% on-task), which was primarily associated with the growing acceptance of the Four-Block model in everyday teaching practices, irrespective of language-use pattern. This trend indicates that the adapted teacher professional development framework is enabling educators to organise classrooms in a pedagogically meaningful manner.

At the same time, adaptation remained uneven across schools. The instruction time was asymmetrical: Oral Language Development activities received the largest share (33.4%), followed by decoding (21.1%), writing (16.2%), and reading (13.9%). While these trends reflect a positive movement towards MLE-aligned practices—especially the integration of OLD in classroom—they also underscore the uneven pace and depth of change across classrooms.

Additionally, the disaggregated data on classroom activities, corroborated by observation notes and teacher narratives, further substantiate the association between children's home language use and their learning engagement. This positive relationship is evident across three analytically distinct dimensions:

- Oral Language Development (OLD) and Dialogic Participation: Classrooms with higher levels of L1 use demonstrated greater verbal participation. Group-based choral repetition gave way to more individual contributions, and teacher interaction assumed a more dialogic form. In contrast, schools with limited L1 use remained predominantly teacher-centred and less interactive.
- Impact on Learning Tasks and Classroom Behaviour: A positive correlation was observed between higher L1 use and meaningful engagement in literary-related tasks, including active reading and purposeful writing, accompanied by reduced self-distraction. These classrooms displayed more varied and child-responsive activities, whereas low L1 use contexts were often dominated by mechanical decoding and writing tasks.
- Pedagogical adaptation and Teacher Mediation: These patterns suggest that increased use of L1 corresponds to subtle yet significant pedagogical adaptations. Beyond the quantitative presence of L1 use, the quality of classroom activities and their alignment with child-centred, meaning-making practices signal this transition. However, these changes remain gradual and partial, mediated by teachers' interpretations and adoption of MLE pedagogical inputs.

Box 6.2

Key Findings: Classroom Practices

- Teachers' use of children's first language (L1) increased, with combined L1 and L2 use exceeding 50%, signalling a gradual shift away from monolingual practices.
- Teachers moved from spontaneous code-switching towards more deliberate and pedagogically guided use of L1; however, its application remained uneven across schools.

- Higher levels of L1 use correlated with richer oral exchanges, greater student participation, and more dialogic interaction, whereas low-L1 classrooms remained predominantly teacher-centred.
- Time-on-Task (ToT) analysis indicates high engagement (93%), with L1-integrated classrooms displaying more purposeful reading and writing, alongside reduced distraction.
- Pedagogical shifts towards child-responsive and meaning-making practices were evident; however, they remained partial and were mediated by teachers' individual attitudes towards MLE.

Dynamics of MLE Programme Implementation in Bastar

The study suggests that implementing MLE in practice has been non-linear. The shift in L1 use and adaptation of pedagogical inputs were achieved through sustained efforts and negotiation. Demonstrations of activities, sustained dialogue with teachers, and need-based mentoring, supported by biannual training, foregrounded the adaptation of MLE among teachers. Teachers tended to adopt new strategies only after witnessing their effectiveness in classroom practices. Resources such as Big Books and conversation charts developed in L1 gained acceptance because they created visible impact in the classroom.

Adaptation unfolded in phases of training cycle, rather than along a linear trajectory and was shaped by three critical factors: teachers' acceptance of children's L1, the frequency of training attended, and their own language proficiency. The Four-Block model initially faced resistance for being perceived as distracting or diverting focus from reading and writing; however, over time, teachers recognised its adaptability through reflective practice.

This process highlights the ongoing engagement between programme inputs (external scaffolding) and teachers' sense of agency in adopting new pedagogical practices. The data suggests that this ongoing engagement was dynamic, deepening teachers' understanding of MLE and expanding their agency in enhancing classroom management, children's participation and dialogic engagement within classroom.

Box 6.3

Key Findings: Dynamics of MLE Implementation

- The trajectory of MLE implementation was gradual and negotiated rather than linear and was shaped by sustained effort and dialogue.
- Teachers embraced innovations primarily after observing tangible classroom impact; Big Books and conversation charts became trusted entry points.
- Change unfolded in distinct phases, influenced by teachers' acceptance of L1, exposure to training, and their own language proficiency. Initial resistance was gradually mitigated through reflective practice and adaptability.
- Implementation revealed a dynamic interplay between programme scaffolding and teacher agency, with external inputs catalysing, but not determining pedagogical adaptation.

Shift in Teacher Attitudes

One of the most striking developments observed concerned teachers' attitudes towards children's languages. Gradually, L1 came to be perceived less as a barrier and more as a pedagogical resource. This transformation was driven by practice-based engagements such as demonstrations, iterative feedback, and mentoring. Teaching-learning materials (TLMs), including the Teacher Guide, bilingual literature, and L1 based resources, provided the scaffolding required to experiment. Over time, the rigid discourse of "language versus dialect" softened, creating space for more inclusive translanguaging practices.

Box 6.4

Key Findings: Change in Teachers' Attitudes

- Teachers' perceptions of children's L1 underwent a significant shift. L1 came to be seen as more as a pedagogical resource than an obstacle.

- Practical supports—such as the Teacher Guide, bilingual literature, and locally developed materials—enabled teachers to experiment with the integration of L1.
- The entrenched “language versus dialect” divide softened, allowing space for more inclusive translanguaging practices.
- Iterative demonstration-reflection cycles proved transformative, demonstrating that sustained engagement rather than one-off workshops drives lasting attitudinal change.

The demonstration-reflection model proved very effective, offering teachers iterative cycles of practice and feedback that bridged the gap between training and classroom reality.

Community Engagement and Pedagogical Enrichment

The programme’s community-linked initiatives—storytelling festivals and school museums—were warmly received. These initiatives brought local stories, artefacts, and cultural knowledge into classrooms, thereby enriching the learning environment and affirming the legitimacy of community knowledge. However, these initiatives remain pedagogically underutilized and have yet to be systematically woven into the curricular fabric. Their long-term potential lies in their systematic integration into the teaching-learning processes and curricular design.

Box 6.5

Key Findings: Community Engagement

- Storytelling festivals and school museums brought local stories, artefacts, and cultural knowledge into classrooms, thus enriching learning environments.
- These initiatives affirmed the legitimacy of community knowledge within early-grade pedagogy and generated considerable enthusiasm among teachers, students, and parents.
- Their role, however, remained largely peripheral, with their long-term potential lies in their systematic integration into teaching-learning processes and curricular design.

Structured Pedagogy and Teacher Agency

The study offers important insights into ongoing debates on structured pedagogy and teacher agency. Teachers’ narratives suggest that the integration of structured pedagogy within the MLE framework has enabled them to address specific classroom challenges and, in doing so, strengthened their sense of agency.

Teachers typically prefer individual task-based assessments, which align more closely with traditional approaches to reading and writing. In contrast, OLD, and other group or whole-class activities often raise concerns regarding the assessment of learning outcomes. The structured pedagogy approach in combination with the balanced literacy and Four-Block model enabled them to facilitate group-based activities without compromising individual assessment practices.

These insights suggest a need to revisit prevailing conceptions of teacher agency. Rather than being diminished by structure, teacher agency appears to emerge through professional development and guided practice. Given the limitations of pre-service training and Teacher Professional Development (TPD) in the Bastar context (see Chapter 2), structured pedagogy functions as a scaffold for instructional confidence, enabling reflection and filling systemic gaps, rather than constraining teachers’ autonomy.

Overall, the study underlines that MLE implementation is neither a linear technical fix nor a uniform process. Rather, it is uneven, negotiated, and deeply context dependent. Nevertheless, practice-based strategies, community engagement, and structured scaffolds demonstrate the potential to gradually reshape classrooms towards multilingual inclusion. The study provides a layered account of the processes involved in pedagogical adaptation, revealing both its constraints and its possibilities within the context of rural Bastar, marked by linguistic diversity.

Box 6.6

Key Findings: Structured Pedagogy and Teacher Agency

- Structured pedagogy within the MLE framework enabled teachers to address challenges in the classroom while strengthening their sense of professional agency.
- The approach enabled teachers to balance group-based activities with individual assessment practices, thus alleviating anxieties about monitoring learning in oral and dialogic tasks.
- In a context marked by multiple challenge in teacher preparation, the adaptation of structured pedagogy within the MLE programme functioned as a scaffold for instructional confidence, reflexive practice, and sustainable implementation, rather than as a constraint.

6.2 Implementation Challenges and Constraints

The documentation of the Bastar MLE Programme makes it clear that implementation is not a uniform process, but rather a landscape shaped by multiple interwoven challenges. These challenges span from classroom-level practices as well as structural and systemic dimensions and collectively highlight the fragility of sustaining multilingual pedagogy in a complex educational setting.

A central challenge underscored by the study is the significant inter-school variance in classroom practice. Schools differed widely in their use of L1, in the distribution of activities—Oral Language Development, decoding, reading, and writing—and in the extent of student participation. These variations were not incidental. They reflected the sociolinguistic diversity of Bastar, entrenched biases towards monolingual teaching, and the disruptive effects of frequent teacher transfers.

Another persistent difficulty lied in managing a changing teacher pool. With nearly 40% of teachers being replaced within two years, consolidation efforts were repeatedly disrupted. Each new cohort of teachers required orientation and mentoring, while classroom integration of strategies often lagged the training cycle. Although support mechanisms were in place, teachers often found it difficult to internalise MLE practices within limited timeframe.

The processes of integration of children's language into classroom and of developing more purposive and flexible language use, often described as translanguaging pedagogy, also revealed their limits. While teachers moved from spontaneous translanguaging towards more deliberate use of L1 in classroom, progression towards purposive and strategic multilingual practices remained partial due to school level variance in the adaptation of pedagogical inputs. Moreover, adaptation depended on the ability of field teams to anticipate challenges and provide timely pedagogical support. In its absence, teachers risked plateauing at partial adoption rather than developing sustained multilingual practices.

Underlying these dynamics are enduring linguistic hierarchies embedded within the classroom culture. Despite scholarly debates challenging the divide between “language” and “dialect” or between oral and written traditions, many teachers unconsciously relegated academic potentiality of children's L1 to limited oral exchanges while adhering to the dominant practices of reading and writing in L2. This orientation restricted the pedagogical possibilities inherent in children's linguistic repertoires.

Box 6.7

Key Challenges in Bastar MLE Implementation

- **Inter-school Variance:** Wide differences in the use of L1, activity distribution—oral, decoding, reading, and writing—and level of student participation, reflecting sociolinguistic diversity, monolingual biases, and disruptions caused by frequent teacher transfers.
- **High Teacher Transfer:** Nearly 40% teacher replacement within two years undermined consolidation efforts. Repeated cycle of orientation and mentoring cycles delayed the sustained classroom integration of MLE practices.
- **Partial Pedagogical Adoption:** Movement from spontaneous to more purposive L1 use remained uneven.

Progression towards strategic multilingual pedagogy was frequently stalled in the absence of evolving and nuanced support in the field.

- Linguistic Hierarchies in Practice: Children's L1 was frequently relegated to oral exchanges, while literacy and academic tasks continued to be conducted in L2, thus, restricting the pedagogical potential of students' full linguistic repertoire.
- Temporal and Adaptive Limitations: Early implementation gains did not consistently translate into deeper pedagogical adoption. Field teams struggled to anticipate emerging complexities, particularly in fostering higher-order reasoning and critical engagement.

Additional challenges emerged in the temporal unfolding of the programme. While field teams excelled in initiating implementation, they struggled to articulate emerging and nuanced challenges as the programme matured. The team also demonstrated limitations in identifying emerging complexities, particularly those related to reading and writing in the MLE context. Similarly, although early literacy gains were visible, the field team faced considerable limitations in supporting teachers to foster higher-order thinking, such as reasoning, problem-solving, and critical engagement in the classroom. As a result, this deeper development of the learning process remained underdeveloped, limiting the programme's evolving adaptive capacity.

The use of teaching-learning materials (TLMs) represented another area of inconsistency. Big Books, conversation charts, and other resources were valued but not deployed systematically across schools. Teacher transfers further weakened their uptake, as incoming teachers were frequently unfamiliar with these tools. Finally, community-linked initiatives, though enriching and promising, remained peripheral due to the absence of clear mechanisms for curricular integration.

6.3 Areas for Further Research

The programme findings point to several areas where empirical evidence remains limited and future research could yield crucial insights. Taken together, these areas suggest a coherent research agenda linking teacher capacity, classroom practices, institutional support, and community engagement.

- Teacher language proficiency emerges as a foundational concern. Many teachers, particularly those from urban centres or from outside Bastar, lacked proficiency in Halbi or other local languages. This limitation reduced their ability to implement MLE strategies effectively and reinforced linguistic hierarchies within classrooms. While the present study identified these issues, systematic evidence on how teacher language competence shapes classroom practices and children's participation remain unexplored. Future research, therefore, could inform recruitment, deployment, and professional development curriculum policies.
- Another concern associated with classroom practice identified by the study suggests that some teachers relied almost exclusively on the school language, others made informal, situational use of L1, and a smaller group integrated L1 more purposefully through structured pedagogy. The relationship between these modes of practices, student's classroom participation and learning outcomes remains underexplored.
- The study also highlights the role of Cluster Academic Coordinators (CACs). In some instances, CACs moved beyond administrative functions and provided meaningful pedagogical support. However, this potential is insufficiently documented. Research examining how CACs can be reoriented towards an academic support role within MLE settings could help institutionalise decentralised teacher mentoring in multilingual contexts.
- The fourth area concerns teachers' narratives. While innovations such as Big Books or Total Physical Response activities were introduced, their classroom uses varied considerably. Further exploration of how teachers interpret these innovations, negotiate their use, and adapt them to local realities is required. Deeper ethnographic engagement with teachers' lived experiences and classroom interpretations of innovations remains an open area for future research.
- Although the present study did not directly assess higher order thinking outcomes, classroom observation suggest this is a critical area for future investigation.
- Finally, the study underscores the need for more enhanced integration of community resources. Storytelling festivals and school museums mobilised strong community participation and enriched the learning environment, but their translation into curriculum and pedagogy has so far been limited. Research examining how such initiatives can be systematically embedded within teaching-learning materials and curricular frameworks could help transform them

into replicable models for MLE.

In sum, these emerging areas—teacher proficiency, classroom practices, CAC roles, teacher narratives, and community integration—form an interlinked research agenda. Pursuing this agenda would not only consolidate the gains of Bastar initiative but also contribute to the broader knowledge base on multilingual education in India.

6.4 Recommendations and Way Forward

The documentation exercise reveals systemic and pedagogical challenges within Bastar's MLE programme. To strengthen its impact and ensure sustainability, the following thematic recommendations are proposed:

Teacher Orientation and Beliefs

- **Address Monolingual Bias:** As highlighted in the report, the prevalence of monolingual teaching practices calls for systematic and sustained intervention. Reinforcing the value of L1 across all programme components can reposition it as a pedagogical resource rather than merely a remedial tool. Building upon initial gains, more systematic intervention such as providing relevant readings in later phases of training and creating structured opportunities for dialogue can further consolidate this encouraging shift.
- **Strengthening L1 Integration in Pedagogy:** To address the inconsistent implementation of L1 in classrooms, targeted efforts are needed. Further strengthening support structures for language teaching within the Four-Block model can function as an effective scaffold in focus schools.
- **Support Pedagogy in Non-Shared L1 Contexts:** The positive response to intervention strategies among non-native L1 teachers opens new possibilities. Programme designs should more systematically support such contexts.
- **Develop Bilingual/Trilingual Classroom Dictionaries and Primers:** To support teachers, illustrated thematic bilingual dictionaries and primers, aligned with the early grade curriculum and syllabus, should be developed.

Classroom Pedagogy and Student Learning

- **Promote Translanguaging Practices:** To consolidate mixed language use in classroom, greater emphasis should be placed on translanguaging practices. Systematic integration of these practices in training and onsite support structure will help to consolidate purposive L1 use in classroom.
- **Prioritise Oral Language Development (OLD):** Building on the positive results witnessed in OLD, efforts should focus on deepening such practices, particularly by leveraging children's linguistic repertoire to develop transferable cross-linguistic proficiencies.
- **Strengthen Early Literacy Pedagogy:** Teachers often struggle to balance oral activities with decoding, reading, and writing. Clear pedagogical guidance and aligned materials within the MLE framework can support a smooth transition from oral fluency to independent reading and writing.
- In response to the identified challenges, it is recommended that the use of L1 be systematically extended up to grade V through well designed language-responsive pedagogies. Such an approach should focus on scaffolding the acquisition of academic language and conceptual understanding, reducing language-disadvantage in primary education.

Field Team Capacity and Support

- **Enhance Field Teams' Academic Capacity:** Field teams connect programme design with classroom realities but require deeper pedagogical grounding to fulfil this role effectively. Layered training in areas such as translanguaging, oral pedagogy, reading, writing, and mentoring will enhance their effectiveness.
- **Improve Mentoring and Onsite Support:** Teachers need responsive and context-specific support. Strengthening field teams' mentoring capacity will ensure that onsite support remain adaptive, reflective, and grounded in classroom needs.
- **Align Reflective Platforms with Capacity Building Efforts:** The dynamic implementation of the programme requires systematic reflection on emerging practices, pedagogical challenges, and context-specific dialogic responses. Additionally, strengthening experience-sharing and challenge-sharing platforms, along with integrating of emerging needs into ongoing capacity-building efforts is necessary.

Programme Design and Implementation

- **Adopt a Phase-Wise Implementation Model:** MLE implementation typically progresses from foundational groundwork to pedagogical adaptation. Aligning planning, monitoring, and receiving support with these phases, accompanied by clear goals and indicators, will improve systematic rollout and measurability.
- **Synchronise Training Cycles with Field Needs:** The mid-year training cycle can be more impactful when grounded in early implementation experiences. Redesigning this cycle to respond directly to teachers' emerging field challenges can make capacity-building more effective.

Systemic Anchoring and Sustainability

- **Foster Systemic Ownership through Evidence:** Long-term success depends on embedding MLE within state policies, district-level implementation structure and teacher education systems. Building advocacy based on classroom evidence, teacher practice, and student outcomes will foster ownership at the systemic level and ensure that the approach continues beyond the programme's lifecycle. To this end, orienting the school support system from the cluster and block to the district level in MLE is critical for its long-term sustainability. Building the District Institute of Education and Training capacity for academic ownership will be critical.



Appendix

Language Use

Date:

Time of visit:

School:

Intervention school/Control school

Teacher's name:

No. of students present in class:

Instructions for filling the format:

- The entries in the table are filled once every 3 mins.
- Note down the time at which the observation is taken in the "Timestamp" column.
- The researcher takes the observation for about 30 seconds at each 3-minute interval.
- In these 30 seconds, note down which activity is being conducted in the "Activity" column, based on the given codes.
- Note down who was talking during this period for a majority of the time in the column "Who is talking," based on the given codes.
- If the teacher is talking, fill in the teacher talk code (put 0 for student talk code). If students are talking, fill in the student talk codes (put 0 for teacher talk code). If both T and S are talking, fill in codes for both of them.
- Note down which language is being used for interaction. If within those 30 seconds, the teacher seems to be shifting from Hindi to Halbi or vice-versa, note that down as 'Mixed Language'.

What kind of print material is there in the classroom?					(Make a list)	
How many language focused print materials are there in the classroom?						
How many numeracy centered print material is there in the classroom?						
Date	Time	Activity	Who is talking?	Language of interaction	Purpose Teacher talk codes:	Purpose Student talk codes:
		1. Writing instruction 2. Reading instruction 3. Other Instruction 4. Textbook 5. Story (telling or read-aloud) 6. Total Physical Response 7. Big Book 8. Discussion 9. Poem or a song 10. Picture Talk 11. Dictation 12. Writing on the board 13. Drawing 14. Students are doing work individually or in small groups 15. Environmental Distraction 16. Break	1. Teacher Talking to one student 2. Teacher talking to the whole class 3. Teacher talking to only a part of the class 4. Individual Student Answering 5. Only a few students answering 6. Whole Student Body responding together 7. Teacher and Students both are talking 8. No one is talking	1. Halbi 2. Hindi 3. Mixed Language 4. No one is talking 99- Not Applicable	1. Telling or giving information 2. Asking questions 3. Pedagogic Instruction 4. Setting up an activity 5. Classroom management 7. Reading Aloud 8. Recitation 9. Facilitating Discussion 10. Coaching or Scaffolding 11. Modeling an activity 12. Giving feedback 13. Giving permission 0- if T is not talking 99- Not Applicable	14. Reciting 15. Asking questions 16. Answering questions 17. Reading aloud 18. Peer talk in an activity 19. Informal talk 20. Asking for permission 0- if no S is talking 99- Not Applicable

Date	Time	Activity	Who is talking?	Language of interaction	Purpose Teacher talk codes:	Purpose Student talk codes:
1	0-3 min					
2	4-6 min					
3	7-9 min					
4	10-12 min					
5						
6						
7						
8						
9						
10						
11						
12						
13						
14						
15						
16						
17						
18						
19						
20						
21						
22						
23						
24						
25						
26						
27						
28						
29						
30						

Time on Task

Date:

Time:

Teacher's name:

No. of students present in class:

School name:

Intervention School (1) or Control School (0):

Grades of Students:

Student	Grade
Student 1	
Student 2	
Student 3	

Tick in the box applicable for each student.

Observations recorded every 3 minutes in a 45 min period.

Teacher's language: Hindi / Halbi / Other: _____, _____, _____, _____

On-task codes	Off-task codes
- Listening to the teacher or a peer - Giving answers (individual) - Giving answers (choral/in a group) - Preparing for an activity (putting back or taking supplies, changing sitting/standing arrangements etc) - Participating in a physical activity or game_classroom level - Participating in individual or small group activity - Participating in a discussion - Recitation (of a poem, song etc) - Writing_copying from the board or a book - Writing_teacher facilitated practice of <i>varna</i>, <i>akshara</i>, words etc - Writing_dictation - Writing on the board - Watching the teacher or peer write on the board - Reading - Flipping pages of books/blank staring at someone else's book - Thinking? - Idle or half-hearted participation - Other_on task (please specify)	- Self-distraction - Peer-distraction - Teacher has moved away - Child outside the class - Environmental distraction - Other_off task (please specify)

	Activity	Teacher	Student 1	Student 2	Student 3	Detailed comment on the activities that took place in the class during the time of observation: (teacher specific)	Detailed comment on the activities that took place in the class during the time of observation: (student specific)
0-5							
6-10							
11-15							
16-20							
21-25							
26-30							
31-35							
36-40							
41-45							

Other General Observations





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