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Preserving the Linguistic Diversity of Uttarakhand: Role of Language and Education Policies

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Abstract: The People's Linguistic Survey of India has listed at least 13 languages from Uttarakhand, none of which are a part of Indian Constitution's Eight Schedule. However, two of them (Kumaoni and Garhwali) are a part of UNESCO's list of endangered languages. Garhwali is spoken by 23 lakh people in Uttarkahnd, while Kumaoni is the native language of about 20 lakh people. More than 40% of the state's population communicate using native languages and yet Hindi is the only official language of Uttarakhand. This research article seeks to examine the language and educational policies at both state and national level, their goals, implementation, and effectiveness in supporting the regional languages of Uttarakhand.

Keywords: Linguistic diversity, Uttarakhand, Education policies, Language policies, NEP

About the Author



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1. Introducing Uttarakhand's multi-lingual society

"In Nature, as we often say makes nothing in vain, and man is the only animal whom she has endowed with the gift of speech." (Aristotle)

Most societies in the world as we know today are multi-lingual. Social and cultural pluralism has been the basis of development of modern societies in democratic states. However, democracy or not, not political system can escape the reality of linguistically diverse societies. India's has a remarkably diverse multi-lingual society with almost 780 languages with over 80 scripts used by different communities across the country (Singh, 2013). Only 22 of these are included in the Eighth schedule of the Indian constitution. Uttarakhand, India's Northern State has a rich linguistic landscape. The People's Linguistic Survey of India listed at least 13 languages from Uttarakhand including Kumaoni, Garhwali, Bangani, Jaunsari, Jaunpuri, Johari, Marcha, Jad, Raji, Buksadi, Ralvu, Tharu and Rawalti as one of the most spoken languages. The language diversity is further expressed in different dialects within the languages, for instance, the Garhwali language itself has 9 dialects and the Kumaoni language has 13 (Joshi, Pokhrel and Joshi, 2020). and despite being spoken by lakhs of people across the state of Uttarakhand, none of these languages are a part of the Eighth schedule of the Indian Constitution. Other than this, UNESCO has also declared Kumaoni and Garhwali as endangered languages.



Hindi is officially the state language and is also an important medium of instruction at both primary and secondary level of instruction alongside English. 89.15% of the people speak Hindi according to the 2011 census, but around 44% of the people also speak Garhwali, Kumaoni, and Jaunsari. Garhwali is the mother tongue of 23 lakh people, while Kumaoni is the native language of about 20 lakh people (Directorate of Economics & Statistics Government of Uttarakhand, 2017). This implies that there is a substantial population in Uttarakhand who still communicate using their native languages despite the widespread knowledge of Hindi. The local, native tongues are common in private, day-to-day communication, in cultural events and in literary writing to a certain extent. The problem lies in the fact that the current policies on language and education focus on modernizing learning and career prospects, as a result of which indigenous languages have become peripheral in the classrooms and outside too. Dialects of Garhwali such as Bangani has been declared as endangered by the Census Directorate (Directorate of Economics & Statistics Government of Uttarakhand, 2017). Even though the New Education Policy (NEP) of 2020 focuses on revitalizing indigenous languages in the country's education system, there has been an active push to prioritize the learning of English, Hindi, and Sanskrit over local languages. This not only creates a mismatch between education and language literacy in Uttarakhand, but also reduces the role of language as a time-tested social glue.

This research article seeks to examine the current language and educational policies in Uttarakhand, their goals, implementation, and effectiveness in supporting the regional languages and preserving the endangered regional languages.

2. Language in Uttarakhand's education policies

The current education and language policies at both the central and state level has impacted the language use in the state of Uttarakhand. Attempts have been made in terms of both language and pedagogical policies to advance the native languages that are spoken in different parts of the state. One important example of this can be the 2019 announcement by the Uttrakahand government which allows the learning of the Garhwali language in almost 80 primary schools of the state's Pauri disctrict (NDTV, 2022). Under this policy measure, the Garhwali language is taught as the compulsory language from Class 1 to 5 in all of the primary schools (Ibid). The language is also taught using the Devnagari script which allows children to not only learn the language orally, but also in its written form (Ibid). Learning of native languages by children can be a crucial step to safeguarding the local languages as it ensures inter-generational learning. Linguists have already pointed out that until languages are transferred intergenerationally, it is difficult to preserve them. The learning of a language's script is another crucial step which ensures that the language survives the test of time. This is why including the Devnagari script in the classroom learning process is a crucial step from the point of view of language learning, safeguarding language diversity and preserving the local languages of Uttarakhand. The Devnagari language script has also been taught to children uing reading materials that include 'Dhaguli, 'Jhumki', 'Paijbi' and other books (Badola, 2022). These have been distributed among children free of cost by the state education board. Likewise, initiative have been taken to teach students Kumaoni by allowing them to practice the language during school prayers (Ibid). The universities and colleges have also established language study centres over the years, including Kumaon University, Doon University and a few other local universities and institutes (The Pioneer, 2021). Thus, the state-level education policies have facilitated the learning of local languages not only at the primary but also higher level of education in Uttarakhand.

These policy measures can effectively ensure that the upcoming generation not only acquire oral but also written skills of one of the native languages of Uttarakhand. A Garhwali language expert, Ganesh Kugshal has expressed in an interview that efforts have been made to build a curriculum and a pedagogy of Garhwali languages in the local schools (Garhwal Post, 2018). Policies like this ensure not only learning and preservation of the languages, but also safeguarding the local history and transfer of the indigenous knowledge and local culture from one generation to the next. This generational transfer can assure presevation and development of the Garhwali language since scholarly work in this area highly suggests that teaching native languages to children is one of the most effective means of preserving languages. A study by the British Council across nations also highlights that using local languages for teaching does not only allow a language to flourish but also provides for an active classroom participation and a sesnse of attachment among students with their culture (Kioko, 2015). English education is essential due to the fact that it is not only official language of India but also from the perspective of higher education, technical studies and job market. However, primary education should focus on allowing children to communicate in their native languages inside the classroom to establish a sound foundation for learning. Therefore, allowing Garhwali and Kumaoni



languages to be taught and used in the learning process at the school-level is a sound step towards ensuring language diversity and language preservation in Uttarakhand.

3. National Education Policy and Native Language Education in Uttarakhand

Another important policy measure that focuses on helping the local languages of India to get recognized and included in the education system is the National Education Policy (NEP) of 2020. The NEP has advocated that the medium of instruction till Grade 5 or till Grade 8 should be in mother tongue, local and regional languages as much as possible (Ministry of Human Resource Development, Govt. of India, 2020). This instruction is for both public and private schools of all states of India. The NEP also proposes recruitment of teachers skilled with local language training and knowledge so that both curricular practices in local language and classroom communication at the school-level can be improved and advanced. This serves the dual purpose of language protection and multilingualism in Indian education system. Moreover, it transforms the otherwise passive and teaching-focused classrooms to active classrooms where students interact with teachers and each other using the language that they are most comfortable in. This is a scientific and practical approach to not only pedagogical development but also promoting regional languages. Therefore, the NEP can be beneficial for Uttarakhand's endangered languages as schools can introduce local dialects into the curriculum and the classroom. The Ministry of Education has already laid out that development of a curricular framework for using local and regional tongue in the classroom is the topmost priority of the NEP, 2020. The goal is to develop study materials, teacher's training and recruitment as well as distribution of resources to the students between Grade 1 to 12. The DIKSHA portal has already included teaching materials and textbooks in 32 Indian languages and several indigenous dialects. A high-powered committee has also been established to facilitate a pathway for allowing teaching and learning in the local Indian languages (Karhwal and Joshi, 2022). The policy efforts at the national-level has shown some results in Uttarakhand as well since as per the NEP guidelines, some of the schools in Pauri and Udham Singh Nagar district have started courses in not only Garhwali language but also Jaunsari, Gurmukhi and Bangla language.

As per the NEP guidelines, attempts have also been made to introduce books for jaunsari language for both teachers and students at the primary schools of Jaunsar-Bhabar region. The state government has taken this decision and the work for publication of textbooks in the local languages have also began using the Devnagari script. The Director of the District Institute of Education and Training in Uttarakhand (2018) as well as Anab (2021) has argued that in the private-schools, use of regional languages have declined because parents prefer the teachers to communicate in English with their children. English is widely seen as a language of upward social mobility, which is why the NEP's provisions are more crucial for Uttarakhand's language diversity and development. Thus, the National Education policy has played a crucial role in attempting to address the issue of regional language-use in education.

4. Role of Local Intelligentsia in Preserving Native Languages

Language centres play a crucial role in the development and conservation of the endangered languages of Uttarakhand. There has been a joint effort by both local intellectuals, academicians and the administrators to promote the Garhwali and Kumaoni languages in the region. For this purpose, in 2018, the state government has announced two Garhwali and Kumaoni language centres to be established in various state and regional universities of Uttarakhand (Garhwal Post, 2018). Meanwhile, a 'Kumaoni language library' has also been inaugurated at the Devika Laghu Vatika in an attempt to preserve the language and the folk culture associated with it (The Pioneer, 2021). Certain programs have also been organized at the state-level to discuss the Kumaoni language and literature and its contribution towards indigenous knowledge. Litterateur Gopal Joshi along with other intellectuals and artists from the state have appealed from time again to include the Garhwali and Kumaoni languages in the Eighth Schedule (Ibid). There has also been appeals to use the local languages in the popular destinations, signboards, hoardings and the nameplates of public places and state-government institutions. Besides these, the Nitya Nand Himalayan Research and Study centre has three language certificate programs for study and development of Garhwali, Kumaoni and Jaunsari languages (The Pioneer, 2021). This practice can also help the Garhwali and Kumaoni languages from being endangered in the future.



5. Major Challenges Faced by Uttarakhand's Native Languages

As has been mentioned earlier, both Kumaoni and Garhwali language has been identified by the UNESCO as 'endangered languages'. The term "language endangerment" is used by UNESCO to describe a situation where a language has limited inter-generational transmission (Joshi, Pokhrel and Joshi, 2020). A language can only be considered safe when it is spoken by all the generations of that community, thus making the transfer of linguistic knowledge possible. If only the elderly generation speaks a language and the younger generation cannot or has limited grasp of it, languages are threatened. Research studies and observatory studies on the status and use of the Garhwali and Kumaoni languages show that communities have lost touch with their native tongue, specially the younger generation because of two social reasonings or conditioning. Firstly, those who speak the native tongue are often looked upon (Chauhan, 2016), (Joshi, Pokhrel and Joshi, 2020). Secondly, the parents and communities are drawn more towards using Hindi and English for better educational and career prospect for their children (Ibid). The same goes for other local 'pahadi' dialects of Jaunsari and Bhotia which is losing its transimission with the generational changes. Another community, called the Van-Rajis are one among several who are struggling to preserve their native tongue amidst rise of modernization and tourism in Uttarakhand. The Van-Raji tribe is listed among the 18 most threatened language and ethnic groups in the country (Badola, 2018). Mostly settled in the villages of the Kumaon region, this groups faces neglect and often termed as 'undeveloped' for their use of native speech, meagre knowledge of Hindi and English and also for their rural lifestyle (Ibid). This group is essentially struggling to save their culture and language heritage in a constantly changing environment. Thus, the native languages of Uttarakhand face the challenge of modernization, globalization, increasing tourism and prejudice against the local dialects and speeches.

Furthermore, UNESCO has conceptualised the problem of language endangerment and safety on an international scale and the same can be used to understand the challenges faced by the local languages of Uttarakhand. UNESCO's (2018) report has stated that English has become a popular medium of education and instruction in the global age and as that happens, many indigenous languages are facing the challenge of survival. Specially, languages that lack a written script or have a small demography struggle even more. Moreover, multilingualism in education and in public usage is still not a popular practice in many nations which is why the indigenous languages are neglected in many parts of the world (UNESCO, 2018). Therefore, lack of a multilingual framework in primary and higher education across communities is a great challenge of multilingualism and language conservation. The same goes for the local languages of Uttarakhand, most of which are dependent on the devnagari script and are subsided often by Hindi and English languages. Hindi is the official state language of Uttarakhand and a lack of written script confines Kumaoni, Garhwali and other languages to the category of 'dialects' or 'boli', rather than 'language' or 'bhasa' (Chauhan, 2016). This also obstructs the inclusion of these languages and dialects in the Eighth Schedule of the Indian constitution. An inclusion in the Eighth Schedule not only recognizes the importance of a language but also protects the language from endangerment in the future by making the government to take steps for a language's protection. Thus, the challenges faced by Uttarakhand's multilingualism or language diversity are diverse and they need to be tackled with specific policies designed to counter each challenge one by one.

Linguists and historians have highlighted that globalization has led to decay of many indigenous culture and their native tongue. In Uttarakhand itself, till 20th century, around 80% of the people could speak the different native languages which has reduced to 50% in the present decade, specially among the urban population (Upadhyay, 2022). The interior parts of Uttarakhand, native languages still constitute an important part of life. From day-to-day communication with family and neighbours, to cultural events, folktale and folklores, songs and traditional performances, the native languages and dialects enjoy a special status in the village life of this Himalayan state. While, not all dialects may have a script, but they possess rich and vast vocabulary and the same can be used to develop a written script for them so that these languages become documented and survive longer than the languages and dialects without a script. For example, the Rung community of Uttarakhand is one of the few indigenous groups in the world that practice transhumance or vertical migration (Rastogi, 2021). While, most of human migration is horizontal, the Rung community is unique in cultural practices and their language too has benefitted from the migratory practice. Because of their experinces, a vast vocabulary has been included in their language containing the knowledge of the flora and fauna, the indigenous medicines, treatments and other areas of indigenous knowledge about the Himalayan life (Groff, 2010). This is why it is important that these indigenous languages are preserved by policies, whether language or education. Both community education and language preservation measures can help maintaining the language diversity of different communities in the state. In the absence of government support and



community awarness, these indigenous languages and the vast amount of unexplored knowledge that they contain can disappear in time.

Studies have also pointed out at economic reasons for language endangerment in Uttarakhand. Some studies indicate the non-accessibility of resources or profit in indigenous writing has compelled many indigenous writers to shift their craft towards Hindi writing (Ramchandran, 2020). The unparalleled socio-political importance of Hindi language and its commercialization has helped this language to grow, however, the indigenous languages including Kumaoni and Garhwali evidenced a decline in their use in creative writing (Sabrawal and Sinha, 2022). Hindi language has a much larger audience across India, while Kumaoni and Garhwali has limited audience restricted to limited readership within the state only (Basu, 2016). This also impacts lack of exposure and resources such as scarcity of publishers for local language literature, newspaper and other kind of writings. Thus, a lack of social recognition and awarness is casuing decline in economic means of writers to preserve and cherish the native languages of Uttarakhand. The political factors include non-inclusion of Garhwali and Kumaoni languages in the Eighth schedule or their recognition as one of the official languages of the state. This also affects government efforts such as allocation of resources, spreading interest and awarness towards the development of local languages. The Eighth schedule of the Indian constitution protects a language included in the list. A language, once included, is recognised by the Sahitya Academy which opens up gates for more publication, research and recognition towards the language (Unnithan, 2020). The Member of Parliaments from the state can use that language during discussions and candidates can write All India Entrace examinations in that language. The literature of that language can also be translated into other recognised languages, thus, extending the readership of that particular language. Therefore, official recognition is one of the important steps towards fighting the problem of language endangerment.

6. Counter-Measures Against Language Endangerment

Languages have a natural way of protecting themselves. If not met with external threats or not manipulated by outside foctors, languages pass from one generation to another following the process of natural transgression. This transgression occurs through socialization at home and in the community. The mother-child bond along with a person's cultural affiliations lead them to learn their mother tongue naturally. This is how some of the oldest languages in the world have survived the test of time. Others survive via their written and documented forms, active promotion, political support and community awarness. Other than the steps that has already been taken to address the local language endangerment in Uttarakhand, there are some advanced measures that can be taken to address the issue.

7. Awarness Through Language and Education Policies

Before devising and implementing policy measure, a widespread awarness among the local population and media is needed regarding language protection. It should be communicated with the students, the teachers, the local media, intellectuals and policy-makers as to how language is an exclusively human property that enables not only communication of ideas but also expression of culture. It is also a mechanical glue that holds societies together (Ballantine and Roberts 2013; Durkheim, 1971). Language and education policies are key to preserving Uttarakhand's language diversity. Education has been one of the most important means to preserve languages as has already been evidenced by both policies and practices in India. Education ensures learning of languages while acquiring knowledge on different disciplines (Krilova, Mazinova and Renkovskaya, 2018). The knowledge of one language passes from generation to generation and preserves group identities and this is why policy-makers have targeted education as a sector to promote and preserve local languages in all the Indian states. For example, in Assam, the Assamese language is an inevitable part of primary and secondary education in public schooling. Same goes for other Northeaster states when it comes to using the local languages at least in the primary and secondary level of education.

The same has been done with the Garhwali and Kumaoni language in different parts of Uttarakhand, however, a more consistent effort is required so that these two languages can be promoted and protected. Speaking from the point of protecting multilingual and multicultural framework of society, other languages and dialects also need a push of education and language policies, be it providing language subjects to students in primary level of education or developing research centers to explore some of the local dialects and languages. More research and



multilingual education can not only bring awareness about the different local tongue, but also increase their importance in society. It can also lead to documentation of languages and dialects that are endangered or threatened. Such documentation and publication of materials can uplift the status and popularity of various languages of Uttarakhand.

Moreover, the implementation of the National Education Policy of 2020 in this regard is key. Uttarakhand has already implemented some of the policy measures by starting primary education in two of the local languages and by initiating 'Sanskrit-grams' (Sanskrit-speaking villages). In fact, Uttarakhand has become one of the first states to do so. The provisions of NEP to use native language for instruction is also backed by language education theories one of which suggests that teaching and developing materials in local languages act as a natural glue for children with their school. Using native language in classroom not only helps the language, but also sustains creativity, open communication, motivation to learn and practice (Basu, 2016). Therefore, instead of introducing a new, foreign language at the primary level of schooling, native languages should be used or multiple languages should co-exist as a part of the curriculum.

8. Multilingual Education

Another compelling argument for considering multilingual instruction as part of state education policy is that languages degenerate if they are isolated from one another. Professor of Linguistics at the University of Delhi, Rama Kant Agnihotri has pointed out that it is in the very nature of nature that languages flow into each other (Surya, 2022). Languages grow and flourish through interaction and the educational centers can be one of the most viable places for such interaction. This is one more argument for not only policies promoting multilingualism, and diversity but also a multilingual classroom where both official and local languages are used. In different communities, minor and endangered languages have been subject to inevitable classroom content. Researchers who state that if the literature of a language exists, it should have a place inside the classroom have made arguments. This applies to the dialects too because they may have oral literature despite not having a script. One example of this is the Telengit dialect of Russia which is taught in the primary schools in the Altai region where it is dominantly spoken (Groff, 2010). Oral histories, stories and folklore can become an active and passive means of sharing knowledge in the classroom. It can also become a strong means of communication. Therefore, even for the dialects of Uttarakhand like that of the Rung community, this example can be applicable.

Meanwhile, classroom teaching can help language revival. The Maori language of New Zealand which became once endangered, revived itself when the Maori language educators in Aotearora community began teaching preschool children the language. This concept is known as "Kohanga Leo" (language nest) in the Maori community (Pratt, Louie, and Hanson, 2018). Another example of the same can be the Sora or Bonda language teaching in Orissa. Children up to grade 5 are in some of the state's primary schools are taught using the local language as main medium of instruction (Galla, 2016). This helps in both community bond and language protection and promotion.

With that being said, there is also the need to understand that India is still a young nation and a union of not only different states, but also different language identities and communities that these states inherit. The languages carry not only rich history but also cultural values and their preservation can help India resolve that larger language conflict that has existed since the time of independence. After independence, the huge language diversity forced the law-makers to adopt English and Hindi as official languages as well as three-language formula for the states. Meanwhile, India inherited English from a deeply disturbing colonial past. This has also led for political and cultural push towards development of indigenous languages. Yet, for any nation as diverse as India, it is not easy to ensure use of all native languages in the public space. Additionally, language debate in India's northeast and the southern states are important reminders to policy-makers that addressing the language concerns of communities is crucial for peaceful nation-building. The three-language formula has played a key role in establishing a balance between learning official languages as means of inter-community communication and the native, indigenous languages to protect regional identities (Rastogi, 2021). In Uttarakhand, attempts have been made by local intellectuals and regional leadership to include some of these languages in the Eighth schedule (Khalifa & Khali, 2018). Government schools have tried to increase the use of local languages such as Kumaoni and Garhwali through school prayers, day-to-day communication, and literary events. The state education department has attempted to set up language education and research centers in the state universities. Therefore, language policies in Uttarakhand



have made some promising attempts to help the communities safeguard their language by making public spaces more multilingual.

9. Digital Education and Media to Popularize Native Languages

Another way in which native and local languages and dialects of Uttarakhand can be protected is via digital education. Mobile services and m-learning is becoming growingly popular across India. The Make-in-India scheme and the low-cost smartphones can also be helpful in ensuring that digitization can ensure that languages are available for easy access (Babu, 2020). In the state of Kerala, Malayalam language materials such as e-books are available on low-cost android tablets. Game-oriented apps have also been developed to teach and learn various languages and to promote language literacy (Das and Singha, 2012). Therefore, technology-based literacies can help in the protection of indigenous people's dialects as well. The Digital India program to extend their reach to the rural areas of Uttarakhand can replicate language policies that focus on digitization. Digital language courses can be an important area of focus for language policy-makers. Meanwhile, digitization and mass media along with social media can also help in generating awareness regarding importance of preserving languages and dialects of Uttarakhand. Digitization can also help in including language and dialects into popular culture such as cinema, music, social media and much more. This has been seen in the case of Hindi language where Hindi cinema, television and the music industry has played a crucial role in popularizing the language across India. Same goes for native languages and dialects such as Bhojpuri and Maithili where music has helped not only revitalize the use of these dialects but also popularize them on a larger scale (Upadhyay, 2022). Even global tech companies such as Google and Microsoft have used language translation and multilingual keyboard features to attract users of different languages (Galla, 2018). Therefore, digital revolution can serve the native languages of Uttarakhand by making them a part of popular culture as well as education.

10. Protection Through Documentation

Documentation of languages by various means can protect the language diversity in Uttarakhand's society. Documentation can take place by means of research writing, creative writing, and audio-visual recording. UNESCO provides guideline in this regard to save endangered languages through the process of documentation. In 2003, an ad-Hoc expert group of the UNESCO concluded that if a language is to be protected from extinction, documentation is not only an adequate but also necessary step (Baugh, 2021). This can be applied in the case of Uttarakhand's native languages and dialects. Languages such as Kumaoni and Garhwali who has a rich literature, both oral and written can be documented in the form of texts, dictionaries, encyclopedias, archival documents and much more with the help of the Devnagari script that has been recently put into use to publish study materials in the Kumaoni language. Likewise, the important literature from these two languages can also be translated into other lingua franca, thus reassuring its preservation and successive development. Additionally, digital documentation such as e-megazine, online websites, vlogs, podcasts and other means of audio-visual documentation is also helpful. This has already been a proven an effective technique to safeguard and develop many languages around the world. In fact, studies point out that in case of dialects, audio-visual tools of documentation can be even more effective since they do not have scripts (Zein, Sukyadi and Hamid, 2020), (Menon and Gutjahr, 2018). A dialect without a script can be recorded via audio-visual recordings by collecting stories, songs, genealogies, chants, ceremonies, accounts of the members of a native language. This way the new generation can access their language without requiring an ample literature for the same. Hence, documentation by means of print and digital as well as audio-visual media should be incorporated into language policies to promote such practices. The policy-makers can either prepare a central or state-focused policy for Uttarakhand where team of academics and researchers can collect the samples and store it using appropriate resources. It is important that there is policy backing behind these steps so that both resource allocation and morale boost can be provided to the language communities in need. The policies can not only outline the importance of documenting and promoting languages, but also form committee of language experts and local intellectuals to monitor and guide the process. Monitoring can lead to a successful policy implementation in this respect.

11. Conclusion

India is in its 75th year of independence and the nation-building project is now more important than ever.



Building a strong, closely-knit but diverse nation is the bedrock of democratic nation-building. In a multi-cultural society, group-identities should be protected because a society that feels empowered builds an empowered nation. Multiple language identities not only make a nation culturally rich but also politically stable, helps it grow faster. Language is an inalienable identity and it leads to a social system where no individual can come out of it. Especially, a mother tongue or native language is irreplacable unlike religious or political identities. This is why it is important for policy-makers to take into account the importance of native languages while devicing education policies. For India to ensure this goal, it is important that various languages are strengthened, not only for safeguarding India's rich cultural heritage but also to ensure indigenous rights. Uttarakhand's rich and diverse cultural aura calls for similar action as multiple reports and studies have shown how regional languages are struggling to sustain and grow in the era of globalization. The challenges should be dealt with the targeted response in the form of education and language policies.

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Yes

Conflict of interest

The Author has no conflicts of interest to declare that they are relevant to the content of this article.

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