

**LANGUAGE PLANNING IN SOUTH AFRICA: TOWARDS  
A LANGUAGE MANAGEMENT APPROACH**

**By**

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**DECLARATION**

I hereby declare that this thesis submitted by me for the Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics degree at the University of the Free State is my own independent work and has not previously been submitted by me at another university/faculty. I furthermore cede copyright of the thesis in favour of the University of the Free State.

**MODEST MUNENE MWANIKI** .....

**Signature**

**Date**

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For teaching me early in life that a man must have ideals that he passionately believes in and lives for and that one has to do everything possible to carve his place in this life and stake his claims...

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# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Introduction

South Africa has a constitutional basis for language policy and planning. The 1996 Constitution language provisions provide a broad framework for language policy and planning. The language provisions recognize eleven official languages, namely: Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu. The language provisions however, do not only declare eleven languages as the official languages of South Africa. The language provisions commit the state to take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of the indigenous languages by legislative and other measures and to regulate and monitor the use of official languages without detracting from the principle of taking practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of indigenous languages.

The state is thus charged with the responsibility of giving effect to the official status of eleven languages. The Pan South African Language Board (PANSALB) “is given the role of strengthening and initiating the establishment of civil society structures which support the development of interlinguistic/multilingual skills not only in the official languages but also other languages used in the country” (Heugh 2002: 462). What is foreseen by these provisions is by implication some kind of language plan or at least, additional language legislation at the national, provincial and local government spheres.

However, although South Africa has a constitutional basis for multilingual policy and planning, the implementation dilemma facing other multilingual societies, particularly in Africa, is imminent in South Africa. The implementation of a language policy and plan as implied in the Constitution is not taking place. An example of such includes the non enactment of national legislation to give effect to the Constitution language provisions.

The South African Languages Bill is yet to be enacted into legislation. Although the *National Language Policy Framework* (2002) and *the Implementation Plan: National Language Policy Framework* (2003) have been formulated and launched, they are not backed by national legislation, therefore making their enforcement a difficult task for government departments.

Examples of non-implementation of language policy and plan as envisioned in the Constitution are not only manifest at the level of legislation. They are also manifest at the level of practice and are documented in the literature such as Heugh (1995, 2002), Webb (1996, 2002), Kaschula (1999), Du Plessis (1999), Mclean (1999), De Klerk (2000), Kamwangamalu (2001), Reagan (2002) and Makoni (2003). These examples clearly point to a tension that exists between envisaged policy and actual practice.

Various explanations as to why tensions are attendant to language policy and planning implementation in multilingual societies have been proffered. These explanations have found expression in the discourse seeking to explain the multilingual policy and planning implementation dilemma in South Africa.

## **1.2 Explanations for Non-implementation of South Africa's Multilingual Language policy**

Broadly, these explanations can be categorised into political, economic, and sociolinguistic explanations, and as the discussion in the following subsections illustrates, these explanations serve to rationalise the retention of language policies and practices that are antithetical to multilingualism.



### 1.2.1 Political Explanations

Lack of political will and support on the part of the new South African government has been cited as one of the reasons for the non-implementation of the multilingual policy and plan as envisioned in the Constitution (Alexander 1999, Du Plessis 1999, Kamwangamalu 2001). Another political explanation for non-implementation of South Africa's language policy and plan as envisioned in the Constitution relates to *elite closure*. According to Scotton 1990, cited in Kamwangamalu 2001: 417 *elite closure* refers to "linguistic divergence created as a result of using a language which is only known to or preferred by the elite, in this case English. This divergence may be purposeful, as a measure of control". Laitin (1992, cited in Kamwangamalu 2001) observes that the elite use the preferred language for intra-elite communication and a different lingua franca for communication with the masses.

Citing Bamgbose (1991), Kamwangamalu (1997) and Schiffman (1992), Kamwangamalu (2001: 417) further observes that in South Africa, however, the linguistic behaviour of the elite is characterised by an almost exclusive use of the preferred language, English, irrespective of whether they interact among themselves or with the masses who have little or no knowledge of the language. This does not mean that the elite make no effort to converge. However, such effort is often stage-managed and purposeful. At election time, for instance, the elite tend to use code switching involving English and local languages when addressing the masses; but rarely do so at any other times. In order to preserve the privileges associated with knowledge of the preferred language, the elite tend to resist any language planning efforts which seek to promote the languages of the masses.

Inasmuch as political will, support and *elite closure* are crucial factors in the eventual implementation of the multilingual policy and plan as envisioned in the Constitution, the political explanation does not adequately account for the non-implementation dilemma of South Africa's language policy and plan. Several arguments can be postulated to illustrate why the political explanation does not adequately account for the non-implementation of South Africa's language policy and plan.

Firstly, such explanations seem to overlook the political nature of the Constitution. The Constitution within which the language provisions are embedded is a product of an intensive political process, a process in which the current political actors in government were an integral part. Therefore, the failure of South Africa's political actors to lend political support for the implementation of a multilingual policy and plan contradicts the ethos that formed the basis of their negotiating the 1996 Constitution. It is tantamount to undermining the very Constitution that they undertake to uphold and protect.

Secondly, political will and support should not only be conceptualised as prerequisites for language policy and planning processes, but rather as composites of the language policy and planning processes in South Africa. The canvassing of requisite political will and support for the implementation of South Africa's language policy and plan from diverse sections of the South African society should be one of the primary objectives and end-results of the language policy and planning processes in the Republic. The question in this regard is: if South Africa's language policy and planning implementation processes lack requisite political will and support, what are language policy and planning agencies in the Republic doing to garner the political will and support for the language policy and planning implementation processes? Political will and support are not invariables in the processes that constitute language policy and planning implementation. They are variables. Conceptualised as such, it remains the responsibility of language policy and planning agencies in South Africa to ensure that political will and support are obtained for the implementation of South Africa's language policy and plan as envisioned in the Constitution, even in scenarios where the language policy and planning agency is the government itself.

Thirdly, although *elite closure* is singled out as a factor that is currently contributing to the non-implementation of South Africa's language policy and plan, its use as a political explanation for non-implementation fails to take cognisance of several salient factors. Fundamentally, two questions require attention with regard to elite closure serving as an explanation for non-implementation of South Africa's language policy and plan as envisioned in the Constitution. The first question relates to whether the elite engage in

*elite closure* with the sole purpose of undermining the implementation of South Africa's envisioned language policy and plan, or it's a manifestation of individual and group language practices that the implementation of South Africa's language policy and plan should re-dress? The second question relates to language policy and planning practice in South Africa. In this regard, the question is: with postulations that point toward elite closure as one of the major factors contributing to non-implementation of South Africa's language policy and plan, what corrective measures is language policy and planning practice in South Africa taking to redress the situation?

The inadequacy of the political explanation to non-implementation of South Africa's language policy and plan is indicative of the need for language policy and planning in South Africa to be recast into mainstream political discourse in South Africa. In this way, the political explanation for the non-implementation of South Africa's language policy and plan will shift from an apologetic orientation that decries lack of political will, support and *elite closure*, to a proactive orientation that seeks to harness and maintain political will and support, and redress *elite closure* for language policy and planning implementation in South Africa. Consequently, the fundamental question becomes one of presence or absence of frameworks, strategies and methodologies required to harness and maintain political will and support and redress *elite closure* for language policy and planning implementation in South Africa.

### **1.2.2 Economic Explanations**

Economic explanations have also been advanced to explain the non-implementation of South Africa's language policy and plan as envisioned in the Constitution (Heugh 1995, 2002, Kaschula 1999, Kamwangamalu 2001). Heugh (1995: 329) posits that "language policy is often a reflection of a more complicated set of relationships between overt political ideology and politics of the economy. To compound matters, it is not just the political economy of a particular country that would affect that country's language policy. The hegemony of the Western free-market economy is such that it influences the

economies of Third World countries. The Western economy is also very often accompanied by linguistic racism (linguicism) which places high status on English, for example, and low status on other languages. Western aid packages to the developing world have impacted and continue to impact upon the implementation of language policy”. This position is shared by Kaschula (1999: 70). Referring to the South African language policy and planning implementation dilemma, Heugh (2002: 449) observes that “in the era of globalisation, there are larger structural forces at play, which influence international and domestic economic and development policies. These forces are generally antithetical to multilingualism”.

Advancing the economic explanation further, Kamwangamalu (2001) identifies two economic variables that contribute to non-implementation of South Africa’s language policy and plan, namely financial constraints and market forces. In this regard, Kamwangamalu (2001: 416 – 417) submits that “financial constraints have made it difficult for PANSALB to execute its constitutional mandate to promote multilingualism. As far as market forces are concerned, there is no sustained demand for multilingual skills in the African languages for academic, economic, administrative and employment purposes. The lack of this demand has ensured that English and to some extent Afrikaans remain central to virtually all the higher domains of language use... the demand for multilingual skills in the African languages would contribute towards raising the status of these languages and change the way in which the languages are perceived by the various communities. Several studies have shown that black South Africans have ambivalent attitudes towards their own languages: they value the languages highly only as symbols of ethnolinguistic identity and as vehicles for intergenerational transmission of indigenous cultures and traditions; but prefer English for all the higher level functions and for personal upward mobility”.

The economic explanation to the non-implementation of South Africa’s language policy and plan only manages to provide half answers to the implementation dilemma and is not sustainable under close scrutiny, especially when contrasted against particular South

Africa's fiscal and macro-economic facts and public strategic planning principles in general.

Firstly, the Western economic hegemony cannot satisfactorily be used to justify the non-implementation of South Africa's language policy and plan. According to Cling (2001: 84 – 85) "South Africa's fiscal policy and macro-economic policy as encapsulated in the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Programme (GEAR), unlike those of other developing countries, do not rely on donor finance for their implementation. Developed with the with the assistance of the World Bank, the GEAR displays all the characteristics of a structural adjustment programme, albeit of a different scope; whereas it did take a loan from the IMF as soon as it came to power, the South African government has subsequently systematically refused to appeal to the Bretton Woods institutions. This loan totalling US\$850 million was intended officially to finance food imports. It has in fact never been used and was reimbursed in full in 1998. In this sense, the GEAR is without doubt a structural adjustment plan, but one that is self-imposed". This observation means that the South African economy is cushioned against the adverse effects of donor finance and the detrimental pressures that come with it when it comes to the formulation and implementation of domestic social and development policies. The implementation of South Africa's social and development policies is basically financed by domestic finance. Therefore, Western economic hegemony cannot be satisfactorily be used to explain the non-implementation of South Africa's language policy and plan.

Secondly, the issue of financial constraints cannot also be used to satisfactorily explain the non-implementation of South Africa's language policy and language plan as envisioned in the Constitution. With the launching of the *National Language Policy Framework: Implementation Plan (2003)* the government projected financial commitment over a Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF) period of three years (2001/2002 – 2004/2005) is a total of R 379 349 732.00 for national government departments, R 143 952 304.00 for language policy implementation by the Provinces and an estimated R 18 243 510.00 for each language unit which may be established, for example, in each government department (DAC, 2003: 22 – 23). These projected

allocations point to a commitment by government to provide financial resources for the implementation of South Africa's language policy and language plan as envisioned in the Constitution. What is clearly lacking is a framework by means of which government departments can deploy the projected financial resources for the realisation of the National Language Policy Framework.

Thirdly, the economic explanation that cites market forces as primary factors that hinder the implementation of South Africa's language policy and plan cannot also be adequate in explaining the non-implementation of South Africa's language policy and plan. Within the context of South Africa's macro-economic policy framework, the government plays an active role in the market, especially with regard to 'market stabilisation'. The government in this regard is a major consumer of goods and services, and it can be able to create demand for goods and services. Further, the government intervenes actively in markets so as to determine the level of demand for goods and services. The government's social and economic policies geared towards redressing the structural realities of a dual economy that is a product of centuries of inequalities in South Africa (Cling 2001, Terreblanche 2002) also aim at market stabilisation so that there are economic transfers across economic enclaves in the country. It is not coincidental that the economic inequalities in South Africa mirror the language demographics of the country with speakers of the previous two official languages, namely English and Afrikaans enjoying far much better economic status than speakers of previously marginalised languages.

Therefore, the Constitution's envisioned language policy and plan could be one way in which the government can actively stabilise the market forces with regard to languages in South Africa, by creating a demand for the previously marginalised languages, and in the process redress the structural realities of a dual economy. The idea is that through government intervention in the 'market' for language skills, demand for language skills in the previously marginalised languages can be raised. What is lacking therefore is a coherent framework by means of which the government can intervene to create a 'market' for language skills in the previously marginalised languages, and integrate skills in these languages into mainstream macro-economic undertakings. The challenge is

therefore on strategic planners at national, provincial and local government spheres to formulate frameworks by means of which the government can intervene in the 'market stabilisation' of the demand for skills in previously marginalised languages.

### **1.2.3 Sociolinguistic Explanations**

Sociolinguistic explanations have also been advanced to explain the non-implementation of South Africa's language policy and plan. Sociolinguistic explanations relate to language attitudes (McLean 1999, De Klerk 2000), and language development (Webb 1996, 2002, Reagan 2002, Makoni 2003). The sociolinguistic explanations are also not adequate in explaining the implementation dilemma facing language policy and planning in South Africa. These explanations fail to account for the tasks and processes that should constitute language policy and planning implementation in South Africa.

The altering of language attitudes that are antithetical to multilingual policy and planning implementation should constitute one of the core functions of language policy and planning agencies in South Africa. The same applies for language development. The fact that the previously marginalised languages are not as developed as English and Afrikaans should not be seen as reason enough to explain the failure to implement a multilingual policy and plan for South Africa. Rather, language policy and planning agencies in South Africa should embrace language development as one of their key functions in order to give effect to the aspirations of the Constitution with regard to language(s).

However, as far as the sociolinguistic explanations to the dilemma facing the implementation of a language policy and plan in South Africa are concerned, there is a far greater challenge than language attitudes and language development. The challenge is posed by sociolinguistic research that discourses on the impossibility of implementing a multilingual policy and plan for South Africa. Makoni (2003) is representative of this kind of sociolinguistic research.

Makoni (2003: 138 – 140) observes that:

In the South African Constitution, languages created in historically dubious circumstances by missionaries and their African apprentices are accorded the status of uncontested judicial facts and become permanent sociolinguistic fixtures of the way African landscape is imagined. The image is that of a landscape composed of many language boxes and linguistic “things,” separate and distinct. This image runs counter to the lived and living experiences of most ordinary users of African speech forms. Thus, the problem of the implementability of the South African national language policy (its “inelegance, contradiction and messiness”) is a direct consequence of the very nature of the languages it seeks to promote. The policy itself is, in effect, based on an inaccurate analysis of the prevailing sociolinguistic condition. Notions about language and ethnicity in the South African Constitution are founded on “boxed” notions of language and ethnicity ultimately traceable to eighteenth-century German Romanticist ideas which treated territory, constructions of race, and conceptualizations of language as identical and indivisible.

The above argument by Makoni (2003), though cannot be wholly dismissed because it adds to the wealth of sociolinguistic debate on the implementation of South Africa’s language policy and plan, is representative of a serious handicap to a creative and critical search of a formula and/or approach that can assist the government in implementing the language policy and plan as envisioned in the Constitution for several reasons.

First, the argument does not seem to take into account the nature of constitutional discourse. The Constitution is a generic and meta discourse that does not delve into the nuances of sociolinguistic correctness or otherwise. It is the task of language policy and planning initiatives to delve into nuances of sociolinguistic correctness or otherwise. It is not deniable that there are languages [or dialects] in spoken in South Africa that even when subjected to the most rigorous of sociolinguistic analysis and scrutiny would stand the test of being classified as Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu. Therefore, what the Constitution does through its generic and meta discourse is to recognise the meta-linguistic constructs represented by the various labels used to classify the previously marginalised languages. This does not imply, as Makoni (2003) suggests, that the Constitution “boxes” the previously marginalised languages and does not recognise their various variants. Rather, the



Constitution, by remaining general, provides enough discursive space so that all the various variants of the recognised languages, otherwise known as dialects in sociolinguistic discourse, can fit into any of the meta-linguistic constructs of the Constitution. It's upon language planners and the sociolinguists to define the particular "language" that they chose to deal with, within the greater meta-linguistic context defined by the Constitution.

Secondly, Makoni (2003) does not report on any language policy or planning initiative that ran into difficulties of implementation because of the "boxed" notions of previously marginalised languages. In practical language policy and planning implementation scenarios, of which the current researcher has had the benefit to participate in, what happens is what can be termed as "linguistic approximation": speakers of various dialects of various languages are not particularly concerned with nuances of dialect differentiation. Rather, they pick the nearest meta-linguistic construct that approximates to their dialect and embrace it as their language as defined by the Constitution. It's upon the language planner or sociolinguist to identify these processes of "linguistic approximation" and codify them into policy guidelines and implementable plans and programmes. Further, in language policy and planning implementation scenarios, speakers of different dialects of different languages exhibit a great understanding of the fact that the languages as identified by the Constitution represent the Fishmanian notion of high status constructs. In practical language policy and planning implementation scenarios, speakers easily fit their linguistic repertoires into the language(s) identified in the Constitution that is nearest to their linguistic repertoires.

From the foregoing, this study posits that the political, economic and sociolinguistic explanations to the language policy and planning implementation dilemma in South Africa are inadequate in explaining the implementation dilemma facing South Africa's language policy and plan as envisioned in the Constitution. These explanations essentially do not take into account the paradigm shift occasioned by the adoption of a supreme Constitution, whereby every activity in the Republic, language policy and

planning processes included, are subservient to the principles spelt out in the Constitution.

The mentioned explanations do not question the adequacy of contemporary language planning theory and practice in providing frameworks and/or approaches that can be deployed by policy makers and practitioners to facilitate the implementation of South Africa's language policy and plan as envisioned in the Constitution. These explanations seem to be preoccupied with a discourse on how Constitutional principles in general and Constitution language provisions in particular should fit into a traditional and conservative language planning theory and practice, instead of being preoccupied with how language planning theory and language planning practice in South Africa should realign themselves to the paradigm shift occasioned by the supreme Constitution.

The political, economic and sociolinguistic explanations seem to assume a classical theoretical position with regard to language planning within a multilingual society. The classical theoretical position in language planning is what Reagan (1995: 327) refers to as a technicist approach. The technicist approach to language planning is antithetical to the theoretical, ideological and discourse foundations of the South African Constitution, in which the mentioned language provisions are embedded. This could probably be singled out as an important explanation for the non-implementation of South Africa's language policy and plan as envisioned in the Constitution. This assumption is supported by a critical discourse on language planning theory that points towards the need to formulate proposals for a modified paradigm in language planning theory and consequently language planning practice.

### **1.3 Overview of Preliminary Literature**

The problem of tension between language planning theory and language planning practice has already been identified in the literature, albeit not to a great extent. Bamgbose (1989: 24) observes that "language planning has certainly made great strides

in the last two decades. Models have been established and refined, and language planning activities in several countries have been analysed and described. However, from the application of the current models of language planning to a wide range of language planning situations, it is becoming obvious that some of the earlier assumptions about the nature and processes of language planning will need to be examined, and if possible, revised”.

The problem of tension between language planning practice and language planning theory had been identified at an early stage of the development of language planning as a discipline. St Clair (1978: 45 – 46) argues that contemporary models of the sociology of language are patently positivistic in that these models are outgrowths of the natural science school founded by St. Simon and developed by Comte. In the positivistic tradition, they aim to characterise phenomena in sociology of language as regular, ahistorical, and predictable. However, in reality phenomena in sociology of language are not regular, ahistorical and predictable.

To deal with this shortcoming, St. Clair (1978: 46 – 48) proposes a model of existential sociolinguistics, based on the “existential phenomenology” of Dilthey, Schleiermacher, and Schutz (1967, cited in St. Clair 1978) and “existential sociology” of Manning (1973, cited in St. Clair 1978). The model is not against the data approach of positivism, but merely expands data to include biographical history, perceptual strategies, and conflict theory of Lyman and Scott (1970, cited in St. Clair 1978). Under the model of existential sociolinguistics, St. Clair (1978: 58 – 59) observes that “language planning is, a political act, an aspect that is missing in many contemporary theoretical treatises on language planning”.

By characterising language planning as a ‘political act’, St. Clair (1978) lays the foundation for a new paradigm in language planning theory, i.e. a paradigm that would locate language planning within the sociocultural, attitudinal, economic and other pragmatic dynamics that find expression in, and shape contemporary politics, like power,

ideology, discourse and public policy and management formulation and implementation. This groundbreaking postulation has, however, not been followed up until recent years.

Cluver (1991) identifies the problem of tension between language planning theory and language planning practice. He advances that the tension arises from the fact that much of contemporary language planning practice is based on a positivistic approach. Cluver (1991: 49 – 53) observes that “the positivist approach in language planning is often based on a simplistic linear linking of changes to the language structure and change to the socio-political structure... It is assumed that changes to language (for instance in its status) could lead to changes in society such as the increase in the growth of feelings of national unity... The language plan that a positivistic approach may produce stands a good chance of failure because it incorporates only some of the variables that constitute the problem”. In particular, this type of language plan may not be “the reflection of a composite urge articulated in the national community” (cf. Jernudd and Das Gupta 1971: 198 cited in Cluver 1991).

This reductionism that characterises various branches of linguistic research leads Jernudd (1981: 43, cited in Cluver 1991: 50) to conclude that “today’s linguistics is not equipped to help solve language problems that accompany accelerating communicative exchange towards modernisation and to help language treatment systems in the LDCs” (Less Developed Countries). A positivistic approach to language planning that is based on the assumption that one language can be used to conduct the affairs of state of a multilingual country fails to incorporate some of the crucial variables that interact in pluralistic societies. The positivistic approach to language planning does not consider all the relevant variables and it therefore generates solutions that are suspect”.

Pointing toward an alternative theoretical orientation in language planning Cluver (1991: 53 - 55) submits that:

We are at a point in history where the current philosophy underlying our scientific activities is being challenged by a very different philosophy. The validity of the reductionistic assumption that nature consisted of basic and invariant building blocks that could be analyzed in isolation of their

environment was questioned in physics when it was observed that particles showed different properties in different contexts – appearing in some contexts as waves and in others as particles. The validity of the assumption that we could break down social reality into its constituting parts and analyze them in isolation from the whole in which they occurred was questioned in psychology when it became clear that treating a patient away from his (pathological) environment did not contribute to his [her] rehabilitation.

The new perspective suggests that the network of relations that exists between the building blocks [the premise of positivistic and technicist orientations in science] and their environment might well be more revealing of reality than an analysis of the structure of the blocks. There is mounting evidence that the building blocks might not exist at all but are merely the result of the structuralist metaphor that we use to describe reality. There is increasing evidence that there is no “ultimate truth” that exists independently of our perception of reality. The traditional positivistic approach is being challenged by a new systems approach. In a systems approach the primary focus is on the integrated whole and we first have to understand the whole before we can begin to determine the characteristics and the interactions of its parts. A system is an integrated whole whose properties cannot be reduced to those of its parts.

The shift of focus to systems thinking gave rise to the view that structures should not be the focus of our descriptions but that the processes that maintain them should rather be the focus. Systems thinking is process thinking. These processes could be seen as a network of relations. By focusing on processes rather than structures, the systems approach can see structures as a pattern with some stability: every structure we observe is a manifestation of an underlying process. In contrast to structuralist linguistics, we begin with the total context and from there we work inwards to smaller components. As soon as one sees reality as a network of relations, it becomes difficult to identify linear cause-effect relations in this network since everything is connected to everything else. When confronted with a problem such as the decision as to which language to select as official language for an emerging nation, the systems approach leads the researcher to attempt to link language with as many other social variables as possible. It also entails an identification of as many [optimal] strategies which can be deployed to ensure that a multilingual language dispensation is possible.

With regard to implementation of language policies and language plans in multilingual settings, Cluver (1991: 56) identifies the set of variables that interacts with a proposed language policy and that need to be identified and harnessed if implementation is to succeed. These are the socio-political; administrative; educational; economic and legal. Any attempt at evaluation of language policy must take into consideration the interaction

between these variables. These variables redefine the domain of language planning but such an expanded domain cannot be treated within the theoretical framework determined by positivism.

Within a systems thinking framework, the network metaphor “allows language planners to see language planning not as an isolated event, but as one manifestation of deeper, more general underlying forces that will manifest in different ways in different parts of society. A language planning agency should not, therefore, be seen as a separate institution, but as one of a network of institutions that will promote languages in a country. The network metaphor clearly helps to see language attitudes and language planning as linguistic manifestations of more general socio-political trends. This observation implies that language planners should begin by determining these trends before developing a language plan” (Cluver 1991: 58).

The determined trends, within the overall network of variables and environment, when applied in language policy and planning implementation scenarios, especially in multilingual settings, are critical in determining the success of implementation. The network metaphor within the systems thinking framework enables language planners to consider the possibility that the system they want to describe will not be stable (whereas the structuralist metaphor leads language planners to believe that they are working with invariables).

The implications of Cluver’s (1991) critique to the positivistic theoretical orientation in language planning are far-reaching, especially when considered within the context of multilingual language policy and planning implementation dilemma. The critique implies that the positivistic approach in language planning fails in various aspects.

Firstly, the approach fails to take into account the complexity of the environment in which language policy and planning formulation and implementation occurs. Secondly, the approach fails to identify the critical set of variables that determine the success or failure of language policy and planning implementation. Thirdly, the approach fails to

establish the interactive network of relations that exists between the various variables attendant to language policy and planning scenarios, especially in multilingual settings. Fourthly, the approach, with its preoccupation with linear cause-effect relationships, fails to identify the optimal set of strategies that need to be deployed in language policy and planning implementation, especially in multilingual settings.

From the foregoing, it can be submitted that an attempt at formulating an alternative theory in language planning, or even making advances at contemporary language planning theory should be premised on a systems theoretical thinking so as to account for: the environment within which language policy and planning formulation and implementation occurs; the set of variables that determine the success or failure of language policy and planning formulation and implementation; the interactive network of relations that exists between the variables, and the optimal strategies that need to be developed and deployed to ensure implementation of language policies and plans, especially in multilingual settings.

Bamgbose (1999) also identifies the problem of tension between language planning practice and language planning theory. Bamgbose (1999: 17 – 18) observes that “mere declaration of a language as a national language without a corresponding enhancement of roles is no more than a populist and political gimmick. One may question how seriously aspirations are pursued and implemented, whether, in fact, those who proclaim them are really convinced about their desirability or whether policy statements are merely made for propaganda purposes. One major problem with the current approach to language planning in Africa, therefore, is that planning tends to be equated with policy-making alone, while implementation tends to be treated with lack of serious concern or even downright levity”.

Bamgbose (1999: 19) further observes that “not only is implementation not taken seriously, there is even what can be referred to as “implementation avoidance strategy” which consists of policy-makers formulating a policy, which they have no intention of implementing (or know cannot be implemented), building into the policy escape clauses,

and leaving implementation strategies unspecified as to modalities, time-frame, and measures to ensure compliance. Although policy-making is an essential aspect of language planning, it is important to note that policy formulation must be accompanied by well-articulated implementation procedures, a specification of the implementation agencies and the linkages between them, adequate funding and publicity as well as constant evaluation and reassessment. Language policies in the African context often suffer from lack of focus and direction, politicization, and lip service to agreed policies. Inconsistencies, constant changes and waivers of policy are a direct result of these deficiencies”.

Bamgbose (1999: 26 – 28) points towards the fundamentals of a framework for effective implementation of language policies and plans in multilingual societies when he observes that “measures for making language planning a more effective instrument for the development of African languages must be addressed to all role-players and stakeholders. However, the overarching position of governments in the African context makes it mandatory that the first port of call in any effort at persuasion must be policy-makers in government. Unless they can be carried along and are persuaded about the validity of proposed measures or course of action, it is doubtful if tangible results can be achieved”. From the foregoing insights by Bamgbose (1999) it can be concluded that at the level of language planning theory and practice, it is fundamental that for language policy and planning implementation to succeed, it must be integrated with public policy and public management theory and practice.

The problem of tension between language planning practice and language planning theory is also identified by Blommaert (1996). Blommaert (1996: 214 – 215) observes that “in language planning theory, linguistic analysis is “overdeveloped”, while political, economic or sociological analyses remain “underdeveloped”. The outcome is one-sided: language differences are overestimated, and sometimes given an agentive role which they never have in and of themselves. What is required of language planning theory therefore is to put language in its rightful place: amidst other factors, and only of primordial



importance in exceptional cases. There is also a need for a more integrated type of analysis involving close attention to a wide range of types of data”.

Blommaert (1996: 215) further observes that “language planning could benefit from a critical assessment of its past performances, not only approached in real-world terms, but also in terms of the construction of a particular discourse on language and society. From that perspective, language planning itself appears to be ideologically burdened. It carries implicit assumptions about what a “good” society is, about what is best for the people, about the way in which language and communication fit into that picture, and about how language planning can contribute to social and political progress. These assumptions, qualified as a “historical” level of scientific tradition are time – and society-specific, and can be deconstructed as such, and identifying them does not necessarily entail a quality judgement of the work of those who have adopted these assumptions. It does entail, though, a call for historical awareness”.

Consolidating the above insights, Blommaert (1996: 217) submits that “language planning can no longer stand exclusively for practical issues of standardization, graphization, terminological elaboration and other related endeavours. The link between language planning and socio-political developments is obviously of paramount importance and should not be denied. Language planning studies of the 1990s and beyond will be a strongly *political* endeavour, and every neutralisation of this political-ideological dimension will prove to be counterproductive. Whenever we indulge in “language” planning, we should be aware of the fact that we indulge in political linguistics”.

Blommaert (1996) critique of the contemporary positivist theoretical orientation in language planning offers insights as to what direction any attempt to construct a theory of language planning, especially one that can facilitate implementation of language policies and plans in multilingual settings should take.

In the first instance, such a theory should encompass an ideological component so as to align language policy and planning implementation with the overarching ideological debates in the society in question. In this case, it is impossible to construct a universal theory of language planning. Rather, language planning theory should be constructed around a general set of principles, which however, can only be tested and validated only in particular scenarios, in line with the ideological traditions of the particular society in which language policy and planning is to occur.

Secondly, Blommaert (1996) critique of contemporary language planning theory points toward a scenario where language planning theory must shed its “problematised” discourse underpinnings. Language planning should be seen as an integral part of harnessing practical language situations, especially in multilingual settings, rather than an instance at denial of practical language scenarios and as an instance at language and societal engineering. Language planning should aim at serving the social good, and as a means toward societal development, especially within the emerging “human development” paradigm, that conceptualises development as an instance of enlargement of people’s choices (UNDP 1996).

Thirdly, Blommaert (1996) critique of contemporary language planning theory points toward the need to integrate the *political* endeavour in language planning theory. At the level of theory, and particularly with regard to issues of implementation of language policies and plans in multilingual settings, an integration of the *political* endeavour in language planning theory would entail a definition of the pragmatic manifestation of “politics”, especially in multilingual policy and planning implementation scenarios. This means that success or failure of multilingual policy and planning implementation will depend to a greater extent on the degree of involvement of political functionaries in articulating the need of multilingual language policies and plans. Therefore, language planning theory should attempt to define the methodologies and strategies that can be deployed to secure the support of political functionaries in multilingual policy and planning implementation.

Finally, Blommaert (1996) critique of contemporary language planning theory points toward the need of language planning theory to define and integrate the pragmatic manifestation of “politics” in multilingual policy and planning implementation scenarios. The pragmatic manifestation of “politics” in multilingual policy and planning implementation scenarios occurs in the form of involvement or lack of involvement of the public sector, because after the political processes that define and produce language policies, as part of public policies, have been finalised, the onus of implementing the directives emanating from such policies rests upon the public sector. Therefore, any attempt at constructing a theoretical framework for multilingual policy and planning implementation should attempt to specify the set of methodologies and strategies needed to secure the support and commitment of public sector managers in multilingual policy and planning implementation in the first instance and secondly, the methodologies and strategies that public sector managers need to deploy to ensure effective and efficient implementation of multilingual policies and plans.

Ricento (2000) also discusses the problem of tension between language planning practice and language planning theory. Pointing toward the frontiers that language planning theory should explore, Ricento (2000) proposes an ecology of languages paradigm in language planning theory. Ricento (2000: 22 – 23) observes that “whether the ecology of languages paradigm emerges as the most important conceptual framework for language policy and planning research remains to be seen. What is clear is that as a subfield of sociolinguistics, language policy and planning must deal with issues of language behaviour and identity, and so must be responsive to developments in discourse analysis, ethnography, and critical social theory. It seems that the key variable which separates the older, positivistic/technicist approaches from the newer critical/postmodern ones is agency, i.e., the role(s) of individuals and collectives in the processes of language use, attitudes and ultimately policies”.

From a preliminary study of the literature, the dilemma related to the implementation of multilingual policies and plans seems to relate to an appreciable degree to failure of language planning theory to produce approaches that can facilitate the implementation of

language policies and plans, especially in multilingual settings. The dilemma is rather urgent in the South African scenario because of the constitutional obligations imposed on the state with regard to language matters in the Republic. The formulation of such an approach is an important challenge to language planning scholarship in South Africa and elsewhere. This study sets out to attempt to map out the contours of such an approach.

#### **1.4 Statement of the Research Problem and Research Questions**

The research problem that the study sets out to investigate is the adequacy of contemporary explanations of the non-implementation of multilingual policies and plans. Of particular research interest is the investigation of the adequacy of contemporary language planning theory in formulating approaches that can be deployed to facilitate the implementation of multilingual policies and plans, with specific reference to the South African language policy and planning implementation scenario.

The specific questions that the study addresses are:

- (a) Why does multilingual policy and planning implementation fail at the practical level, as illustrated in the South African case?
- (b) What explanations are offered in the literature to explain the non-implementation of multilingual policies and plans, with specific reference to the South African language policy and planning implementation scenario?
- (c) Is contemporary language planning theory adequate in providing models that can be deployed to facilitate the implementation of multilingual policies and plans?
- (d) What would an approach that can facilitate the implementation of multilingual policies and plans constitute of?

## **1.5 Aim and Objectives of the Study**

The study aims at advancing a different language planning theoretical orientation than already offered in the literature, and consolidating the theoretical insights into an alternative language planning approach that can be used to facilitate effective implementation of multilingual policies and plans.

The specific objectives of the study are:

- (a) To review the literature on language planning with a view of establishing the most plausible explanation to the non-implementation of multilingual policies and plans.
- (b) To critically evaluate the adequacy of contemporary language planning theory and language planning models in facilitating multilingual policy and planning implementation, with a particular reference to the South African language policy and planning implementation scenario.
- (c) To develop an alternative language planning theoretical approach that can be used to facilitate the implementation of multilingual policies and plans in South Africa.
- (d) To test the adequacy of the resultant theoretical approach in a practical language policy and language planning implementation project in South Africa.

## **1.6 Overview of Research Methodology**

The study is a descriptive literature review, model [referred to in the study as an approach] construction and a case study.

The literature review focuses on the literature that explores the problem of non-implementation of language policies and plans in multilingual settings, with a special reference to literature that discusses the multilingual policy and planning implementation

dilemma in South Africa. The study also reviews literature on language planning theory with special focus on literature on language planning models.

The study integrates the theoretical insights from the literature with the practical lessons drawn from implementing a language management project in Free State Province – Republic of South Africa, to develop an alternative theoretical approach for multilingual policy and planning implementation, through the Grounded Theory Method.

The case study reports on findings deriving from the application of the resultant approach in a language management project in the Free State Province, Republic of South Africa. The research methodology is discussed in detail in chapter 3 of the study.

## **1.7 Outline of the Remainder of the Thesis**

The thesis is organised in seven chapters. Chapter 2 provides the background to the study by discussing South Africa's Constitutional language developments as from the early 1990s. The socio-political and historical contexts that led to the development of the Constitutional language provisions are also discussed in detail. The chapter also discusses the ideology and discourse of the 1993 and 1996 Constitutions. The discussion in this chapter points out that the implementation of a multilingual dispensation for South Africa would be in line with the theoretical, ideological and discourse foundations of the Constitution. The chapter concludes by indicating that the implementation dilemma facing South Africa's language policy and language plan as envisioned in the Constitution is not as a result of any weakness on the part of the Constitution, but as a result of tensions between language planning theory and language planning practice as applied in the South African scenario.

Chapter 3 discusses the research methodology used in the study. Chapter 4 reviews the literature on language planning theory and language planning models. The discussion elaborates on the dilemmas inherent in language planning theory and language planning

models and how these dilemmas impact on multilingual policy and planning implementation. Chapter 5 develops an alternative theoretical approach to multilingual policy and planning implementation. The study names the alternative theoretical approach the *Language Management* approach. Chapter 6 presents a case study where the alternative approach to multilingual policy and planning implementation was tested in a language management project in the Free State Province, Republic of South Africa. Chapter 7 presents the conclusions and recommendations.

## CHAPTER TWO

### BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

#### 2.1 Introduction

Language has been a contentious issue in South Africa's contemporary history. The evolution of the modern South African state has witnessed what Du Plessis (1999) refers to as the conversion of political victories into linguistic victories. Dating from the Anglo-Boer conflicts, the era of the Union of South Africa (dating approximately from 1910 – 1948), the segregationist era under apartheid, the transition to a new democratic dispensation of the 1990s and the present-day attempts at creating and consolidating a new constitutional state, language has been a key feature in defining mainstream socio-political discourses in South Africa.

Evidence of the centrality of language in mainstream socio-political discourses in South Africa is obtainable from the constitutional developments in South Africa as from the early 1990s, and particularly the entrenchment of a 'language' discourse in the 1993 Interim Constitution (Act 200 of 1993) and the 1996 Constitution (Act 108 of 1996). The recognition of eleven official languages in both Constitutions set precedence the world over. Never before had a country recognised so many languages in its constitution. These developments are of much impact to the practice and scholarship of sociology of language because of the accompanying shifts in the notion of constitutionalism within which the new South African Constitutional language provisions are embedded.

To set the background for the entire study, the present chapter seeks to reorient the discourse on language planning practice and scholarship in South Africa by critically reflecting on the Constitutional language provisions in the 1993 Interim Constitution (Act 200 of 1993) and the 1996 Constitution (Act 108 of 1996), and their implications on language policy and planning practice and scholarship in South Africa. The discussion is



presented from a critical-historical perspective. The socio-political and historical context that led to the evolution of the 1993 Constitution is discussed as well as an overview of the South Africa's Constitutional language developments since the enactment of the 1993 Interim Constitution. An analysis of the 1993 Interim Constitution language provisions is provided, with particular reference to the practical and theoretical precedents that they set for language planning in South Africa.

To set the background for the analysis of both the 1993 and 1996 Constitutional language provisions, a discussion of the ideology and discourse of the 1993 and 1996 Constitutions is provided, with particular reference being on the justification of the Constitution language provisions as an integral part of the transformative and reconstructionist ideology and discourse of the 1993 and 1996 Constitutions. The chapter concludes by positing that the Constitutional language developments, both in the 1993 Interim Constitution (Act 200 of 1993) and the 1996 Constitution (Act 108 of 1996) set a completely new paradigm in language planning practice and scholarship and the inherent challenge lies at creating a congruent language planning theoretical orientation and language planning practice, especially as can be applied to multilingual language planning implementation.

## **2.2 Background to South Africa's Constitutional Language Developments of the 1990s**

Socio-political developments in South Africa, which began in earnest especially from the mid 1970s, had an all pervasive impact on the formulation and adoption of the 1993 Interim Constitution (Act 200 of 1993). The inclusion of the language clause in the 1993 Interim Constitution that provided for eleven official languages was a radical departure from the political and sociolinguistic debates of the time.

### 2.2.1 Steps Towards a New Constitutional Language Dispensation

Du Plessis (2000: 103 – 104) provides a background of the steps toward a new constitutional language dispensation in South Africa by documenting that “the announcement in mid-November 1993 that the new Constitution would provide for eleven official languages took many observers by surprise. As a matter of fact, the African National Congress (hereafter ANC) had entered the language debate at a very late stage. This happened at the workshop *Towards a language policy for post-apartheid South Africa* that the ANC held at the end of March 1990 in Harare”. As a result of this workshop, the ANC Language Commission was established which would serve as a think-tank on language issues (Du Plessis 2000, 103).

Du Plessis (2000) further documents that one of the few public documents that this Commission produced was a press release in February 1992. It was proposed that all eleven languages receive full recognition, yet none be declared *official*. The underlying rationale for this position was perhaps encapsulated in a paper by Albie Sachs (then a member of the ANC Constitutional Committee):

*It might be that one day English will emerge as the working language of most government and business in South Africa. Perhaps it will come to be the language that everyone wants to learn because of its utility. That, however, would be evolution through choice. Nothing could be more inimical to the widespread acceptance of English than to make it the common language by command (1994: 2, cited in Du Plessis 2000: 103).*

“The ANC 1992 press release contained some of the ideas that were reflected in the 1993 Interim Constitution language clause, especially the call for government support for the development of the eleven languages, the idea of differentiation between national and regional language policies and the suggestion that previously marginalized languages were to be “empowered”. It also emphasised the importance of preventing language

being used for the purposes of domination or division, a principle that was later built into section 3 of the 1993 Interim Constitution” (Du Plessis 2000: 104).

Du Plessis (2000: 104) further observes that “given the threat to the future of Afrikaans, the Afrikaans community played a very active role in the language debate. A range of publications evolved and several conferences were organised. Probably, the most influential paper was written by Schuring, who in 1991 proposed a language clause (Schuring 1991) that bears considerable resemblance to the one in the 1993 Interim Constitution. G. Viljoen, then Minister of Constitutional Affairs, declared the official status of Afrikaans to be *non-negotiable*. All this explains why the language clause was only agreed on during the last hour of the negotiations. The eleven-language policy clearly does not reflect an ANC position. As a matter of fact, it is no more than a compromise between ANC’s covert English agenda and the overt Afrikaans agenda of the Afrikaner negotiators”.

It is not apparent that an English only language clause in the 1993 Interim Constitution could have served the interests of the ANC better considering the movement’s broad constituency that cut then, and continues to be so, across social, cultural, racial, linguistic and economic strata of South Africa society. In contrast, however, what is apparent is that the hard-line stance adopted by the Afrikaner negotiators with regard to the official status of Afrikaans was primarily aimed at safeguarding the position of Afrikaans in the future South Africa. However, these two developments, both from the side of the ANC negotiators and the Afrikaner negotiators point toward the macro ideologies and discourses that informed the formation of the present day South Africa state, particularly as embodied in both the 1993 Interim Constitution and the 1996 Constitution. If the new Republic was to live to the aspirations of being a model constitutional state that adheres to the tenets of liberal democracy, and which unashamedly professes an inclination towards multiculturalism, in the strict sense of these terms, then a constitutionally entrenched multilingual dispensation was to be one of the defining features of the new Republic.

The 1993 Interim Constitution language clause set the antecedent for the inclusion of the language clause in the 1996 Constitution. However, the language clause in the 1996 Constitution differs in a number of ways from the language clause in the 1993 Interim Constitution. “Both sets initiate a fundamental change from the language dispensation of the apartheid era, moving South Africa from an officially bilingual dispensation to a dispensation which embraces eleven official languages. However, the two sets of provisions differ quite significantly in respect to their content” (Du Plessis 1999: 7).

Documenting the differences between the language clauses of the 1993 Interim Constitution and the 1996 Constitution Du Plessis (1999: 5 – 7) observes that “one of the most significant differences is the fact that the principle of equity, or equal rights for all (official) languages has been replaced in the 1996 Constitution language clause by the principle of equitability, subject to the requirement that disadvantaged languages should nevertheless receive preferential treatment. A second significant difference is that a clearer distinction is drawn between language rights over which the government exercises a degree of control and, and the language rights of individuals and groups. As a result of this, the government is actually no longer responsible for protecting the language rights of the individual, which means that groups will have to be more active and organised if they wish to lay claims to language rights.

A third significant difference is that the principle of non-diminution of language rights in Section 3(2) of the 1993 Interim Constitution no longer exists; it has been replaced by the requirement that at least two official languages must be utilised for government purposes (Section 6 (3)). The extension of language rights determined by the same subsection of the 1993 Interim Constitution has fallen away. It has been replaced by the requirement that the state must apply itself to the objective of raising the status and expanding the usage of the historically disadvantaged indigenous languages. The new language clauses of the 1996 Constitution nevertheless contain several positive elements which must not, and cannot be dismissed. The constitutional stipulations in respect of language give expression to an endeavour to establish a functional multilingual system”.

However, to provide a background for the discussion of the ideology and discourse of the 1996 final Constitution as the *Grundnorm* that currently provides the macro framework for the implementation of multilingual policies and plans in South Africa, it is important to discuss the socio-political and historical context that led to the adoption of the 1993 Interim Constitution and the 1996 final Constitution. The next section discusses the socio-political and historical context for the evolution of the 1993 Interim Constitution and the 1996 final Constitution.

### **2.2.2 The Socio-political and Historical Context for the Evolution of the 1993 Interim Constitution and the 1996 Constitution**

The 1993 Interim Constitution (Act 200 of 1993) language provisions are best discussed within the greater socio-political and historical context that ultimately led to the enactment of this transition constitution. Several scholars, notable among them, Venter (1994), Bason (1995), Moseneke (1995), Currie and De Waal (2002) and Terreblanche (2002), have documented this greater socio-political and historical context and their insights are relied upon in the present discussion. The greater socio-political and historical contexts are important when interpreting South Africa's contemporary happenings because they determine to a larger extent the present day social, political and economic contexts.

The 1993 Interim Constitution was a culmination of long socio-political and constitutional developments in South Africa. Bason (1995: xix) captures these long socio-political and constitutional developments in South Africa by documenting that "South Africans had borne the brunt and burden of a successive constitutional dispensation which made outcasts of its own people and which was decisive in their enslavement and exploitation. It placed unbridled power in the hands of a racial or ethnic minority which was unfortunately only too willing to use it as an instrument of oppression. This process started many centuries ago with the colonialisation of the land at Africa's southern tip. Initially, the fairest Cape in all the world was only used as a trading post by the Dutch

who arrived in 1652. It soon became clear that the settlers from Europe were here to stay. At first they tried to enslave the KhoiKhoi and refused to recognise their claim to land. This pattern was to become the norm in the hundreds of years of racial and ethnic domination which followed. Many more settlers came. They came from France in 1688, and after the British took control of the Cape in 1795 many thousands of British settlers arrived in 1820. Precious few rights of the indigenous people were recognised, in fact, so-called pass laws were promulgated as early as 1809. This, also, was to become the norm”.

Bason (1995: xx) further documents that “the British extended their influence to the Eastern Cape and later to Natal, doing battle with the Xhosa, the Pedi and the Zulu. In 1835 the first series of mass treks began by Afrikaners (Boers) who moved inland towards the North. Again, many battles were fought between the Boers and the indigenous people such as the Ndebele and the Zulu. The Boers eventually carved out Republics in the North, also taking land from the Tswana. Step by step the indigenous people were stripped of their land and rights. However, after the rich gold fields were discovered on the Witwatersrand, the British also waged and won a devastating war against the Boers in 1899 to 1902, which was to become known as the South African war. It is ironic that the Afrikaner, who had been placed under the yoke of British imperialism and had themselves, suffered and fought a war for their liberty and *their land*, were to become the architects of the apartheid policy – the ultimate social engineering programme, aimed at oppressing the other people of South Africa and robbing them of their liberty and their land.

While the Afrikaners (and other so-called whites) were slowly winning back their independence and freedom, the other South Africans were enslaved and exploited even further. The very restricted right to vote of blacks who lived in the Cape Colony was still recognised with the birth of the Union of South Africa in 1910. However, the right to be represented directly in Parliament was taken away and eventually their right to vote was completely abolished in 1936. The 1909 Constitution of the Union of South Africa (an Act of the British Parliament) introduced a sovereign parliament along the lines of the Westminster in terms of which the Constitution was not supreme and an omnipotent

legislator (designed as a vehicle for the unfettered voice of the majority) was placed in the hands of an ethnic or racial minority. This state of affairs must surely rank as one of the greatest disasters in the constitutional history of the world. Especially when the National Party came to power in 1948, helped by not only the fact that the right to vote was restricted to whites but also by the ‘winner-takes-all’ electoral system of the Westminster model and a demarcation of single-member constituencies which favoured the white rural areas where conservative Afrikaner support was concentrated, the period of apartheid rule began in all earnest”.

“The liberation movements which were formed in the early part of the century called for an end to this system of oppression and eventually turned to the armed struggle after all peaceful efforts failed. The turning point was probably the Sharpeville incident of 1960, when people who were peacefully protesting against the pass laws were massacred by the police. The trade unions joined the struggle, also against the oppressive labour system in terms of which blacks and members of other so-called ‘population groups’ (including the descendants of the Indians labourers and later traders who arrived in the late 1860s as well as the so-called ‘coloured’) were exploited, *inter alia*, in terms of job reservation measures” (Bason 1995: xx – xxi).

The constitutional crisis in South Africa that was a culmination of the socio-political circumstances documented above is brought into sharp focus by Bason (1995: xxi) by documenting that:

Apartheid was branded a crime against all humanity by the international community which was active in isolating the regime in South Africa and in instituting economic sanctions. The internal struggle reached boiling point with the Soweto uprisings in 1976 when many children were killed by the security forces. State institutionalised violence increased, especially during the Eighties when a virtual permanent state of emergency was in place as from 1986. This was necessary to counter the fury of the people after the introduction of the 1983 Constitution which comprised of a system of sham power-sharing between the three ‘population groups’ in terms of which the whites (in actual fact) still exercised the power unhindered and the blacks were completely excluded. The principle of parliamentary sovereignty was maintained to the fullest and the infringements on basic human rights and freedoms continued unabated. Constitutional tampering had thereby

reached its lowest point. In earlier years there was always hope that the system would be extended to provide for political rights for all – now even this faint hope was dashed. The whole idea of power-sharing became tainted and the entire constitutional system lost all remnants of legitimacy. The possibility of an eventual political solution dimmed. South Africa had truly reached the darkest hour in its entire constitutional history.

The pressures from the struggle began to pay off as from the mid-Eighties. Some of the Acts which were the cornerstones of apartheid were removed from the statute books. Clandestine meetings took place between members of the government and leaders of the liberation movements. Tentatively, some political prisoners were freed. Eventually, in February 1990, the liberation movements were unbanned and Dr. Nelson Mandela and even more political prisoners were freed. The nation-wide emergency was lifted. Agreements were reached on issues such as amnesty and the scrapping of still more infringing statutes. Eventually only the 1983 Constitution remained as the primary piece of apartheid legislation. Negotiations ensued with the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) in December 1991. Negotiations broke down and eventually resumed in April 1993 with the Multi-Party Negotiating Process (MPNP) which eventually produced the interim Constitution in November 1993 (Bason 1995: xxi, Venter 1994: 212 – 213).

It is the socio-political and historical context described in the preceding paragraphs that the 1993 Interim Constitution and the 1996 Constitution sought to alter. Therefore, a reading and interpretation of the language provisions of the 1993 Interim Constitution and the 1996 Constitution should take cognisance of this context and the resolve of the writers of both Constitutions to alter it. The language provisions of the 1993 Interim Constitution and the 1996 Constitution sought to establish a radical break with the language practices of the past. The implied challenge to language policy and planning scholarship and practice in South Africa is ensure that the multilingual dispensation envisioned in the interim Constitution and the 1996 Constitution is realised so that language policy and planning practice and scholarship can make a contribution in redressing the socio-political and historical contexts that ultimately led to the adoption of both Constitutions. The socio-political and historical contexts that led to the evolution of the 1993 Interim Constitution and the 1996 Constitution is encapsulated in the ideology



and discourse of both Constitutions. The next section briefly outlines the ideology and discourse of the 1993 Interim Constitution and the 1996 Constitution.

### **2.3 The Ideology and Discourse of the 1993 Interim Constitution and the 1996 Constitution**

The ideology and discourse of both the 1993 Interim Constitution and the 1996 Constitution show a development of the conceptualisation of the notion of constitutionalism in South Africa, especially as from the period when transformation started taking root in South Africa, i.e. the early 1990s. The ideology and discourse of the 1993 Interim Constitution and the 1996 Constitution are however, discussed separately in the following sections so as to illustrate the development of the ideology and discourse that underlies both Constitutions.

Both the 1993 and 1996 Constitutions represent a form of discourse, and in effect, they have an embedded ideology. However, the 1993 and 1996 Constitutions are not ordinary discourses. They are ‘powerful’ discourses, not in the sense that they were produced, controlled and monopolised by the powerful groups in South African society, but because they essentially represent the will of the South African people to fundamentally alter the course of their social, political, cultural and economic history. The Constitution making process is a testimony to this (cf Ebrahim 1998, 2001; Houston et al 1999; Murray 2001).

#### **2.3.1 The Ideology and Discourse of the 1993 Interim Constitution**

As from the early 1990s, there has been a growing realisation of the role of ideology in the study of sociology of language. This development has led to a growing interest in the role of ideology in language policy and planning. One of the first contributions to the role of ideology in language policy and planning is Tollefson (1991). By analysing the relationship between language policy and access to economic resources and political

institutions; the role of languages in world markets and education of the labour force; language policy and the management of migration and the issue of language rights, Tollefson (1991) provides critical insights into the role of ideology in language policy and planning studies, and submits that language policy and planning are inherently ideological. The most tangible manifestation of ideology is discourse (Blommaert and Verschueren 1998: 26). With regard to language policy and planning, the focus should be the discourse in which the ideology that influences language policy and planning decisions is embedded, in the case of South Africa, the Constitution(s).

With regard to ideological and discourse underpinnings, the interim Constitution “dispenses with Westminster-style parliamentary sovereignty, at whose altar legal positivism flourished side by side with ideological bigotry” (Moseneke 1995: vi). There is no doubt that the interim Constitution heralded a complete and radical break with South Africa’s constitutional past. The interim Constitution was the first supreme law in South Africa. The interim Constitution also had an entrenched Bill of Rights. The Bill of Rights entrenched the fundamental rights of every South African and in this sense embodied the legal values of dignity, equality and freedom. Accordingly, a justiciable Bill of Rights is the only constitutional instrument in terms of which the subjects of the state can be assured that their rights and freedoms are properly protected against the abuse of state power.

Taking into account the important features of the interim Constitution, that is, a supreme inflexible Constitution, a justiciable Bill of Rights, a democratic representative government and commissions and functionaries which enhance a human rights culture and secure accountability, it would appear that the interim Constitution was successful in realising the aspirations of the people of South Africa and, in essence, creates an open and democratic society. The era of oppression and exploitation had ended. The era of constitutionalism and justice had begun. South Africans can walk tall after many years of being the outcasts of the international community and are welcome back to the hallowed halls of international organisations. Ironically, even the oppressor is liberated.

Bason (1995: xxx – xxxi) documents that “the dawn of democracy heralded by the interim Constitution became a joyous and liberating experience for all South Africans. The interim Constitution allowed the country to enter an era of unity and reconciliation. A ringing clause proclaiming just that is inserted in the interim Constitution and (together with the other Schedules) is given the same status as the rest of the provisions contained in the text itself, making it part and parcel of the dynamically-evolving values underlying the new society in South Africa. It proclaims that the interim Constitution forms a historic bridge between the past of a deeply divided society characterised by strife, conflict, untold suffering and injustice, and a future founded upon the recognition of human rights, democracy and peaceful co-existence and development opportunities for all South Africans, irrespective of colour, race, belief or sex. It also declares that the adoption of the interim Constitution lays the secure foundation for the people of South Africa to transcend the divisions and strife of the past, which generated gross violations of human rights, transgressions of humanitarian principles in violent conflicts and a legacy of hatred, fear, guilt and revenge”.

Ideologically, an extremely important element of the 1993 Interim Constitution concerns the change that it brings about in the constitutional character of the South African state. This is reflected in the first paragraph of the Preamble of the Constitution, which reads:

Whereas there is a need to create a new order in which all South Africans will be entitled to a common South African citizenship in a sovereign and democratic constitutional state.

Venter (1994: 216 – 217) further elaborates on the above, observing that “the introduction of the constitutional state in South Africa has profound and positive implications both for politics and the law. The profundity of the introduction of this notion into the South African system of government, administration of justice, politics and public life becomes clear when one contrasts the structure of the previous constitutional system with the new one: being a product of British constitutional law, Parliament was sovereign under the 1983 Constitution, and could not be challenged in the courts; the concept of fundamental rights remained an ideal one with very little material

substance; arbitrary conduct could be valid if supported by legislation; the office of head of state represented the pinnacle of an immense concentration of power and the electoral system allowed the minority only to govern, to the exclusion of the majority”.

The 1993 Interim Constitution therefore heralded a fundamental ideological shift in South African constitutionalism. “After experiencing for more than a century and a half, constitutional developments that bore distinctly the stamp of British colonial constitutional thinking, South Africa developed, through legitimate means, a constitution which can truly be called ‘homemade’. Despite the fact that colonialism, as such, had long been reduced to a piece of historical data, the colonial legacy continued to remain prominent in the intricate details of South African constitutional law. It would not be accurate to say that CODESA and the MPNP consciously set about eliminating the elements of British constitutional principles from South African law, but that was indeed the end-result of their work. After shifting laboriously through the mechanisms and principles of modern constitutional examples and precedents, the MPNP produced a constitution with a very strong continental flavour, thereby autochthonously removing the last vestiges of colonial thinking from the new South African constitutional dispensation” (Venter 1994: 221).

The ideology of the 1993 Interim Constitution further finds expression in the values and principles embodied in this Constitution. Botha (1994: 233) documents that “the 1993 Interim Constitution differs from its predecessors in a number of respects. First of all, whereas the previous constitutions sought to consolidate the government’s powers and to serve the interests of the white ruling class, the 1993 Constitution not only establishes governmental authority, but also imposes material constraints upon the powers of government (it thus both binds and liberates) and seeks to protect a diversity of interests. Secondly, the Constitution is a repository of values; it embodies South Africans’ commitment to a non-racial and non-sexist society and the notions of freedom and equality. Thirdly, the 1993 Constitution is the supreme law of the land: the testing power of the courts is no longer limited to procedural matters, but extends to the question

whether legislation is consistent with the substantive norms and values embodied in the Constitution”.

Botha (1994: 237) further develops that above argument by positing that “the values inscribed in the 1993 Constitution have their source and origin in the history and experience of the South African people. This document is a reaction to the authoritarianism and racial exclusivity which had characterised South Africa’s constitutional practice. At the same time, it draws heavily on international norms and standards; it is, therefore rooted in international experience. Today the ‘indigenous’ and ‘universal’ grounding of the legitimacy of the new legal order are so intertwined, that they can hardly be separated. This is in stark contrast to the isolationism of the apartheid years, when international community’s endorsement of the democratic option for South Africa was belittled as uninformed and hypocritical; and pride taken in South Africa’s resolution not to succumb to international pressure to ‘plunge the country to darkness’. The international human rights movement was seen as a threat: politicians and judges alike showed blatant disregard for the evolving international legal and moral order. The 1993 Constitution signifies South Africa’s international ‘homecoming’, and expressly incorporates international legal norms and values in South African legal system”.

Consolidating the above insights on the ideology and discourse underpinnings of the 1993 Constitution Botha (1994: 241 – 242) submits:

In particular, the values and principles that embody the ideology of the 1993 Constitution are: national unity; social integration; limited government; liberty and equality and pluralism. The Constitution has *integrative* force: it seeks to undo the balkanisation of South Africa into ethnic regions and states; and to prevent further disintegration, violence and strife. Social integration refers to the realisation on the part of most South Africans that their fate is inextricably bound up with that of their fellow citizens; it denotes the building of a South African nation. The Constitution, by expounding the shared values to which South Africans have committed themselves, gives formal expression to the quest for a South African identity. The very notion of constitutionalism as introduced by the 1993 Constitution underscores the ideological implication of the limitation of powers of government. The 1993 Constitution seeks to limit governmental power through democratic accountability, individual rights, the separation of powers, an

independent judiciary, political checks and balances, the devolution of powers and an independent civil society. Further, the 1993 Constitution attempts to accommodate a plurality of values and interests, and that national unity is promoted on the basis of political and cultural pluralism

Commenting on the discourse of the 1993 Interim Constitution, Venter (1994: 215) observes that the [1993 Interim] Constitution of South Africa is a sophisticated document comprising modern notions of western constitutionalism. Being the product of extensive and prolonged multi-party negotiations, it constitutes an extraordinary comprehensive fundamental law. Much detail regarding the workings of state, some of which would not normally be found in a constitution, is provided for. The broadness of its focus is also due to the fact that the Constitution had to be designed to effect fundamental change of constitutional direction: the transition from a dispensation that [was] essentially the end-product of British colonialism, to a dispensation that is fully autochthonous.

The interim Constitution is thus an ideologically laden discourse. It sought to transform South African fundamentally. The fundamental changes do not only apply to the theory of constitutionalism as applied to South Africa's practical legalistic circles. The fundamental changes also apply to the social, cultural, political and even economic organisation of South African society. In a gist, the interim Constitution established and entrenched an ideological meta-discourse in all areas of South African society through its ideology of pluralism, social integration, liberty and equality and its transformative and reconstructionist discourse. The language clause in the interim Constitution is an integral part of this ideological meta-discourse and its interpretation, implications and application should encapsulate the ideological meta-discourse of the interim Constitution.

Bason (1995) documents the essentials of the language clause in the 1993 Constitution. The following paragraphs outline these essentials.

“For the first time in the history of South Africa, the interim Constitution declared eleven languages official at the national level. The Constitution states that conditions must be created for the promotion of their equal use and enjoyment. Rights relating to language

and the status of languages existing at the commencement of the interim Constitution (including the former two official languages which form part of the eleven new official languages) must not be diminished and an Act of Parliament must make provision for rights relating to language and the status of languages existing only at regional level to be extended nationally (in accordance to the principles spelt out in subsection (9) of s 3)” Bason (1995: 3).

“The right to use and be addressed in any official language of a person’s choice in his or her dealings with the national government is recognised. However, this right is limited to what is ‘practicable’. This is the usual limitation that is placed upon rights which place a duty on the state in order to be realised. Regional differentiation in relation to language policy and practice is permissible. In this regard, a provincial legislature may (by a resolution adopted by a majority of at least two-thirds of all its members) declare any official language to be the official language for the whole or any part of the province concerned or for any or all the powers and functions within the competence of the province concerned: provided that neither the rights relating to language nor the existing status of an official language shall be diminished. The right to use and be addressed in any one of the provincial official languages of a person’s choice in his or her dealings with the provincial government concerned is recognised (subject to this being ‘practicable’ in the manner described above)” (Bason 1995: 5 – 6).

“The rights to official languages (Afrikaans and English) in terms of the previous Constitution (and its predecessors) were considered to be so important that these rights were protected by way of special procedures (requiring special majorities). In terms of the interim Constitution, all of the provisions of the Constitution (including the language provisions of s 3) are entrenched by way of special procedures (requiring special majorities) in terms of s 62(1) in keeping with the concept of supreme (and inflexible) Constitution” (Bason 1995: 6 – 7).

“The language clause in the interim Constitution also provides for an Act of Parliament of the Senate to create an independent Pan South African Language Board to promote

respect for the above mentioned principles and to further the development of the official languages. This Board must be consulted and shall make recommendations in relation to the legislation referred to in the same section. Furthermore, the Board is must promote respect for and development of other languages spoken by communities in South Africa, including languages used for religious purposes. Apart from the language provisions of Section 3, other language provisions are contained in Sections 25, 32 and 107 of the interim Constitution and deal with procedural human rights where the rights of a person to be treated in a language that he or she understands (including the right to be tried in such language) is guaranteed, the fundamental right to instruction in the language of a person's choice and the establishment of schools based upon common language and languages in judicial proceedings, respectively" (Bason 1995: 7).

From the foregoing, it is submitted that particularly, the language clause in the 1993 Interim Constitution sought to especially dismiss the indefensible position that is still held in some scholarly quarters that the promotion of indigenous languages was one of the positive legacies of apartheid. By embedding the language provisions in a supreme constitution, the 1993 Interim Constitution redefined the discourse of promotion of indigenous languages in South Africa from one of mere tokenism (because successive Parliaments can not legislate to contradict what was embedded in the Constitution as had been the case before) and one that was designed to secure the access to power and resources by the white minority, to one of egalitarianism when addressing language matters in the Republic. In effect, the language provisions in the 1993 Interim Constitution set a radical precedence for the practice of language policy and planning in South Africa.

It is further submitted that the language provisions in the 1993 interim Constitution were meant to radically alter language policy and planning practice in South Africa, as the other provisions in this Constitution were meant to alter other areas of social, cultural, political and economic endeavour in South Africa. If the 1993 interim Constitution pronounced a demise to the positivistic constitutional and legal tradition that had thrived in South Africa for more than a century and a half, then it is logical to submit that the



language provisions embedded in the 1993 interim Constitution also pointed towards a demise of the positivistic language policy and planning practice in South Africa. In essence, the language provisions in the 1993 interim Constitution pointed toward an imminent paradigm shift in language policy and planning practice in South Africa. The interim Constitution achieved this through the introduction into the South African body public and other spheres of an ideological meta-discourse that had plurality and multiculturalism as its most defining aspects.

The ideology and discourse of the 1993 interim Constitution found further elaboration in the 1996 Constitution (Act 108 of 1996). The ideology and discourse of the 1996 Constitution are discussed in the next section.

### **2.3.2 The Ideology and Discourse of the 1996 Constitution**

When the final Constitution was being drafted, one of the most important reasons for the success of the process was the Constitutional Assembly's public awareness and education campaign. "This campaign was designed to educate the public on constitutionalism and basic rights as well as to elicit the views of the public on the new Constitution" (Murray 2001: 106). Several strategies were used during this campaign. "Thousands of public meetings were held, covering every town and village in South Africa, both to educate and allow people to give feedback and make submissions on the content of the new Constitution. These meetings were advertised widely, especially through television and radio. Participatory workshops were organised in consultation with civil society structures" (Ebrahim 1998: 224).

Further, Murray (2001: 106 – 7) documents that "members of the Constitutional Assembly participated extensively in this campaign, and travelled across the country – to townships, informal settlements, rural villages, churches, schools, etc. – to consult with the public about the constitution making process. The media was also used extensively – over 10 million people a week listened to the constitutional assembly's show on the radio

in one of the official languages and an estimated 160,000 people received a copy of the newsletter *Constitutional Talk*, also published in the 11 official languages, each fortnight. In addition, an Internet site was also launched, providing information on the constitution-writing process. A Constitutional Talk Line was set up to enable people to make submissions over the telephone. Sectoral public meetings were held with about 200 organizations representing a number of diverse interest groups. Murray reports that an independent survey found that approximately 73 per cent of adult South Africans had been reached by the campaign”.

In the Constitutional Assembly itself, “six theme committees were set up, which had the task of collecting and considering submissions from the public – including organs of civil society, ordinary individuals and political parties. Members of the public could make submissions in their own languages and approximately 2.5 million written submissions were made” (Houston et al 1999: 26). “In a space of a few short years, South Africans made their mark by voting in the first democratic elections in 1994 in unprecedented numbers, followed shortly by having their say in the content of the new Constitution in numbers just as unprecedented” (Jagwanth 2003: 10).

It can thus be submitted that the 1996 South African Constitution encompasses the ideology of the South African people about the nature of the future South African society. In a speech delivered at the signing of the 1996 Constitution at Sharpeville on 10 December 1996, Nelson Mandela succinctly captured the ideology of the 1996 Constitution when he observed:

By our presence here today, we solemnly honour the pledge we made to ourselves and to the world, that South Africa shall redeem herself and thereby widen the frontiers of human freedom. As we close a chapter of exclusion and a chapter of heroic struggle, we reaffirm our determination to build a society of which each of us can be proud, as South Africans, as Africans, and as citizens of the world. As your President I feel honoured and humbled by the responsibility of signing into law a text that embodies our nation’s highest aspirations (Mandela 1996, cited in Currie and De Waal 2002: 2)

Currie and De Waal (2002: 2) document that “at the beginning of the twenty-first century the 1996 South African Constitution is a beacon of hope in a world plagued by conflict, poverty and the failure of governments. The Constitution is a monument to the determination of a society to overcome the burden of its history – the evils of colonialism, racism and apartheid and the manifold social problems that are the legacy of centuries of inequality. The 1996 South African Constitution is solidly based in the history of South Africa, and its interpretation requires a consideration of principles and constitutional arguments that are at once international in origin and locally grounded. On the one hand, the fundamental ideas about government and society that underlie the Constitution are drawn from the history and experience of human societies throughout the world. On the other hand, the specific form that those ideas have been given in the 1996 Constitution is the result of the engagement of South Africans in debates and struggles over many decades and is a reflection of the particular hopes and aspirations the diverse South African society. In this sense, the 1996 Constitution is part of an age-old human project to regulate social interaction in a way that protects social stability and yet enables societies to change and develop”.

Further, Currie and De Waal (2002: 3) observe that “the Constitution endeavours to structure South African future social and political interactions so as to achieve a society free of tyranny, gross inequality, poverty and violence that characterise South African history. The Constitution does so in a number of ways. First, the Constitution has not been imposed on the South African society but has been produced by the people. This was achieved through encouraging popular participation in and knowledge of the constitution-making process and the issues at stake. Perhaps more significantly, the Constitution was negotiated and drafted by the representatives of the people – the members of South Africa’s first democratically-elected parliament sitting as a Constitutional Assembly. Second, the Constitution includes mechanisms (most notably the Bill of Rights) designed to prevent state oppression and violence that characterised South African past.

Third, the Constitution contains provisions that are intended to address the social and economic legacies of apartheid. Fourth, the Constitution creates an elaborate structure of government that not only incorporates traditional division of power between different branches of government but also attempts to establish a network of institutions designed to secure South Africa's democratic gains and to achieve the 'good' society aspired to by the Constitution. Finally, the 1996 Constitution offers a model to the world of a new form of constitutional governance in which both public and private powers are managed in a way that enables all members of South African society to secure their individual and collective aspirations and to become integrated into a diverse but common community".

Klare (1998) captures the essential ideology and discourse underpinnings of the 1996 Constitution by submitting that:

The 1996 South African Constitution can be understood to establish a project of transformative constitutionalism. This project explicitly rejects the fiction, associated with liberal constitutionalism that a country's constitution represents a snapshot of a political community whose meaning is frozen forever. Such a traditional view usually pays scant attention to the political, social and economic context within which a constitution came into existence and to the fact that this context will change in future. Instead, this traditional approach is usually based on the assumption that the constitution is an end in itself; a document aimed at regulating the exercise of power and preserving – in a formal way – the (existing but sometimes newly recognised) rights of individuals in that political community. The Constitution espouses an advanced cultural politics. It celebrates multiculturalism and diversity within a framework of national reconciliation and ubuntu, and expressly promotes rights for vulnerable and victimised groups and identities. It protects language diversity and respect for cultural tradition (Klare 1998: 155).

De Vos (2001: 260) supports the above view by observing that "It would be difficult to view the 1996 to view the 1996 South African Constitution in such terms because it engages seriously, not only with the past that produced it, but also the future that it will partly shape. It is a document that requires continual reinvention to make sense of the changing world and country. Viewed thus, the constitutional project becomes a 'long-term project of constitutional enactment, interpretation, and enforcement' committed to transforming South Africa's 'political and social institutions and power relationships in a

democratic, participatory, and egalitarian direction'. Thus, the Constitution explicitly rejects the social and economic *status quo* and sets as one of its primary aims the transformation of society into a more just and equitable place where people would better be able to realise their full potential as human beings”.

It is within the transformative ideology and discourse of the 1996 Constitution that the language provisions in the Constitution should be interpreted. The language provisions are an integral part of the Constitution's transformative constitutionalism. The language provisions are a celebration of South Africa's linguistic diversity, and the commitment of the South African people to ensure that their languages survive for posterity. Further, the language provisions in the 1996 Constitution seek to redress the language specific social, political and economic injustices of the past. In South Africa's history and particularly during the apartheid era, language had been manipulated and deployed systematically to determine which sections of the South African community had access to social, political and economic power and access. Multiculturalism and diversity were manipulated to serve the interests of the apartheid state. If the 1996 Constitution had to stand the test of being a progressive Constitution that celebrates multiculturalism and diversity, it could not have language provisions that would contradict the Constitution's very own ideology and discourse.

Therefore, the 1996 Constitutional language provisions are in tandem with the entire ideology and discourse of the Constitution. They set the norms and standard for language policy and planning practice and scholarship in South Africa. They do not borrow heavily from contemporary language planning practice. Rather, by being embedded in a Constitution whose main aim is to transform South African society into one that is just and equitable, they seek to extend the frontiers of language planning practice, by indicating that the language provisions are part of the constitutional project of transformation. In effect, the 1996 Constitution language provisions are a direct challenge to language planning practice in South Africa.

A number of observations can be made about these stipulations, namely:

- a. They commit the Government to a policy of multilingualism
- b. They commit the Government to the promotion of the Bantu languages
- c. The principle of “functional differentiation” in the implementation of language policy is accepted, which means that it is not the government’s view that all eleven languages be used for all official functions in all domains of public life
- d. The implementation of the language stipulations must be controlled by legislation (or other statutory means) (Webb, 2002: 51).

The 1996 Constitution language provisions set a new standard for language planning practice. Language planning practice in South Africa has to respond to the challenge set by the Constitution language provisions by formulating models, constructs, strategies and methodologies that can effectively be deployed to realise the multilingual dispensation envisioned by the Constitution. This is the singularly greatest challenge to language planning practice in South Africa. The implications of the 1996 Constitution language provisions to language planning practice and theory in South Africa are outlined in the next section.

#### **2.4 Implications of 1996 Constitution Language Provisions**

Webb (2002: 43) points toward the implications of the 1996 Constitutional language provisions by observing that “an issue which needs to be addressed is whether language policy and planning has the potential to play a meaningful role in the transformation of South African life”. At issue are the practical and theoretical implications of the 1996 Constitutional language provisions to language planning in South Africa. The following discussion outlines the implications on language planning practice before outlining the implications on language planning theory.

### 2.4.1 Implications on Language Planning Practice

Webb (2002: 44) captures the implications of the 1996 Constitution language provisions on language planning practice in South Africa by submitting that “the implications at the level of language planning practice should not be overestimated. Given the acceptance of an extended role of language planning in public life, it is also important to realise that its power should not be overestimated – language planning cannot, in and of itself, change anything. It is necessary but not a sufficient condition for social transformation. Firstly, referring to the process as *language* planning can be misleading, and may contribute to creating unfounded expectations. “Language planning” should rather be seen as *people* (or community) planning, with the emphasis on the educational, economic, political and social development of people. Secondly, if language planning is not congruent with the will of the leaders of a society and the will of the society itself, nothing will change. Language planning can, though, perform a facilitating role, creating a framework within which language can perform its fundamental developmental role”.

At a macro level, the implications of the 1996 Constitutional language provisions on language planning practice transverse the entire scope of national, provincial and local government legislation, policy, planning and management. At the micro level, the implications relate to particular human resource, logistical and infrastructural capacity development, financial resources, and language development implications. The implications on language planning practice relate to what Webb (2002: 281) refers to as language management: “the actions and strategies devised to achieve language policy objectives”. In a gist, the implications on language planning practice relate to the logistics of language policy implementation.

Firstly, the 1996 Constitution language provisions imply the need for the enactment of legislation at the national, provincial and local government spheres to give effect to the content of the provisions. The Constitution language provisions notwithstanding, enactment of legislation that aims a giving effect to constitutional principles serves in providing a framework within which government departments and actors in the non-

public sectors can interpret and effect constitutional principles in the pragmatics of daily management challenges. Further, legislation serves to indicate the government's commitment in effecting constitutional principles. Legislation that has already been enacted and that gives effect to the Constitution language provisions includes: *Pan South African Board Act* (Act 59 of 1995), the *National Education Policy Act* (Act 27 of 1996) and the *South African Schools Act* (Act 84 of 1996). The South African Languages Bill is yet to be enacted by Parliament.

With regard to legislation, the Constitution language provisions imply the need for the nine provincial legislatures to enact provincial language legislation, in the form of provincial Acts, in line with their concurrent legislative and executive powers with the national government so as to provide frameworks for the realisation of the multilingual dispensation envisioned in the Constitution at the provincial level. As of June 2001, only two provinces had Language Acts, namely KwaZulu-Natal (KwaZulu-Natal Parliamentary Official Languages Act; 1998 (Act No. 10 of 1998)) and Western Cape (Western Cape Provincial Languages Act; 1999 (Act No. 117 of 1999)). Five other provinces, namely Free State, Northern Province (currently Limpopo), Eastern Cape, Mpumalanga and North West have draft language policies, which are yet to be adopted as provincial language Acts. At the local government sphere, there is need for the 284 local authorities in the Republic to adopt language policy by-laws so as to meet their obligations as imposed by section 6 (3) (b) of the Constitution.

Secondly, the 1996 Constitutional language provisions imply the need for language policy and planning formulation and implementation at the national, provincial and local government spheres. At the national level, language policy developments include the Final Report of the Language Plan Task Group (LANGTAG) (1996), Language-in-Education Policy (LiEP) (1997), Education Initiative Research Report (1999), Curriculum Review (2000), National Colloquium on Language in Education (2000), Pan-South African Language Board Survey on Language (2000), Values-in-education Report (2000), Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy (2001), National Language Policy Framework (2002) and the Implementation Plan: National Language Policy



Framework (2003). Apart from the draft language policies of the five provinces cited above, data is not available on further language policy and language planning developments at the provincial and local government spheres.

Thirdly, with regard to implementation, the 1996 Constitution language provisions have particular human resource, logistical and infrastructural capacity development, financial resources and language development implications. There is need to develop the human resource capacity needed for the implementation of the National Language Policy Framework. The human resource component would include language managers, interpreters, translators, lexicographers and language technology specialists. Logistical and infrastructural capacity development would entail the creation of a network of institutions at the national, provincial and local government spheres whose primary responsibility is to ensure the implementation of the National Language Policy Framework. Such institutions should be supervised by PANSALB and the Department of Arts and Culture at the national level. The provincial departments in charge of Arts and Culture in collaboration with PANSALB should supervise the development of logistical and infrastructural capacity at the provincial and local government spheres.

Finally, the 1996 Constitution language provisions also imply the need to commit, at all spheres of government, financial resources for the implementation of the language policy as envisioned in the Constitution. This means that budgeting for language policy implementation should be a permanent feature in national, provincial and local government budgets. There is need for language development. The previously marginalised languages need to be developed to a level whereby they can be used effectively in all aspects of communication. This would mainly entail both corpus planning and status planning. The 1996 Constitution language provisions point toward the need for language planning practice in South Africa to engage in proactive approaches that aim at giving effect to the multilingual dispensation envisioned in the Constitution.

Many of the implications of the 1996 Constitution language provisions are not being realised at the level of practice. In the literature cited in chapter 1, the main explanations for the non-realisation of these implications are political, economic and sociolinguistic explanations. Inasmuch as this study acknowledges the importance of these explanations in explaining the implementation dilemma confronting multilingual policy and planning implementation in South Africa, the study advances a standpoint that the dilemma attendant to multilingual policy and planning implementation in South Africa is attributable to an appreciable degree to language planning theory as applied to and manifested in South African language planning practice. In this regard, it can be observed that language planning theory as applied to language planning practice in South Africa has not succeeded fully in providing approaches that harness political, economic and sociolinguistic realities attendant to the South African language planning scenario and that can be deployed to facilitate multilingual policy and planning implementation.

#### **2.4.2 Implications for Language Planning Theory**

The multilingual dispensation envisioned by the 1996 Constitutional language provisions can only be sustainably realised when practical interventions aimed at giving effect to the 1996 Constitution language provisions are founded on a plausible theoretical premise that derives its constructs and postulations from the socio-political, historical contexts that led to the formulation and adoption of the Constitution and the ideological and discourse foundations of the Constitution. At the theoretical level, the implications point toward the need to re-examine, and possibly revise language planning theory, in line with Bamgbose (1989) assertion cited earlier, as applied to South African language planning scenario so that it can provide adequate approaches that can be deployed in practical language policy and planning implementation scenarios in South Africa.

A theoretical framework that can be deployed to facilitate language policy and planning implementation in South Africa will have to consider the theoretical foundations of the Constitution. In this regard, such a theoretical framework will have to incorporate aspects

of ideology and discourse as embodied in the Constitution. It will also have to incorporate insights from public management, because the Constitution spells out clearly that the public sector, at the national, provincial and local government spheres is the primary driver of language policy and planning implementation. It is also crucial that a theoretical framework that seeks to provide a basis for language policy and planning implementation in South Africa to consider all the variables that are attendant to language policy and planning implementation. Cluver (1991) provides a preliminary outline of such variables.

Such a theoretical framework will also have to formulate optimal methodologies and strategies that can be deployed in multilingual policy and planning implementation scenarios. In this regard, language planning theory and practice in South Africa may have to borrow insights from the Constitution making process. The Constitution making process was a participatory process that sought insights from almost all sections of the South African society. Therefore, language policy and planning methodologies and strategies will have to be of a participatory nature.

To integrate the theoretical orientations of ideology, discourse analysis and public management with the variables that are attendant to language policy and planning implementation, and be able to account for the participatory methodologies and strategies, language planning theory and practice as applied to the South African language policy and planning implementation scenario needs to consider the possibilities of making a paradigm break with the positivistic tradition in language planning theory and practice. To facilitate this paradigm break, there is need to propose tentative contours of a alternative theoretical approach to language planning practice in South Africa. The challenge is upon language planning research in South Africa to formulate such a theoretical approach that can be deployed by policy makers and practitioners, both in the public and private sectors, in the implementation of a language policy and plan that serves to realise a multilingual dispensation as envisioned in the Constitution.

## 2.5 Chapter Conclusion

The discussion in the current chapter provides a background to the understanding of the historical social and political realities that gave rise to the 1993 and 1996 Constitutions. The discussion also details the ideological and discourse foundations of the 1993 and 1996 Constitutions. This discussion serves to illustrate that the multilingual dispensation envisioned in the 1996 Constitution is a logical consequence of the precedence set by the 1993 Constitution, the historical social and political realities that gave rise to both Constitutions as well as the ideology and discourse that underlies both Constitutions, i.e. the language provisions are an integral part of the transformative constitutionalism embodied in both Constitutions, and are designed to entrench this transformative constitutionalism as well as the transformation of the South African society.

Contrary the major arguments in the literature that discourses on the difficulty of the realization of the Constitutional ideals with regard to language, the shortcoming is not a constitutional one, but squarely one of sociology of language in general and language planning practice as applied to the South African situation in particular. Falling back to characteristic positivistic thinking (Wright 2002: 337), language planning practice in South Africa, especially over the last decade seems keen to force constructs developed and applied in circumstances remote to the South African circumstances in the interpretation and application of South Africa's Constitution language provisions.

It seems that language planning practitioners and scholars have not taken up the challenge of formulating approaches that can serve to facilitate the realisation of the multilingual dispensation envisaged in the Constitution. What has been and continues to be particularly lacking in this kind of discourse is the realisation that the Constitution as the *Grundnorm* is not at fault, nor is it inadequate. Rather, the inadequacy is in language planning practice. To respond to this inadequacy, language planning research in South Africa needs to develop a new approach to multilingual policy and planning implementation.

# CHAPTER THREE

## RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

### 3.1 Introduction

Methodology, defined as “a way of thinking about and studying social reality” (Strauss and Corbin 1998: 3) is a critical component of any study. A clear elaboration of methodology is overly critical in the present study because of the nature of the research questions that the study addresses and the aim and objectives of the study. The validity of the answers that the study proposes with respect to the research questions and the extent to which the study addresses the research aim and objectives hinges on the coherence of the research methodology.

The study addresses conceptual [theoretical] questions with regard to why does multilingual language policy and planning implementation does fail at the practical level; a questioning of the adequacy of contemporary language planning theory in providing models that can be deployed to facilitate the implementation of multilingual language policies and plans and a questioning of what would an approach that can facilitate the implementation of multilingual language policies and plans constitute of?

The research methodology used to seek answers to the above stated research questions and to address the aim and objectives of the study is elaborated in the current chapter. The research methodology is based on Grounded Theory method as developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and Strauss and Corbin (1990, 1994, and 1998). The methodology has further been documented by Babbie et al (2002) and Babbie (2004). The research methodology outlined in the current chapter encompasses “*methods*, i.e. a set of procedures and techniques for gathering and analysing data and *coding*, i.e. the analytic processes through which data are fractured, conceptualised, and integrated to form theory” (Strauss and Corbin 1998: 3).

To provide a background for the discussion of the specific *methods* and *coding* used in the study, the fundamentals of Grounded Theory methodology are elaborated on. The discussion on the application of Grounded Theory methodology to the study focuses on the three components of the study, namely the review of literature; the development of an alternative theoretical approach in language planning implementation; and the case study in which the resultant alternative theoretical approach in language planning implementation was partly developed, tested and re-defined.

### **3.2 Grounded Theory Method**

Grounded theory has emerged as one of the most popular and rigorous methods of deriving theories from qualitative data. Grounded theory is a research method developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967). It is a general methodology for developing theory that is grounded in data systematically gathered and analysed (Strauss and Corbin 1994). Theory develops and evolves during the research process due to the interplay between data collection and analysis phases. The result of a Grounded Theory study is the generation of a theory, consisting of a set of plausible relationships proposed among the concepts and sets of concepts. This differs from other ethnographical methods where often the information is often presented with little comment from the researcher.

A Grounded Theory is a theory which is inductively derived from the phenomenon it represents and meets four central criteria: fit, understanding, generality and control (Strauss and Corbin 1990). Fit entails that the theory fits the substantive data. Understanding entails that the theory be comprehensible to all involved in the area of study. Generality entails that the theory is applicable to a variety of contexts. Control implies that the theory should provide control with regard to action toward the phenomenon. Grounded theory provides a systematic method involving several stages which are used to 'ground' the theory, or relate it to *reality* of the phenomenon under consideration. A grounded Theory is derived from the phenomenon under study. This contrasts with the hypothetico-deductive method, where theories are generated from

cyclical testing and refining of a previously constructed hypothesis. In Grounded theory studies, theory emerges from the systematic examination of the phenomenon. Grounded Theory method consists of various elements and stages. The elements and stages that constitute the Grounded Theory method are discussed in the following sub-sections.

### **3.2.1 Elements of Grounded Theory Method**

The three basic elements of Grounded Theory method are concepts, categories and propositions. Concepts are the basic units of analysis since it is from conceptualisation of data, not the actual data per se, that theory is developed. Corbin and Strauss (1990: 7) state:

Theories can't be built with actual incidents or activities as observed or reported; that is, from "raw data." The incidents, events happenings are taken as, or analysed as, potential indicators of phenomena, which are thereby given conceptual labels. If a respondent says to the researcher, "Each day I spread my activities over the morning, resting between shaving and bathing," then the researcher might label this phenomenon as "pacing." As the researcher encounters other incidents, and when after comparison to the first, they appear to resemble the same phenomena, then these, too, can be labelled as "pacing." Only by comparing incidents and naming like phenomena with the same term can the theorist accumulate the basic units of theory.

The second element of Grounded Theory method, categories, is defined by Corbin and Strauss (1990: 7) thus:

Categories are higher in level and more abstract than the concepts they represent. They are generated through the same analytic process of making comparisons to highlight similarities and differences that is used to produce lower level concepts. Categories are the "cornerstones" of developing theory. They provide the means by which the theory can be integrated. We can show how the grouping of concepts forms categories by continuing with the example presented above. In addition to the concept of "pacing," the analyst might generate the concepts of "self-medicating," "resting," and "watching one's diet." While coding, the analyst may note that, although these concepts are different in form, they seem to represent activities directed toward a

similar process: keeping an illness under control. They could be grouped under a more abstract heading, the category: “Self Strategies for Controlling Illness.”

The third element of Grounded Theory method is propositions which indicate generalised relationships between a category and its concepts and between discrete categories. This third element was originally termed ‘hypotheses’ by Glaser and Strauss (1967). It is felt that the term ‘propositions’ is more appropriate since, as Whetten (1989: 492) correctly points out, propositions involve conceptual relationships whereas hypotheses require measured relationships. Since the grounded approach produces conceptual and not measured relationships, the former is preferred.

The generation and development of concepts, categories and propositions is an iterative process. Grounded theory is not generated *a priori* and then subsequently tested. Rather, it is,

Inductively derived from the study of the phenomenon it represents. That is, discovered, developed, and provisionally verified through systematic data collection and analysis of data pertaining to that phenomenon. Therefore, data collection, analysis, and theory should stand in reciprocal relationship with each other. One does not begin with a theory, and then prove it. Rather, one begins with an area of study and what is relevant to that area is allowed to emerge (Strauss and Corbin 1990: 23).

The Grounded Theory method is a process and involves several stages. The stages that constitute the Grounded Theory method are outlined in the following sub-section.

### **3.2.2 Stages in Grounded Theory Method**

An important feature of Grounded Theory is that it presents a systematic method that may be applied to research problems. The systematic nature of the method is useful in judging, generalising and comparing the results of Grounded Theory research. This is not always possible with alternative ethnographical methods where no clear system is involved. In the following discussion, the stages of Grounded Theory methodology are outlined.



### **3.2.2.1 Specification of the Research Question**

The Grounded Theory methodology process starts with the selection of a suitably complex research question(s). The complex research question(s) generally relate(s) to the aim and objective(s) of the study. As Grounded Theory is inductively developed from the phenomenon it represents and theories emerge from data obtained from the phenomenon under study, the research question(s) is/are re-stated in a form that can be tested by Grounded Theory.

### **3.2.2.2 Open Coding**

After the initial specification of the research question(s), the next stage in Grounded Theory methodology is *coding*. Coding aims at identifying and defining concepts. Science cannot exist without concepts. Concepts are essential because by the very act of naming phenomena, it is possible to fix continuing attention to them. Once that attention is fixed, it is possible to examine them comparatively and to ask questions about them. Such questions not only enable researchers to systematically specify what they encounter, but when they take the form of hypothesis or propositions, they suggest how phenomena might possibly be related to each other.

The coding process begins with *open coding*. Open coding is so referred because to “uncover, name, and develop concepts, researchers must open up data and expose the thoughts, ideas and meanings contained therein. Without this first analytic step, the rest of the analysis and the communication that follows cannot occur. Broadly speaking, during open coding, data are broken down into discrete parts, closely examined, and compared for similarities and differences. Events, happenings, objects, and actions/interactions that are found to be conceptually similar in nature or related in meaning are grouped under more abstract concepts termed “categories”. Closely examining data for both differences and similarities allows for fine discrimination and differentiation among categories” (Strauss and Corbin 1998: 101 – 102).

The process of open coding leads to the process of conceptualising, which is the first step in theory building. A concept is a *labelled phenomenon*. “It is an abstract representation of an event, object, or action/interaction that a researcher identifies as being significant in the data. The purpose behind naming phenomena is to enable researchers to group similar events, happenings, and objects under a common heading or classification. Although events or happenings might be discrete elements, the fact that they share common characteristics or related meanings enable them to be grouped. Categories are concepts, derived from data that stand for phenomena. Phenomena are important analytic concepts that emerge from data. The important thing to remember during open coding is that once concepts begin to accumulate, the analyst should begin the process of grouping them or categorising them under more abstract explanatory terms, that is, categories.

Once a category is identified, the analyst can begin to develop it in terms of its specific properties and dimensions. Through delineation of properties and dimensions, it is possible to differentiate a category from other categories and give it precision. Whereas properties are the general or specific characteristics or attributes of a category, dimensions represent the location of a property along a continuum of range. Patterns are formed when groups of properties align themselves along various dimensions” (Strauss and Corbin 1998: 115 – 117).

### **3.2.2.3 Axial Coding**

The purpose of axial coding is to begin the process of reassembling data that were fractured during open coding. In axial coding, “categories are related to their sub-categories to form more precise and complete explanations about phenomena. Although axial coding differs in purpose from open coding, these are not necessarily sequential steps, no more than labelling is distinct from open coding. Axial coding does require that the analyst have some categories, but often a sense of how categories relate begins to emerge during open coding (Strauss and Corbin 1998: 124).

Procedurally, axial coding is “the act of relating categories to subcategories along the lines of their properties and dimensions. It looks at how categories crosscut and link. A category stands for a phenomenon, that is, a problem, an issue, an event, or a happening that is defined as being significant in explaining the research question(s). The phenomenon under investigation may be broad or specific. A phenomenon has the ability to explain what is going on. A *subcategory* also is a category, as the name implies. However, rather than standing for the phenomenon itself, subcategories answer questions about the phenomenon such as when, where, why, who, how, and with what consequences, thus giving the concept greater explanatory power. Early in the analysis, the researcher might not know which concepts are categories and which are subcategories. This usually becomes evident as the coding proceeds” (Strauss and Corbin 1998: 124 – 125).

It is important to note that although the data being analysed provides clues about how categories relate, the actual linking takes place not descriptively but rather at a conceptual level. Procedurally, then, axial coding involves several basis tasks (Strauss 1987). These include the following:

- (a) Laying out the properties of a category and their dimensions, a task that begins during open coding
- (b) Identifying the variety of conditions, actions/interactions, and consequences associated with a phenomenon (*category*).
- (c) Relating a category to its subcategories through statements denoting how they are related to each other.
- (d) Looking for cues in the data that denote how major categories might relate to each other.

In axial coding, the analyst is relating categories at a dimensional level. Therefore, during axial coding, when data is analysed, this is done at two levels of explanations. These are

(a) the actual data and (b) our conceptualisation of data (Strauss and Corbin 1998: 125 – 126).

When analysts code axially, “they look for answers to questions as to *why* or *how come*, *where*, *when*, *how*, and *with what results*, and in doing so they uncover relationships among categories. Answering these questions helps analysts to contextualise a phenomenon, that is, to locate it within a conditional structure and identify the “how” or the means through which a category is manifested. Put another way, by answering the questions of who, when, where, why, how, and with what consequences, analysts are able to relate structure with process. Why would one want to relate structure with process? Because structure or conditions set the stage, that is, create the circumstances in which problems, issues, happenings, or events pertaining to a phenomenon are situated or arise. Process, on the other hand, denotes action/interaction over time of persons, organisations, and communities in response to certain problems and issues. Combining structure with process helps analysts to get at some of the complexity that is so much part of life” (Strauss and Corbin 1998: 127).

Axial and open coding are not sequential acts. “One does not stop coding for properties and dimensions while one is developing relationships between concepts. They proceed quite naturally together. Both dimensions and relationships add density and explanatory power to a theory and will continue to emerge during analysis. A category is considered *saturated* when no new information seems to emerge during coding, that is, when no new properties, dimensions, conditions, actions/interactions, or consequences are seen in the data. However, this statement is a matter of degree. In reality, if one looked long and hard enough, one always would find additional properties or dimensions. There always is that potential for the “new” to emerge. Saturation is more a matter of reaching the point in the research where collecting additional data seems counterproductive; the “new” that is uncovered does not add that much more to the explanation at this time” (Strauss and Corbin 1998: 136).

### 3.2.2.4 Selective Coding

Selective coding is the process of integrating and refining categories. The first step in the integration is deciding on a central category. The central category (sometimes called core category) represents the main theme of the research. Although the central category evolves from the research, it too is an abstraction. In an exaggerated sense, it consists of all the products of analysis condensed into a few words that seem to explain what “this research is all about”. A central category has analytic power. What gives it that power is its ability to pull the other categories together to form an explanatory whole. Also, a central category should be able to account for considerable variation within the categories (Strauss and Corbin 1998: 143 – 146).

A central category may evolve out of the list of existing categories. Or, a researcher may study the categories and determine that, although each category tells part of the story, none captures it completely. Therefore, another more abstract term or phrase is needed, a conceptual idea under which all the other categories can be subsumed. Strauss (1987) provided a list of criteria that can be applied to a category to determine whether it qualifies:

- (a) It must be central; that is, all other major categories can be related to it.
- (b) It must appear frequently in the data. This means that within all or almost all cases, there are indicators pointing to that concept.
- (c) The explanation that evolves by relating the categories is logical and consistent. There is no forcing data.
- (d) The name or phrase used to describe the central category should be sufficiently abstract that it can be used to do research in other substantive areas, leading to the development of a more general theory.
- (e) As the concept is refined analytically through integration with other concepts, the theory grows in depth and explanatory power.
- (f) The concept is able to explain variation as well as the main point made by the data; that is, when conditions vary, the explanation still holds, although the way in which a phenomenon is expressed might look somewhat different. One also should be able to explain contradictory or alternative cases in terms of that central idea (Strauss 1987: 36, cited in Strauss and Corbin 1998: 147).

There are several techniques that can be used in facilitating identification of the central category and the integration of concepts. “Among these are writing the storyline, making use of diagrams, and reviewing and sorting out memos either by hand or by computer programme (if one is being used). Once the researcher has outlined the overarching theoretical scheme, it is time to refine the theory. Refining the theory consists of reviewing the scheme for internal consistency and for gaps in logic, filling in poorly developed categories and trimming excess ones, and validating the scheme.

A theoretical scheme should flow in a logical manner and should not have inconsistencies. To check for consistency and logical development, the analyst can stand back and ask himself or herself (because by now the analyst is so immersed in the data) what he or she thinks the properties are and then go back and see how much of this has been built into the scheme. If it is not clear, or if there are areas that seem to be missing, then the analyst should go back to data and sort this out” (Strauss and Corbin 1998: 156 – 157).

In theory building, the analyst aims for density. “Density” means that all (within reason) “the salient properties and dimensions of a category have been identified, thereby building in variation, giving a category precision, and increasing the explanatory power of the theory. The analyst always will find gaps when he or she begins to write. The problem is deciding when to let go. Not every detail can be well developed or spelled out. Of course, large gaps should be filled in. A category should be sufficiently developed in terms of properties and dimensions to demonstrate its *range of variability*. The ultimate criterion of determining whether or not to finalise the data-gathering process still is *theoretical saturation*. This term denotes that during analysis, no new properties and dimensions emerge from the data, and the analysis has accounted for much of the possible variability.

Sometimes, the problem is not insufficient data but rather an excess of data; that is, some ideas do not seem to fit the theory. These usually are extraneous concepts, that is, nice ideas but ones that never were developed, probably because they did not appear much in

the data or seemed to trail off into nowhere. The advice is to drop them. If they are interesting, then the analyst can pursue them at a latter date, but there is no reason to clutter a theory with concepts that lead nowhere or contribute little to its understanding” (Strauss and Corbin 1998: 158 – 159).

The last process in selective coding is validating of the theoretical scheme. Within Grounded Theory methodology, validating does not apply to testing in the quantitative sense of the word. This can be left to future studies, if desired. “Validation” in Grounded Theory methodology refers to the following: “the theory emerged from data, but by the time of integration, it represents an abstract rendition of that raw data. Therefore, it is important to determine how well that abstraction fits raw data and also to determine how whether anything salient was omitted from the theoretical scheme” (Strauss and Corbin 1998: 159).

### **3.2.3 Sampling in Grounded Theory Methodology**

Sampling in Grounded Theory methodology takes the form of *theoretical sampling*. The various elements that constitute theoretical sampling are discussed in the following subsections.

#### **3.2.3.1 Theoretical Sampling**

Coding, either open coding, axial coding or selective coding is guided by *theoretical sampling*. In Grounded Theory methodology, all procedures are aimed at identifying, developing and, and relating concepts. To say that one samples theoretically means that sampling, rather than being predetermined before beginning the research, evolves during the process. It is based on concepts that emerged from analysis and that appear to have relevance to the evolving theory. They are concepts that are found to:

- (a) repeatedly be present (or, in some situations, noticeably absent) in the data when comparing incident to incident; and
- (b) act as conditions that give variation to a major category.

“The aim of theoretical sampling is to maximise opportunities to compare events, incidents, or happenings to determine how a category varies in terms of its properties and dimensions, varying the conditions” (Strauss and Corbin, 1998: 202).

Theoretical sampling is important when exploring new or uncharted areas because it enables the researcher to choose those avenues of sampling that can bring about the greatest theoretical return. “Theoretical sampling is cumulative. Each event sampled builds from and adds to previous data collection and analysis. Moreover, sampling becomes more specific with time because the analyst is directed by the evolving theory. In the initial sampling, the researcher is interested in generating as many categories as possible; hence, he or she gathers data in a wide range of pertinent areas. Once the analyst has some categories, sampling is aimed at developing, densifying, and saturating those categories” (Strauss and Corbin, 1998: 202 – 203).

A certain degree of consistency is important to theoretical sampling in the sense that comparisons are made systematically on each category, ensuring that each is fully developed. “A certain degree of flexibility is needed because the investigator must be able to take advantage of fortuitous incidents that occur while the research process is underway. For the most part, theoretical sampling should be worked out carefully rather than letting it occur haphazardly, the latter of which can lead the analyst to unproductive paths and away from the focus of the study. However, rigid adherence to any procedure can hinder the analytic process and stifle creativity. Sampling and analysis must occur sequentially with analysis guiding data collection. Otherwise, categories could be unevenly developed, leaving the analyst with more work at the end of the study to fill in poorly developed categories” (Strauss and Corbin 1998: 203).



Guiding data collection during theoretical sampling are analytic questions and comparisons. The type of questions that an analyst might ask are as follows: what would happen if...? When? How? Where? The answers to these questions serve as the basis for sampling and then making comparisons across those various conditions. Asking questions and making comparisons serve different purposes in each of the three modes of sampling discussed hereunder.

Sampling is directed by the logic of the three basic types of coding procedures, namely open coding, axial coding, and selective coding. “It also is closely related to the sensitivity that a researcher has developed to emerging concepts. The more sensitive a researcher is to the theoretical relevance of certain concepts, the more likely he or she is to recognise indicators of those concepts in the data. Sensitivity usually grows throughout the research project and enables the researcher to decide what concepts to look for and where he or she might find indicators of them. Because sensitivity to the theoretical relevance of certain concepts grows with time, an interesting feature of combined data collection and analysis is that one can sample from previously collected data as well as from data yet to be gathered. It is not unusual in the early stages of a project for the investigator to overlook the significance of certain events. Later, when more sensitivity has developed, the investigator can legitimately return to data and recode them in light of these new insights” (Strauss and Corbin 1998: 205 – 206).

Theoretical sampling applies to all forms of coding. The sampling procedures involved in each of the coding procedures are discussed in the following sub-sections.

### **3.2.3.2 Sampling in Open Coding**

Because the aim of open coding is to discover, name, and categorise phenomena according to their properties and dimensions, it follows that the aim of data gathering at the time is to keep the collection process open to all possibilities. Sampling is open to those data that will provide the greatest opportunity for discovery. During open sampling,

no concepts yet have proven theoretical relevance, so one does not know where to look for variations of them along the lines of their properties and dimensions. To ensure openness, it is advantageous not to structure data gathering too tightly in terms of any pre-determined or emerging constructs, even though one may have theoretical conceptions in mind, because these might mislead the analyst or foreclose on discovery. Open sampling requires considerable analytical skills as well as a researcher who is patient and feels comfortable to wait for interesting trends to emerge.

“Data collection should be followed immediately by analysis. This is important to ensure that the researcher does not get overwhelmed by the sheer amount of analytic information that emerges during analysis, and to ensure that the researcher does not miss opportunities to sample on the basis of emerging concepts. As analysis proceeds, the questions that arise by making comparisons among incidents become the guide for further data gathering” (Strauss and Corbin 1998: 207).

### **3.2.3.3          Sampling in Axial Coding (*Relational and Variational Sampling*)**

Open coding leads to axial coding. Sampling still continues on the basis of the theoretically relevant concepts (categories), but the focus changes. Since in axial coding the aim is to look for how categories relate to their subcategories as well as to further develop categories in terms of their properties and dimensions, in data gathering and analysis, the researcher would want to sample data that can enable him or her to identify significant variations. It is for this reason that sampling for axial coding is known as relational and variational sampling. During relational and variational sampling, the researcher aims at establishing incidents that demonstrate dimensional range or variation of a concept and the relationships among concepts (Strauss and Corbin 1998: 209 – 211).

#### **3.2.3.4 Sampling in Selective Coding**

During selective coding, sampling becomes highly selective, because of the need to purposefully maximise or minimise differences. The aim of selective coding is to integrate the categories along the dimensional level to form theory, validate the statements of relationship among concepts, and fill in any categories in need of further refinement. It is for these reasons that sampling during selective coding becomes a very deliberate process. Because of its deliberate nature, sampling for selective coding is often referred to as *discriminate sampling*.

When engaged in discriminate sampling, a researcher chooses the data that will maximise opportunities for comparative analysis. This may mean returning to old data or seeking new data in order to saturate categories and complete a study. Throughout a study, validation of the products of analysis is a crucial part of theory building. Validation is built into each step of the analysis and sampling. Validation in qualitative research does not refer to testing in a statistical sense of counting. “Validation in qualitative research refers to the process by means of which analysts are constantly comparing products of their analyses against actual data, making modifications or additions as necessary based on these comparisons and then further validating the modifications and additions against incoming data; therefore, researchers constantly are validating or negating their interpretations. Only the concepts and statements that stand up to this rigorous constant comparison process become part of the theory” (Strauss and Corbin 1998: 211 – 212).

#### **3.2.3.5 Theoretical Saturation**

A question that always arises is how long a researcher must continue to sample. The general rule when building theory is to gather data until each category is saturated. This means until:

- (a) no new or relevant data seem to emerge regarding a category;

- (b) the category is well developed in terms of its properties and dimensions demonstrating variation; and
- (c) the relationships among categories well established and validated.

Theoretical saturation is of great importance. “Unless a researcher gathers data until all categories are saturated, the theory will be unevenly developed and lacking in density and precision” (Strauss and Corbin 1998: 212).

### **3.3 Application of Grounded Theory Methodology to the Study**

Grounded Theory methodology was applied to the three components of the study namely, literature review; construction of an alternative language policy and planning implementation approach and the case study. Suffice to observe that the first two components, i.e. literature review and construction of an alternative language policy and planning implementation approach are literature intensive. The latter component, i.e. the case study entailed the testing of the alternative language policy and planning implementation approach through the process of *validation*.

However, it is important to make a point of procedure at this point: inasmuch as literature review, construction of theory [approach] and the validation of the approach through a case study are supposedly logical steps in Grounded Theory methodology, in actual research situations these steps interact with each other at all stages. For example, during the construction of the alternative language policy and planning implementation approach, it was inevitable that the researcher had to keep going back to the literature to further redefine and saturate the categories and the subcategories so that they could be consistent to the evolving theory [approach].

The same applies with the *validation* process through the case study. The case study involved an actual language policy and planning implementation scenario. There are insights, especially with regard to language policy and planning implementation

strategies and methodologies that were learnt and devised during the actual implementation process and which are not documented anywhere in language policy and planning literature. The researcher documented these strategies and methodologies in form of field research *memos* and *operational notes* and later integrated them into the evolving approach. Therefore, in actual research situations, Grounded Theory methodology is an integrated approach, without very clearly demarcated boundaries between the review of the literature, the construction of theory and the testing of the theory. Inevitably, the researcher has to remain alert to the requirements of all the components as he / she codes for any of the components. However, for purposes of logical convenience, the following discussion on the application of Grounded Theory methodology to the current study is demarcated into literature review, construction of an alternative language policy and planning implementation approach and the case study.

### **3.3.1 Literature Review**

It is important to submit that apart from the aspects of the case study that involved the actual application of the alternative language policy and planning implementation approach, the rest of the study is a literature review. The literature review component of the study was guided by *theoretical sampling* as discussed under subsection 3.2.3.1.

The study is premised on a complex research question:

- Why does multilingual policy and planning implementation fail at the practical level?

To seek answers to the above question, the textual database (literature) on language policy and planning was reviewed. The textual database included:

- General language policy and planning literature dating from the 1960s.

- General literature on multilingual policy and planning implementation, with a special focus on literature that addresses the question of multilingual policy and planning implementation dilemma.

Through the process of *open coding*, of the above cited literature, the following *categories* emerged as explanations of why multilingual policy and planning implementation fails at the practical level. These are:

- Political
- Economic
- Sociolinguistic
- Theoretic

Through the processes of *open coding* and *axial coding* the concepts [also known as subcategories] that define each of the above categories were identified from the literature and related to each other. The subcategories that define each of the above categories are:

- (i) Political Category
  - Colonial political legacy
  - Lack of political will
  - Lack of political support
  - Elite closure
- (ii) Economic Category
  - Western free-market economic hegemony
  - Financial constraints
  - Market forces
- (iii) Sociolinguistic Category
  - Language attitudes
  - Language development

- Sociolinguistic research
- (iv) Theoretic Category
- General inadequacy of contemporary language planning theory
  - The positivist dilemma in contemporary language planning theory
  - Non-development of language planning theory research
  - Non-development of theoretical approaches for multilingual policy and planning implementation.

After deriving the above categories and their subcategories from the literature through the processes of *open coding* and *axial coding* as explanations as to why multilingual policy and planning implementation fails at the practical level, the research question was redefined and related to the South African language policy and planning implementation scenario. From this process, the redefined research question read:

- Why does multilingual policy and planning implementation fail at the practical level, as illustrated in the South African case?

To seek answers to the above question, the following textual database (literature) on language policy and language planning in South Africa was reviewed:

- General literature on language policy and planning in South Africa.
- Specific literature on multilingual policy and planning implementation in South Africa.
- Literature on the ideological and discourse contexts of language policy and planning implementation in South Africa.

From the review of the above cited literature, through the processes of *open coding* and *axial coding*, the categories and subcategories derived from the review of the general language policy and planning [implementation] literature as explanations of why multilingual policy and planning implementation fails at the practical level replicated

themselves as explanations as to why multilingual policy and planning implementation in South Africa fails at the practical level.

At this stage of the research it became important to establish a *core category*, i.e. what is the main explanation that can be postulated as accounting for the failure to implement multilingual language policies and plans in South Africa at the practical level? To establish this category, the researcher posed another question that was to guide him through the process of *selective coding* aimed at establishing a core category. This question was:

- Are the political, economic, sociolinguistic and theoretic explanations adequate explanations as to why multilingual policy and planning implementation in South Africa fails at the practical level?

This question led the researcher to critically evaluate the adequacy of the political, economic, sociolinguistic and theoretic explanations in explaining the dilemma facing multilingual policy and planning implementation in South Africa. Through the use of the third element of Grounded Theory methodology, namely, *propositions* and a further *open coding* and *axial coding*, inconsistencies in the political, economic and sociolinguistic explanations as to why multilingual policy and planning implementation fails at the practical level in South Africa were established. From the *open coding* and *axial coding* of the textual database (literature) aimed at *selective coding*, it was established that within the South African setting, the political, economic and sociolinguistic explanations are not adequate explanations as to why multilingual policy and planning implementation fails at the practical level. A detailed account of the counter explanations to the political, economic and sociolinguistic explanations is provided in chapter 1. However, before determining that the theoretic category is the *core category*, a final test was done on all the categories.

The test consisted of a set of *propositions*, which were reformulated into a series of questions:



**Proposition:** South Africa's macro framework for multilingual policy and language implementation is embedded in the Constitution.

**Question:** Is the multilingual policy and planning dispensation as envisioned in the Constitution consistent with the rest of the Constitution?

**Proposition:** The Constitution imposes obligations on the state with regard to a diverse variety of political, economic and social matters in the Republic.

**Question:** Can political, economic and social circumstances and explanations be advanced to explain why the state should not meet its social, political and economic obligations as imposed by a supreme Constitution?

**Proposition:** The Constitution which sets the macro framework for multilingual policy and planning implementation in South Africa espouses a well-defined theoretical, ideological and discourse orientation.

**Question:** Is the corpus of language planning theory that currently informs language policy and language planning implementation in South Africa in tandem with the theoretical, ideological and discourse orientations of the Constitution?

When the above series of propositions and questions were applied to the textual database (literature), the following was established:

- The multilingual policy and planning dispensation as envisioned in the Constitution is consistent with the transformative nature of the entire Constitution (Chapter 2).
- Political, economic and social circumstances and explanations cannot adequately be used to explain why the state should not fulfil its obligations which are imposed by the supreme constitution (Chapter 1).
- The corpus of language planning theory that currently informs language policy and language planning implementation in South Africa is not in tandem with the theoretical, ideological and discourse orientations of the Constitution (Chapter 2, Chapter 4).

- The positivistic orientation in language planning theory underlies the formulation of explanations of the failure to implement multilingual language policies and plans in South Africa (Chapter 1).

Through this process of *selective coding*, the theoretic category was therefore determined to be the *core category* as to why multilingual policy and planning implementation fails at the practical level in South Africa. Put in another way, the failure of contemporary language planning theory to generate plausible approaches to guide language policy and planning practitioners at the practical level of implementation was isolated as the core category that accounts for the failure to implement multilingual policies and plans at the practical level in South Africa.

The identification of the theoretic category as the core category led to the formulation of the second research question, namely:

- Is contemporary language planning theory adequate in providing approaches that can be deployed to facilitate the implementation of multilingual policies and plans in multilingual settings (with South Africa's multilingual setting as a case example)?

The process of *open coding* was employed in the analysis of the textual database (literature) that discusses the adequacy of contemporary language planning theory in providing models that can be deployed to facilitate the implementation of multilingual language policies and plans. The open coding process included the analysis of literature on language planning theory with a special focus on two aspects of language planning theory:

- (a) Literature that discusses language planning theory in general and language planning models specifically; and
- (b) A (re)review of language planning models where literature on language planning models was not available.

The literature on language planning theory was analysed on the basis of the framework developed by Eastman (1983). The analysis of the literature on language planning theory also sought to establish which of the identified foundational theories of language planning theory manifest themselves in language planning models. From the analysis of the literature on language planning theory and language planning models, one major subcategory was identified, namely:

- The positivist dilemma in contemporary language planning theory and language planning models.

Several concepts under the subcategory of “*positivist dilemma in language planning theory and language planning models*,” were identified from the literature. The concepts relate to *propositions* of how to resolve the dilemma posed by the positivistic orientation in language planning theory and language planning models, especially with regard to how language planning theory and language planning models can be reformulated to make them more responsive to multilingual policy and planning implementation. Eight concepts were identified from an *open coding* and *axial coding* of the literature on language planning theory, language planning models and supplementary literature on social theory, systems theory, critical theory, public management theory, phenomenology and human development theory. These are:

- (i) Theoretical re-orientation of language planning theory.
- (ii) Theoretical re-orientation of language planning models.
- (iii) Specification of the macro environments (both actual and desired) for multilingual policy and planning implementation.
- (iv) Specification of the micro environments (both actual and desired) for multilingual policy and planning implementation.
- (v) Specification of the optimal mix of variables for multilingual policy and planning implementation.
- (vi) Specification of the optimal mix of strategies and methodologies required for multilingual policy and planning implementation.

- (vii) Specification of the purpose for multilingual policy and planning implementation.
- (viii) Specification of the impediments to multilingual policy and policy and language planning implementation.

The above concepts were reformulated into the following *proposition*:

- Contemporary positivistic language planning theory and language planning models which currently inform multilingual language policy and language planning implementation could benefit from an attempt at theoretical re-orientation aimed at creating a generic approach that specifies the macro and micro environments (both actual and desired) for multilingual policy and planning implementation; the optimal mix of variables for multilingual policy and planning implementation; optimal mix of strategies and methodologies for multilingual policy and planning implementation; a specification of the purpose of multilingual policy and planning implementation and a specification of impediments to multilingual policy and planning implementation.

An analysis of the above proposition led to the formulation of the third research question, namely:

- What would an approach that can facilitate multilingual policies and planning implementation constitute of?

The formulation of the above research question led to the next component of the study, namely the formulation of an alternative approach to multilingual policy and planning implementation.

### **3.3.2 Formulation of an Alternative Approach to Multilingual Policy and Planning Implementation**

The formulation of an alternative approach to multilingual policy and planning implementation was done through the use of a conditional/consequential matrix. A conditional/consequential matrix is a device used in Grounded Theory methodology to integrate the various categories and subcategories that are generated through the processes of *open coding*, *axial coding* and *selective coding* into a theoretical approach. The fundamentals of a conditional/consequential matrix are elaborated briefly here below.

#### **3.3.2.1 The Conditional/Consequential Matrix**

According to Strauss and Corbin (1998: 182) “the conditional/consequential matrix is a coding device to help analysts keep in mind several analytic points. Among these are:

- (a) that macro conditions/consequences, as well as micro ones, should be part of the analysis (when these emerge from the data as being significant);
- (b) that the macro conditions often intersect and interact with the micro ones and
- (c) thereby, in direct or indirect ways, become part of the situational context; and
- (d) that the paths taken by conditions, as well as the subsequent actions/interactions and consequences that follow can be traced in the data (the paths of connectivity)”.

The relevance of the matrix is as follows. Locating a phenomenon [in the case of this study the failure to implement multilingual policies and plans] in context means more than simply depicting a situation descriptively. It means building a systematic, logical, and integrated account, which includes specifying the nature of relationships between significant events and phenomena. Strauss and Corbin (1998: 183) further observe that

“the conditional/consequential matrix, when applied to data manages to do the above through:

- (a) addressing the many theoretical sampling choices that an analyst must make during the research process;
- (b) explaining the varied, dynamic, and complex ways in which conditions, actions/interactions, and consequences can coexist and affect each other;
- (c) accounting for the different perceptions, constructions, and standpoints of the various actors;
- (d) putting all the various pieces together to present an overall picture of what is going on; or
- (e) emphasising that both micro and macro conditions are important to the analysis. Events that occur “out there” are not just interesting background material. When they emerge from the data as relevant, they too should be brought into the analysis. Sorting all this is where the matrix is helpful”.

According to Strauss and Corbin (1998: 190 – 191) the purpose of the conditional/consequential matrix can be summarised as follows:

- (a) To assist the analyst in locating the area or scope (micro/macro) of the research project being undertaken and in not losing sight of where that area stands in relationship to the areas above and below it.
- (b) To extend the range of conditions and consequences considered by the analyst, that is, to consider more than just the micro conditions.
- (c) To help the analyst in identifying and in making the choices about which combination of conditional or consequential factors in the data might be relevant to this particular situation.
- (d) To trace the often intricate web of connections that exists between contextual factors (conditions/consequences or structure) and actions/interactions (process).
- (e) To develop explanatory hypotheses about these relationships that can be verified or modified through further data collection and analysis.

- (f) To make it more probable that explanatory hypotheses incorporate variation.
- (g) To enable the researcher to organise materials and present a more complete and persuasive explanatory account of the phenomenon under investigation.
- (h) To provide direction for theoretical sampling.

A conditional/consequential matrix was generated for the study. The components of the conditional/consequential matrix are elaborated on in the following subsection.

### **3.3.2.2 The Conditional/Consequential Matrix for the Generation of an Alternative Approach to Multilingual Policy and Planning Implementation**

The formulation of the conditional/consequential matrix for the study was guided by the eight concepts that were identified from the literature from the *selective coding* process, insights deriving from the implementation of a language management project at the local government sphere in the Free State Province and the third research question, namely:

- What would an approach that can facilitate multilingual policies and planning implementation constitute of?

The resultant conditional/consequential matrix is represented diagrammatically here below.

**Diagram 1: Conditional/Consequential Matrix for the Derivation of an Alternative Multilingual Policy and Planning Implementation Approach**

<p><b>Theoretical re-orientation of language planning theory</b></p>	<p>Specification of the optimal mix of <b>variables</b> for multilingual policy and planning implementation</p>	<p>Specification of the <b>macro environments</b> (both actual and desired) for multilingual policy and planning implementation</p>
<p>Specification of the <b>purpose</b> for multilingual policy and planning implementation</p>	<p><b>ALTERNATIVE MULTILINGUAL POLICY AND PLANNING IMPLEMENTATION APPROACH</b></p>	<p>Specification of the <b>impediments</b> to multilingual policy and planning implementation</p>
<p><b>Theoretical re-orientation of language planning models</b></p>	<p>Specification of the optimal mix of <b>Methodologies and Strategies</b> for multilingual policy and planning implementation</p>	<p>Specification of the <b>micro environments</b> (both actual and desired) for multilingual policy and planning implementation</p>

The resultant approach from the above conditional/consequential matrix is discussed in detail in chapter 5 of the study.



### 3.3.3 The Case Study

The case study was devised to test the adequacy of the resultant approach in facilitating multilingual policy and planning implementation through a language policy and planning implementation project at local government sphere in the Free State Project in South Africa. The participants in the project provided critical insights especially with regard to the optimal mix of methodologies and strategies that need to be deployed to facilitate the implementation of multilingual policies and plans. True to the Grounded Theory methodology, insights that were learnt in the implementation of the project, especially with regard to methodologies and strategies, were later integrated into the resultant approach. The project also provided a practical setting in which the interplay of various variables needed for multilingual policy and planning implementation were identified and related to the variables identified in the literature (Cluver 1991) and efforts put in place to secure an optimal mix of requisite variables for multilingual policy and planning implementation. The project also provided insights in which the more variables were identified, over the ones identified by Cluver (1991).

The methodology of the case included the following elements:

- (a) Project design
- (b) Workshops
- (c) Visits to local municipalities
- (d) Evaluations

During the project design phase of the case study, the aims and objectives of the study were specified, as well as the methods that were to be used in the project. The aims, objectives and methods used in the case study were specified by a team comprising of the researcher, research assistants in the Unit for Language Facilitation and Empowerment at the University of the Free State and personnel at the Free State Department of Local Government and Housing. The project design phase also involved the specification of the

time frames for meeting various project aims and objectives, as well as a specification of the budgetary requirements.

The next phase of the case study involved the conduct of workshops for all the participating municipalities. Out of the 25 municipalities in Free State Province, 24 municipalities participated in the project. The workshops were conducted for each of the five districts in Free State Province. The workshops focused on the transfer of knowledge, skills and attitudes for:

- (a) multilingual language policy formulation;
- (b) formulation of language plans;
- (c) specification of the requisite macro and micro environments for multilingual policy and planning implementation;
- (d) specification of the variables required for multilingual policy and planning implementation;
- (e) specification of strategies and methodologies for multilingual policy and planning implementation;
- (f) specification of the purpose of multilingual policy and planning implementation, especially as it relates to public service delivery and the entrenchment of representative, direct and participatory democracy at the local government sphere; and
- (g) Specification of the impediments to multilingual policy and planning implementation.

However, it is important to submit that the particular content of the workshops was not determined by the project team alone. The content of the workshops was revised as the project unfolded, and insights drawn from the participants were incorporated in subsequent workshops. This particularly relates to the specification of methodologies and strategies for multilingual policy and planning implementation, the specification of the purpose of multilingual policy and planning implementation and how this relates to public service delivery and the entrenchment of a representative, direct and participatory

democracy and the specification of the impediments that are encountered in the process of multilingual policy and planning implementation.

The third phase of the case study involved individual visits to municipalities. This was designed as a reinforcement mechanism after the first formative evaluation of the project. The formative evaluation of the project indicated that some municipalities could not manage to formulate and implement multilingual policies and plans from the knowledge, skills and attitudes that were acquired during the workshops. The individual visits to municipalities were therefore aimed at facilitating the process of knowledge, skills and attitude transfer and application at the individual municipality level and to fill any gaps that existed from the workshop phase.

The final phase of the case study involved evaluation. Both formative and summative evaluations were conducted for the project. The lessons learnt during the formative evaluations were fed back into the project and were used to specifically refine the methodologies and strategies used in the project as well as continuously refine the set of requisite optimal mix of variables for multilingual policy and planning implementation.

A fundamental concern in the project design involved the rationale of selecting the local government sphere and its constituent municipalities as the basic units for multilingual language policy and language planning implementation. The project team propositioned that since the local government sphere is the sphere of government closest to the people who experience handicaps with relation to interacting with the government in the various indigenous South African languages, it would be the most ideal sphere of government in which to implement a multilingual policy and planning project. This proposition was vindicated during the project and is discussed in detail in chapter 6.

### **3.4 Chapter Conclusion**

Grounded Theory methodology offers opportunities by means of which complex questions in language planning can be systematically and logically examined through the use of qualitative data. The processes of open coding, axial coding and selective coding offer researchers in language planning with a means of systematically and logically organising the quantum qualitative data which they deal with. It also offers opportunities by means of which language planning theory can further be extended. However, the importance of Grounded Theory methodology in language planning lies in the ability of the methodology to generate plausible explanations as to why there are dilemmas in language planning, especially with regard to multilingual policy and planning implementation. The possibilities of Grounded Theory methodology in language planning studies are further elaborated on in chapter 7.

# CHAPTER FOUR

## LANGUAGE PLANNING THEORY

### 4.1 Introduction

The coding process established the theoretic category as the core category for the explanation of why multilingual language policy and language planning implementation fails at the practical level. The current chapter extends the debate introduced in section 1.3 of the study. In effect, the chapter extends the debate on the theoretic dilemma in language policy and language planning and further explores how the inadequacies of language planning theory and language planning models as substantive manifestations of language planning theory impact on multilingual language policy and language planning implementation.

To critically extend the discussion on the theoretic dilemma in language policy and language planning generally, and specifically the theoretic dilemma in multilingual language policy and language planning implementation, the discussion in the present chapter is premised upon and extends the framework for language planning theory analysis developed by Eastman (1983).

The appropriateness of Eastman's framework (1983) for the analysis of language planning theory is premised on the triple approach of the framework, i.e. a combination of an exploration and analysis of the theoretical foundations of language planning, an exploration and analysis of language planning models as substantive manifestations of language planning theory and the provision of discursive space to analyse both the strengths and weaknesses of the theoretical foundations of language planning theory and the resultant language planning models, in effect, the provision of discursive space to critique advances in language planning theory.

In conclusion, the chapter relates the various weaknesses and dilemmas of language planning theory and language planning models to the South African language planning scenario. The purpose of this exposition is to demonstrate that, in line with the coding process that established the theoretic category as the major explanation for the dilemma facing multilingual language policy implementation in South Africa, the inherent inadequacies of language planning theory and language planning models, especially with regard to a clear mapping of the overall purpose of multilingual language policy and planning implementation; a clear mapping of the impediments to multilingual language policy and planning implementation; a clear mapping of the macro and micro environments for multilingual language policy and planning implementation; a clear mapping of the contingent variables attendant to multilingual language policy and planning implementation; and a clear mapping of the optimal methodologies and strategies for multilingual language policy and planning implementation, account to a great extent to the multilingual language policy and planning implementation dilemma in South Africa.

#### **4.2 Contributions to Language Planning Theory**

Language planning theory, defined as a science which methodically investigates the ends, principles, methods and tactics of language planning (Tauli 1968: 27) has been an area of interest to sociolinguists since the emergence of language planning as a distinct aspect of sociolinguistics in the 1960s. Interest in language planning theory is attributable partly to the epistemological standard that demands that language planning as an area of scientific inquiry be founded on plausible theoretical frameworks and partly because language planning as a domain of application in which new insights in the non-arbitrary relationship between languages and societies could be converted into implementable, practical programs of literacy, alphabetisation, standardisation, and the development of educational materials (Blommaert 1996), language planning requires a theoretical basis upon which the implementable and practical programs are to be premised.

Notable contributions [among others] to language planning theory include Haugen 1966, 1969, 1971, 1983; Tauli 1964, 1968, 1974; Fishman, Ferguson and Das Gupta [eds.] 1968; Neustupny 1968, 1974; Rubin and Jernudd [eds.] 1971; Jernudd and Das Gupta 1971; Thornburn 1971 (1975); Fishman 1971 (1972); Fishman, Das Gupta, Jernudd and Rubin [eds.] 1971; Rubin and Shuy [eds.] 1973; Fishman [ed.] 1974; Rubin, Jernudd, Das Gupta, Fishman and Fergusson [eds.] 1977; Kloss 1977; Eastman 1983; Nahir 1984, 2003; Jernudd and Neustupny 1986; Jernudd 1981, 1993; Cooper 1989; Bamgbose 1989, 1999; Haarmann 1990; Tollefson 1981, 1991; Schiffman 1996; Kaplan and Baldauf 1997; Strauss 1997; Dominguez 1998; Donnacha 2000; Ricento 2000; and Webb 2002.

Although all these contributions are invaluable to the overall understanding of language planning theory, not all of them consolidate their contributions to language planning theory into language planning models. However, the theoretical contributions that provide a general extension of language planning theory without necessarily consolidating their insights into models and the ones that consolidate their insights into models are factored for in the ensuing discussion. The general theoretical contributions are critical in the construction of the theoretical framework for the analysis of language planning theory as espoused by Eastman (1983) and the extension to this framework as developed in the present study. The theoretical contributions that consolidate their insights into language planning models are also critical because they compliment the present discussion on language planning theory by offering demonstrable substantive manifestations of language planning theory, and are used to validate the foundational theoretical and/or contemporary theoretical basis of language planning theory.

#### **4.3 Eastman's Framework (1983) for the Analysis of Language Planning Theory**

Carol Eastman, in a book entitled *Language Planning: an introduction* (Eastman 1983), developed a framework for the analysis of language planning theory. This study adopts, modifies and extends on Eastman's framework (1983) for the analysis of language planning theory in the current chapter.

Eastman (1983) developed a framework for the analysis of language planning theory. As motivation for the development of the framework, Eastman (1983) observes that the history of language planning has been characterised by a number of different guiding definitions. Essentially, theory-building efforts have had to do with planning in the context of:

1. alternatives or decisions (language choice)
2. modernisation (language development)
3. ethnic-group relations (bilingualism, multilingualism, diglossia)

Language planning as standardisation – that is, activity planning in accord with Haugen’s definition (1959) – involves decision-making theory geared to choosing the best language for the situation at hand. As such, “the study of language planning describes decision-making about language” (Rubin and Jernudd 1971: xii, cited in Eastman 1983: 133).

Eastman (1983: 133, citing Rubin and Jernudd 1971: xvi) observes that “modernisation theory underlies much of language planning that is defined as deliberate language change. Planned changes in language structure or use by planning organisations centre on problem solving. The approach to problem solving is to find and evaluate alternative solutions in order to come up with the best decision. Language planning, both as standardisation and deliberate change, relies on decision making theories. Language planning as deliberate change, however, is also future-oriented, which means that the outcomes of policies and strategies must be specified in advance of action taken. Since such forecasting implies a certain degree of risk, planning must allow for reformulations as new situations develop”. “The way language planning takes reformulation into account is to allow for the language’s development, that is, to provide for modernisation” (Eastman 1983: 134).

Planning must also take into account the effect a plan has on the future of ethnic-group relations, since it occurs in complex contexts, not in a vacuum. Language planning as evaluation of linguistic change (Haugen 1966, cited in Eastman 1983: 134) is the



definition underlying theories of language in ethnic-group relations. “Because language planning does not take place in a vacuum, the context in which it occurs also changes as a result of the change brought about by planning. As the evaluation of change, language planning thus also rests on theoretical concepts used to understand language, social and cultural change in the form of shifting relationships among ethnic or national groups” (Eastman 1983: 134).

The three theoretical premises constitute the framework developed by Eastman (1983) for the analysis of language planning theory. The framework is further appropriate for the analysis of language planning theory because apart from identifying the theoretical foundations of language planning theory, it also provides a framework within which language planning models, as substantive manifestations of language planning theory can be analysed, located and critiqued within the greater milieu of the discourse on language planning theory.

The theoretical foundations of language planning theory as identified by Eastman (1983) are:

1. Decision-Making Theory
2. (Socio)linguistic Theory
3. Modernisation Theory

A detailed exposition of the three theoretical foundations of language planning theory is provided here below under section 4.4. However, the study takes cognisance of the fact that since Eastman (1983) there has been attempts to extend the theoretical foundations of language planning theory. Attempts to extend the theoretical frontiers of language planning theory have been in part a response to the inadequacy of “traditional” language planning theory to provide plausible frameworks for language planning, especially with regard to multilingual language policy implementation, and in part as a result of theoretical advances in the “traditional” theories that underlie language planning theory.

Advances to language planning theory since Eastman (1983) identified the three “traditional” theoretical foundations of language planning theory are outlined in the next sub-section.

#### **4.3.1 Advances to Eastman’s Framework (1983) for the Analysis of Language Planning Theory**

Since Eastman (1983) identified decision-making theory, (socio) linguistic theory and modernisation theory as the three theoretical foundations of language planning theory, there have been advances to language planning theory premised on different theoretical insights. The coding process identified three theoretical orientations that can be identified as contributing to what may be referred to as “*the second wave*” in the development of language planning theory. The three theoretical orientations are:

1. Systems Theory
2. Critical Theory
3. Management Theory

The emergence of the above cited theoretical orientations as complementary theoretical orientations to the “traditional” theoretical orientations in language planning has been as a result of inadequacies of language planning theory premised upon the “traditional” theoretical orientations to provide adequate frameworks that can be deployed in addressing language planning problems and harnessing language related resources, especially in multilingual societies. The emergence of these complimentary theoretical orientations in language planning also represents an epistemological response on the part of language planning theory to developments in the social sciences and their accompanying foundation theories.

Put another way, the emergence of these complementary theoretical orientations in language planning has been due to what Blommaert (1996: 205) refers to as “an

awareness that every theory of the past, especially in disciplines that strongly rely on contingent historical and sociopolitical realities (language planning is a case in point), should be reassessed in the light of the present; and a degree of fair-play in which critique is oriented at the optimisation of existing theoretical models, and not at proclamations of irrelevance for topics or domains of study”. The three theoretical advances to language planning theory build on the “traditional” foundations of language planning theory. The three advances to language planning theory are discussed in detail under section 4.5 below.

The discussion entails an exposition of each of the foundational theories, namely decision – making theory, (socio) linguistic theory and modernisation theory; an exposition of the contemporary theoretical advances in language planning theory; and a discussion of the models [or aspects of models] that derive from each of these theories. The various models and aspects of the models reviewed under the present chapter are presented under section 4.4.1. The ensuing discussion under sections 4.4.2 up to section 4.6 does not duplicate the models or aspects of the models as presented under section 4.4.1. Rather, the discussion in these sections only refers to the aspects of the models that are relevant to the theoretical or expositional issue under consideration. This is aimed at ensuring neatness of presentation and to avoid redundancy in the discussion. In instances where the reader may be lost for details of a particular model or models, reference should be made to section 4.4.1, or the original sources as detailed in the bibliography.

In line with the framework developed by Eastman (1983) for the analysis of language planning theory the discussion also presents a critique of the foundational theories and contemporary theoretical advances in language planning theory and the models [or aspects of models] that derive from each of this category of theories. The critique is guided by an assessment of the adequacy of the foundation theory and the resultant models [or aspects of models] in providing frameworks that can be deployed in facilitating multilingual language policy implementation. The critique builds on Eastman’s (1983) critique and is presented under sections 4.4.4 and 4.5.4 for the

“traditional” theoretical foundations and contemporary theoretical advances in language planning theory, respectively.

#### **4.4 Traditional Theoretical Foundations of Language Planning Theory**

The three theoretical orientations identified by Eastman (1983) can be termed as the “traditional theoretical foundations of language planning theory” because they represent the theoretical origins of language planning theory. The three theoretical orientations are discussed in detail under the current section. The coding process established that many language planning models, even the ones proposed and developed after Eastman (1983) derive from the traditional theoretical foundations of language planning theory. Inasmuch as this may point towards the theoretical dilemma facing language planning theory and practice, especially with regard to the formulation of plausible frameworks for multilingual language policy and language planning implementation, the pervasiveness of these foundational theories in language planning theory underscore their importance in the overall development and understanding of language planning theory.

##### **4.4.1 Decision-Making Theory**

“A great deal of language planning theory has an economic base, particularly with respect to the theory behind the decisions and to the alternative courses of action considered in language planning” (Eastman 1983: 134). “Most language planning researchers conceive of language planning as a practical, action-oriented field (as applied to sociolinguistics), which would necessarily rest on theoretical concepts of how decisions involving language are made so that they reflect *a composite urge articulated by the community*” (Jernudd and Das Gupta 1971: 198, cited in Eastman 1983: 134).

However, decisions about language do not always reflect what the community wants. Tauli (1968) identifies planning with “abstract linguistic thought” and sees it as sensitive

to what the linguists or the authorities want, regardless of what the community wants. In his opinion, language planning should not do what the people want. Language planning “is identified with an expert enterprise motivated by abstract ideals of a selected, albeit deeply concerned group of linguists” (Jernudd and Das Gupta 1971: 198, cited in Eastman 1983: 134 – 135).

Tauli (1968) conceives of language planning as a methodical way to improve and regulate existing languages, to create new languages for a nation or a region, or even to devise new international languages. Most of language planning today is concerned not with the ideal language construction but with how to cope with language in a multilingual milieu. These language – in – context approaches are not based on theories with goals of abstract linguistic ideals. Most language planning in a modernising, multiethnic world needs to provide decisions and choices about language that make practical sense. The prevailing concept of planning is that courses of action need to be found “within limits of given amount of resources ...in order to reach goals that have been approved by the political authority” (Jernudd and Das Gupta 1971: 198 – 199, cited in Eastman 1983: 135). Thus, one theoretical assumption of modern language planning is the following:

Language planning seeks to provide conscious alternative decisions and anticipate their consequences, making use of available resources that can be used to solve language problems that involve the language behaviour of a group of people (Eastman 1983: 135).

One of the language planning models that explicitly uses decision-making theory as outlined by Eastman’s framework (1983) in an attempt to formulate a rational decision-making framework for language planning is Thornburn (1971) “Cost-Benefit Analysis” model for language planning. Thornburn (1971) makes suggestions for decision-making about language based on general approaches used to evaluate other types of public decisions with wide-ranging effects. Thornburn (1971) reasons that language planning involves decisions followed by plans that are put into effect (Eastman 1983: 136).

Operating within decision-making theory, planners predict the consequences of alternative proposals to change language behaviour. According to this approach, planning

can be thought of as just another word for forecasting, that is, it is possible to forecast language as weather can be forecast. Given certain conditions, language is likely to change in certain directions. Thus, language planning theory can perhaps be based on “a systematic forecast of consequences and alternatives” (Thornburn 1971: 255, cited in Eastman 1983: 136). The alternatives generally have to do with which language or languages are to be used as written and oral communication in a particular geographical area. According to Thornburn (1971), four language-use alternatives can be considered for planning options. Language may be used –

1. to communicate among inhabitants of a country, either throughout the country or in just one region
2. to communicate between inhabitants of one country and those of other countries
3. for written communication in official publications, literature, public education, newspapers, or handwritten documents
4. for spoken communication with public authorities, on radio and television, or in everyday conversation (Thornburn 1971: 254 – 255, cited in Eastman 1983: 136).

“Within the broader theoretical framework of decision-making theory, cost-benefit analysis allows language planners to compare consequences of proposed language use alternatives. This process may commence once the language problem is stated and alternative solutions have been proposed” (Thornburn 1971: 255). “Cost-benefit analysis takes place by means of a CALCULATION made within a FRAME [emphasis in Eastman 1983]. An example of the approach would be to consider the problem of adopting a language in a national (temporal and spatial) context. The context is the frame within which the calculation takes place. A frame is adopted for analysis in order to avoid uncertainty” (Eastman 1983: 136).

Thornburn (1971) observes that the adoption of a language in a country may be planned in such a way that the alternative approaches are subjected to a cost-benefit analysis. A sample calculation regarding language choice in a national context would have as the MAIN ALTERNATIVE the adoption of a language of wider communication (LWC) for

official written publications and for use on a par with other languages in other spheres. The ZERO-ALTERNATIVE would be the adoption of the country's national language in all official written communication and for use as the main language in all spheres within the region of the country where it is a mother tongue. Elsewhere it would be used on a par with the other languages in other spheres. The cost-benefit analysis would calculate whether choosing an LWC as the official language would work better than choosing one of the county's indigenous languages within the frame at hand.

The cost-benefit calculation aims at identifying, quantifying, and evaluating the differences in consequences that may be expected if one decides to choose the main alternative instead of the zero-alternative (Thornburn 1971: 258).

Another aspect of cost-benefit analysis is the TIME-HORIZON. "The expected or calculated alternatives need to be evaluated not only in context, but also in respect to time – for an ongoing, yet reasonable, length of time. The plan's consequences need to be predicted, for example, for the first five years the plan is in effect, then for the first ten, and so forth, up to the first twenty years; the total time-horizon analysis should view all the time segments put together. A cost-benefit analysis to decide between choosing an LWC or a national language (NL) as a country's official language would, then, have three essential components: (1) each plan as INPUT; (2) the results of each as OUTPUT; and (3) an analysis of the CONSEQUENCES of each. In general, if the beneficial consequences of a plan outweigh the consequences seen as costs (monetary or otherwise), that plan or alternative would be the wisest choice" (Eastman 1983: 137).

Eastman (1983: 139) observes that "cost-benefit analysis theory, as well as its application in practice to language planning, is a useful way for planners to provide support for the final decisions they recommend and for authorities (such as politicians) to back up the choice made as the chosen language plans are implemented. In short, a cost-benefit analysis of language-choice alternatives shows which language will cost less money when implemented. It shows which measurable future quantification of further differences between the choices will be – at least for the near future. Cost-benefit analysis

also provides some indications of which language is best, given the goals of the authority requiring a choice”.

In addition to taking a cost-benefit perspective, decision-making theory as a concern in language planning also rests on a conceptual basis defined as the SPREAD HYPOTHESIS [emphasis Eastman 1983]. “The word SPREAD refers to the degree of actual use of *language products* resulting from decisions about language. In proposing this hypothesis, the language planning scholars Bjorn Jernudd and Jyotirindra Das Gupta felt that language planning is required to judge alternatives for the suggested language products or spread alternatives. The spread hypothesis holds that for planning to be successful, alternatives must be chosen to ensure that the decision has an effect on the social use of the language products. It also holds that successful planning will forecast what language products will spread and how they will spread, so that uncertainty about how the decision will affect language use will be reduced. The rationale behind judging spread alternatives is to come up with a language plan that is the best alternative allowing people to recognise, accept, and use *certain language products* (Jernudd and Das Gupta 1971: 206, cited in Eastman 1983: 140). The spread hypothesis sees language planning as the making of orderly decisions that will have public social effects. The plan needs to work – to *spread* – as well as to be cost-effective” (Eastman 1983: 140).

Eastman (1983: 140) further observes that “both the spread hypothesis and cost-benefit analysis view language planning as rooted in decision-making. Both approaches to decision-making forms of planning are necessarily goal oriented. Decisions about language (in common with many other forms of decision) have three types of goals: (1) allocation of resources; (2) distribution; and (3) stabilisation”.

Eastman (1983) offers a critique of the language planning models deriving from decision-making theory by observing that the models so far designed to forecast consequences of language decisions, however, fail to consider that language choice also has to take into account pressure on planning authorities from a variety of special-interest groups such as professional associations of educators, manufacturers of typewriters, textbook publishers,



literacy advocates, journalists and ideological groups. Governments or educational bodies that need language planning are subject to lobbying by these kinds of pressure groups. “Wise planning still needs to find a way to help authorities evaluate special-interest claims as well as proposed plans” (Eastman 1983: 140).

#### **4.4.1.1 Decision-Making Theory as Manifested in Language Planning Models**

The following discussion reviews language planning models that use decision-making theory or aspects of decision-making theory as foundational theoretical premises. The review identifies the language planning models that incorporate aspects of decision-making theory and briefly discusses these aspects. The critique of decision-making theory as a viable foundational theory for language planning, especially with regard to the creation of frameworks that can facilitate the implementation of multilingual language policies is reserved for section 4.4.4.

Virtually all language planning models proposed to date incorporate aspects of decision-making theory as a foundational theoretical premises. The models reviewed under the current discussion include Haugen (1966, 1983); Thornburn (1971); Bamgbose (1989); Cooper (1989); Haarmann (1990); Kaplan and Baldauf (1997); Dominguez (1998); Donnacha 2000; and Webb 2002.

Haugen (1966, 1983) proposed a language planning models that has come to be known as the “*Language Planning Processes Models*”. Arguably, the model forms the basis of many language planning models. The model indicates that the activities which make up the language planning process can be viewed from either a societal or language focus. “The societal focus is called ‘status planning’ and consists of those decisions a society must make about language selection and the implementation to chose and disseminate the language or languages selected. The language focus is called ‘corpus planning’ and consists of linguistic decisions which need to be made to codify and elaborate a language or languages. These two foci form the basis for an overview of all the activities which

make up the language planning process. The model can be examined in terms of form or policy planning, with its emphasis on basic language and policy decisions and their implementation, or on function or language cultivation, with its emphasis on language teaching and extended language development and use” (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997: 29).

It is posited that the model derives its taxonomy of language planning processes from decision-making theory as one of its foundational theories. On the societal focus of language planning as elaborated in this model, decisions and/or choices have to be made with regard to language selection, with its inherent identification of language problems and allocation of norms, and with regard to implementation, with its inherent issues of language spread, especially through the system of education, correctional procedures which are instituted upon the evaluation of the implementation process. On the language focus of language planning as elaborated in this model, decisions and/or choices have to be made in the language planning process with regard to codification, with its inherent standardisation procedures of graphisation, grammatication and lexication, and with regard to the elaboration of the codified norms, otherwise known as the elaboration process in this model. During the elaboration process, further decisions and/or choices have to be made with regard to the functional development of the language(s) selected, with inherent concerns and decisions and/or choices relating to terminological modernisation, stylistic development and internationalisation [the latter added by Kaplan and Baldauf 1997 in their elaboration of this model]. From the foregoing, it can be posited that the Haugen (1966, 1983) model relies heavily on decision-making theory as one of its foundational theories in its attempt to define the processes that constitute language planning as an instance of societal and language engineering.

Thornburn (1971) developed the “*Cost-benefit Analysis Model*”. This model formed the foundation for latter day development of economics of language as an aspect of language planning. The model constitutes of three basic components, namely: inputs; outputs; and consequences of outputs. Under inputs, Thornburn (1971) quantifies the costs of teaching of languages and the costs to pupils [or persons] that are being taught the various languages. Under outputs, the model details ‘knowledge’ of languages of wider

communication and knowledge of national language. Under consequences of output, the model lists effectivity of central administration in a country; effectivity in ordinary trade relations with other countries; education and contacts with world technology and culture; national unity; equal possibilities to all inhabitants in the country; national cultures; and development of standard of living.

At the input end of the model, decisions and/or choices have to be made about the languages to be taught because the decisions and/or choices made have a marked impact on the cost, both to the state as the provider of teaching personnel and language teaching materials. The decisions and/or choices made at the supra level of policy-making with regard to the language(s) to be taught to learners have carry cost imperatives to learners and households, or what may be termed as the micro level. At the micro level, learners and households have to make decision and/or choices with regard to the costs that they can incur in the process of acquiring language(s). It is important to note that at both the supra level of policy-making and implementation and the micro level of individual learners and households, there are hidden costs, in the form of opportunity cost, and the decision and/or choice to either teach languages(s) or to acquire language(s) also involves a decision and/or a choice not to teach or acquire other language(s).

The output aspect of this model is also grounded in decision-making theory, especially as encapsulated in “spread hypothesis”. Spread hypothesis refers to the degree of actual use of “language products” resulting from decisions about language. The spread hypothesis holds that for planning to be successful, alternatives must be chosen to ensure that the decision has an effect on the social use of the language products. It also holds that successful planning will forecast what language products will spread and how they will spread, so that uncertainty about how the decision will affect language use will be reduced. The rationale behind judging spread alternatives is to come up with a language plan that is the best alternative allowing people to recognise, accept, and use “certain language products”. It is thus posited that the ‘measurables’ of ‘knowledge’ of either language of wider communication or national language as encapsulated in this model is a relative concept whose only benchmark of determination are decisions and/or choices

predetermined as constituting “knowledge” of either language of wider communication or national language.

The above argument applies to the consequences of output end of the “*Cost-benefit Analysis model*”. The consequences of outputs in this model are supposed to be measurable with regard to the notion of “effectivity” as manifested in education and contacts with world technology and culture; national unity; equal possibilities to all inhabitants in the country; national cultures; and development of standard of living. The measurement of “effectivity” in all the listed areas of national endeavour to a great extent depends on benchmarks based on predetermined decisions and/or choices. This discussion of the “*Cost-benefit Analysis model*” serves to illustrate that this model is fundamentally based on the calculable postulates of decision-making theory. However, it is not practically possible to quantify language planning initiatives in such a manner, especially because of the nature of language itself and other contingent socio-cultural, political and economic factors that impact on language.

Bamgbose (1989), in a seminal paper entitled “*issues for a model of language planning*” further elaborates on the foundational nature of decision-making theory in language planning theory generally and language planning model(s) in particular. Bamgbose (1989) posits that decision-making is an essential aspect of language planning. Such decisions may affect language status or language corpus, and they may occur at any point in the planning process. Basically decisions may be differentiated from three perspectives: policy and implementation; higher and lower-level; and rational and arbitrary.

According to Bamgbose (1989) the planning mechanism devised for language planning is often based on rational planning models as in economic and allied social planning where “goals are established, means selected, and outcomes are predicted in a systematic and explicit manner” (Rubin 1971: 218, cited in Bamgbose 1989: 26). The planning “is characterised by the formulation and evaluation of alternatives for solving language problems to find the best (or optimal, most efficient) decision. In all cases, it is future

oriented: that is the outcomes of policies and strategies must be specified in advance of action taken” (Rubin and Jernudd 1971: xvi, cited in Bamgbose 1989: 26).

Bamgbose (1989: 27) proceeds to observe that “the problem posed for models of language planning is whether or not to take cognisance of arbitrary policy decisions. The planning model rules them out, but some practitioners of language planning may wonder whether all decisionmaking necessarily has to follow the pattern of Western democracies with their parliaments, commissions of enquiry, planning commissions, and bureaucratic procedures. What is important to note in this particular dilemma facing language planning models is not whether language planning decisions follow formal procedures [as encapsulated in Western democratic theory and practice], or whether they are arbitrary, but the very fact that whether decisions are taken within the paradigm provided by Western democratic model or are taken in non-Western *arbitrary model*, they remain decisions and/or choices, and therefore underscore the role of decision-making theory in language planning theory and resultant models”.

Bamgbose (1989: 27 – 29) critiques the “rigid requirement that the planning mechanism must be future-oriented” and “the role of fact-finding” especially with regard to the arbitrary nature in which language planning decisions are taken. The above observations on the fundamental nature of decision-making whether within formal or non-formal frameworks answer Bamgbose (1989) concerns and further underscores the role of decision-making theory in language planning theory and models.

Bamgbose (1989: 29 – 31) elaborates on levels of language planning. He posits that the assumption of most models of language planning is that it is carried out by a government or its agencies and usually at the insistence of a central authority (Jernudd and Das Gupta 1971; Rubin 1973, cited in Bamgbose 1989: 29). However, inasmuch as governments play a pivotal role in language planning, Bamgbose (1989) correctly observes that “experience with language planning practices shows that nongovernmental agencies such as private companies, media houses, language societies, and teachers’ associations carry out much significant work not only in the implementation of policy, but in engineering

the adoption of specific policies. Due cognisance should be taken of the role of nongovernmental agencies” (Bamgbose 1989: 29).

According to Bamgbose (1989: 29), “precisely how nongovernmental activity is to be incorporated in a language planning model is, of course, a matter for further study, but it is IMPOSSIBLE [emphasis own] to subsume nongovernmental actions under the general framework of overall planning. Where policy formulation is concerned, nongovernmental activity could serve as an input into decision making, or it could derive from a general policy already laid down. The test of when a nongovernmental initiative qualifies as policy is when it has received governmental authorisation. In terms of implementation, any activity designed to effect an agreed policy, even if it is a nongovernmental agency, is to be recognised as coming within the scope of language planning”.

Two observations can be made with regard to the above assertions by Bamgbose (1989). First, it is erroneous of Bamgbose (1989) to posit that “it is impossible to subsume nongovernmental actions under the general framework of planning”. Nongovernmental actions, being more result-oriented than the public sector, do not occur in a haphazard manner but within strict confines of elaborate planning framework, especially strategic planning frameworks and other related frameworks such as performance related frameworks and management by objectives. Contemporary developments in planning and management theory and practice point towards scenarios where the public sector, in its planning initiatives, is borrowing heavily on planning and management models developed within the nongovernmental sector. Further, how is it “impossible to subsume nongovernmental actions under the general framework of planning” when the nongovernmental agencies operate with temporal, spatial, policy and planning contexts so determined by the public sector, which according to Bamgbose is the custodian of the “general framework of overall planning?” It is therefore not true to assert that “it is impossible to subsume nongovernmental actions under the general framework of planning”.

The above critique notwithstanding, and secondly, whether planning occurs within the context of government agencies and/or nongovernmental agencies, the elaboration by Bamgbose (1989) underscores the notion that the entire language planning process is a decision and/or choice laden process and therefore further confirms the foundational importance of decision-making theory in language planning theory and language planning models.

Cooper (1989) develops a framework known as “*An Accounting Scheme for the Study of Language Planning*”. Cooper’s framework (1989), cf. Cooper (1989: 58 – 98) consist of eight components. For purposes of clarity of discussion, these components are reproduced here:

- I     What *actors* (e.g. formal elites, influentials, counterelites, non-elite policy implementers).
- II    attempt to influence what *behaviours*
  - A.     structural (linguistic) properties of planned behaviour (e.g. homogeneity, similarity)
  - B.     purposes/functions for which planned behaviour is to be used
  - C.     desired level of adoption (awareness, evaluation, proficiency, usage)
- III   of which *people*
  - A.     type of target (e.g. individuals v. organisations, primary v. intermediary)
  - B.     opportunity of target to learn planned behaviour
  - C.     incentives of target to learn/use planned behaviour
  - D.     incentives of target to reject planned behaviour
- IV    for what *ends*
  - A.     overt (language-related behaviours)
  - B.     latent (non-language-related behaviours, the satisfaction of interests)
- V     under what *conditions*
  - A.     situational (events, transient conditions)
  - B.     structural
    - 1.     political

- 2. economic
- 3. social/demographic/ecological
- C. cultural
  - 1. regime norms
  - 2. cultural norms
  - 3. socialisation of authorities
- D. environmental (influences from outside the system)
- E. informational (data required for a good decision)
- VI by what *means* (e.g. authority, force, promotion, persuasion)
- VII through what *decision-making process* (decision rules)
  - A. formulation of problem/goal
  - B. formulation of means
- VIII with what *effect* (Cooper 1989: 98)

A close consideration of the eight components that constitute the Cooper's framework (1989) indicates that decision-making theory is one of the foundational theories of this model. Within this model decisions and/or choices have to be made with regard to all components of the model, whether these decisions and/or choices concern *actors*; *behaviours* to be influenced; the *people*; the *ends*; under what *conditions*; by which *means*; through what *decision making process(es)*; and with what *effect*. A further consideration of this model shows that it also incorporates the other aspect of decision-making theory, namely the "spread hypothesis", especially with regard to the specification of *behaviours*; *people*; *ends*; *conditions*; *means*; and *effect*.

Spread hypothesis refers to the degree of actual use of "language products" resulting from decisions about language. The spread hypothesis holds that for planning to be successful, alternatives must be chosen to ensure that the decision has an effect on the social use of the language products. It also holds that successful planning will forecast what language products will spread and how they will spread, so that uncertainty about how the decision will affect language use will be reduced. The rationale behind judging spread alternatives is to come up with a language plan that is the best alternative allowing



people to recognise, accept, and use “certain language products”. The eight components of the model underscore the postulates of the “spread hypothesis” as an aspect of decision-making theory.

Haarmann (1990) proposes a model of language planning which has come to be referred to as “*the methodological framework for language planning*”. Haarmann’s framework (1990) proposes a new range of language planning functions that he refers to a “prestige planning” and observes that “any kind of planning has to attract positive values, that is, planning activities must have such prestige as to guarantee a favourable engagement on the part of the planners and, moreover, on the part of those who are supposed to use the planned language” (Haarmann 1990: 104).

“The recognition of prestige planning as a separate functional range implies that it does not depend on activities in the ranges of corpus or status planning, and that in planning processes prestige is a force in its own right. In language planning, all activities which are directed at the structure of a language (that is, at its corpus) and at its status appear in the light of prestige values that form a network of evaluations and attitudes. Prestige is a variable complex which consists of a scale of individual values, rather than a single factor” (Haarmann 1990: 105).

Haarmann (1990: 106) posits that in its very essence “language planning is a process rather than a state of affairs. Any sociolinguistic approach to applied methodological matters in this field should aim at illustrating the processual character of planning. It would be too simplistic to view planning activities in the light of a temporary process which ends once the intended objectives of corpus and/or status planning have been achieved: in its ideal form, language planning is a continuous activity of controlling language variation under changing societal conditions”.

Haarmann (1990: 106 – 110), from a theoretical standpoint outlines the various phases, targets and variables that constitute the planning process. The first outline constitutes of phases and targets in language planning with the following as defining features: language

corpus planning; language status planning; and language prestige planning. The second outline constitutes of ecological variables which affect ingroup and outgroup communication of ethnic groups as collective bodies with the following as defining features: ethnodemographic variables; ethnosociological variables; ethnopolitical variables; ethnocultural variables; ethnopsychological variables; interactional variables; and ethnolinguistic variables. The functioning of ethnic relations in terms of ingroup interaction among members of the same speech community and of outgroup interaction among individuals who belong to different speech communities is determined by the interplay of basic variables and additional ecological factors the working of which becomes apparent under specific conditions of interethnic contact. Effective language planning has to be based on the observation of the relevant ecological variables in specific interethnic relations.

In consolidating his insights for a methodological framework for language planning Haarmann (1990: 120) develops “an ideal typology of language cultivation and language planning”. The typology specifies the three functions of language planning, namely language status planning; language prestige planning; and language corpus planning. The typology also outlines the ranges of language planning, which incorporate governmental activities and activities of other agencies. The typology also outlines the ranges of language cultivation which incorporate group activities and activities of individuals. The range of activities are presented in a continuum of efficiency in terms of organisational impact, with the activities of individuals having the minimum impact at the lower end of the continuum of efficiency and governmental activities having the maximum impact at the upper end of the continuum of efficiency. Haarmann (1990: 122) observes that the proposed typology may serve as a sociolinguistic ‘tool’ for the investigation of the setting of language planning and the amount of authority involved. As a theoretical construct, the typological scheme is comprehensive enough to allow the association of any kind of language cultivation and/or planning observed in an actual setting to one of the proposed types.

Within Haarmann's (1990) typology, language planning can also be understood as a form of conflict management. In its ideal motivation, language planning will definitely strive for a scrupulous consideration of all relevant relations which rectify planning activities and influence outcome of the efforts. An understanding of the overall effect of language planning cannot be attained solely by inspecting the following string of relations:

*Who* is engaged in planning *what* language *for whom* and *why*?

Another set of relations must also be taken into consideration, i.e.:

*Who* accepts *what* planning provisions *from whom* and under *what* conditions? (Haarmann 1990: 123).

Although the Haarmann's (1990) model represents one of the initial shifts from the traditional theoretical foundations of language planning theory, as elaborated on under section 4.5 below, the model contains aspects of decision-making theory. The determination of what evaluations are to be done with regard to the targets of planning [the major preoccupation of prestige language planning] is a matter of decision making and/or choice, as well as in the phases and targets defined under language corpus planning and language status planning.

Decision-making theory is also manifest in the determination of what constitutes "ecological variables which affect ingroup and outgroup communication of ethnic groups as collective bodies". The determination of these variables is a matter of policy decision making processes, especially at the macro level of government. Suffice to provide a further clarification of this concept. The determination of what constitutes the composite "ethno" variables as broadly outlined by Haarmann (1990) is influenced by the complex dynamics of decision making processes at the policy level. The determination of what constitutes "ethno" variables is in many an instance, especially in multiethnic and multicultural states a matter dictated by political ideology. These variables do not exist in

an ideology-free space, but are defined and re-defined on the basis of an underlying ideology, which in many instances manifests itself at the level of policy decision making.

To further illustrate how the Haarmann (1990) model derives some of its insights from decision-making theory it is important to consider what Haarmann (1990: 123) poses as another set of relations that must also be taken into consideration:

*Who accepts what planning provisions from whom and under what conditions?*

To answer to the “who”, “what” and “whom” in the above cited question includes a set or series of sets of decisions and/or choices that MUST [emphasis own] be arrived at, either at the macro levels of governmental activities and activities of agencies that deal with language planning, or at the micro levels of group activities and activities of individuals that deal with language cultivation.

Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) develop two models for language planning. The two models are as a result of a combination of a synthesis of the state of language planning theory and language planning practice as they stood when their book, *“Language Planning: from practice to theory”* went to print. The two models are discussed here below.

One of the language planning outlines that Kaplan and Baldauf (1997: 6) map out is what they refer to as “context and elements of the language planning process”. This outline is discussed in this study as *“the national resource development planning framework for language planning”*. The name of the outline is derived from the macro context that Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) identify as providing the overarching framework for language planning, namely the national resource development planning framework.

Under this outline, national endeavour constitutes of resource development planning. Under national resource development planning, two aspects of planning are identifiable, namely human resource development and natural resource development. Language planning is subsumed under human resource development planning and according to

Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) there are four categories of agencies and/or organisations that undertake language planning. The first category constitutes of government agencies which include government ministries such as the ministries of foreign affairs, military, communication and commerce, to name but a few. The second category constitutes of education agencies which include agencies at the national, state and local levels. The third category constitutes of non/quasi governmental organisations which include the civil service; the courts; language agencies; banks; churches; hospitals; peace corps; and volunteers. The fourth category constitutes of other organisations which include the post office, bureaus of minority issues and recreational and sport committees.

According to the above outline, language planning is an integral process of the national resource development planning. The national resource development planning process in itself is a process fraught with decision making mechanisms. Planning language has to take place in the context of this reticulated structure of language policy formulation activity. However, it is not merely a matter of declaring politically that it is for some reason desirable to preserve or promote or obstruct some language; it is not merely a question of charging the education sector to teach or not to teach some language.

As Schiffman (1992, cited in Kaplan and Baldauf 1997: 13) points out, “indigenous language planning often fails because the basic structural work is not done. Rather, it is a question of trying to manage the language ecology of a particular language to support it within the vast cultural, educational, historical, demographic, political, social structure in which language policy formulation occurs every day”. The process of trying to manage the language ecology of a particular language so as to support it within the complex of structures involves a complex series of decision-making procedures and processes. This observation indicates that inasmuch as Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) advance a new frontier for language planning models, namely the systems theoretical orientation [as elaborated on under section 4.5.1], the foundational nature of decision-making theory in language planning theory and language planning models is of a fundamental nature.

Consolidating their insights on language planning practice, Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) outline what is referred in the present study as “*the ecological model for language planning*”, deriving from the stipulation of “forces at work in a linguistic eco-system”, (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997: 311). In this outline, languages, that is, the national language and its non-standard variety (ies) and the other minority languages in a country are presented as existing within a defined policy space. Impacting on the languages within the policy space are the various forces and the agencies and organisations with an interest in language planning. The forces include language death; language survival; language change; language revival; language shift; language amalgamation; language contact; and literacy development. The agencies and organisations remain as identified in the *national resource development planning* framework discussed above.

The forces that Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) identify as impacting on the linguistic eco-system within which language planning occurs, either define the policy decisions and/or choices of the agencies and/or organisations involved in language planning, or are defined and/or propagated by decisions and/or choices of the agencies and/or organisations involved in the processes of language planning. It can thus be observed that the second outline of language planning by Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) also includes aspects of decision-making theory.

The next language planning model presented in the current discussion is the least discussed in language planning studies. The model is the “*Language-marketing model*” as proposed by Dominguez (1998) in a paper entitled “*Towards a language-marketing model*”. Dominguez (1998: 1) observes that “language is a tool or resource for communication, an expression of personality, and a signal of identity. From the perspective of marketing, language may also be considered as an intangible product or, at least, a complementary or auxiliary product”. Dominguez (1998) defines *product* as “the solution of a problem” or “what meets a conscious or unconscious need.” By definition every product can be bought and may be made the object of the application of marketing strategies and techniques to make its commercialisation more effective.

Dominquez (1998: 2) further observes that “there are three essential elements in the strategic marketing plan: the customer (intermediate or final), the uncontrollable variables (the socio-cultural and economic environments, the competitors, etc.), and the variables controllable by planners, that is, the techniques or policies of product, distribution, promotion, and price. Determinants or uncontrollable variables are external conditions influencing results of marketing activities. Their knowledge is indispensable because, for the achievement of intended objectives, the actions to be developed and the techniques to be used must be different, just as the determinants are, in each case. Equally, the same techniques will produce different results according to the determinants, depending on the linguistic contexts. The customer [or the speaker of a language(s)] is also a determinant”.

Dominquez (1998: 2 – 3) identifies the uncontrollable variables that impact on the “language marketing” environment, subdividing these into the microenvironment and the macroenvironment. The microenvironment constitutes of the client or speakers of language(s). It is not possible to satisfy all the potential clients, because there are no sufficient resources to plan either for the mass (i.e. for final clients) or for the spectrum of organisations (i.e. intermediary clients or outlets). Individuals – and above all, organisations – with more linguistic relevance must take priority. Planners have to select – that is segment – their potential clientele in order to adapt their products (e.g. language-training materials) and services (e.g. language advice and language training) to the needs and expectations of customers and find opportunities for success, bearing in mind the difficulty of achieving language change, not only for organisations but also for individuals. In the case of public-sector language services, the satisfaction of the needs of target groups is determined by a social cause and language normalisation.

Dominquez (1998: 2) further observes that “the wider the knowledge of the market, the better will be the answer to its demands. Besides identifying the target group, it is important to identify what the target group needs, opinions, motivations and behaviours are with regard to the four controllable variables – or techniques of product, distribution, promotion, and price – if planning is to have possibilities of success. This information

may be gathered through surveys of opinion, sociolinguistic studies or product tests. It may also be revealed by considering complaints about products and services as opportunities for improvement, by taking advantage of information from personnel with contact with customers”.

Factors or variables not controlled by planners form the environment in which the planning organisation must function. These factors influence (Santesmases 1993: 95, cited in Dominquez 1998: 3) market behaviours, marketing decisions, and exchange relationships. Uncontrollable variables, apart from the client, are the sociocultural context (including languages in contact situation), the political-legal context, the demographic context, the economic context, the technological context, and the competence and resources and objectives of the organisation. The success of any enterprise (or language service) usually depends on an effective orientation to the environment. It is important for marketing to adopt a proactive position, of environmental orientation, in order to foresee effects of changes in uncontrollable variables, with the aim of measuring (Santesmases 1993: 122, cited in Dominquez 1998: 3) the possible effect on organisational objectives and to be able to carry out corrective measures (Dominquez 1998: 3).

Dominquez (1998: 4 – 9) outlines the marketing mix or grouping of marketing techniques, observing that marketing techniques or policies – of product, distribution, promotion, and price – are the means that planners have to achieve their results, taking into account the determinants. Unlike determinants, techniques are manageable at will by marketers. For a detailed exposition of the techniques, cf Dominquez (1998).

The language-marketing model hinges on the cost-benefit analysis of the language products or services from the perspective of the target group. Dominquez (1998: 9) however, observes that economic aspects are not, obviously, the only criteria for decision-making on private or public language policies. There are various problems in the application of cost-benefit analysis to language planning:



1. Temporal horizon: as Cooper (1979, cited in Dominguez 1998: 10) states, language changes in corpus or in status affect social groups' behaviour with a considerable temporal interval between cause and effect.
2. Benefits, usually noneconomic, of a language change are hardly quantifiable – because they are intangible – and can hardly be expressed in measurable economic terms.

Dominguez (1998: 11), in concluding the contribution of the “language-marketing model” to language planning observes that “marketing provides an enriching approach to language-planning theory, a multidisciplinary field of study by definition. It is evident, however, that some of the elements discussed under this model are not new to language planning. Product policy corresponds with “corpus planning” and distribution and promotion policies have rather to do with “status planning”. The new elements that marketing brings forward are the client’s decisive role in the process of elaboration of product and services, and the possibility planners have to combine variables or marketing mix to reach their language-change goals with more guarantees of success”.

The manifestation of decision-making theory, both in terms of cost-benefit analysis and spread hypothesis is evident in Dominguez (1998) “language-marketing model”. Fundamentally, the determination and management of the uncontrollable variables in the microenvironment and the macroenvironment and the determination and management of the marketing mix or the grouping of marketing techniques is a process or series of processes that hinge(s) on decisions and/or choices, both on the part of the decision makers, and the part of the clients [the recipients of language products and/or services]. Decision makers have to make decisions and/or choices about the language products and/or services that they have to offer to the “market”, in this instance, a linguistic community. On their part, clients, either as individuals or collectives have to make decisions and/or choices with regard to the language products and/or services that they will have to “buy” from the language market.

Secondly, within the language-marketing model, the decisions and/or choices that planners make are made on consideration of their efficiency and effectiveness. The various costs, both direct and indirect have to be factored in the process of determining the marketing mix or the grouping of marketing techniques. What need to be factored in this process are the social benefits that can accrue from the implementation of a language policy and language plan. A consideration of effectiveness and efficiency benefits considered purely on the basis of economic aggregates can obscure the other benefits that can accrue from the implementation of a language policy and language plan especially in multilingual contexts. However, what is important from the language-marketing model perspective is that the cost-benefit analysis should be extended from its traditional consideration of economic benefits, to cater for other benefits that can accrue from the implementation of a language policy and language plan, like the creation of social capital, that essentially accompanies multilingual language policy and language planning implementation, through enlarging people's choices when a substantial number of people in the population can access information and knowledge.

Thirdly, Dominquez (1998) language-marketing model also incorporates the other aspect of the decision-making theory, namely, the "spread hypothesis". Spread hypothesis refers to the degree of actual use of "language products" resulting from decisions about language. The spread hypothesis holds that for planning to be successful, alternatives must be chosen to ensure that the decision has an effect on the social use of the language products. It also holds that successful planning will forecast what language products will spread and how they will spread, so that uncertainty about how the decision will affect language use will be reduced. The rationale behind judging spread alternatives is to come up with a language plan that is the best alternative allowing people to recognise, accept, and use "certain language products" (Eastman 1983). The marketing foundation that the language-marketing model is grounded upon derives from the spread hypothesis, and thus makes the model one of the models that derives from the decision-making theory as a foundational theory of language planning.

Donnacha (2000: 11 – 35) proposes the “*Integrated Language Planning Model*”. In actuality, Donnacha (2000) proposes two models. The approach used in the development of the two models is similar to that used in business planning of viewing industries and organisations as sets of interrelated activities, as an aid to analysis and planning. The first model develops a three-level view of language planning and aims to develop a more strategic approach. The three levels in the model are ‘Status Planning’, ‘Language Planning’, and ‘Functional Language Planning’. The second model, the Integrated Language Planning Model, is related to the second level of language planning, and is designed to facilitate a comprehensive and integrated approach to reinforcing efforts into two types of activities – primary activities and support activities. The primary activities are those that are designed to directly influence changes in language behaviour. The support activities the primary activities and each other by managing and facilitating the language reinforcement effort (Donnacha 2000: 11). The two models are elaborated on briefly in the following discussion.

In the first model, Donnacha (2000) develops a three-level view of language planning which is similar in structure to the three-level approach used in strategic business planning (Stoner and Freeman 1992, cited in Donnacha 2000: 12). Donnacha observes that by using a similar framework in language planning, “it is possible to begin seeing how different types of language planning can be differentiated, while at the same time clearly seeing the inter-relationships between them. The three levels of language planning are: Status Planning, Language Planning and Functional Language Planning” (Donnacha 2000: 12).

Status planning refers to decisions made by governments and other authorities at the supranational, national, regional or community level, which decide the status of individual languages in relation to each other. Decisions may also be made in relation to the use of certain languages in various institutions, in various areas of public life, for specific functions or in various regions of the state. Such decisions may involve deciding the number of languages to be designated or used and which languages or which form of language. “Language planning at this level may also include making decisions in relation

to how to treat languages that relate to particular regions, ethnic groups or social classes, and to the reinforcement of a national or official language outside the boundaries of the state or region” (Donnacha 2000: 13).

At the second level, i.e. the language planning level, once decisions in relation to the status and functions of various languages have been decided, it then becomes necessary to plan how to reinforce each individual language, according to its circumstances. The level and type of planning and intervention needed will vary, depending on the status and functions assigned to the language, the number of speakers, their geographical, ethnic and social dispersion, and the domains for which the language is normally used. This type of planning can be applied to both threatened languages and well-established languages. The aim of language planning at this level is to reinforce the language. The level and nature of reinforcement desirable will vary with each language depending on its circumstances. Marshall (1994, cited in Donnacha 2000: 14) identifies four types of interventions which can be made in order to achieve language reinforcement. These are language revival or revitalisation, reversing language shift, language maintenance and language spread. These represent four different approaches to reinforcing a specific language. They are not mutually exclusive approaches, however. The dividing lines between them are not always clear in practice and there is often a need to use all four approaches, consequentially or in parallel. The key question for language planners is to identify which approach or which combination of approaches is appropriate and in what circumstances (Donnacha 2000: 14 – 15).

The functional level of language planning is the most diverse area. The various functions devolve from the language planning level. They will include the management of the process itself, research activities and the planning of various activities which lead to changes in language attitudes, levels of ability and usage, and changes in the levels of intergenerational transmission of the language. Donnacha (2000) further elaborates the three language planning levels by proposing the Integrated Language Planning Model.

In proposing the Integrated Language Planning Model, Donnacha (2000: 15) observes that “a comprehensive language-planning effort, even in the context of one language, is a complex matter, which is difficult to analyse as a whole. Language ability, usage and attitudes are difficult to measure and evaluate, therefore the criteria for analysis is usually subjective and unstable. Moreover, the interactions between levels of language ability, usage, attitudes, and other aspects of language-reinforcement efforts, call for integrated planning and actions of a parallel and consequential nature. In order to make this possible, a systematic way of examining all of the separate elements of a comprehensive language reinforcement effort and how they interact is necessary”.

Using the analogy of industry planning, Donnacha (2000: 15) advances that in the area of industry planning, an approach is used of viewing industries and markets as industry chains or ‘business systems’, i.e., “a chain of value-adding activities that is undertaken in order to bring a product or service from raw material to the provision of final customer service and support” (Murray and O’Driscoll 1996: 38, cited in Donnacha 2000: 15). This concept is based on the idea that an industry can be analysed as sets of activities, with each set of activities ‘adding value’ to the product or service and then passing it on to the next set of activities so that more value can be added. A similar concept, described as a “value chain”, has been developed by Michael Porter (1985, cited in Donnacha 2000: 15), “as an aid to analysing business organisations and identifying their sources of competitive advantage. In the value-chain model, two types of activities are identified. *Primary activities* have to do with the physical creation of the product or services, and its sale and transfer to the buyer, as well as after sales assistance. *Support activities* support the primary activities and each other by providing purchased inputs, technology, human resources, and various firmwide functions” (Donnacha 2000: 15 – 16).

By taking a similar approach to language planning, it is possible to disaggregate a language-reinforcement effort by looking at two types of activities: *primary activities* which directly influence language behaviour, and *support activities* which support the primary activities and each other by managing and facilitating the language

reinforcement effort. Thus, it becomes possible to construct an integrated language planning model.

According to Donnacha (2000: 16 – 31), the *support activities* within the integrated language planning model include organisational structure and effectiveness; language-planning process; human-resource management; research; corpus planning; and convergent planning. The *primary activities* include the nurturing of positive attitudes towards the language; increasing the level of ability in the language; increasing the level of language usage; nurturing and strengthening the language community; and increasing the level of organic inter-generational language transmission.

From the foregoing, it is posited that Donnacha (2000) Integrated Language Planning Model also uses some concepts that derive from decision-making theory as a foundational theory of language planning. Decisions and/or choices have to be made by policy makers in the process of aggregating or dis-aggregating what constitutes the various functional level primary activities and functional level support activities. In the process of making the decisions and/or choices about what activities constitute the primary activities and support activities within this model, issues of effectiveness and efficiency, as determined by a cost-benefit analysis have to be factored in, so as to ensure that in the “value adding” chain of rendering language products and/or services, wastage is avoided. It is further posited that the ultimate success or lack thereof, of the functional level activities in language planning within this model hinges on the extent of language spread, in terms of availability of language products and extent of use of language services in the community under consideration. The concept of language spread is a core concept of decision-making theory as espoused under the concept “spread hypothesis”.

Webb (2002) proposes the “*Strategic Planning Framework*”. Webb (2002) uses the South African situation to develop this framework and the exposition of the framework refers to national language policy development. The framework comprises of the following components: vision; mission; impact on economic, educational, political

contexts, etc; analysis of internal and external environment; problem identification; goals; information; implementation; and control and evaluation (Webb 2002: 39).

Within this framework, language policy development firstly has to be linked directly with the *vision* a country has set for itself, that is, the national ideals which the country, through its government, wishes to achieve. For example, the South African Constitution expresses the desire that the country develops into a liberal democracy. Any language policy decision proposed as part of a future policy must necessarily be consonant with developing a democracy. The *mission* of a government has a similar role to play. A governments' mission, which can be said to be expressed in the country's constitutional stipulations, consists of the broad goals the government wishes to achieve in relation to its various areas of jurisdiction. In the South African case, the decision to promote eleven languages as official languages can be regarded as a mission statement (Webb 2002: 39 – 40).

The third factor in the planning framework is the set of *problems* which acts as obstacles to the realisation of the country's vision and its mission. These need to be identified, and information has to be collected about them and about the *internal* and *external* contexts in which these problems are situated. In the case of language planning development in South Africa, the internal environment, for instance, refers to the sociolinguistic realities of the country, and the external environment to issues outside the language issue which have a bearing on the language policies of the country (Webb 2002: 40).

Given the information referred to above, language planners are then in a position to formulate specific objectives, or *goals*, which need to meet the criterion of being a clear expression of the country's vision and mission and of contributing towards a resolution of the identified problems. The set of language policy goals constitute, in effect, the language policy of the government and should have the status of a legal document. The next element in the framework is the plan of *implementation*; that is, the detailed plan according to which the specific goals of the policy are to be achieved. The language plan describes who does what, where, how and with what resources, and specifies the

necessary management mechanisms and implementation strategies, the required resources (human financial, technological and social), time schedules, support services, and how complaints should be mediated (Webb 2002: 40).

The plan of implementation should obviously also contain performance indicators, which will enable supervisory agencies to determine the effectiveness of policy implementation. A language policy will thus include *control* and *evaluation* measures, directed in particular at determining degree to which the country's vision and the government's mission have been realised (Webb 2002: 40).

The Webb's *Strategic Planning Framework* (2002) represents one of the most comprehensive outlines of language planning in pragmatic contexts, and makes a profound contribution toward an overall understanding of the dynamics that constitute the language planning enterprise. It is however, evident from a close scrutiny of the framework that the framework derives a core of its insights from decision-making theory as a foundational theory of language planning. The determination and elaboration of the various components of the framework are enterprises in decision making and/or a serious engagement with choice. Within the framework, it is assumed that decisions and/or choices that are taken in the determination and elaboration of various components of the framework are premised on a consideration of the "social good", in this case the creation of an egalitarian South African liberal democracy.

However, this postulation does not discount the fact that under pragmatic circumstances, and to a large extent, the determination and elaboration of the various components that constitute the framework is not based on the consideration of the social good alone, but is also influenced by inherent cost-benefit analysis aimed at establishing the effectiveness and efficiency of interventions, especially at the level of implementation, control and evaluation. It is thus submitted that Webb's *Strategic Planning Framework* (2002) also derives some of its core components from decision-making theory as a foundational theory of language planning theory.



Having discussed decision-making theory and aspects of decision-making theory as manifested in each of these models, the discussion in the following two subsections elaborates on the other two “traditional” foundational theories of language planning theory as identified and elaborated upon by Eastman (1983), namely (Socio) Linguistic theory and Modernisation theory. The discussion does not replicate the elaboration of various models as contained in the present section. Rather, the discussion only refers to those aspects of the various models that demonstrate that the models contain aspects of the foundational theory under consideration.

#### **4.4.2 (Socio) Linguistic Theory**

The second traditional foundational theory for the analysis of language planning theory is what Eastman (1983) refers to as the theory of ethnic-group relations, reconstructed in the present discussion as (Socio) Linguistic Theory because it incorporates aspects of social theory and aspects of linguistic theory.

Eastman (1983: 163) observes that language planning “has to take into consideration the group affiliation of the persons the plan will affect, for language attitudes and beliefs accompany sociocultural divisions. Language factors and group membership interrelate on a number of dimensions such as location, native-ness (whether the people and language are indigenous to the area or not), status, relationship to religion, sex, age, and occupation”.

Fishman (1968a: 94, cited in Eastman 1983: 163) offers a number of “questionable generalisations” that seem to apply to language in relation to ethnic interaction. These generalisations are a by-product of the study of maintenance and shift of modernising societies:

1. Intact groups and those with a sense of group loyalty (for example, those with a “national spirit”) maintain their languages.

2. Urban groups are more likely to give up their languages than are rural groups.
3. “Prestigious” languages are kept; those without prestige are given up (Eastman 1983: 164).

The three generalisations overlap. For example, intact urban groups with a sense of loyalty may foist their language onto other groups they are in contact with as they move from ethnicity toward nationality. In this case the tendency of the group to undergo language shift is counterbalanced by its power vis-à-vis other groups. Power is often accompanied by prestige, leading to language maintenance rather than shift. Ethnic-group relations become a concern only when the groups (and their languages) come into contact. Fishman suggests that one conceptual framework in which to study both planning and ethnicity is a typology developed by R. A. Schermerhorn (1964). Schermerhorn classifies contact situations “in accord with differences between them that we sense to exist” (Fishman 1968a: 101, cited in Eastman 1983: 164).

Schermerhorn’s typology makes use of the following features to classify each group in a contact situation:

1. power (equal versus unequal)
2. control (incorporated versus colonised)
3. plurality (high versus low)
4. immigration (recent versus nonrecent)
5. social mobility (high versus low)
6. acculturation (high versus low)
7. industrialisation (high versus low)

“When two [or more] groups are in contact, it is possible to compare the values each has for these seven features in order to see whether maintenance or shift is likely” (Eastman 1983: 164).

Eastman (1983: 165) observes that “group-contact typologies such as the Schermerhorn one can be useful in language planning in providing insight with respect to intergroup contact situations and in making it possible to meaningfully assemble and analyse language maintenance and shift files. If language planners know the group-contact situations and the resulting language situations in complex societies, they can make generalisations about likely future happenings when particular attributes accompany language-group contacts”.

Another aspect of social theory and linguistic theory that finds expression in language planning theory is what Eastman (1983: 165) refers to as “sociopsychological ideas about language and ethnicity”. Lambert (1972, cited in Eastman 1983) developed a framework of “the social psychology of bilingualism”, a framework within which planners can see the psychological and social influences and repercussions that surround multilingual behaviour. In addition to the typological characteristics of language and culture contact described above, groups, as they interact with each other, also display attitudinal characteristics that affect language.

Jessel (1978, cited in Eastman 1983: 166) further develops this idea and stresses the fact that social and language behaviour has a strong ethnic component. Outside communication,

The major function of language is to reflect the social and behavioural conditions of its groups, its life and experience, its manner of thinking and its world view, both of the group as a whole and, specifically, its intrinsic institutions (Jessel 1978: 85, cited in Eastman 1983: 166).

“As a reflection of a group’s social and psychological self, language may and often does play a significant role in how people see themselves. Planners seeking to implement language policy need to see how the policy will affect the perception group members have of themselves and of others. In this regard, the sociopsychological characteristics of ethnicity as well as the typological sociocultural ones need to be looked at together” (Eastman 1983: 166).

The idea of language as a symbol of ethnicity is extremely useful to the planner, particularly when ethnicity factors are being developed into nationality feelings. This idea has found expression in social theory and linguistic theory through the exposition of a theory of language in ethnic-group relations. Two scholars, a sociologist (Tajfel) and a social psychologist (Giles), working together with others, have attempted to come up with a theory of language in ethnic-group relations (Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor 1977). This theory has three parts: (1) a taxonomy of ethnolinguistic vitality, showing the structural factors that affect the relative liveness of the groups in contact; (2) a theory of intergroup relations (developed by Tajfel); and (3) a theory of speech accommodation (developed by Giles) (Giles et al. 1977: 324, cited in Eastman 1983: 170).

Consolidating the above insights, Eastman (1983: 170 – 171) submits that “by combining these three components, the developers of this theory of language use intended it as a framework within which it will be possible to understand the role language plays in ethnicity and in intergroup relations. To see what part language plays in ethnic interaction, the role of language behaviour in each conceptual realm of intergroup relations should be described. Conceptual realms include the social categories used and the social identities employed by groups in contact. That is, when groups interact they employ social CATEGORISATION as a basis for their linguistic and cultural attitudes and behaviours toward others. They also classify themselves by self-IDENTIFICATION in contrast to others; a part of self-identity, just as social categorisation, includes feelings and attitudes about one’s own speech style vis-à-vis that of others. People not only categorise and identify each other when they come into contact, they also engage in a COMPARISON of their social identity and their attitudes toward other groups. In social terms, speakers use language to see who *they* are, to see how they see who *others* are, and to see how they see themselves stacking up in relation to *them*. An ethnic group therefore uses language to maintain a psychological as well as sociological distinction from others”.

The theory of language in ethnic-group relations that Giles and colleagues suggest links these speech-strategy/group-behaviour realms to the situational variables that operate in

intergroup contexts. “Ethnolinguistic groups that interact (using speech strategies in the different conceptual realms discussed above) differ from each other in terms of VITALITY. People want to belong to vital groups, and they strive for this goal in their intergroup behaviour by using speech strategies. ETHNOLINGUISTIC VITALITY is structured by STATUS, DEMOGRAPHIC, and INSTITUTIONAL-support features. That is, a group and its language have ethnolinguistic vitality to the extent that they have prestige (status), have numbers (demography) and are organised (institutionalised)” (Eastman 1983: 171 – 172).

Status variables have to do with the prestige a group has in an intergroup context. The more status a group has, the more vital it is. Demographic variables have to do with the size of a group and its distribution throughout the area. The more people in a group, the more vital it is. Institutional –support variables have to do with a group’s representation in the nation, region or community. The more a group is visible and the more its language is used in high places – in “institutions of the government, church, business, education, etc” (Giles et al. 1977: 309, cited in Eastman 1983: 172), the more vital the group is. Status, demography, and institutional-support features interact. By looking at their point of interaction, it is possible to reach an understanding of ethnolinguistic interaction and determine the degree of vitality that the given ethnolinguistic groups have. To summarise the above insights Eastman (1983) observes:

This theory of ethnic-group relations, which rests on measuring ethnolinguistic vitality by looking at group liveliness, is a comprehensive approach to studying language in context. Group vitality or liveliness is determined by comparing the social and ethnic categories that come into contact when the groups interact and the socially and psychologically distinct vocabulary used in those situations. Such a theory, by showing how the different groups conceive of themselves socially, psychologically and cognitively, is useful for language planning. It is possible that planners may use ethnolinguistic vitality factors, group-behavioural data, and knowledge of speech strategies to manipulate language and ethnic identity (Eastman 1983: 172).

Social theory and linguistic theory have definitely made great advances in the last two decades [since Eastman 1983 developed the framework for the analysis of language

planning theory], but their importance as foundational theories for language planning theory cannot be discounted. Social theory and linguistic theory [referred to in the present study as (Socio) Linguistic theory] bring into language planning theory the social and linguistic dimensions of language planning. They underscore the social and linguistic nature of the language planning enterprise. Advances in social theory and linguistic theory in the last two decades have focused on issues of minority groups [their cultures and languages] and how their vitality is important for overall vitality of communities in which they are embedded in; issues of conflict mediation, management and prevention, especially where conflict is associated with ethnolinguistic consciousness; issues of multiculturalism and embedded notions of multilingualism; and issues of cultural liberty and diversity.

All of these developments serve to enrich (Socio) Linguistic theory as a foundational theory of language planning theory, and offer invaluable insights that need to be incorporated into mainstream language planning theory, and practice. These theoretical advances in social theory and linguistic theory are discussed in detail in chapter five as a way of mapping the theoretical frontiers for the proposed language management approach. All the language planning models proposed to date incorporate aspects of (Socio) Linguistic theory. The various aspects of (Socio) Linguistic theory that manifest themselves in various models are discussed below.

#### **4.4.2.1 (Socio) Linguistic Theory as Manifested in Language Planning Models**

In Haugen (1966, 1983) model, the determination of which language planning processes constitute either the societal focus or the language focus can be said to be based on insights derived from social theory and linguistic theory. The processes that constitute the societal focus of Haugen's model, referred to as 'status planning' are informed by insights deriving from social theory that postulates that people want to belong to vital groups, and they strive for this goal in their intergroup behaviour by using speech

strategies. In this way, language planning can be conceived as an attempt towards either preserving the status of certain language(s) and/or the elevation of the status of certain language(s). Insights from social theory that underpin status planning underscore the received wisdom in language planning that language planning does not occur in a vacuum, but must remain sensitive to the social fabric of the speakers of the languages that are subject to language planning processes.

The processes that constitute the language focus of Haugen's model, referred to as 'corpus planning in this model, are informed by insights that derive from linguistic theory. Corpus planning involves the making of decisions which need to be made to codify or elaborate a language or languages. Language codification and elaboration processes that include standardisation procedures of graphisation, grammatication, lexication functional development of language(s) selected, terminological modernisation, stylistic development and internalisation, derive their insights from linguistic theory and a further consideration of insights drawn from social theory because the codified and elaborated norms as per this theory must be appropriate for the society that uses the language(s) being planned. It can thus be posited that Haugen's model derives some of its insights from social theory and linguistic theory as foundational theories of language planning theory.

Although the Thornburn (1971) model is based on econometric theory, it also incorporates aspects of social theory and linguistic theory in the determination of its three basic components, namely the inputs, outputs and consequences of outputs. The determination of inputs, outputs and consequences of outputs in this model must take consideration of language status variables and language corpus variables. These two are essentially constructs that derive from social theory and linguistic theory.

The Cooper (1989) *Accounting Framework for the Study of Language Planning* is influenced by insights that derive from social theory and linguistic theory. The *actors* that play roles in the language planning processes are products of social structure and engage in language planning process in attempts to preserve a certain social structure or to

change social structure. The *behaviours* that language planning activities aim at influencing are both social behaviours and linguistic behaviours. The Cooper (1989) framework is one embedded in the social fabric of a society, especially in the determination of the *people* that are the targets of language planning activities. The model borrows from both social theory and linguistic theory in its construction of the postulates of *ends* and *conditions* of and for language planning activities.

The Haarmann (1990) model, which is arguably an extension of Haugen (1966, 1983) model, incorporates aspects of social theory and linguistic theory. Under this model, Haarmann (1990) develops an ideal typology of language cultivation and language planning. The typology specifies three functions of language planning, namely language status planning; language prestige planning; and language corpus planning. The determination of the functions that constitute language status planning and language prestige planning relies heavily on insights drawn from social theory as the main theory for the understanding of societal dynamics. The determination of the functions that constitute language corpus planning on its part relies on insights drawn from linguistic theory.

Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) outlines for language planning incorporate insights drawn from social theory and linguistic theory. National resource development planning must take cognisance of the social factors that are at play in a certain society because the overall purpose of national resource development planning is to optimise the utilisation of resources in a society for the achievement of social good. Language planning, seen as an instance of national resource development planning must draw on insights developed in social theory in its attempts to come up with frameworks that serve to optimise the possibilities for the achievement of the social good.

The ecological model for language planning proposed by Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) also draws insights from social theory and linguistic theory. The policy space within which language planning occurs according to this model is referred to as the linguistic eco-system. The linguistic eco-system comprises of the various forces, agencies and



organisations with an interest in language planning. The forces include language death; language survival; language change; language revival; language shift; language amalgamation; language contact; and literacy development. The agencies include governmental agencies, education agencies and non/quasi governmental agencies. The determination of the various forces at play in a language planning eco-system and the characterisation of the agencies that play a role in language planning must of necessity draw insights from social theory and linguistic theory.

The Dominquez (1998) and the Donnacha (2000) *Language-marketing model* and *Integrated language planning model* respectfully incorporate aspects of social theory and linguistic theory. Language marketing takes place within a social context and the product or service that is rendered to the language market is essentially language. To optimise the language marketing strategy as per this model, planners have to take consideration of the social fabric of the language community in question as well as a consideration of the language profile of the target language community. It can thus be posited that the determination of the three essential elements in the strategic marketing plan, namely the customer, the uncontrollable variables and the variables controllable by planners in Dominquez (1998) relies on insights drawn from social theory and linguistic theory. The determination of the three levels of language planning, namely ‘status planning’, ‘language planning’ and ‘functional language planning’ and the determination of the primary and support activities that reinforce language planning in the Donnacha (2000) models relies on insights about society and language and can thus be said to draw on insights developed in social theory and linguistic theory.

Social theory and linguistic theory as foundational theories of language planning theory and language planning models are also manifest in the Webb’s *Strategic Planning Framework* (2002). The *vision* and *mission* of a country are shaped by particular socio-historical circumstances and they represent instances and attempts at mediating social tensions that are manifest in a country as well as the identification of the set of *problems* which acts as obstacles in the realisation of the country’s vision and mission. The problems need to be identified, and information about them has to be collected and about

the *internal* and *external* contexts in which these problems are situated. Webb (2002: 40) observes that in the case of language planning development in South Africa, the internal environment refers to the sociolinguistic realities of the country, and the external environment to issues outside the language issue which have a bearing to language policies of the county. The identification of the problems which act as obstacles in the realisation of the country's vision and mission, as well as the determination of the internal and external contexts in which these problems are situated must of necessity draw on insights about social and language dynamics as developed in social theory and linguistic theory.

The formulation of the specific objectives or *goals*, as well as the *implementation* process in this framework must take cognisance of the social and linguistic realities of a country. The *control* and *evaluation* measures designed to enable supervisory agencies to determine the effectiveness of policy implementation derive from a consideration of the linguistic realities and needs, as well as a consideration of social realities and needs of a country. It can thus be posited that the determination of all the above components of the *Strategic Planning Framework* must draw on insights developed in social theory and linguistic theory as foundational theories of language planning theory.

From the foregoing, it can be concluded that social theory and linguistic theory are important foundational theories of language planning theory. Virtually all models of language planning proposed to date incorporate insights drawn from social theory and linguistic theory. The importance of social theory and linguistic theory as foundational theories of language planning is premised by the social and linguistic nature of the language planning endeavour. Language planning takes place within social contexts and language is the target of all language planning activity. Language planning is many a time accompanied by social and linguistic tensions. Social theory and linguistic theory provide language planners with the tools needed to predict possible social and linguistic tensions arising from language planning activities, as well as tools that can be deployed to ensure that the resultant language planning related social and linguistic tensions are mediated for the achievement of the overall social good.

However, there is another important perspective with regard to the relationship between social theory and linguistic theory on one part, and language planning theory on the other, but one that is hardly discussed in the literature on language planning theory. The relationship between social theory and linguistic theory and language planning theory is a dialectic one. Language planning theory does not just draw insights from social theory and linguistic theory. Language planning theory also serves to extend the frontiers of both social theory and linguistic theory. Language planning theory provides useful insights into the nature of the dynamic of society and language especially in pragmatic contexts. In this way, language planning makes a contribution in the overall understanding of societal dynamics as well as the language profile of a society.

#### **4.4.3 Modernisation Theory**

Modernisation theory is the other foundational theory of language planning theory elaborated on in Eastman's framework (1983) for the analysis of language planning theory. "The modernisation-theory aspects of language planning theory respond to social pressures and forces. Modernisation theory seeks to account for the interaction of sentimental and instrumental attachments to a nation or state as integrative or disintegrative forces in the language-planning process" (Fishman 1974: 1758, cited in Eastman 1983: 141). "Modernisation theory is also used to understand language maintenance and language shift. Further, it is useful in seeing the role of language in development" (Eastman 1983: 141). Various aspects of modernisation theory as a foundational theory of language planning theory are elaborated on in the following discussion.

Language planning theory seeks to assess the way people behave with and about language as a guide in deciding whether to adopt a plan of maintenance or shift. Planners seeking to recommend either linguistic stability or change need to consider the effect their plan will have on the status quo. One notion of particular importance is that of

language domain. Another is the idea that there are different sets of domains in which language is used. By domain is generally meant “arena of use”; that is, language is used differently (in terms of style or variety as well as of particular language choice) in the family, school, government, church, media, etc. (Eastman 1983: 141 – 142).

A concept related to that of domain in the context of maintenance and shift is the idea of *dominance configuration*. It is a way to show the direction of differential change in language use through time. By analysing data of dominance configurations, it is expected that researchers will be able to determine, in a much more refined way, how maintenance or shift is proceeding. In addition to studying domains of language use and setting up dominance configurations, planning relative to maintenance and shift rests on a concept of LANGUAGE REINFORCEMENT [emphasis Eastman 1983], as a form of “overt behavioural implementation of attitudes, feelings, and beliefs” (Fishman 1968a: 105, cited in Eastman 1983: 144). Language reinforcement is language planning is a situation of maintenance or shift. The languages positively reinforced stay, those negatively reinforced shift. Language reinforcement involves the “control or regulation of habitual language use by means of reinforcement, planning, prohibition, etc” (Eastman 1983: 144). Language reinforcement as an aspect of modernisation theory manifests itself in language planning theory through various language planning activities, namely codification; regularization; simplification; purification; elaboration; implementation; and evaluation (Eastman 1983: 146 – 147).

As a general theory, modernisation contains various aspects. “It refers to the total transformation that takes place when a traditional or pre-modern society changes to such an extent that new forms of technological, organisational, or social characteristic appear. These characteristics constitute an advanced society. Underlying the analysis of the modernisation concept are the two assumptions that a set of characteristics can be attributed to traditionality on the one hand and modernity on the other, and that progress or transition is possible from one to the other. Literally, modernisation means a process of bringing up-to-date: older things are adapted to such an extent that they can stand the test of modern times” (Coetzee 2001: 30).

Implicit in the meaning of modernisation is the idea of replacing or exchanging older things with something more recent (Smith 1973: 61, cited in Coetzee 2001: 31). This is coupled with an association between modernity and progressiveness. A society can therefore be called modern when it displays specific characteristics. These characteristics are regarded as principally and theoretically universal, despite the fact that their embodiment may vary. According to Coetzee (2001: 31) the following are some of the characteristics of modernisation:

- increasing social complexity
- control of the environment
- increasing specialised adaptation
- production and absorption of knowledge
- rational understanding and flexibility; and
- social maturation

Within modernisation theory, “thinking in terms of a dichotomy of traditionality and modernity brings with it an ideological dimension. Modernisation theory is not only a system of explanation. It is an interpretation, which on the one hand contains elements of motivation, reassurance, meaning, and inspiration, and on the other hand, implies that the absence of the characteristics of modernity should be evaluated negatively. Modernisation theorists have enthusiastically sung the praises of modernisation during the development history of the West. The ideals of prosperity, growth, stability, democracy, and efficiency have been linked directly with the paths of social and economic development of the Western world” (Coetzee 2001: 32).

Coetzee (2001: 32) submits that “modernisation theory’s principles are best illustrated in the use of continua, indicating the need to move from traditionality to modernity. Development and modernisation are presented as synonyms. These two concepts refer mainly to the Western world and those parts of Asia that are closely integrated into the advanced market economy of the world. All other parts of the developing world are often

grouped together and are seen as a relatively comprehensive, demarcated, and general area. Underdevelopment is regarded as a single, holistic phenomenon, although in a variety of embodiments. Regardless of the variety, the state of underdevelopment represents identifiable phenomena, which can be seen as indicators of a homogenous situation”.

Coetzee (2001) further observes that modernisation is a process of change whereby external factors have an impact on the individual, on the social structure and on culture. The impact on the individual relates to the issue of personality. This means that the “modern” person’s need to achieve will provide motivation to go along with the changing situation. Modernisation of culture entails the broader values, norms, and attitudes of the larger contexts within which people find themselves. The majority of analyses or explanations of modernisation focus on the social structure. The process of structural modernisation comprises societal **differentiation, integration** and **adaptation**, increasing complexity and **growing systemness**. These aspects of modernisation theory are discussed here below and are derived from the exposition by Coetzee (2001).

“Modernisation is inseparably linked to the differentiation of social sub-systems. In this way, there is a direct relationship between the progressive separation of political, cultural, judicial, economic, kinship, and religious subsystems on the one hand and the degree of modernisation on the other. Traditional society is characterised by a comprehensive and multifunctional social structure within which the specific roles and functions of the family, education, economy, and state cannot easily be separated. The modern society displays a differentiation of such functions (Coetzee 2001: 34). Differentiation leads to a more structured society. Structural differentiation does not mean that modern society consists of totally independent subsystems. Mutually dependent relationships exist between the parts of the social system. Differentiation is a process of inherent change, because the various parts of the social system act as carriers of change. Thus change in one part activates change in the other parts” (Smith 1973 16 – 18, cited in Coetzee 2001: 35).

“Differentiation means the process of constituting more specialised and more autonomous social units. It applies to all social institutions, such as the economy, the family, politics, education, and religion. This form of differentiation coincides with an elimination of traditional patterns. In the cultural sphere, modernisation is characterised by an increasing differentiation of the main aspects of the value system, by a process of increasing secularisation, and by the spread of literacy and secular education”.

“Structural-functionalists accept that unrestricted differentiation may have an almost centrifugal effect, as it could evoke a process leading to the systematic abolition of all social attachments. Each specialised part could become separated from the main unit to the extent that (as autonomy increases) the continuation of ordered coexistence is jeopardised. Disintegration of this nature is countered by a process of re-equilibrium or re-integration. Integration unites the differentiated structures on a new basis. In the pre-modern structure integration is linked to descent, membership of a specific grouping, and mystic sanctions. The modernised version, however, concerns the extension of specialised political, economic, or cultural groupings, the formation of pressure groups, and the establishment of bureaucratic structures” (Coetzee 2001: 36).

“Adaptation is the process whereby a social system responds to changes in its external environment. In a certain sense it could be argued that differentiation and integration only explain the general trend and direction of social change. In this regard differentiation and integration are the results of a changing environment. Adaptation provides a collective meaning for and direction to the potential for change present in all social systems. Together with differentiation and integration, it provides the parameters for theorising on change. Adaptation itself does not guarantee a smooth direction for change, as certain discontinuities arise when integration fails to keep pace with differentiation. In developing countries structural problems often originate as a result of modernisation. Within a modernised economic, political, educational, and cultural structure, situations often occur where activities and aims conflict with traditional attitudes” (Coetzee 2001: 36 – 37).

“For modernisation theorists the societal transition brought about by modernisation implies increased complexity. Society starts to display a growing degree of systemness. Modernisation coincides with growing systemness. The degree of modernisation and systemness is often assessed in terms of the presence of specific indicators. The major indicators are measured by aspects of output and technological activity” (Coetzee 2001: 37).

“Modernisation theory as it applies to many developing societies of the Third World usually reflects a large element of induced modernisation. This is the aspect of modernisation theory that has greatly influenced language planning activities in many of Third World societies. Induced modernisation means that, due to contact with “modern” societies, constructive efforts are made to project elements of modernisation into the non-modern society. Underlying the introduction of a system of governance and administration, structures of education, channels for political participation and communication systems, is an attempt to catch up with the modernised countries. This is accompanied by a desire to obtain access to the “attractive” products of the modern technological process”.

“In most cases induced modernisation originated from some form of colonial history. During the colonial era, induced modernisation began with a system of education as well as other social reforms which brought about the spread of knowledge. The precipitating motivation for modernisation comes mainly from above and in most cases a broad basis of acceptance is absent. An unconditional acceptance of the principles and advantages of modernisation is only possible when the majority of the people experience a limited amount of conflict between traditional ideas and the demands of modern society”.

In conclusion, one can say that the underlying principles of modernisation thought comprise of two approaches. “The first can be labelled the “improvement” approach, because it tries to link up with the existing system. The traditional system thus forms the basis for the execution of modernisation. Modernisation approaches very seldom attempt to manifest development in this way. The second approach has as its point of departure



transformation, during which process the main obstacles in the way of modernisation must, as far as possible, be eliminated. Programmes are thus deliberately initiated to eliminate social and cultural obstacles that retard economic growth. This is to be achieved through the transformation of existing social and economic structures, and the approach obviously coincides closely with the principle of economism: a label for the complex of secularisation and philosophical development, scientific and technological advancement, and commercial and cultural expansiveness that, beginning before the Industrial Revolution, has gradually and increasingly set Europe, and eventually also its offshoots, apart from the rest of the World” (Coetzee 2001: 39).

#### **4.4.3.1 Modernisation Theory as Manifested in Language Planning Models**

From the preceding exposition of modernisation theory, and on close scrutiny of language planning theory and language planning models, it is submitted that language planning theory and language planning models borrow heavily from modernisation theory as a foundational theory of language planning theory and language planning models. “Language planning is defined by many scholars almost exclusively incorporating aspects of standardisation. This occurs particularly in a modernisation context. A standard language brings a diverse speech community together while at the same time distinguishing the community from another speech community of which it may once have been a part” (Eastman 1983: 153 – 154). These processes can be said to borrow from the processes of integration and differentiation as espoused by modernisation theory.

In a modernising social context, language planning is involved with both (1) maintenance and shift of ideas and (2) standardisation approaches. It also receives impetus in its conceptual development from other than language-planning areas, usually known as “development” planning in general, whether language directed or otherwise, and operates on an assumption that:

What more developed entities (be they states, societies, nations, languages, or economic systems) have experienced can be helpful in charting the future course of less developed entities. The corollary to this argument is that what less developed entities have experienced can help reconstruct those experiences undergone by more developed entities (Fishman 1973: 84: cited in Eastman 1983: 158).

The corollary construct in the above assumption rarely occurs. What has happened with regard to modernisation theory application on language planning activities in the developing world has been an attempt at a wholesale application of insights drawn from the developed world into the developing world language planning scenarios. Contemporary language planning theory and language planning models borrow heavily from modernisation theory in their definition and determination of the processes that constitute status planning, corpus planning, prestige planning and functional language planning, vision and mission statements, the identification of problems to be addressed through language planning, the determination of internal and external contexts in which language planning has to take place in, the determination of the goals and objectives of language planning and the end results of language planning. All these processes constitute attempts at engineering languages and society from what may be perceived as an undesirable state of linguistic and social state of affairs (usually a pre-modern and traditional state of affairs) into a “modernised” and “desirable” linguistic and social state of affairs.

In conclusion to the discussion on modernisation theory as one of the foundational theories of language planning theory and language planning models, it submitted that virtually all language planning models [discussed in the preceding sections] conceive of language planning as an instance at changing a society’s linguistic *status quo* from what is conceived as not being desirable relative to time and socio-political and historical circumstances toward a more desirable sociolinguistic profile. In this way, all language planning models incorporate aspects of modernisation theory.

However, inasmuch as the traditional theoretical foundations of language planning theory, namely decision-making theory; (Socio)Linguistic theory; and modernisation

theory are an invaluable contribution to the general development and understanding of language planning theory and language planning models in particular, certain inherent weaknesses in these theories contribute to the inherent dilemma in language planning theory and language planning models, especially with regard to the implementation of multilingual language policies and language plans. The inherent weaknesses in the traditional theoretical foundations of language planning and language planning models are discussed in the next section, with special reference to how these inherent weaknesses negatively impact on attempts at multilingual language policy implementation.

#### **4.4.4 Critique of Traditional Theoretical Foundations of Language Planning Theory**

Several inherent weaknesses of the traditional theoretical foundations of language planning theory and language planning models, namely decision-making theory; (Socio)Linguistic theory; and modernisation theory can be identified. These weaknesses particularly relate to either the antithetical nature of the core constructs of these theoretical foundations of language planning theory and language planning models, or general epistemological inadequacy in explaining social and linguistic change, especially in the context of the implementation of multilingual language policies and language plans. These weaknesses are discussed here below as a critique of the traditional theoretical foundations of language planning theory.

##### **4.4.4.1 Critique of Decision-Making Theory as Foundational Theory of Language Planning Theory and Language Planning Models**

Decision-making theory rests on an economic base, particularly with respect to the theory behind the decisions and to the alternative courses of action considered in language planning. Based on this, most language planning researchers conceive of language planning as a practical, action-oriented field (as applied to sociolinguistics), which would

necessarily rest on theoretical concepts of how decisions involving language are made so that they reflect “a composite urge articulated by the community” (Jernudd and Das Gupta 1971: 198, cited in Eastman 1983: 134). However, decisions about language do not always reflect what the community wants. According to decision-making theory most language planning in a modernising, multiethnic world needs to provide decisions and choices about language that make practical sense. The prevailing concept of planning is that courses of action need to be found “within limits of given amount of resources... in order to reach goals approved by the political authority” (Jernudd and Das Gupta 1971: 198 – 199, cited in Eastman 1983: 135).

The concept of the “most optimal decisions and/or choices in the face of limited resources” within decision-making theory and which is closely related to the notion of efficiency and effectiveness within decision-making theory represents one of the inherent weaknesses of this theory with regard to multilingual language policy and language planning implementation. Due to its overemphasis on efficiency and effectiveness in the face of limited resources in language planning processes, decision-making theory becomes antithetical to multilingual language policy and planning implementation because multilingual language policy and planning implementation, viewed within a framework of effectiveness and efficiency, usually measured using economic variables and not social variables, becomes an exercise in further overstressing the usually overstretched resources in a community.

Language planning decisions and/or choices taken within the framework of decision-making theory that considers efficiency and effectiveness as core concepts usually do not consider aspects of social capital creation that could accompany multilingual language policy and planning implementation. Considerations of efficiency and effectiveness, especially in the face of limited resources usually lead to the implementation of monolingual language policies and plans or at best bi-lingual language policies and plans. In this way the effectiveness and efficiency concepts of decision-making theory are antithetical to multilingual language policy and planning implementation.

Cost-benefit analysis within decision-making theory does not provide a useful framework by means of which multilingual language policies and plans can be implemented. A cost-benefit analysis of language-choice alternatives shows which language(s) will cost less money when implemented. It shows which measurable future quantification of further differences between the choices will be – at least for the near future. Cost-benefit analysis also provides some indications of which language is best, given the goals of the authority requiring the choice. With its overemphasis on cost implications of language choices, the cost-benefit concept of decision-making theory does not render much support to the implementation of multilingual language policies and plans because a cost-benefit analysis is almost certainly to return results that the implementation of multilingual language policies and plans will cost more money and other related resources. The tendency in this situation is usually to adopt a plan that will cost less money and other related resources to implement. In many cases this kind of choice does not favour the implementation of multilingual language policies and plans.

Another critique that can be levelled against decision-making theory with regard to its adequacy in facilitating the implementation of multilingual language policies and language plans relates to its concept of “spread hypothesis”. The word spread refers to the degree of the actual use of “language products” resulting from decisions about language. The spread hypothesis holds that for planning to be successful, alternatives must be chosen to ensure that the decision has an effect on the social use of the language products. It also holds that successful planning will forecast what language products will spread and how they will spread, so that uncertainty about how the decision will affect language will be reduced.

The problem with the concept of “spread hypothesis” with regard to multilingual language policy and planning implementation relates to the commodification of language as viewed through the “spread hypothesis”. Within a multilingual setting, the main goal of language planning is not to package languages as products, but rather to give languages practical social, political, cultural, educational, technological and economic value as they are. The spread hypothesis points towards a situation where language is

commodified, usually into a standardised variety; let say by a Language Academy, and then the language is disseminated unto the population. From the literature such attempts at language commodification have not led to the implementation of multilingual language policies and language plans because underlying them are inherent considerations of effectiveness, efficiency and money.

The last critique that can be levelled against decision-making theory as a theory that can facilitate the implementation of multilingual language policies and plans relates to the nature of language planning decisions and/or choices as they are taken in pragmatic contexts. Inasmuch as decision-making theory is important in the overall understanding of language planning processes, because even the decisions and/or choice to implement multilingual language policies and language plans will have to rely on insights drawn from decision-making theory, it is baffling why in many instances language planning decisions and/or choices usually tend to favour the implementation of monolingual and/or bi-lingual language policies and plans. This dilemma is explainable through a consideration of the core premise of decision-making theory: it is essentially a theory deriving from an economics base and any processes that do not seem to contribute towards efficiency, effectiveness and the rational utilisation of scarce resources are simply considered as not being important to the overall language planning processes. In this way decision-making theory does not provide for the creation of social capital that usually accompanies multilingual language policy and language planning implementation, but that is hard to account for using the quantification concepts of decision-making theory.

It is important however, to submit that any re-construction of language planning theory aimed at generating frameworks that can be deployed to facilitate multilingual language policy and planning cannot ignore decision-making theory as a foundational theory of language planning theory and language planning models [because as observed above, even the process of implementing multilingual language policies and language plans will need to be premised on decisions and/or choices, in this case the decision and/or choices to implement multilingual language policies and plans]. However, to be able to account

for those aspects of language planning that cannot necessarily be quantified, decision-making theory as applied to language planning theory and language planning models will need to be reinforced with other theories that account for the non-quantifiable aspects of the language planning enterprise. This discussion is further elaborated on in chapter 5.

#### **4.4.4.2 Critique of (Socio) Linguistic Theory as Foundational Theory of Language Planning Theory and Language Planning Models**

The critique toward social theory and linguistic theory [collapsed together in the present study as (Socio)Linguistic theory] as theoretical foundations of language planning theory and language planning models is based on the nature of the language planning enterprise on the one hand and the stage of development of these two theories on the other.

Cooper (1989: 182) poses a rhetoric question as to whether a theory of language planning is possible. Cooper (1989: 182) proceeds to observe that a theory of language planning would enable language planners to explain language-planning initiatives, the means chosen to effect the goals, and the outcomes of the implementation. Such a theory would enable language planners to understand the motivation for setting particular status, corpus, and acquisition goals and for choosing particular means and the reasons that the means do or do not affect the goals within a given social context.

Cooper (1989: 182) continues to observe that “such a theory seems as far from the grasp of language planners as the philosopher’s stone and the elixir of youth. It is unattainable, at least at the present level of competence, not only because language planning is such a complex activity, influenced by various factors – economic, ideological, political, etc. – and not only because it is directed toward so many different status, corpus, and acquisition goals, but more fundamentally because it is a tool in the service of so many different latent goals such as economic modernisation, national integration, national liberation, imperial hegemony, racial, sexual, and economic equality, the maintenance of elites, and their replacement by new elites. That language planning should serve so many

covert goals is not surprising. Language is the fundamental institution of society, not only because it is the first institution experienced by the individual but also because all other institutions are built upon its regulatory patterns. To plan language is to plan society. A satisfactory theory of language planning, therefore awaits a satisfactory theory of social change”.

The above observations by Cooper (1989) regarding the inadequacies of social theory and linguistic theory as theories that can explain language planning activities within the greater milieu of social change echo earlier observation by Haugen (1983). Haugen (1983: 276) observes:

For the moment our discipline [language planning] remains largely descriptive and has not reached a stage of ‘explanatory adequacy’. Perhaps it is bound to remain so until we know more about the reasons for unplanned change in language.

It can thus be submitted that the epistemological dilemma of social theory and linguistic theory manifest themselves in language planning theory and language planning models. So long as social theory and linguistic theory as theoretical foundations of language planning theory and language planning models do not have adequate explanations as to why language change, either planned or unplanned does occur and how language planning should be able to mediate its various goals without necessitating unmanageable conflict and fragmentation of society, their adequacy as theoretical foundations of language planning theory and language planning models shall always remain an area of contested academic debate.

Another critique that can be levelled toward social theory and linguistic theory as theoretical foundations of language planning theory and language planning models relate to the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality. In language planning discourse, ethnolinguistic vitality is depicted as a variable in language planning processes and as a negative state of affairs that language planning needs to respond to. This kind of conceptualisation of ethnolinguistic vitality may lead toward assimilationist language planning activities that are antithetical to multilingualism. Ethnolinguistic vitality should not only be



conceptualised as a variable in language planning processes and a negative state of affairs that language planning needs to respond to. Rather ethnolinguistic vitality should be one of the main goals of language planning processes. An approach to language planning that sets ethnolinguistic vitality as one of its main goals will of necessity strive toward the implementation of multilingual language policies as a means of promoting ethnolinguistic vitality. The promotion of ethnolinguistic vitality should be one of the noble goals pursued by the language planning enterprise.

However, these observations do not discount the fact that social theory and linguistic theory are core theoretical foundations for language planning theory and language planning models. The challenge lies in continuing to advance the frontiers of social theory and linguistic theory as applied to language planning theory and language planning models with the view of optimising results of language planning, especially multilingual language planning implementation. The possibilities that exist for social theory and linguistic theory in the optimisation of multilingual policy and planning implementation are discussed in chapter 5.

#### **4.4.4.3 Critique of Modernisation Theory as Foundational Theory of Language Planning Theory and Language Planning Models**

The critique of modernisation theory as a theoretical foundation of language planning theory and language planning models rests on the core concept of modernisation that traditional modes of existence and production need of necessity be replaced with “modernised” modes of existence and production. What this modernisation theory core concept has meant for language planning theory and language planning models is that the language planning enterprise should strive to replace what are perceived as traditional linguistic practices with “modernised” linguistic activities. Whereas if this concept were to be applied in its pure form it could precipitate the status and corpus development of all languages in society, this is seldom the case.

Language planning theory and language planning models seem to apply the classical interpretation of this concept, namely that of “induced modernisation”. This application has entailed the adoption of mainly languages of Western origin and the neglect of indigenous languages. In this process, Western languages are seen as embodiments of the modernisation process, whereas indigenous languages are seen as embodiments of the traditional values that should be discouraged. This application of modernisation theory to language planning activities is generally antithetical to multilingual policy and planning implementation.

Lastly, a critique that can be levelled toward the traditional theoretical foundations of language planning theory and language planning models relates to the issue of strategies and methodologies. Due to their preoccupations with rationality, the traditional theoretical foundations of language planning theory and language planning models do not suggest strategies and methodologies that can be deployed to facilitate multilingual policies and plans.

The inherent weaknesses in the traditional theoretical foundations of language planning models have led to theoretical advances in language planning theory. The contemporary advances to language planning theory and language planning models aim at both addressing some of the dilemmas presented by the traditional theoretical foundations of language planning theory and language planning models and extending the theoretical scope of language planning theory and language planning models. The contemporary advances to language planning theory and language planning models are discussed in the following section.

#### **4.5 Contemporary Advances in Language Planning Theory**

Contemporary advances to language planning theory represent additional theoretical developments in language planning theory and language planning models apart from the three theoretical foundations of language planning theory identified by Eastman (1983).

Three other theoretical orientations are identifiable in the literature as further advances in language planning theory. These are:

- (a) Systems Theory
- (b) Critical Theory
- (c) Management Theory

The above three theoretical advances in language planning theory are discussed in the following subsections. The approach to the discussion is however, the one developed by Eastman (1983): an elaboration of the main tenets of each of the theories followed by an illustration of how aspects each of the theories manifest themselves in language planning models as the substantive manifestations of language planning theory and finally a critique of each of the theories as contemporary advances in language planning theory.

#### **4.5.1 Systems Theory**

Capra (1996: 29) observes that “the ideas set fourth by organismic biologists during the first half of the century (20<sup>th</sup> century) helped to give birth to a new way of thinking – ‘systems thinking’ – in terms of connectedness, relationships, context. According to the systems view, the essential properties of an organism, or living system, are properties of the whole, which none of the parts have. They arise from the interactions and relationships between the parts. These properties are destroyed when the system is dissected, either physically or theoretically, into isolated elements. Although its possible to discern individual parts in any system, these parts are not isolated, and the nature of the whole is always different from the mere sum of its parts”.

“The emergence of systems thinking was a profound revolution in the history of Western scientific thought. The belief that in every complex system the behaviour of the whole can be understood entirely from the properties of its parts is central to the Cartesian paradigm. This was Descartes’ celebrated method of analytic thinking which has been an

essential characteristic of modern scientific thought. In the analytic, or reductionist, approach, the parts themselves cannot be analysed any further, except by reducing them to still smaller parts. Indeed, Western science has been progressing in that way, and at each step there has been a level of fundamental constituents that could not be analysed any further” (Capra 1996: 29).

“The great shock of twentieth-century science has been that systems cannot be understood by analysis. The properties of the parts are not intrinsic properties, but can be understood only within the context of the larger whole. Thus the relationship between the parts and the whole has been reversed. In the systems approach, the properties of the parts can be understood only from the organisation of the whole. Accordingly, systems thinking does not concentrate on basic building blocks but rather on basic principles of organisation. Systems thinking is ‘contextual’, which is the opposite of analytical thinking. Analysis means taking something apart in order to understand it; systems thinking means putting it into the context of a larger whole” (Capra 1996: 29 – 30).

Systems theory and thinking have found expression in the discourse on language planning. An example of this discourse is Cluver (1991) cited under section 1.3 of the study. Cluver (1991:54 – 55) observes that “in contrast to structuralist linguistics, the application of systems thinking enables language planners to begin with the total context and from there they can work inwards to smaller components. As soon as one sees reality as a network of relations, it becomes difficult to identify linear cause-effect relations in this network since everything is connected to everything else. When confronted with a problem such as the decision as to which language to select as official language for an emerging nation, the systems approach leads the researcher to attempt to link language to as many other social variables as possible”.

Creating national unity is only one of the problems facing multilingual developing countries and the institution of one official language is certainly only one of the many strategies that are used to bring about national integration. It is essential to identify these strategies and to determine how an official language would interact with these strategies.

Kashoki (1982: 284, cited in Cluver 1991: 55) for instance states that meaningful nationhood is achieved when “the population feels it has an enduring personal stake in the future of the state and/or country.” The systems approach would want to know how many official languages could contribute to achieve this ideal.

“Another major problem facing a newly independent country is how to spread literacy and economic opportunities. It is clear that the introduction of a foreign official language is going to impede the spread of literacy and hinder access to economic opportunities. To improve the quality of life of the common man he minimally needs to be educated in his own language. Understanding of these legitimate needs of the majority of the population leads the language planner to understand that in a multilingual community different languages may have different functions and that the question of should be: apart from the official language, which other languages should be developed to perform specific functions? The multilingual model that attempts to meet the multiple needs of a diverse nation is typical of a systems-oriented approach” (Cluver 1991: 55).

#### **4.5.1.1 Systems Theory as Manifested in Language Planning Models**

Various language planning models incorporate aspects of systems theory and systems thinking. Cooper (1989) marks the beginning of a theoretical shift toward a systems thinking approach to language planning. The eight components of Cooper (1989) *Accounting scheme for the study of language planning* are mapped out as being interrelated and interlinked, and so are the various features that define each of the eight components.

The same observation can be made with regard to Haarmann (1990), Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) Dominguez (1998), Donnacha (2000) and Webb (2002) language planning models and frameworks. They all incorporate a systems thinking approach in their characterisation of the processes that define language planning.

### 4.5.2 Critical Theory

Critical theory represents another contemporary advance to language planning theory. Critical theory proposes to extend the theoretical insights of Karl Marx. The following discussion outlines the main tenets of critical theory, especially critical theory as espoused by the Frankfurt School. The discussion also gives an indication of the manifestation of critical theory in the literature on language planning theory. Finally the discussion outlines the potential contribution that critical theory should make in the designing of an approach that can be deployed for multilingual policy and planning implementation.

According to critical theory, “people (including social scientists) should undertake a close scrutiny of what is involved in “doing science”. They should also consider how the process of doing science may relate to the larger project of enhancing human freedom. By its very nature, criticism has to be self-critical. Consequently, critical theorists developed an open attitude to any philosophical tradition that held out the promise of human emancipation through social critique” (Romm 2001: 142).

One of the major proponents of critical theory is Jurgen Habermas. For Habermas, “critical theory’s emancipatory interest means striving for a society that is guided by unrestrained communication about its goals. Critical theory stands in stark contrast, on the one hand, to positivist theory (and by implication modernisation theory) which has a concealed interest in control and manipulation, and, on the other hand, to interpretive theory (and by implication the micro-foundation of social reality) which aims to understand what people think without subjecting it to critical reflection. The true revolution of modernity must lie in new modes of communicative rationality and, more specifically, new modes of democratic decision making” (Romm 2001: 141).

Habermas’s theory of communicative action is aimed at highlighting the potential for communicative power within the social fabric. The theory presents openly its interest in extending democracy in society. Seen in this light, science can be argued to have a role in

“clarifying the direction of social change” (Delanty 1997 142, cited in Romm 2001: 143). Science need not shy away from offering a contribution in this regard. Habermas thus lays bare his emancipatory intention to aid the development of communicative capacity in society. His theoretical task is consciously infused with this practical aim. This also implies that he criticises all forms of social inquiry that attempt to remove values from the process of knowing. For Habermas, knowing is, and should be, tied to considerations regarding the goal direction of the historical process. When knowing is removed from such considerations, the result is that a technical agenda comes to frame discussion on social problems. Problems are then defined as treatable via the application of some “means”. Habermas refers to the kind of reasoning that sees issues as being capable of technical solution as “instrumental reason”. Habermas argues that the domination of instrumental reason over communicative reason in society itself needs to be subjected to critical reflection in the public sphere of society (Romm 2001: 143).

Critical theory also offers a critique of modernisation. In considering various societal attempts at modernisation, Habermas feels that “it is necessary to engage in a critique of the way in which the project of modernity has been implemented. Habermas feels that it is the task of a critical social science to reconsider the way that the goal of progress is being addressed. He proceeds to employ an ideology-critique by considering the way in which the very term “modernity” has become subjected to an ideological distortion. He notes that the term modernity – associated as it is with modernisation – serves to restrict communication on the goals of the project of modernity. The term has taken on a restricted meaning in the language structures of societies engaged in the project of modernity: it refers to the productive process of society that is geared towards a continually increasing economic growth, and the state administration is geared towards increasing efficiency” (Habermas 1981: 7, cited in Romm 2001: 147).

In short, the term “modernisation” points to a societal condition where economic growth and efficient state administration define the path of the society’s progress. But this means that the only future that can be seen within this scenario is a future of more economic growth and more efficient state administration. Science and technology are the keys to

the implementation of the future. Science and technology are relied upon to ensure that both the economy and state administration increasingly adapt to the demands of an efficiently functioning system. Habermas is wary of the way in which the project of modernity has been thus reduced in its future vision. The project of modernity, "...penetrated by a form of modernisation guided by standards of economic and administrative rationality", disturbs the realm of "communicative rationality" (Habermas 1981: 8 cited in Romm 2001: 147).

Habermas suggests that "in order to revitalise the communicative infrastructure of everyday life, it is necessary to criticise the ideology that restricts communication on the goals of modernity. For Habermas, it is important that a social discourse on these matters is re-opened as part of the public sphere: if one is to speak of possibilities for "progress" its very definition must include the opportunity for wide-scale social discussion. And the discussion itself cannot be framed by an all-encompassing ideology that pre-defines how the development process is to be addressed" (Romm 2001: 147).

Critical theory is concerned "precisely with the historical and social genesis of the facts it examines and with the social contexts in which its results will have their effects. It stresses that social research is itself a form of social interaction in which the objects of knowledge are potentially subjects of the very same knowledge, and thus that it is willy-nilly a potential factor in changing social relations. Consciously taking up this reflexive relation to social practice, critical social theory expressly aims at becoming a factor in social change by becoming part of the self-consciousness of oppressed social groups. It does not consider the purposes it serves to be external to the context of inquiry" (Hoy and McCathy 1994: 16).



#### **4.5.2.1 Critical Theory as Manifested in Language Planning Theory and Language Planning Models**

Two main contributions to language planning theory that rely heavily on insights drawn from critical theory can be singled out. These are Blommaert (1996) and Ricento (2000) (cf section 1.3).

It is imperative, however, to observe that critical theory with its commitment to human emancipation, communicative rationality and critique of the modernisation project offers great opportunities for the development of an approach that can be deployed to facilitate multilingual policy and planning implementation. A language planning enterprise premised on critical theory would advocate the implementation of multilingual policies and plans as a means towards ensuring communicative rationality, human emancipation [because nobody is left out of the public communicative processes on the basis of language] and re-defining the “modernisation” project so that it does not only serve the ends of economic and administrative rationality, but also a “modernisation” project that serves the ends of social justice.

#### **4.5.3 Management Theory**

One of the most recent developments in language planning theory relates to an increasing awareness of the potential role that management theory can play in the overall understanding of language planning processes. Management theory has come a long way since the days of Fredrick W. Taylor, often referred to as the father of Scientific Management. However, the most enduring orientation in management theory is founded on the philosophical insights of one Henri Fayol, who is commonly referred to as the father of modern management theory (Hodgetts 1990: 32, 37).

The *management process school*, which is sometimes called the classical school, traces its ancestry to Henri Fayol. Its primary approach is to specify the *management functions*

such as: planning, organising, commanding, coordinating, and controlling. The major tenet of the process school is that the analysis of management along functional lines allows the construction of a framework into which all new management concepts can be placed.

#### **4.5.3.1 Management Theory as Manifested in Language Planning Models**

The most explicit reference to management theory as a theory of language planning is Webb (2002). Webb (2002: 282) develops a framework for language management. The framework consists of an outline of management tasks, a general illustration of the activities that comprise each of the identified management tasks, and a language management example. The management tasks identified under this framework are: planning; organising; leading; and controlling. Each of these management functions consists of a set of sub-tasks. Under the management task of planning, the sub-tasks of strategic planning; functional planning and tactical planning are subsumed. Under the management task of organising, the sub-tasks of responsibility and authority; delegation; co-ordination; assignment of tasks; and the allocation of resources are subsumed. Under the management task of leading, the sub-tasks of leadership; motivation; disciplining; and communication are subsumed. Under the management task of controlling, the sub-tasks of setting standards; measuring performance; evaluating deviations and rectifying deviations are subsumed.

The Webb's *Strategic Planning Framework* (2002) also discusses the language management institutions in modern day South Africa, which include legislative bodies, state departments and statutory bodies such as the Pan South African Language Board (PANSALB). Admittedly, this framework represents a major contribution into the understanding of the managerial dynamics that are critical to language policy and planning. However, the framework leaves certain pertinent issues especially with regard to the epistemology of language planning theory and multilingual language policy and

planning implementation unresolved. The critique of this framework is provided in the following sub-section.

#### **4.5.4 Dilemmas in Contemporary Advances in Language Planning Theory**

The three contemporary theoretical advances in language planning theory and language planning models, namely systems theory; critical theory and management theory are invaluable in the overall understanding of language planning processes. These theoretical advances are mainly a reaction to the weaknesses inherent in the traditional theoretical foundations of language planning theory and language planning models. However, the contemporary theoretical advances on their part are confronted with numerous dilemmas in their attempts to resolve the tensions attendant to the language planning process, especially in multilingual contexts. These dilemmas are elaborated on here below.

First, systems theory as applied to language planning does not provide the language planner with a set of methodologies and strategies that can be deployed to facilitate language policy and language planning implementation, especially in multilingual contexts. However, this does not mean that systems theory as a theory of science is not well developed. This observation is an indictment on the part of language planning scholarship. Language planning scholarship has not fully exploited the opportunities presented by systems theory and systems thinking in coming up with a framework of methodologies and strategies that can be deployed to facilitate multilingual policy and planning implementation.

Secondly, systems thinking is still far from being the *modus operandi* in macro and micro planning processes that characterise development planning, especially at the national sphere or at the level of agencies charged with development planning at a national level. Much of national development planning, language planning included, is still steeped in the positivistic tradition with its concerns of efficiency and effectiveness. The rational development planning framework is manifest in the organisation of state bureaucracy.

The state bureaucracy operates in an exclusive manner and rarely in this set-up do different government departments come together to achieve a common goal. Such endeavours are usually conceptualised as contributing to wastage of “scarce” resources and as contributing to inefficiency and ineffectiveness.

Language planning as a function of the state bureaucracy finds itself in this exclusive process of departmental rationalisation. It is hardly possible to implement a national multilingual language policy or language plan in a situation where different state departments engage in exclusive activities, because the gains that may be made by some departments committed to implementing a multilingual language policy and plan will be wiped out by the other departments that do not find any rational sense to implement a multilingual language policy and language plan.

With regard to critical theory, language planning theory has not reached the level of theoretical development where it has been able to consolidate the contributions of critical theory to language planning theory into a language planning model. Therefore, inasmuch as the insights provided by critical theory could make a massive contribution to language planning theory and practice, especially with regard to the implementation of multilingual policies and language plans, insights from critical theory have not made inroads into language planning theory, especially with respect to the formulation of empowerment and human emancipation oriented methodologies and strategies that can be deployed in multilingual language policy and planning implementation scenarios.

Finally, one major dilemma of contemporary theoretical advances of language planning theory relates to the application of management theory to language planning processes. The application of management theory into language planning as in the Webb (2002) framework leaves some fundamental epistemological questions unanswered. Fundamentally, the questions relate to whether the application of management functions, which are only but one aspect of management theory into language planning processes does constitute language management? The other question relates to the dynamics of language in pragmatic contexts, be they economic, political, social, educational, legal,

and technological. In this case, the question relates as to whether language management is a process that should be purely focused to language and the institutions that directly deal with language, or it should be a process that conceptualises language within the greater context as determined by economic, social, political, educational, legal and technological variables, among many others. The other question deals with a questioning of what is the overall aim of the language management enterprise. Is it to increase institutional efficiency and effectiveness? And if this is the case, how does language management stand apart from language planning with its emphasis on the rational parameters of effectiveness and efficiency? These are admittedly difficult questions, but the search for their answers is critical to the overall advancement of language planning theory. The answers to the above questions are attempted in the next chapter.

#### **4.6 Language Planning Theory as Applied in the South African Language Planning Scenario**

The inherent weaknesses in the traditional theoretical foundations of language planning theory and language planning models on one hand, and the dilemmas confronting contemporary advances in language planning theory are manifest in the South African language planning scenario.

Though constitutional, legislative and policy dictates and pronouncements point toward the need to create a multilingual dispensation, language planning practice in South Africa is steeped in the traditional theoretical foundations of language planning theory. Attempts at a crossover into a language planning informed by the contemporary advances in language planning theory are always hindered and overshadowed by considerations of effectiveness and efficiency, and for a good reasons. With contemporary advances in language planning theory not yet consolidated into a coherent framework that can be deployed in the implementation of South Africa's multilingual policy, policy makers in government and tend to fall back into frameworks based on the traditional theoretical

foundations of language planning theory and language planning models, their inherent weaknesses notwithstanding.

#### **4.7 Chapter Conclusion: Consolidating the Advances and Gains in Language Planning Theory**

The weaknesses and dilemmas of traditional theoretical foundations of language planning theory and language planning models and contemporary theoretical advances in language planning theory and language planning models notwithstanding, language planning theory has made great advances in the last four decades. The challenge that confronts language planning scholars and policy makers is to address the weaknesses and dilemmas of language planning theory and language planning models and consolidate the insights drawn from this process into a coherent approach that can be deployed to facilitate language policy and planning implementation, especially in multilingual contexts. The next chapter focuses on this challenge.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE LANGUAGE MANAGEMENT APPROACH

#### 5.1 Introduction

The analysis of language planning theory in chapter 4 elaborates on the traditional theoretical foundations and contemporary advances of language planning theory and language planning models. The analysis also elaborates on and extends the critique that has been levelled against the traditional theoretical foundations of language planning theory and language planning models, as well as the dilemma confronting the two. Fundamentally, the discussion under chapter 4 establishes the inadequacies in language planning theory and language planning models as the main reasons for the explanation of the implementation dilemma of multilingual policies and plans.

The present chapter re-addresses the above cited critique as well as the dilemmas confronting contemporary theoretical advances in language planning theory and language planning models. The discussion in the present chapter consolidates and extends the insights deriving from the critique and incorporates insights deriving from the implementation of the *Language Management for Local Government in the Free State Province Project* into a coherent approach that can be deployed in facilitating language policy and planning implementation, especially in multilingual settings. The approach is referred to as the “*Language Management Approach*”, hereafter LMA.

The LMA elaborated on in this chapter is constructed through the use of a conditional/consequential matrix outlined in chapter 3. In line with Blommaert (1996: 205 cited earlier) “that an awareness that every theory of the past, especially in disciplines that strongly rely on contingent historical and socio-political realities (language planning is a case in point), should be reassessed in light of the present; and a

degree of fair-play in which critique is oriented at optimisation of existing theoretical models, and not proclamations of irrelevance for topics or domains of study”, the construction of the LMA builds upon past theoretical advances in language planning. The justification and scope of the proposed language management approach are discussed under the following subsection.

### **5.1.1 Justification and Scope of the Language Management Approach**

Two fundamental issues deserve addressing at the beginning of the discussion on the proposed LMA, namely a justification of the approach and the scope of the approach. The justification and scope of the LMA derive from a coding process as discussed in chapter 3, i.e.: open, axial and selective coding of the qualitative data analysed in the study and learnt experiences from the implementation of a language management project that forms the case study in the present study.

Specifically, the various justifications for a LMA filter from a consideration of the qualitative data (literature) analysed in the course of the study and experiences learnt and refined in the field during the implementation of the *Language Management for Local Government in the Free State Province Project*, that forms the case study in the present study. The scope of the LMA is derived from a process of theoretical saturation of the concepts that were identified as constituting the political, economic, sociolinguistic and the theoretic categories from the open, axial and selective coding processes. Concepts deriving from the political, economic and sociolinguistic categories, though identified as auxiliary categories in the coding process that established the theoretical category as the core category are included in the construction of the LMA because they contribute to theoretical broadening of LMA and the enhancement of the applicability of LMA in pragmatic multilingual policy and planning implementation scenarios.

The scope of the LMA is also defined and refined through an integration of experiences learnt from the implementation of the *Language Management for Local Government in*



*the Free State Province Project* into the framework that emerges from qualitative sources during the coding processes, especially with regard to the various elements that make up the language management matrix (see section 5.9).

First, two sets of questions: why a new approach to multilingual policy and language planning implementation? And, why should such an approach be referred to as a language management approach?

The answer to the first question lies within epistemological and pragmatic domains of language planning, that is, language planning theory and practice. Language planning theory contains inherent unresolved weaknesses and dilemmas [they may never be resolved for all time, but attempts should be made to resolve them], that fundamentally impact on the ability of language planning theory to generate models and/or approaches that can be deployed to facilitate language policy and planning implementation, especially in multilingual settings. The discussion on language planning theory in chapter 4 elaborates on these dilemmas of language planning (theory). The current study proposes that a new approach is required to resolve these dilemmas.

The second question posed above relates to why the new approach to multilingual language policy and planning implementation should be referred to as the *Language Management Approach (LMA)*? The new approach is referred to as the *language management approach* for the following reason:

If the hypothetical submission that language planning theory and practice as they stand at present have, to an appreciable degree failed to provide solutions to the problems and dilemmas that accompany multilingual policy and planning implementation is held as true, then any attempt at addressing the problems and dilemmas that accompany multilingual policy and planning implementation should embrace theoretical and pragmatic domains greater than “policy” and “planning”. From the literature, “policy formulation” is an aspect of the planning process. Planning on its part is a component of a greater undertaking, which is management. Therefore, the naming of the new approach as

the *Language Management Approach (LMA)* represents both a logical development in language planning as a discipline by extending its epistemological scope as well as a response to the weaknesses and dilemmas of contemporary language planning theory and practice, that stand to benefit from concepts greater than “policy” and “planning” for their resolution.

Another issue of concern in the construction of the LMA relates to the scope of LMA. Ideally, the scope of LMA should be as wide as it is theoretically and practically possible. However, this is not possible in a study that seeks to define the scope of LMA for the first time. Therefore, the outline of the scope of the LMA as outlined here under and in the ensuing discussion represents a mapping of the contours of the LMA, leaving discursive space for later-day developments of the approach. The scope of the LMA is captured in the conditional/consequential matrix outlined in chapter 3.

From the literature, two notable scholars offer definitions of language management. Webb (2002: 281) in attempting to define language management observes that in general terms, “management can be described as the set of activities undertaken to ensure that the goals of an organisation are achieved in an effective and efficient way. In language planning terms language management refers to the actions and strategies devised to achieve language policy objectives. In a settled situation, where a comprehensive language policy and language plan is in place, language planning and language management obviously differ, with the latter referring only to the management of the implementation plan. However, in South Africa, where language policy and language planning development is still in progress, language management has to refer to the entire process involved, that is, from the strategic analysis stage, through the strategic planning stage, that is the description of the specific plan of implementation, to the actual management of the implementation of the language policy and plan”.

Spolsky (2004: 8, 10, 11) also attempts to define language management observing that in studying language policy, we are trying to understand just what non-language variables co-vary with language variables. There are also cases of direct efforts to manipulate the

language situation. When a person or group directs such intervention, I call this language management. Language management may apply to an individual linguistic micro-unit (a sound, a spelling or the form of a letter) or to a collection of units (pronunciation or a lexicon or a script) or to a specified, named macro-variety (a language or a dialect). Language management refers to the formulation and proclamation of an explicit plan or policy, usually but not necessarily written in a formal document, about language use. However, the existence of such an explicit policy does not guarantee that it will be implemented, nor does its implementation guarantee success.

From the above two cited elaborations of what language management **is**, it is submitted that these attempts at defining language management have concentrated on either a mapping of management functions on language or a description of the functions and processes that should constitute language management, without due consideration of what would be the epistemological foundations and domains of language management. The present study holds that such an approach to language management only succeeds in putting language management into the same epistemological dilemmas that currently abound in language planning. Therefore, an elaboration of language management, **MUST** attempt to not only describe the functions and processes that would constitute language management, but **MUST** also grapple with complex epistemological issues of a theoretical and methodological nature as well as complex issues of a pragmatic nature.

The elaboration of language management advanced in this study is one that conceptualises language management as a complex of theory and method(s), meaning that language management is a particular way of thinking about and conceptualising social and linguistic phenomena; a particular way of thinking and conceptualising language in particular and language and society in general; and a particular way of engaging in science, especially when that science preoccupies itself with the interactive dynamics of language and society, in totality.

The elaboration of language management advanced in this study also sees language management as a discipline, i.e. language management is, and should be an organised

body of a particular kind of knowledge and scholarship that engages with particular epistemological and pragmatic concerns of resolving language related problems in society and harnessing language resources in society with a view of enlarging people's choices.

Language management is also conceptualised as a practice, i.e. a particular way of *language planning activities*, in variance with current practices in language planning which are mainly centralised, bureaucratic and reactive.

The discussion in the rest of the chapter develops on the above cited aspects of what language management should be. The insights from the ensuing discussion are then consolidated into working definitions of language management under section 5.8.

## **5.2 Theoretical Foundations and Frontiers for Language Management**

In line with Blommaert's (1996: 205, cited earlier) observation that "an awareness that every theory of the past, especially in disciplines that strongly rely on contingent historical and socio-political realities (language planning is a case in point), should be reassessed in light of the present; and a degree of fair-play in which critique is oriented at optimisation of existing theoretical models, and not proclamations of irrelevance for topics or domains of study", the mapping out of the theoretical foundations and frontiers for language management builds on theoretical advances of language planning as discussed in chapter 4. The various theories that have contributed to the development of language planning are incorporated in the construction of the LMA because they provide insights on the nature and scope of language planning that cannot simply be ignored. In effect therefore, the LMA must incorporate aspects of decision-making theory, social and linguistic theories, modernisation theory, systems theory, critical theory and management theory.

However, the construction of the LMA must grapple with theoretical challenges that hitherto have not been addressed in language planning theory. These challenges relate to occasioning a theoretical paradigm shift in language planning that can facilitate the incorporation into language planning theory insights deriving from the lived linguistic experiences of speakers of various languages in a multilingual context at the levels of general theory, method and practice, and also be able to move language planning from the current rationalistic and positivistic orientation which is primarily preoccupied with notions of efficiency and effectiveness [discussed in detail in chapter 4], to an orientation that seeks to introduce an empowerment discourse in language planning, a discourse that places more emphasis on the creation of social capital, rather than economic aggregates as is currently the case, i.e. that language planning should be able to serve the greater social good of enlarging people's choices by providing them with a platform by means of which they can access and share knowledge, information and skills without the due constraints of language.

In effect, through the LMA, the implementation of multilingual policies and plans is given a utilitarian perspective: the implementation of multilingual policies and plans, though may not meet the conditionalities of effectiveness and efficiency as determined by the rationalistic and positivistic orientation in language planning, serves a greater purpose in society, i.e. the creation of social capital that is vital in the development of human societies. To address these two theoretical challenges, the construction of the LMA incorporates phenomenology and human development theory as theoretical frontiers for language management.

The various theoretical foundations and frontiers for language management are discussed in the following subsections. The discussion on the theoretical foundations, namely the decision-making theory, social and linguistic theories, modernisation theory, systems theory, critical theory and management theory does not replicate the discussion on these theories as outlined in chapter 4. The focus of discussion under the present chapter is to illustrate how, the weaknesses of these theories notwithstanding, these theories are important in the conceptualisation and construction of the LMA. The discussion on the

two theoretical frontiers for language management, namely phenomenology and human development theory is detailed so as to provide a basis and justification for the theoretical paradigm shift in language planning theory [towards a language management approach] that can lead to the formulation of frameworks that can be deployed for multilingual policy and planning implementation.

### **5.2.1 Decision-Making Theory**

Decision-making theory, irrespective of its inherent weaknesses as elaborated in Chapter 4, is an important component of the theoretical foundations of the LMA. This is due to the inherent motivation for language planning as documented by Eastman (1983: 135) that:

Language planning seeks to provide conscious alternative decisions and anticipate their consequences, making use of available resources that can be used to solve language problems that involve the language behaviour of a group of people.

Language management, which in effect extends the theoretical foundations of language planning, has to rely on decision-making theory for tools that can be used to analyse alternative decisions with regard to language planning in society, as well as predict the anticipated outcomes of various language planning decisions, especially in a multilingual context. Language management also stands to benefit theoretically from insights on cost-benefit analysis and spread hypothesis provided by decision-making theory.

However, the importance of decision-making theory to the LMA is based on the manner in which decision makers involved in language planning in multilingual contexts chose to use the various tools and insights provided by decision-making theory in their efforts to formulate frameworks that can be deployed to facilitate multilingual language policy and planning implementation. The following paragraphs discuss how the tools and insights provided by decision-making theory are important in the overall conceptualisation of the LMA.

Firstly, decision-making theory is important in the overall conceptualisation of the LMA because policy makers have to consciously make decisions that seek to promote multilingualism in most, if not all aspects of national endeavour. However, such decisions will require a broadening of the ambit of decision-making from the classical orientations of MAIN ALTERNATIVE and the ZERO ALTERNATIVE, when engaging in decisions that relate to language choice. Within multilingual contexts language choice becomes more a matter of making decisions which do not seek to promote and develop one language over the other languages, but making of decisions that seek to promote and develop all the languages used in a polity.

Secondly, and in order to discount the concerns of effectiveness and efficiency as embedded in cost-benefit analysis as an aspect of decision-making theory, decision-making theory as applied to LMA will need to be conceptualised differently. In this regard, decisions with regard to which languages will be used in a polity should not be based purely on an analysis and consideration of economic variables [as inputs], especially with respect to monetary and other resource inputs, but has to be based on a analysis and consideration of the output and consequences end of the cost-benefit analysis chain. In this way, the monetary and other resources inputs committed to multilingual policy and planning implementation should be discounted against the greater social, political and economic good that would logically derive from the implementation of multilingual policies and plans, especially with respect to the creation of social capital and the concomitant enlargement of people's choices.

Therefore, within LMA, cost-benefit analysis assumes a new importance, different from the traditional conceptualisation of cost-benefit analysis in decision-making theory as applied to language planning: cost-benefit analysis as applied to the LMA is a broader concept, that does not only consider the monetary and other resources at the input end of the cost-benefit analysis chain, but one that critically considers the output and consequences end of the cost-benefit analysis chain, especially with regard to how the implementation of multilingual language policies and plans could serve in the creation of

social capital. Within the LMA, concern should be more on *benefits analysis*, while remaining conscious of the costs.

Thirdly, the spread hypothesis as an aspect of decision-making theory is important in the conceptualisation of the LMA. As indicated in Chapter 4, the spread hypothesis holds that for planning to be successful, alternatives must be chosen to ensure that the decision has an effect on the social use of language products. It also holds that successful planning will forecast what language products will spread and how they will spread, so that uncertainty about how the decision will affect language use will be reduced. The rationale behind judging spread alternatives is to come up with a language plan that is the best alternative allowing people to recognise, accept, and use “certain language products” (Jernudd and Das Gupta 1971: 206, cited in Eastman 1983: 140). The spread hypothesis sees language planning as the making of orderly decisions that will have public social effects. The plan needs to work – to “spread” – as well as be cost effective (Eastman 1983: 140).

As observed in Chapter 4, the problem with the concept of “spread hypothesis” with regard to multilingual policy and planning implementation relates to the commodification of language. However, within a multilingual setting and within the LMA, the main goal of language planning is not to package languages as products, but rather to give languages practical social, political, cultural, educational, technological and economic value. Therefore, spread hypothesis can be used as an important concept within the LMA approach if attention was to turn away from the commodification of languages with its inherent attempts at standardisation and choosing some language varieties over others, to an attempt to use a community’s languages as they are, or to improve all languages through language development so as to maximise the social, political, cultural, educational, technological and economic opportunities available to people. The cost implications of the “spread hypothesis” within the LMA will have to be discounted against the attendant public social effects that accrue from the implementation of multilingual policies and plans.



### 5.2.2 (Socio) Linguistic Theory

Social theory and linguistic theory, collapsed into (socio) linguistic theory in the current study are important foundational theories of the LMA because language management is fundamentally preoccupied with language in society, over and above the considerations of implementation of multilingual policies and plans.

Eastman (1983: 163, cited earlier) observes that “language planning has to take into consideration the group affiliation of the persons that the plan will affect, for language attitudes and beliefs accompany socio-cultural divisions. Language factors and group membership interrelate on a number of dimensions”.

Another aspect of social theory and linguistic theory that finds expression in language planning theory is what Eastman (1983: 165, cited earlier) refers to as “socio-psychological ideas about language and ethnicity”. “As a reflection of a group’s social and psychological self, language may often and often does play a significant role in how people see themselves. Planners seeking to implement language policy need to see how the policy will affect the perception group members have of themselves and of others. The socio-psychological characteristics of ethnicity as well as the typological socio-cultural ones need to be looked together in language planning” (Eastman 1983: 166).

Apart from insights on ethnic-group relations, social theory and linguistic theory bring into language planning insights with regard to status variables and how the status variables are functions of both language and social group. Status variables have to do with the prestige a group has in an inter-group context. The more status a group has, the more vital it is.

Social theory and linguistic theory are important in the conceptualisation of the LMA because they underscore the social and linguistic nature of the language planning enterprise and in effect the social and linguistic nature of the language management enterprise. Any attempt at formulating an approach that can be deployed to facilitate

multilingual policy and planning implementation must incorporate insights drawn from social and linguistic theories as well take into consideration the social and linguistic realities that manifest themselves in multilingual settings.

The LMA also seeks to redress the ingrained perceptions in language planning theory and language planning practice about language and society. In language planning discourse, ethno linguistic vitality is depicted as a variable and as a negative state of affairs that language planning needs to respond to. This kind of conceptualisation often leads to assimilationist language planning activities that are antithetical to multilingualism. Within the LMA, ethno linguistic vitality is not only conceptualised as a variable in language planning processes and as a negative state of affairs that language planning needs to respond to. Rather, within the LMA, ethno linguistic vitality is one of the main goals of language planning processes: multilingual policy and planning implementation must seek the promotion of ethno linguistic vitality as an end in itself.

This orientation of the LMA approach with regard to treatment of social and linguistic realities in multilingual settings derives from insights postulated by Habermas (1997, cited in Strydom 2001: 107):

The co-existence of different cultural, ethnic and religious sub-cultures on an equal basis within the same political community, can only take place when “the majority culture [...] give[s] up its historical prerogative to define the official terms of the generalised political culture that is to be shared by all citizens, regardless of whence they come and how they live. The majority culture must be uncoupled from a political culture that all can be expected to join.

Strydom (2001: 107 – 108) further observes that “stability in multicultural societies therefore seems to depend on adherence to a few basic conditions. In the first place, cohesive forces of a common political culture must be strong enough to maintain the political and civilian community. This requires a common political language, as well as conventions of conduct according to which participants with diverse backgrounds and orientations will be willing to negotiate for those issues that give meaning to their lives. In the second place, an inclusive policy which is sensitive to differences must be

followed. This implies, *inter alia*, that matters that are culture-sensitive should be disconnected from the preconditions and opinions of the majority culture, so that universal principles can be applied within the bounds of culture-specific conceptual world views. In the third place, the political instrumentalisation of diversity must be avoided at all costs. The problem usually arises from the manipulation of diversity”.

Within the LMA, social theory and linguistic theory are important because they serve as tools to help policy makers to better understand the social and language related tensions inherent in society and how these tensions can be managed by approaches designed to facilitate multilingual policy and planning implementation. The fundamental premise of the incorporation of social theory and linguistic theory as foundational theories of language management relates to the understanding that for any policy implementation to succeed language policy included, it should not seek to disrupt the existing social fabric to an extent whereby sections of society feel that their identities and existence are threatened. Rather, policy implementation, and particularly language policy implementation in multilingual contexts should seek to harness existing social and linguistic realities into an approach that takes into account many if not all social and linguistic variables attendant in a society.

Therefore, within the LMA, both social and linguistic theories are important foundational theories because insights drawn from social theory and linguistic theory are used to characterise the various social and linguistic variables at play in a multilingual policy and planning implementation scenario and to determine how these variables can be modified without unnecessarily interrupting the existing social fabric, as well as in the formulation of optimal methodologies and strategies. Within the LMA concern shifts from the epistemological dilemmas of social and linguistic theories as foundational theories of language planning to how the insights derived from both social theory and linguistic theory can be harnessed to facilitate multilingual policy and planning implementation.

### 5.2.3 Modernisation Theory

Modernisation theory as a foundational theory of language planning is also an important foundational theory of language management. As cited earlier, modernisation as a general theory contains various aspects. It refers to the total transformation that takes place when a traditional or pre-modern society changes to such an extent that new forms of technological, organisational, or social characteristic appear. Underlying the analysis of the modernisation concept are the two assumptions that a set of characteristics can be attributed to traditionality on the one hand and modernity on the other, and that progress or transition is possible from one to another.

Within general modernisation theory, the idea of modernisation as explained in the preceding paragraph is also associated with the idea of progressiveness. A society can therefore be called modern if it displays certain characteristics. These characteristics are regarded as principally and theoretically universal, despite the fact that their embodiment may vary. These characteristics include: increasing social complexity; control of the environment; increasing specialised adaptation; production and absorption of knowledge; rational understanding and flexibility; and social maturation.

Specifically, however, modernisation is a process of change whereby external factors have an impact on the individual, on the social structure and on culture. The impact on the individual relates to the issue of personality. Modernisation of social structure and culture entails broader values, norms, and attitudes of the larger contexts within which people find themselves. The processes of structural modernisation comprise societal differentiation, integration and adaptation, increasing complexity and growing systemness.

Within the LMA, modernisation is not conceptualised as an exclusive process that involves the linear movement of societies from a state of “traditionality” to a state of “modernity”, neither is modernisation conceptualised as a trade-off between “traditionality” and “modernity”. Rather, within the LMA, modernisation is

conceptualised as an inclusive process that seeks to create discursive, ideological and policy space(s) and platforms in and upon which diverse communities with diverse languages and cultures can engage in a project of modernity so conceptualised as one that benefits and can benefit from contributions from all sections of community.

In this regard, the LMA seeks to manage and preserve diversity in the processes of modernisation. This view derives from advances made by researchers working within the auspices of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and its Human Development Programme (UNDP) who posit that “managing diversity and respecting cultural identities are not just challenges for a few “multiethnic states”. One way or another every country is a multicultural society today, containing ethnic, religious or linguistic groups that have common bonds to their own heritage, culture, values and way of life” (UNDP 2004: 2).

Modernisation within the LMA acknowledges that cultural diversity (with its inherent notions of “traditionality”) is here to stay – and to grow. In this case therefore, states need to find ways of forging national unity amidst this diversity. The LMA conceptualises modernisation as a process that “must include and is driven by conscious efforts at respecting diversity and building more inclusive societies by adopting policies that explicitly recognise cultural differences – multicultural policies” (UNDP 2004: 2).

In this regard, the conceptualisation of modernisation within the LMA is in line with the conceptualisation of modernisation within Human Development Theory. This conceptualisation seeks to debunk some myths about multiculturalism that are deeply embedded in traditional modernisation theory, a theory that has informed language policy and language planning initiatives in many multicultural and multilingual societies to date. These myths are discussed in detail under section 5.2.8 which elaborates on Human Development Theory as one of the theoretical frontiers for language management.

## 5.2.4 Systems Theory

Systems theory is of utmost importance to the LMA. This importance is underlined by the nature of the LMA, both as a way of doing science and as a way doing *things*. The theory that can provide researchers and policy makers with the requisite tools to make sense of the multiplicity of variables at play in multilingual settings as well as integrating the various methodologies and strategies for language management into a coherent framework is systems theory. Cluver (1991: 53 – 54) provides insights on the importance of systems theory in understanding social phenomena when he observes:

We are at a point in history where the current philosophy underlying our scientific activities is being challenged by a different philosophy. The validity of the reductionist assumption that nature consisted of basic and invariant building blocks that could be analysed in isolation of their environment was questioned in physics when it was observed that particles showed different properties in different contexts – appearing in some contexts as waves and in others as particles. The validity of the assumption that we could break down social reality into its constituting parts and analyse them in isolation from the whole in which they occurred was questioned in psychology when it became clear that treating a patient away from his (pathological) environment did not contribute to his rehabilitation. The new perspective suggests that the network of relations that exists between the building blocks and their environment might well be more revealing than an analysis of the structure of the blocks. In fact, there is mounting evidence that the building blocks might not exist at all but are merely the result of the structuralist metaphor that we use to describe reality.

The traditional positivistic approach is being challenged by a new systems approach, particularly in subjects such as psychology and sociology. In a systems approach the primary focus is on the integrated whole and we first have to understand the whole before we can begin to determine the characteristics and the interactions of the parts. A system is therefore “an integrated whole whose properties cannot be reduced to those of its parts”. This shift in focus gave rise to the view that structures should not be the focus of our descriptions but that the processes that maintain them should rather be the focus.

Relating the systems theory to language planning, Cluver (1991: 54 – 55) observes that “in contrast to structuralist linguistics, when language planners apply systems thinking to language planning, they begin with the total context and from there they can work

inwards to smaller components. When confronted with a problem such as the decision as to which language to select as official language for an emerging nation, the systems approach leads the researcher to attempt to link language to as many other social variables as possible. Creating national unity is only but one of the problems facing multilingual developing countries and the institution of one official language is certainly only one of the many strategies that are used to bring about national integration. It is essential to identify these strategies and to determine how an official language would interact with these strategies”.

This study posits that language management as a new way conducting language planning practice, especially with regard to language policy and planning implementation in multilingual settings will inevitably have to rely on systems theory to account for the multiplicity of variables at play in multilingual settings. Through the use of a systems approach, it becomes possible for language planners in multilingual settings to identify and account for the multiplicity of variables at play in a multilingual language policy and planning implementation scenario.

However, the importance of systems thinking to the LMA does not only hinge on the ability of systems theory to provide researchers and policy makers involved in multilingual policy and planning implementation with the requisite tools to identify and account for the multiplicity of variables in a multilingual setting, but on several other critical insights that systems theory provides in the overall understanding of the complexities of the interaction of social phenomena on the one hand and the nature of scientific inquiry in a discipline such as language planning that strongly relies on contingent historical and socio-political realities (Blommaert 1996: 205) on the other.

First, systems theory is important to researchers and policy makers involved in language policy and language planning implementation because of its implicit network metaphor. “The network metaphor allows researchers and policy makers to see language planning not as an isolated event, but a manifestation of deeper, more general underlying forces that manifest in different ways in different parts of society” (Cluver 1991: 55). The

implementation of a language policy and a language plan in a multilingual setting cannot be seen in isolation from the various concomitant political and socio-economic forces. Seen from this perspective, the implementation of any language policy will have educational, economic, and legal implications as well as social implications. Systems theory enables researchers and policy makers involved in multilingual policy and planning implementation to account for the interaction of these different variables at play in society not as isolated circumstances and events, but as integral components of the language planning process and also as manifestations of more deeper underlying forces in society which could impact on the overall success of multilingual policy and planning implementation.

The network metaphor also allows researchers and policy makers involved in multilingual policy and planning implementation to see language attitudes and language planning as linguistic manifestations of more general socio-political trends. This implies that language planners should begin by determining these trends before developing a language plan. This insight enables researchers and policy makers to understand that in every situation, members of a linguistic community or polity have developed a system of communication even before language planning interventions are instituted. In this case therefore, the introduction of a new language policy and language plan would disturb this system. The challenge within the LMA therefore becomes one of determining how a new language policy and language plan will interact with the already existing system of communication in a language community or polity to form new communication networks (Cluver 1991: 58).

The second advantage of the network metaphor to the LMA is that it enables researchers and policy makers involved in multilingual policy and planning implementation to consider the possibility that the system that they want to describe and implement will probably not be stable (whereas the structuralist metaphor leads us to believe that we are working with invariables). “New forces may link into the network and change it while old priorities might become forgotten. Therefore it is important to see language policy as a process that will change according to changes in the social network. This view helps



researchers and policy makers to see changes to the language policy as a sign of progression rather than a result of weak planning” (Cluver 1991: 58 – 59).

A third characteristic of networks that is beneficial to the overall integration of systems theory to the LMA is that viewed from the perspective of networks it is possible for researchers and policy makers to enter the language planning “network” at any point since they do not perceive points in the network in a linear relationship to each other. Researchers and policy makers can therefore take language as the entry point or they can take nationalism or effective government or education or social change as entry points. The main point is that researchers and policy makers cannot, when using systems theory be restricted to an analysis of only one of these points since each is determined in part by each of the other points (Cluver 1991: 58). This conceptualisation is critical in the overall construction of the LMA. Within the LMA, language planning implementation interventions should occur in a multiplicity of settings, be they linguistic, political, educational, managerial or social, but there should be a conscious understanding that interventions initiated in one sphere must take into account interventions initiated in other spheres and that all the spheres affect each other in direct and subtle ways.

Second, the importance of systems theory in the construction of the LMA is of an epistemological nature because systems theory makes it possible to establish how the various components that make up the LMA are related to each other and how they interact in multilingual policy and planning implementation. The LMA, as developed in the present study consists of the following components:

- Theoretical foundations and frontiers of language management;
- Macro environments (actual and desired) for multilingual policy and planning implementation;
- Micro environments (actual and desired) for multilingual policy and planning implementation
- Purpose of multilingual policy and planning implementation;
- Impediments to multilingual policy and planning implementation;

- Optimal mix of variables for multilingual policy and planning implementation;
- Optimal mix of strategies and methodologies for multilingual policy and planning implementation; and
- A re-orientation of language planning models.

Systems theory allows for an integration of all the above components of the LMA into a coherent framework that can be used to understand and investigate the complexities of scientific inquiry in the language planning discipline, especially when such an inquiry is directed towards an understanding of how all the above listed components interact in facilitating the multilingual policy and planning implementation. The LMA therefore hinges on systems theory as an integrative theory that establishes the necessary epistemological and pragmatic networks of relations between and amongst all the above listed components of the LMA.

### **5.2.5 Critical Theory**

Critical theory is of great importance in the construction of LMA, both from an epistemological and pragmatic dimension. As observed in chapter 4, the level of theoretical development in language planning has not reached a point where it has been able to consolidate and incorporate insights deriving from critical theory into mainstream language planning theory generally and into a language planning model specifically. However, insights deriving from critical theory would enable researchers and policy makers involved in language planning, especially in multilingual settings to answer questions that relate to the *how* and *why* of language planning, and within the context of this study, critical theory provides the framework within which it is possible to grapple with the questions of the *how* and *why* of language management?

Romm (2001: 142, see chapter 4) observes that according to critical theory, “people (including social scientists) should undertake a close scrutiny of what is involved in “doing science”. They should also consider how the process of doing science may relate

to the larger project of enhancing human freedom. By its very nature, criticism has to be self-critical. Consequently, critical theorists have developed an open attitude to any philosophical tradition that has held out promise of human emancipation through social critique”.

The above observation is fundamental in understanding what critical theory brings into the LMA. What is missing in language planning research and scholarship is a self-critical approach. Rarely do researchers and scholars involved in language planning ever pose to ask self-critical questions with regard to their engagement with language planning theory, language planning as a discipline and language planning as a pragmatic enterprise. Deriving from critical theory, the LMA makes a clear standpoint that language management MUST continuously engage with not only the realities of multilingual language policy and language planning, but also with the realities of the “*state of the discipline*”. Language management, through the adoption of a critical orientation should seek to continuously review language planning so as to establish whether research and scholarship undertaken under the auspices of language planning is self critical to a point of serving the larger project of enhancing human freedom.

This study also posits that language management is a different way of doing *things*, i.e. language management is a different way in which researchers and policy makers involved in language planning, especially in multilingual settings can creatively engage with and interpret the social, political, economic, technological, legal, educational, managerial and linguistic realities that they confront on a continual basis in their efforts to facilitate multilingual language policy and language planning implementation. The essence of this insight is that language management is a critical way of doing things, i.e. a questioning application of insights that derive from theoretical precepts, in practical situations: scholars and policy makers involved in language management must remain self-critical because this is the only way that they can continuously review their actions so as to establish whether the research and policy decisions that they are party to serve to enhance human freedom. In this regard, the LMA developed in this study is categorical in its

proclamation that language management **MUST** serve the project of enhancing human freedom.

The insight that the LMA must serve the project of enhancing human freedom is further enhanced by other insights of critical theory. Romm (2001: 141 - 143) citing Habermas observes that for Habermas, “critical theory’s emancipatory interest means striving for a society that is guided by unrestrained communication of its goals. This is what Habermas refers to as communicative action. The theory of communicative action within critical theory is aimed at highlighting the potential for communicative power within the social fabric. The theory presents openly its interest in extending democracy in society. Seen from this light, science can be argued to have a role in clarifying the direction of social change”.

The importance of the above insight to the LMA becomes apparent when applied to language planning within the South Africa situation. Within the LMA, language planning in South Africa, especially within the dictates of the Constitution has an emancipatory interest in that it does not only seek to rectify the communicative distortions that were occasioned by centuries of colonialism and decades of apartheid and how a majority of the country’s languages were treated under both systems of oppression, it also offers opportunities for communicative rationality: the 11 language policy encapsulated in the Constitution is a means through which South Africa should strive for a society that is unrestrained communication of its goals, i.e. every South African should be able to participate in the micro and macro debates that shape the present and the future of South Africa without the constraints of language. Within the LMA, language planning, especially when implemented as per the dictates of the Constitution is a means of extending democracy in South Africa. In this way, the LMA, by incorporating insights from critical theory in its overall construction offers a potent means of “clarifying the direction of social change” in the South African society.

Hoy and McCathy (1994: 16, cited in chapter 4) submit that “critical theory is concerned precisely with the historical and social genesis of the facts it examines and with the social

contexts in which its results will have effects. It stresses that social research is itself a form of social interaction in which the objects of knowledge are potentially subjects of the very same knowledge, and thus it is willy-nilly a potential factor in changing social relations. Consciously taking up this reflexive relation to social practice critical social theory expressly aims at becoming a factor in social change by becoming part of the self-consciousness of oppressed groups”.

This insight is important in the conceptualisation of the LMA as developed in this study. Language management MUST serve an empowerment function, to the researchers and scholars who engage in language planning research, to the policy makers who engage in language policy and language planning implementation, and most crucially, language management MUST serve an empowerment function to the recipients of language planning interventions, especially the oppressed social groups. In this way, language management serves to provide a “voice” to the linguistically marginalised sections of society through an insistence on the provision of policy space(s) and platforms upon which these sections of society can pursue their agenda of human freedom within the greater project of extending democracy in society, discussed earlier in the section.

The contribution of critical theory to the LMA further finds expression in the methodologies and strategies for multilingual language policy and language planning implementation that directly derive from insights contained in critical theory. These methodologies and strategies are labelled “development oriented methodologies and strategies” in the current study. Particularly, these methodologies and strategies include: advocacy; litigation; development communication; participatory action research; dialogical intervention strategies; and indigenisation. These methodologies and strategies are discussed in detail under section 5.7.3 of the current chapter.

### 5.2.6 Management Theory

Management Theory is another foundational theory in the conceptualisation of the LMA. As observed in section 5.1.1, the application of management theory to language planning has so far concentrated on the application of management *functions* to language planning. Within the framework of the LMA developed in the current study, management theory is taken to be a complex of *principles*. In this way, the integration of management theory into the LMA extends beyond the application of management *functions* to language planning.

However, there is another subtle, but important difference in the integration of management theory into the LMA. Within the LMA, management theory is integrated into the overall framework for multilingual language policy and language planning implementation from the perspective of the public sector management because the LMA conceptualises language management as basically a function of the public sector. Even in instances where the private sector, community based organisations (CBOs) and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) engage in language planning implementation activities, they do so within the macro framework provided by the public sector, either through legislative means or policy means. The LMA conceptualises the public sector as the macro context for formulation [or non-formulation] and implementation [or non-implementation] of multilingual language policies and language plans.

It is important to observe that the application of management theory into the public sector is also a relatively recent development. “The 1980s and the 1990s saw the emergence of a new managerial approach in the public sector, in response to what many regarded as the inadequacies of the traditional model of administration. This approach may alleviate some of the problems of the earlier model of public administration. There is a general agreement as to the actual changes that are involved in moving away from the traditional administrative model” (Hughes 2003: 44).

Hughes (2003: 44) further observes that “first, it represents a major shift from traditional public administration with far greater attention now being paid to the achievement of results and the personal responsibility of managers. Secondly, there is an expressed intention to move away from classic bureaucracy to make organisations, personnel, and employment terms and conditions more flexible. Thirdly, organisational and personal objectives are to be set clearly and this enables measurement of their achievement through performance indicators. Similarly, there is more systematic evaluation of programmes, in more rigorous attempts than before, to find out whether or not government programmes are achieving their goals. Fourthly, senior staff are more likely to be politically committed to the government of the day rather than being non-partisan or neutral. Fifthly, government functions are more likely to face market tests. Sixthly, there is also a trend towards reducing government functions through privatisation and other forms of market testing and contracting, in some cases, quite radically. All these points are linked in that, once the focus changes from process to results, each successive step seem necessary”.

Advocates view public management as offering a new way of looking at and carrying out management functions within the public sector. “As an alternative to traditional administration, public management offers a more realistic approach given the manifest problems of the earlier model. As a new model of managing public affairs, the public management model has effectively supplanted the traditional model of public administration, and the public sector in the future will inevitably be managerial, in both theory and practice. While this new model may cause some problems and pose some dangers, the benefits are likely to be far greater than the costs. Public management need not mean the widespread and uncritical adoption of practices from the private sector. What it should mean is that a distinctive public management needs to be developed. This should take account of the differences between the sectors, but still recognises that the work being done by public servants is now managerial rather than administrative” (Hughes 2003: 45).

How management is different from administration can be considered by looking at what Allison (1982: 17, cited in Hughes 2003: 45) refers to as 'functions of general management'. These are:

#### STRATEGY

1. **Establishing objectives and priorities** for the organisation (on the basis of forecasts of the external environment and the organisation's capacities).
2. **Devising operational plans** to achieve these objectives.

#### MANAGING INTERNAL COMPONENTS

3. **Organising and staffing**: in organising, the manager establishes structure (units and positions with assigned authority and responsibilities) and procedures for coordinating activity and taking action). In staffing, he tries to fit the right persons in the key jobs.
4. **Directing personnel and the personnel management system**: the capacity of the organisation is embodied primarily in its members and their skills and knowledge. The personnel management system recruits, selects, socialises, trains, rewards, punishes and exits the organisation's human capital, which constitutes the organisation's capacity to act to achieve its goals and to respond to specific directions of management.
5. **Controlling performance**: various management information systems – including operating and capital budgets, accounts, reports, and statistical systems, performance appraisals and product evaluation – assist management in making decisions in measuring progress towards objectives.

#### MANAGING EXTERNAL CONSTITUENCIES

6. **Dealing with 'external' units** of the organisation subject to some common authority: most general managers must deal with general managers of other units within the larger organisation above, laterally and below to achieve their unit's objectives.



7. **Dealing with independent organisations** : agencies from other branches or levels of government, interest groups, and private enterprises that can affect the organisation's ability to achieve its objectives.
8. **Dealing with the press and public** whose action or approval or acquiescence is required.

Since the implementation of various reforms began in the 1980s, all three of Allison's functions of general management are now routinely carried out by public servants, which is suggestive that the actual work done is now more managerial than administrative. In other words, "the functions which are carried out by public servants now include all those set out in Allison's general management function. Outlining the functions of general management does not necessarily mean management is generic – a criticism often made of public management – or that there is no difference between public and private management. It is rather that there are certain functions which characterise a *general* management function.

Whether the public management task is different from the private management task remains a moot point. Perhaps there is only one form of management that takes place in different environments and within the constraints of those environments. The public sector is a different environment, but it is possible that the methods need differ only to the extent that the environment itself differs. Perhaps the public sector is so different that it needs its own theories and methods, distinct from private management or Allison's general management function. But in any case, Allison's list does fit the managerial model in the sense that all the points in it are things public managers now do routinely on the course of their work, many of which they did not do as public administrators" (Hughes 2003: 47 – 48).

The advent of public management marks a shift from earlier reforms. "It is clear both in theory and in programme details than earlier reforms which aimed at tinkering to cut costs. Instead of being a technical specialisation within public administration, as was 'old' public management, public management now aims at the replacement of the

traditional model altogether. Instead of there being *reforms* to the public sector, new public management represents a *transformation* of the public sector and its relationship with government and society. The main reason for the eclipse of the traditional model of administration is simply that it did not work any more, and was widely perceived as not working. Governments realised this first and began to challenge some of the most basic beliefs of the traditional model. They began to hire economists or people trained in management instead of general administrators, borrowed management techniques from the private sector, pushed back the dividing line between public and private sector activity with the aim of cutting costs, and set out to change working conditions inside the system which were no longer required. The public services had lost public support to such an extent that governments found little resistance to changes that would have once been regarded as destroying the very notion of a public service. And, once change began, the various aspects of the traditional model were taken apart” (Hughes 2003: 50 – 51).

There are various ideas of what is involved in the public management reforms. However, as the process has continued there has been convergence as to what is involved in the reforms. This can be seen by looking at several views of them.

The first of these was formulated by the OECD, which claimed in 1991, that most countries are following ‘two broad avenues’ to improve production and delivery of publicly provided goods and services (OECD 1991: 11, cited in Hughes 2003: 51). The first was:

*Raise the production performance of public organisations [to] improve the management of human resources including staff, development, recruitment of qualified talent and pay-for-performance; involve staff more in decision-making and management; relax administrative controls while imposing strict performance targets; use information technology; improve feedback from clients and stress service quality; bring supply and demand decisions together (e.g. through charging users).*

This ‘avenue’ is aimed mainly inside the organisation to improve incentives for individuals, measure performance and the like, as well as improve the relationship with

clients. It is concerned with *how* the public organisation is managed. The second ‘avenue’ is:

*Make greater use of the private sector* [to] promote a dependable, efficient, competitive and open public procurement system for contracting out production of publicly provided goods and services and contracting in intermediate goods and services; and, end monopoly or other protection of suppliers.

The second perspective, in another early view is that of Hood (1991: 4 – 5, cited in Hughes 2003: 52) who considered the managerial programme, or what he calls ‘new public management’ as comprising seven main points:

- *Hands-on professional management* in the public sector. This means letting the managers manage, or as Hood puts it ‘active, visible, discretionary control of organisations from named persons at the top’. The typical justification for this is that ‘accountability requires clear assignment of responsibility for action’.
- *Explicit standards and measures of performance*. This requires goals to be defined and performance targets to be set, and is justified by proponents as ‘accountability requires [a] clear statement of goals; efficiency requires a “hard look” at objectives’.
- Greater emphasis on *output controls*. Resources are directed to areas according to measured performance, because of the ‘need to stress *results* rather than *procedures*’.
- A shift to *disaggregation* of units in the public sector. This involves the breaking up of large entities into ‘corporatised units around products’, funded separately and ‘dealing with one another on an “arm’s-length” basis’. This is justified by the need to create manageable units and ‘to gain the efficiency advantages of franchise arrangements *inside* as well as outside the public sector’.
- A shift to greater *competition* in [the] public sector. This involves ‘the move to term contracts and public tendering procedures’ and is justified as using ‘rivalry as the key to lower costs and better standards’.

- *A stress on private sector styles of management practice.* This involves a ‘move away from military-style “public service ethic” and ‘flexibility in hiring and rewards’, and is justified by the ‘need to use “proven” private sector management tools in the public sector’.
- A stress on greater *discipline* and *parsimony* in resource use. Hood sees this as ‘cutting direct costs, raising labour discipline, resisting union demands, limiting “compliance costs” to business’ and is typically justified by the ‘need to check resource demands of public sector and “do more with less”’.

Hood may differ from the OECD in his opinion as to the desirability of the managerial changes, but there is substantial agreement between them as to the kinds of change involved, especially in the early stages of the reform process (Hughes 2003: 52).

A third formulation, in some ways the most useful, is that of Holmes and Shand (1995: 555, cited in Hughes 2003: 52 – 53), who write from the perspective of two self-described practitioners, from the World Bank and OECD respectively, international institutions where the managerial reforms were in some ways led. They regard the new public management paradigm – what they regard as a ‘good managerial approach’ – as:

- a more strategic or results-oriented (efficiency, effectiveness and service quality) approach to decision-making;
- the replacement of highly centralised hierarchical organisational structures with decentralised management environments where decisions on resource allocation and service delivery are taken closer to the point of delivery, where greater relevant information is available and which provide scope for feedback from clients and other interest groups;
- flexibility to explore alternatives to direct public provision which might provide more cost-effective policy outcomes;
- focusing attention on the matching of authority and responsibility as a key to improving performance, including through such mechanisms as explicit performance contracting;
- the creation of competitive environments within and between public sector organisations;

- the strengthening of strategic capacities at the centre to ‘steer’ government to respond to external changes and diverse interests quickly, flexibly and at least cost;
- greater accountability and transparency through requirements to report on results and their full costs; and
- service-wide budgeting and management systems to support and encourage these changes.

These are rather more precise than some of the earlier view (Hughes 2003: 53).

Finally, putting together various perspectives, Pollitt argued there were a number of general elements of the new model accepted by most commentators (2001: 473 – 474, cited in Hughes 2003: 53):

- A shift in the focus of management systems and management effort from inputs and processes to outputs and outcomes.
- A shift from more measurement, manifesting itself in the appearance of batteries of performance indicators and standards.
- A preference for more specialised, ‘lean’, ‘flat’ and autonomous organisational forms rather than large, multi-purpose, hierarchical bureaucracies.
- A widespread substitution of contract or contract-like relationships for hierarchical relationships.
- A much wider than hitherto use of market or market-like mechanisms for the delivery of public services (including privatisation, contracting out, the development of internal markets, and so forth).
- A broadening and blurring of the ‘frontier’ between the public and private sectors (characterised by the growth of public/private partnerships of various kinds and the apparent proliferation of ‘hybrid’ organisations)
- A shift in value priorities away from universalism, equity, security and resilience and towards efficiency and individualism.

There is substantial overlap in these views of public management. It can no longer be claimed that the reforms are not clearly specified. They are. The principles that constitute new public management can be summarised into the following thirteen points:

- A strategic approach
- Management not administration
- A focus on results
- Improved financial management
- Flexibility in staffing
- Flexibility in organisation
- A shift to greater competition
- The new contractualism
- A stress on private sector styles of management practice
- Relationships with politicians
- Relationships with the public
- Separation of purchaser and provider
- Re-examining what government does

“These thirteen points cover most of the changes involved in the transformation of public sector management. However, the most important change is in the underlying theory. There are two main theoretical bases to new public management. These are economics and private management” (Hughes 2003: 60).

That economics and private management are the two main theoretical bases for new public management is not really a matter of controversy. Pollitt, for example argues that management is ‘clearly an activity which is intimately concerned with directing flows of resources so as to achieve defined objectives’ and these objectives ‘are defined predominantly in the language of economics – “output” and “value for money” (Pollitt 1993: 5, cited in Hughes 2003: 60). The OECD argues that the old paradigm of public sector management ‘is replaced by a new paradigm which attempts to combine modern management practices with the logic of economics, while still retaining core public service values’ (OECD 1998: 5, cited in Hughes 2003: 60). The two theoretical influences are important, although it could be argued that private management is itself based on economics (Hughes 2003: 60).

Hughes (2003: 60 – 61) posits that “the economic basis to managerialism allows it to draw on what can be argued to be the most powerful of social science theories. There are two key assumptions in economics. First, there is the assumption of individual rationality, that individuals can be assumed to prefer more of something rather than less. Secondly, the individual rationality assumption allows the elaboration of models that can extend to high levels of abstraction. Such models can be predictive, providing people can be assumed, in aggregate, to act as if they were rational. Compared with the rather vague public interest theories of public administration, economics offered precision, prediction and empiricism, backed by a motivational theory of how people acted. Economics also has direct relevance to governing. The public sector does things: it provides goods and services and should do so in the most efficient way possible. The focus of management models on results, efficiency and measurement owes much to economics”.

With regard to public management borrowing from private management, Hughes (2003: 61 – 62) documents that “the second theoretical basis for public management can be found in private management. There are several managerial changes with antecedents in the private sector. In the private setting, there is greater flexibility in tailoring the organisation to circumstance, instead of necessarily following a rigid Weberian model. Though the private sector was once as bureaucratic as any government, it moved earlier towards more flexible forms of management and the managerial changes in the public sector follow these. The focus on results could be said to derive from economics, but is also present in private management, as without results a company would be out of business. The greater attention now paid to strategic planning and management in the public sector also derives from the private sector”.

Hughes (2003: 62) further observes that “where private management is particularly helpful for managerialism is in deconstructing parts of the public system once considered to be fundamental. Of course, the public sector must be fair and impartial in dealing with clients, but this does not mean that public servants need be neutral or have a job for life. It may be difficult to measure performance in the public sector, but this should not mean that no attempt should be made. The political nature of the public sector does make it

different from the private sector, but this does not mean that *all* acts are political, or that *all* policy actions need be undertaken by politicians. This is particularly the case with the input factors identified before, such as the generous staffing conditions once thought necessary for public servants. It is hard to see how service delivery is necessarily damaged by employment by contract or on a part-time basis, or if staff are initially hired at higher levels than the base-grade. However, all these are against what was once thought necessary for all public employment. If much work in the public sector is the same as the private sector, other than at the highest levels, it is hard to justify unusual employment practices”.

Consolidating the above insights, (Hughes 2003: 62) submits that “perhaps the most important point imported from the private sector is the focus on objectives. Making results the primary aim, with everything else secondary, is a major change of mind-set. Also, bureaucratic organisations are not axiomatically efficient. The private sector has experimented with other organisational frameworks – profit centres, decentralisation, staff flexibility – all of which have public sector parallels. The move in the private sector towards flexibility is now being emulated by the public sector as well. Economics and private management are the main theoretical supports for new public management”.

It is the above elaborated insights deriving from theoretical advances in management theory, especially management theory as applied to public sector, in the form of new public management that are critical in the conceptualisation of the LMA as developed in the current study.

From the foregoing discussion on the principles of new public management, it is advanced that when management theory of the variety embedded in new public management is applied to language planning activities, it marks a radical shift from current practices, especially with regard to multilingual policy and planning implementation. Management theory so applied to the LMA means, among other things, that the pre-occupation of language planning especially with regard to multilingual policy and planning implementation is not more on the mapping of management functions



[without discounting their importance], but rather on the results that flow from multilingual policy and language planning initiatives: multilingual policy and planning initiatives must be able to provide policy and pragmatic outcomes that engender multilingualism.

Management theory as encapsulated by new public management is also critical to the LMA because it provides policy makers involved in multilingual policy and planning implementation in the public sector with a broader array of techniques and insights on how the entire process can be managed. Fundamental in these techniques and insights is the realisation that there exists a motley of possibilities about how the entire process of multilingual policy and planning implementation can be managed, ranging from performance indicators to measure the extent of the roll-out of language services in the public sector; lean organisational forms of public agencies dealing with language matters; privatisation of language services in the public sector; contracting out; the development of internal markets; and the development of public/private partnerships to manage the roll-out of a multilingual dispensation in the public sector.

### **5.2.7 Phenomenology**

There are issues that have emerged in the study and in the construction of the LMA that are not adequately catered for by the theoretical foundations of the LMA that have so far been elaborated on. Primarily, two issues have so far not been addressed, i.e.:

- (a) an understanding of the *lived multilingual reality* and how this reality can be harnessed for the common good of society, in contrast to the reductionism of earlier theoretical foundations and approaches to language planning that treat multilingualism as something that only needs to be explained and analysed; and
- (b) an accounting for the methods that of necessity need to be developed and incorporated into language planning so as to understand multilingualism, not as an instance that only needs to be explained and analysed, but as a lived reality of

individuals and societies, and how individuals and societies interpret their multilingual existence.

To seek answers to these two issues, the construction of the LMA in the present study brings into the language management theoretical matrix two theories that have so far not been considered as either theoretical foundations or theoretical advances in language planning. The two theories are phenomenology and human development theory. These two theories represent what this study terms as the “theoretical frontiers for language management”, i.e. theories that offer great potential for a different conceptualisation of language planning in multilingual societies, especially with regard to conceptualising multilingual language policy and language planning implementation as the *norm* rather than the exception. The current section outlines the tenets of phenomenology and how phenomenology offers insights that are beneficial to multilingual language policy and language planning implementation. Human development theory is addressed in the next section.

Whereas positivism [a theoretical tradition that has influenced and informed much of language planning theory and application] interprets the aim of social science research within the epistemic context of a medical-physiological metaphor [the inherent preoccupation in language planning that the multiplicity of languages in society is a “pathological” aspect that needs to be addressed, mainly through the “elimination” of this multiplicity by policy and other interventions], the phenomenological or interpretivist approach has as its point of departure a predominantly mental analogy. Not the human body, but the human mind or consciousness forms the basis for the presumed analogy between the study of human beings and the study of society.

“Within this tradition, the aim of the human sciences is to *understand* (not explain or analyse) human beings. But the focus is on the human subject conceived first and foremost as a conscious, self directing, rational human being, and not as a biological organism. The phenomenologist emphasises that human beings are continuously engaged in the process of making sense of their worlds: they interpret, give meaning to, define,

explain, justify, and rationalises their actions. According to the phenomenological position, the fact that people are continuously constructing, developing, and changing their worlds, and simultaneously also their common sense interpretations, should be taken into account in any understanding of what social science research should be” (Mouton 2001: 19).

Mouton (2001:20) further observes that “a central element in the phenomenological paradigm is the role of human consciousness. This implies that any understanding of social practices must of necessity be couched in categories of consciousness: intentionality, rationality, meaning, and subjectivity. The aim of the social sciences is therefore defined as primarily directed towards understanding: understanding human actors in terms of their own interpretations of reality, and understanding society in terms of the meanings which people ascribe to the social practices in that society”.

Such a formulation of the aim of social science research has an “inherent concern for power (that is, the power of human reason) and that the primary goal of social inquiry is to produce knowledge and truth that will eliminate all forms of ignorance, superstition, and prejudice. The aim is to give people a better understanding of themselves and greater insight of into their life situations. If the ideal is to cultivate better self-understanding and more insight in the individual and thus free him/her from intellectual darkness, the interest in power is therefore expressed in the power of reason.

The pervasive influence of the central metaphor of consciousness reveals itself not only in the typical phenomenological rhetoric (subjectivity, reflexivity, intentionality, meaning, conventions, rules, self-definition, typification, and translation), but also in the associated epistemology and methodology. With regard to the former, phenomenologists would, on the whole, support the following epistemological theses:

- An idealist epistemology: data collection should not be confined to observable behaviours, but should also include descriptions of people’s intentions, meanings and reasons.

- An anti-naturalist conception of objectivity that stresses the idea of intersubjectivity, engagement, and empathy between researcher and the research subject.
- A realist interpretation of scientific theories: theories are interpreted to be congruent and consistent with the common-sense concepts and interpretations of the social actors themselves” (Mouton 2001: 20).

With regard to methodology, phenomenology has traditionally been associated with the qualitative approach. “Again the reasons for this marriage between phenomenology and qualitative methodology seem quite logical, given the importance accorded to the cognitive metaphor. The insistence on an interpretive understanding of the meanings and self-descriptions of the individual requires a methodology that emphasises the following:

- unstructured observation and open interviewing (in order to allow the research subject to “define the agenda”);
- idiographic and “thick” descriptions (detailed in-depth descriptions of small number of cases);
- qualitative analysis; and
- objectivity defined as the intersubjective and emphatic attitude of the “insider”.

The phenomenologist therefore favours data collections methods like participant observation and unstructured interviewing, life history methodologies, qualitative content analysis and discourse analysis; as well as techniques like grounded theory approach and analytic induction for the analysis of data” (Mouton 2001: 20).

From the foregoing description of the tenets of phenomenology, it is submitted that phenomenology can offer invaluable insights in the processes that constitute research in language planning and methodologies that are required for multilingual policy and planning implementation specifically.

With regard to language planning research, phenomenology makes it possible for language planning researchers to actively get involved in the lived experiences of individuals and societies living within multilingual contexts and understand how they perceive their multilingual circumstance. From such an engagement, language planning researchers will be able to understand [like the current researcher did] that multilingualism is not an undesirable state of affairs that individuals would wish to do away with, and that multilingual societies would wish to deny or wish away, but that multilingualism is a desirable state of affairs for both individuals and societies. The challenge for individuals and societies is how they can be able to harness their multilingual circumstances to make their lives better and how the supra-structures of governance can be modified to be more accommodative their multilingualism.

In fact, as experienced by the current researcher, interaction with individuals living in multilingual circumstances brings to the fore the reality that it is only language planning researchers and policy makers involved in language planning in multilingual scenarios that are seemingly overwhelmed by individual and societal multilingualism, and not the people living in multilingual settings. Through their life experiences, individuals accept multilingualism as one of the aspects that define their existence and have developed an array of strategies to cope with the challenges that multilingualism presents. However, the application of their coping strategies is often hindered by official structures, because in many an instance, they do not provide them with the leverage of negotiating their way through as they do in non-official scenarios.

Within the LMA therefore, the challenge is that official structures should be adapted in line with the multilingual realities of the societies in which they operate in so as to provide them with discursive space in which they can employ their strategies of coping with multilingualism that they have developed in non-official settings. In a gist, phenomenology points towards the need to adapt official structures in multilingual societies to be in line with the lived multilingual reality of the rest of society.

With regard to methodology, phenomenology allows for the inclusion of the array of methodologies that have been used in the current study, as well as the methodologies that were developed as the *optimal* methodologies for multilingual language policy and language planning implementation.

The background to the current study (chapters one and two) are based on “thick” descriptions and analysis of the South African language planning scenario as well as a critical analysis of the language planning scenario in South Africa. The methodologies that were used in this analysis were qualitative content analysis as well as discourse analysis. However, with regard to methodology, the most important contribution of phenomenology to the LMA is the incorporation of Grounded Theory Method as a method that can be used to develop models from qualitative data. The incorporation of Grounded Theory Method into the LMA serves a greater purpose in the LMA approach than just being a tool for organising qualitative data in language planning. Grounded Theory Method can also be applied to practical language planning scenarios where it is used to categorise language planning phenomena and the array of interventions that can be deployed to address the isolated phenomena. An example may serve to clarify this point:

Within the Local Government sphere in the Free State Province, Republic of South Africa [where the LMA was tested and re-refined in the *Language Management for Local Government in the Free State Project*] the researcher established [through qualitative approaches such as participant observation, unstructured interviewing and dialogical intervention strategies] that the challenges that face multilingual language policy and language planning implementation can be categorised into the following categories:

- (a) Institutional capacities (expertise, structures and attitudes).
- (b) The non-linking of multilingualism and efficient service delivery.
- (c) The non-linking of multilingualism with the processes of transformation and democratisation

Once the researcher established these as the core categories of the challenges confronting multilingual policy and planning implementation, categories of methodologies were designed for the project to address the core categories of challenges. The identification of categories is the kingpin of Grounded Theory Method, and as the above example illustrates, it is not only important in organising qualitative data in the language planning research, it is also an important approach in the determination, structuring and the execution of practical interventions in the processes that constitute multilingual policy and planning implementation.

### **5.2.8 Human Development Theory**

Scholars closely associated with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and its Human Development Report Office (HDRO) have been at the forefront of sketching a different kind of theory to explain the processes that constitute development. In the 1996 edition of the *Human Development Report*, the United Nations Development Programme further extended the tentative steps that had been taken since the Human Development Report was launched, towards the incorporation of a different kind of theory into overall development thinking. It is a social theory that incorporates multiculturalism and in effect, it's a theory that is accommodative of multilingualism. The Report observes:

Policy-makers once debated whether they should choose economic growth or extensive participation, assuming that these were mutually exclusive. That debate is dead. People do not want one or the other – they want both. But too many people are still denied even the most basic forms of democracy, and many of the world's people are in the grip of repressive regimes.

[There is a danger of] rootless growth – which causes people's cultural identity to wither. There are thought to be about 10,000 distinct cultures, but many risk being marginalised or eliminated. In some cases minority cultures are being swamped by dominant cultures whose power has been amplified by growth. In other cases governments have deliberately imposed uniformity in the pursuit of nation-building – say, with a national language.

This can be dangerous. The violence in the former Soviet Union and in the Balkan states of former Yugoslavia is a tragic legacy of culturally repressive governance. The nations that have held together best, from Switzerland to Malaysia, are often those that have recognised cultural diversity and decentralised economic and political governance to try and meet the aspirations of all their people (UNDP 1996: 4).

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has further amplified the above orientation as it relates to development in subsequent Human Development Reports. However, it is important at this point if the discussion to pose the question: what is human development?

According to UNDP (1999: 15) “human development can simply be defined as a process of enlarging choices. Every day human beings make a series of choices – some economic, some social, some political, some cultural. If people are the proper focus of development efforts, then these efforts should be geared to enhancing the range of choices in all areas of human endeavour for every human being. Human development is both a process and an outcome. It is concerned with the process through which choices are enlarged, but it also focuses on the outcomes of enhanced choices”.

Human development thus defined represents a simple notion, but one with far-reaching implications. “First, human choices are enlarged when people acquire more capabilities and enjoy more opportunities to use those capabilities. Human development seeks not only to increase both capabilities and opportunities but also to ensure an appropriate balance between them in order to avoid the frustration that a mismatch between the two can create. Second, as already implied, economic growth needs to be seen as a means, albeit an important one, and not the ultimate goal, of development. Income makes an important contribution to human well-being, broadly conceived, if its benefits are translated into more fulfilled human lives, but growth of income is not an end in itself. Third, the human development concept, by concentrating on choices, implies that people must influence the processes that shape their lives. They must participate in various decision-making processes, and their monitoring and adjustment to improve outcomes where necessary” (UNDP 1999: 16).



In the ultimate analysis, “human development is development of the people, development for the people, and development by the people. Development of the people involves building human capabilities through the development of human resources. Development for the people implies that the benefits of growth must be translated into the lives of people, and development by the people emphasises that people must be able to participate actively in influencing the processes that shape their lives” (UNDP 1999: 16).

The notion of human development, as introduced in the first Human Development Report in 1990, was an extension of a long philosophical tradition dating from the days of Aristotle, Ibn Khaldoun, William Petty, Gregory King, Francois Quesnay, Antoine Lavoisier and Joseph Lagrange, the grandparent of gross national product (GNP) and gross domestic product (GDP). It is also clear in the writings of the leading political economists: Adam Smith, David Ricardo, Robert Malthus, Karl Marx and John Stuart Mill. However, it is a philosophical tradition that has been recently obscured.

“With its revival, the notion of human development questioned the relevance of the unique preoccupation with equating GNP with development and thus shifted the development paradigm. It put people back where they belong – at the centre of the development debate and dialogue. The human development concept is broader than other people-oriented approaches to development. Human resource development emphasises only human capital and treats human beings as an input in the development process, but not as its beneficiaries. The basic-needs approach focuses on minimum requirements of human beings, but not on their choices. The human-welfare approach looks at people as recipients, but not as active participants in the processes that shape their lives. Human development, by encompassing all these aspects, represents a more holistic approach to development” (UNDP 1999: 17).

A concept is always broader than any of its proposed measures. Any suggested measure for any concept cannot fully capture the richness and breadth of the concept. This is true of the notion of human development as well. In principle, human choices and their outcomes can be infinite and change over time. However, the three essential ones at all

levels of development are for the people to lead a long and healthy life, to acquire knowledge and to have access to resources needed for a decent standard of living. If these essentials are not available, many other opportunities remain inaccessible.

The original measure of human development is the Human Development Index (HDI). “However, over the years, researchers involved in the development of the HDI have realised that the HDI has a limited scope. It cannot provide a complete picture of human development in any situation. It must be supplemented with other useful indicators in order to obtain a comprehensive view. This has led to the development of human-development accounting as a measure of human development. Human-development accounting takes into account the broader notions of human freedom, knowledge acquisition and institutional contexts in the measuring of human development” (UNDP 1999: 18).

Human freedom is a multidimensional concept. “Human development is inextricably linked with human freedom. Human development emphasises enhancement of human capabilities, which reflects the freedom to achieve different things that people value. In this sense, human development is freedom. However, this freedom, the ability to achieve things that people value, cannot be used if opportunities to exercise this freedom do not exist. Such opportunities are ensured through the existence of various human rights that key institutions – the community, the society, and the state – must support and secure. Human development and human rights are thus mutually reinforcing and they have a common denominator: human freedom. Human development, by enhancing human capabilities, creates the ability to exercise freedom, and human rights, by providing the necessary framework, create the opportunities to exercise it. Freedom is both the guarantor and the goal of both human development and human rights” (UNDP 1999: 18).

“Acquisition of knowledge has intrinsic value by itself, but more importantly, it is an important dimension of human development because it is a critical means of building human capacity. It is now generally accepted that knowledge is a core factor of production and a principal determinant of productivity and human capital. There is thus

an important synergy between knowledge acquisition and the productive power of society. This synergy is especially strong in high value-added productive activities, which are becoming increasingly based on both intensive knowledge and the rapid obsolescence of know-how and capabilities. These activities are the bulwark of international competitiveness and will become more so in the future. By the same token, a limited knowledge stock, especially if combined with poor or non-existent knowledge acquisition, condemns a country to meagre productivity and poor development prospects. In today's world, it is the knowledge gap rather than the income gap that is likely to be the most critical determinant of the fortunes of countries across the world. At the beginning of the third millennium, knowledge constitutes the road to development and liberation, especially in a world of intense globalisation" (UNDP 1999: 19).

It is well recognised that "addressing and ensuring human rights and human freedoms depend critically on the institutional context. The same is true for dynamic knowledge acquisition. Since issues of human freedom and knowledge acquisition are of prime importance for human development, recognition of the necessary institutional context and choice of an appropriate institutional framework are also crucial. This means that governments should create institutional frameworks to enhance the pursuit of human development" (UNDP 1999: 20).

The 2004 Human Development Report entitled "*Cultural liberty in today's diverse world*" makes a categorical standpoint with regard to the place of multiculturalism in human development. The Report observes:

At a time when the notion of a global "clash of cultures" is resonating so powerfully – and worryingly – around the world, finding answers to the old questions of how best to manage and mitigate conflict over language, religion, culture and ethnicity has taken on renewed importance. For development practitioners this is not an abstract question. If the world is to reach the Millennium Development Goals and ultimately eradicate poverty, it must first successfully confront the challenge of how to build inclusive, culturally diverse societies. Not just because doing so successfully is a precondition for countries to focus properly on other priorities of economic growth, health and education for all citizens. But because allowing people full cultural expression is an important development end in itself.

Human development is first and foremost about allowing people to lead the kind of life they choose – and providing them with the tools and opportunities to make those choices. In recent years *Human Development Report* has argued strongly that this is as much a question of politics as economics – from protecting human rights to deepening democracy. Unless people who are poor and marginalised – who more often than not are members of religions or ethnic minorities or immigrants – can influence political action at local and national levels, they are unlikely to get equitable access to jobs, schools, hospitals, justice, security and other basic services.

The human development approach rejects the claims that cultural differences necessarily lead to social, economic and political conflict or that inherent cultural rights should supersede political and economic ones. Instead, it provides a powerful argument for finding ways to “delight in our differences”, as Archbishop Desmond Tutu has put it. It also offers some concrete ideas on what it means in practice to build and manage the politics of identity and culture in a manner consistent with the bedrock principles of human development (UNDP 2004: v).

The Report continues to observe that “cultural liberty is a vital part of human development because being able to choose one’s identity – who one is – without losing respect of others or being excluded from other choices is important in leading a full life. People want freedom to practice their religion openly, to speak their language, to celebrate their ethnic or religious heritage without fear of ridicule or punishment or diminished opportunity. People want the freedom to participate in society without having to slip off their chosen cultural moorings. It is a simple idea, but profoundly unsettling” (UNDP 2004: 1).

Human development recognises that “cultural diversity is here to stay – and to grow. States need to find ways of forging national unity amid this diversity. The world, ever more interdependent economically, cannot function unless people respect diversity and build unity through common bonds of humanity. In this age of globalisation the demands for cultural recognition can no longer be ignored by any state or by the international community. And confrontations over culture and identity are likely to grow – the ease of communications and travel have shrunk the world and changed the landscape of cultural diversity, and the spread of democracy, human rights and new global networks have

given people greater means to mobilise around a cause, insist on a response and get it” (UNDP 2004: 2).

Because of the above insights, “human development makes a case for respecting diversity and building more inclusive societies by adopting policies that explicitly recognise cultural differences – multicultural policies. But why have many cultural identities been suppressed or ignored for so long? One reason is that many people believe that allowing diversity to flourish may be desirable in the abstract but in practice can weaken the state, lead to conflict and retard development. The best approach to diversity, in this view, is assimilation around a single national standard, which can lead to the suppression of cultural identities. However, human development theory advances that these are not premises – they are myths. Indeed, it advances that a multicultural policy approach is not just desirable but also viable and necessary. Without such an approach the imagined problems of diversity can become self-fulfilling prophecies” (UNDP 2004: 2).

The first myth with regard to the importance of cultural liberty is: “people’s ethnic identities compete with their attachment to the state, so there is a trade-off between recognising diversity and unifying the state. Not so. Individuals can and do have multiple identities that are complimentary – ethnicity, language, religion and race as well as citizenship. Nor is identity a zero sum game. There is no inevitable need to choose between state unity and recognition of cultural differences. A sense of identity and belonging to a group with shared values and other bonds of culture is important for individuals. But each individual can identify with many different groups. Identity also has an element of choice: within these memberships individuals can choose what priority to give to one membership over another in different contexts.

“Nation building” has been a dominant objective of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and most states have aimed to build culturally homogenous states with singular identities. Sometimes they succeeded but at the cost of repression and persecution. If the history of the 20<sup>th</sup> century showed anything, it is that the attempt either to exterminate cultural groups or to wish them away elicited stubborn resilience. By contrast, recognising cultural identities has

resolved never-ending tensions. For both practical and moral reasons, then, it is far better to accommodate cultural groups than to try to eliminate them or to pretend that they do not exist. Countries do not have to choose between national unity and cultural diversity. Surveys show that the two can and often do coexist. In Belgium citizens overwhelmingly replied when asked that they felt both Belgian and Flemish or Walloon and in Spain, that they felt Spanish as well as Catalan or Basque. These countries and others have worked hard to accommodate diverse cultures. They have also worked hard to build unity by fostering respect for identities and trust in state institutions. The states have held together. There is no trade-off between diversity and state unity. Multicultural policies are a way to build diverse and unified states” (UNDP 2004: 3).

The second myth with regard to the importance of cultural liberty is: “ethnic groups are prone to violent conflict with each other in clashes of values, so there is a trade-off between respecting diversity and sustaining peace. No. there is little empirical evidence that cultural differences and clashes over values are in themselves a cause of violent conflict. It is true, particularly since the end of the cold war, that violent conflicts have arisen not so much between states but within them between ethnic groups. But on their causes, there is wide agreement in recent research by scholars that cultural differences by themselves are not the relevant factor. Some even argue that cultural diversity reduces the risk of conflict by making group mobilisation more difficult. Studies offer several explanations for these wars: economic inequities between groups as well as struggles for political power, land and other economic assets. Cultural identity does have a role in these conflicts – not as a cause but as a driver for political mobilisation. Leaders invoke a single identity, its symbols and its history of grievances, to “rally the troops”. And a lack of cultural recognition can trigger violent mobilisation. Underlying inequities in South Africa were the root of the Soweto riots in 1976, but they were triggered by attempts to impose Afrikaans on black schools” (UNDP 2004: 3).

“While the co-existence of culturally distinct groups is not, in itself, a cause of violent conflict, it is dangerous to allow economic and political inequality to deepen between these groups or to suppress cultural differences, because cultural groups are easily

mobilised to contest these disparities as injustice. There is no trade-off between peace and respect for diversity, but identity politics need be managed so that they don't turn violent (UNDP 2004: 3).

The third myth with regard to the importance of cultural liberty is: “cultural liberty requires defending traditional practices, so there could be a trade-off between recognising cultural diversity and other human development priorities such as progress in development, democracy and human rights. No. Cultural liberty is about expanding individual choices, not about preserving values and practices as an end in itself with blind allegiance to tradition. Culture is not a frozen set of values and practices. It is constantly recreated as people question, adapt and redefine their values and practices to changing realities and exchange of ideas. Some argue that multiculturalism is a policy of conserving cultures, even practices that violate human rights, and that movements for cultural recognition are not governed democratically. But neither cultural freedom nor respect for diversity should be confused with the defence of tradition. Cultural liberty is the capability of people to live and be what they choose with adequate opportunity to consider other options. There does not need to be any trade-off between respect for cultural differences and human rights and development. But the process of development involves active participation of people in fighting for human rights and shifts in values” (UNDP 2004: 4).

The fourth myth with regard to the importance of cultural liberty is: “ethnically diverse countries are less able to develop, so there is a trade-off between respecting diversity and promoting development. No. There is no evidence of a clear relationship, good or bad, between cultural diversity and development. Some argue, however, that diversity has been an obstacle to development. But while it is undeniably true that many diverse societies have low levels of income and human development, there is no evidence that this is related to cultural diversity. One study argues that diversity has been a source of poor economic performance in Africa – but this is related to political decision-making that follows ethnic rather than national interests, not to diversity itself. Just as there are multi-ethnic countries that have stagnated, there are others that were spectacularly

successful. Malaysia, with 62% of its people Malays and other indigenous groups, 30% Chinese and 8% Indian, was the world's 10<sup>th</sup> fastest growing economy during 1970-90, years when it also implemented affirmative action policies. Mauritius ranks 64 in the human development index, the highest in Sub-Saharan Africa. It has a diverse population of African, Indian, Chinese and European origin – with 50% Hindu, 30% Christian and 17% Muslim” (UNDP 2004: 4)

The fifth myth with regard to the importance of cultural liberty is: “some cultures are more likely to make development progress than others, and some cultures have inherent democratic values while others do not, so there is a trade-off between accommodating certain cultures and promoting development and democracy. Again, no. There is no evidence from statistical analysis or historical studies of a causal relationship between culture and economic progress or democracy. Cultural determinism – the idea that a group's culture explains economic performance and the advance of democracy – as an obstacle or facilitator, has enormous intuitive appeal. But these theories are not supported by econometric analysis or history” (UNDP 2004: 5).

Human development theory in general provides for framework by means of which cultural diverse societies can be able to achieve holistic development. Among the key elements in this framework are:

- (a) Policies for ensuring political participation.
- (b) Policies for ensuring religious freedom.
- (c) Policies for legal pluralism.
- (d) Socio-economic policies.
- (e) Language policies.

The last element, i.e. language policies is important because it underlies the inclusion of human development theory in the development of the LMA. The Human Development Report 2004 observes that “language is often the most contested issue in multicultural states. Some countries have tried to suppress people's languages, labelling their use as



subversive. But the more frequent source of widespread exclusion even in well – established democracies is monolingual policy. The choice of official language – the language of instruction in schools, the language of legislative debates and civic participation, the language of commerce – shapes the barriers and advantages individuals face in life – political, social, economic and cultural. Recognising a language means more than just the use of that language. It symbolises respect for the people who speak it, their culture and their full inclusion in society. The state can be blind to religion, but it cannot be mute to language. Citizens need to communicate to feel a sense of belonging, and the choice of official language symbolises the national identity” (UNDP 2004: 9).

The inclusion of human development theory into the theoretical matrix for the LMA serves to illustrate two critical points:

First, to emphasise the idea that even if many countries do not implement multilingual policies and plans, or they would resist the implementation of multilingual policies and plans, contemporary development thinking, as encapsulated in human development theory points towards a radical shift whereby the implementation of multilingual policies and plans as a way of engendering cultural liberty and ensuring human development would fast gain root because it is going to be one of the critical measures of how countries are striving to achieve human development.

Secondly, to illustrate the idea that the implementation of multilingual language policies and language plans is an integral part of human development. With its preoccupation with the enlargement of people choices, human development presupposes that people should have unlimited access to information and knowledge so that they can be able to participate in the decision-making processes that impact on their lives. It is hard to imagine a situation where people can be able to access information and knowledge that they need to make their life’s decisions if the information and knowledge is not encoded in languages that they understand and can freely use. This is only possible, especially in multilingual states like South Africa, if there is implementation of a multilingual language policy.

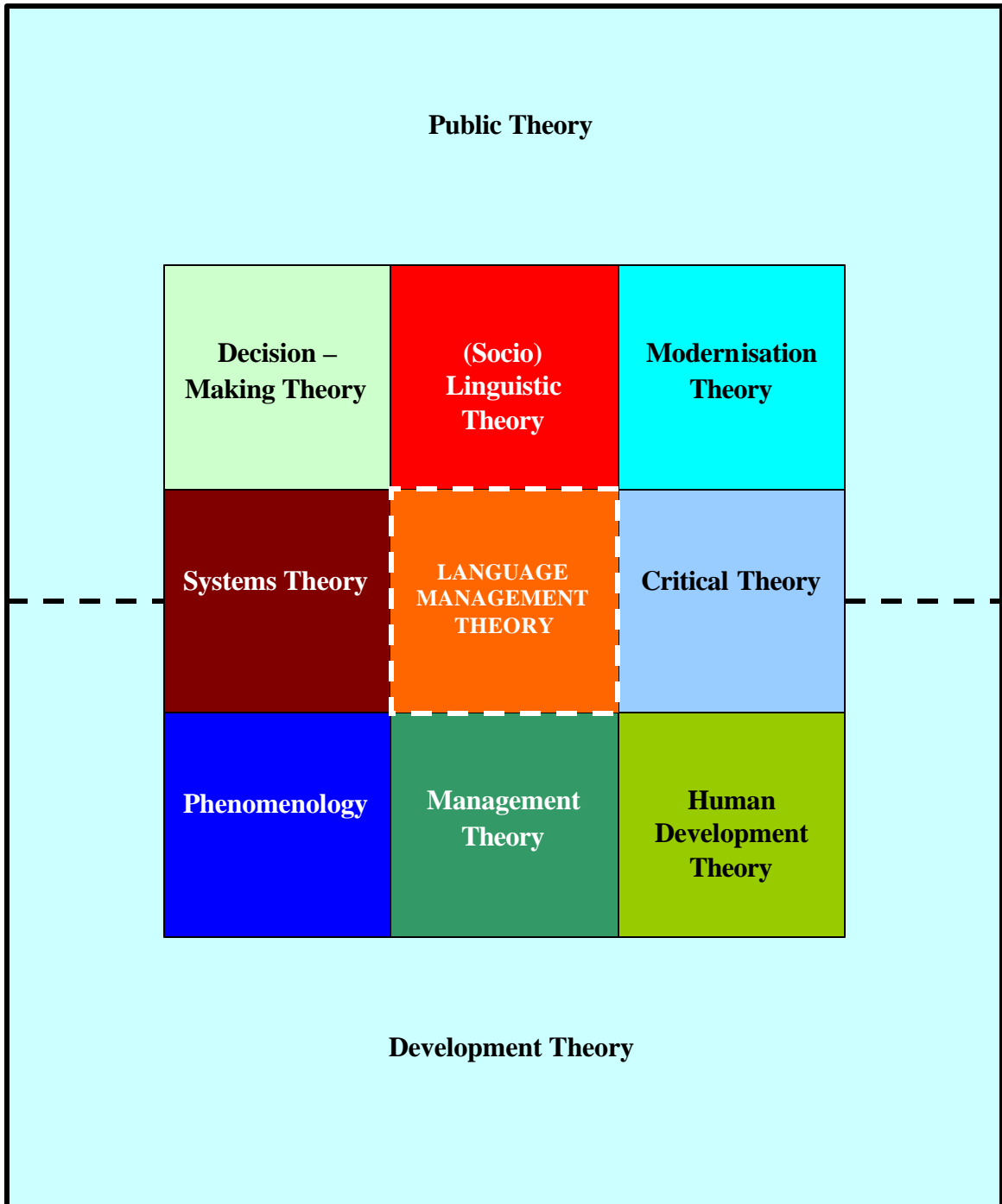
Suffice it to observe that the inclusion of human development theory as one of the theoretical frontiers of language management serves to place language management in the cutting-edge of contemporary development thinking. In this way, language management with its stated inclination in finding optimal methodologies and strategies for the implementation of multilingual policies and plans serves the same ends as human development, i.e. the enlargement of people's choices. There are however, other tacit benefits that come with the inclusion of human development theory into language management, key among them being that the implementation of multilingual policies and plans becomes an integral part of a country's respect for cultural diversity and fundamentally as a commitment towards the respect for human rights, because respect for and promotion of linguistic diversity is a reflection of many other human rights [like right of access to information, right of expression, right to belong to cultural groupings of one's choice]. Human development theory provides language management with the justification to pursue the implementation of multilingual language policies and plans as an integral part of the greater project of holistic human development, human emancipation and social justice.

### **5.2.9 Language Management Theoretical Matrix**

The eight theories discussed constitute the theoretical foundations and frontiers of language management theory. These theories are: decision-making theory; social and linguistic theory; modernisation theory; systems theory; critical theory; management theory; phenomenology; and human development theory. These eight theories bring into the language management approach invaluable insights, especially with regard to the understanding of the processes that constitute multilingual language policy and language planning implementation; the context within which multilingual language policy and language implementation occurs; and the methodologies and strategies that need to be developed and deployed to facilitate multilingual language policy and language planning implementation.

The eight theories that constitute the foundations and frontiers of language management theory are in themselves conceptualised as operating [when applied to language management theory] within the greater context of two macro theories, namely public theory and development theory. Public theory seeks to explain and understand the greater context within which public decisions and choices are made. Development theory on its part seeks to explain and understand the greater context within which development in human societies occurs and the processes that constitute the development process. The eight theoretical foundations and frontiers of language management theory are applied into language management theory on the basis of how they interact with and interpret public theory and development theory.

It is important to note that language management theory, by being placed in the middle of the language management theoretical matrix and with a truncated boundary implies that inasmuch as the eight theories contribute to the conceptualisation of language management theory, language management theory on its part contributes into an understanding of some of the aspects of its theoretical foundations and frontiers. In effect, the relationship between the eight theoretical foundations and frontiers of language management theory and language management itself is a dialectic one.



**Figure 1: Language Management Theoretical Matrix**

### **5.3 Macro and Micro Contexts for Language Management**

After the elaboration of the theoretical foundations and frontiers of the LMA, the next step in the development of the LMA is to determine and describe the macro and micro contexts for language management. This is important because the LMA, as an approach that seeks to facilitate the formulation of optimal methodologies and strategies for multilingual language policy and language planning implementation, should account for the contexts within which multilingual policy and planning should occur. However, it is important to note that the identification and description of the macro and micro contexts for language management should take into account the actual contexts as well as the desired contexts because language management practitioners, in their attempt to facilitate the implementation of multilingual policies and plans should be aware of the former, in order to facilitate the latter. The macro and micro contexts for language management are discussed in the following subsections.

#### **5.3.1 Macro Contexts for Language Management**

The macro contexts for language management are the greater contexts within which language management initiatives take place, or rather should take place. Primarily, these contexts are the public contexts and the development contexts. Examples are drawn from the South African situation to ground the following discussion.

Public contexts, because as it was observed in the preceding section, the public sector provides [or fails to provide] the macro environment, either through legislative, policy and practical intervention means within which multilingual policy and planning implementation should occur. Even in instances where the private sector, community based organisations (CBOs) and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) do engage in initiatives aimed at multilingual policy and planning implementation, they do so within the greater context of the public sector and its corpus of legislation, policy and programmes. The public context also includes the public agencies charged with the

responsibility of facilitating multilingual policy implementation. These include the Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB), The Department of Arts and Culture and its National Language Service and the Commission for the Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities.

However, it is important to point out that the public context for multilingual policy and planning implementation should be conceptualised as comprising of both the actual public contexts and the desired public contexts. An example from the South African public context can serve to illustrate this observation.

The actual South African public context has some legislation that can be used to drive multilingual policy and planning implementation, in the form of the Constitution. However, national legislation, in the form of a national languages act is still in the Bill stages. This does not augur well for multilingual policy and planning implementation because in the absence of national language legislation, various sectors in the public sector do not have a legislative premise from which they can base their language policy implementation initiatives. However, sight should not be lost of the fact that there are other national language legislation, namely the Pan South African Language Board Act (Act 59 of 1995, and subsequent amendments); the National Education Policy Act (Act 27 of 1996); the South African Schools Act (Act 84 of 1996); the Higher Education Act (Act 101 of 1997); the Promotion of Access to Information Act (Act 2 of 2000); the promotion of Administrative Justice Act (Act 3 of 2000); and the Commission for the Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities Act (Act 19 of 2002).

All these pieces of legislation serve to create a desired legislative context for multilingual policy and planning implementation in South Africa. The challenge however, relates as to whether the legislative precepts contained in these pieces of legislation are being implemented. It is disturbing to note that the provincial sphere and the local government sphere in South Africa do not have language legislation, with the exception of a few provinces and some local authorities.

With regard to policy, there are a number of national language policies, namely: the Language – in – Education Policy (1997); Norms and Standards Regarding Language Policy (1997); Language Policy Framework for South African Higher Education (2001); and the National Language Policy Framework (2002). Again, only a few provinces and local authorities in the Republic have developed, adopted and implemented language policies.

With regard practical intervention, the actual public context in South Africa, despite having national language legislation and national language policies is one in which very little has so far been achieved in rolling out the multilingual dispensation envisioned in the Constitution.

With regard to public agencies charged with the responsibility of multilingual policy and planning implementation, these agencies are involved in important activities that seek to establish a framework for multilingual policy and planning implementation. However, the only handicap is that their activities have not so far translated into actual multilingual language services being rendered in many public sector departments.

The desired public contexts would comprise a scenario where all the necessary national, provincial and local government language legislation and language policies are in place as well as the establishment of functional public institutions, structures and mechanisms to facilitate the implementation of a multilingual dispensation as encapsulated in the various legislation and policies. Inasmuch as language management needs to describe and understand the actual public contexts attendant to multilingual policy and planning implementation, the fundamental preoccupation of language management is to devise methodologies and strategies that can be deployed to facilitate the creation of desired public contexts that engender multilingual policy and planning implementation. The various methodologies and strategies are discussed later in the chapter.

The second macro context for language management is the development context. Again, the South African contexts are used to illustrate the discussion. The actual South African

development context is one marked with acute disparities. These disparities are documented in Cling 2001. Cling (2001) quotes President Thabo Mbeki as observing:

South Africa is a country of two nations. One of these nations is white, relatively prosperous, regardless of gender or geographic dispersal. It has ready access to a developed economic, physical, education, communication and other infrastructure (...) The second and larger nation of South Africa is black and poor, with the worst being affected being women in the rural areas, the black rural population in general and the disabled (Mbeki 1998, cited in Cling 2001: 55).

According to Cling (2001: 55) “in fact, South Africa is one of the most unequal countries in the world. Most of the four million white South Africans (out of a total population of little over 40 million inhabitants) benefit from a quality of life equivalent to that of a developed country. They are nearly unaffected by unemployment and enjoy mostly comfortable life styles and high salaries. At the other extreme of the social ladder are most of the black population and ethnic minorities. This dual society registers very marked inequalities between ethnic groups in all areas. At the same time, the relatively low incomes of black people can be explained by their lack of appropriate skills and by high rate of unemployment that prevails in this category of the population”.

Cling (2001: 56 – 57) documents that “with a level of GDP per capita of around \$3500 in 1996, South Africa is considered a middle income country, and one of the richest countries on the African continent. However, this average is of little significance when one takes into account the scope of inequalities existing in this country: the South African reality is that of a dual society, be it in terms of revenue, employment, or more general living conditions. The measuring of “human development”, done according to a method defined by the United Nations by adding a certain number of socio-demographic indicators (life expectancy, percentage of children in full-time education, and illiteracy) to income indicators therefore led to the classification of white South Africa in 19<sup>th</sup> position (out of 173 countries) globally in 1991, close to Germany, Italy, or Denmark. In contrast, black South Africa ranked 117<sup>th</sup>, behind Swaziland, Albania, Bolivia. (The country as a whole ranked 86<sup>th</sup>)”.



“The country is first of all characterised by an extremely unequal income distribution. According to World Bank estimates, the richest 10 per cent of the population – one might as well say whites especially – receive 47,3 per cent of total income, whereas the remaining 90 per cent of the population, that is to say blacks and all other ethnic groups, share the other half of this income, with the poorest 20 percent receiving only 3,3 per cent of total income. The Report on Poverty and Inequality in South Africa, produced by the UK Department of International Development in 1998, furthermore shows that half of the South African population lives on less than US\$2,40 a day, an amount considered to be the domestic poverty threshold. Sixty-one per cent of blacks were considered poor according to this definition, as against 38 per cent of coloureds, five per cent of Indians, and one per cent of whites. Nearly five million South Africans (more than ten per cent of the population) live on less than one US dollar a day. Even without disposing of recent statistics in this domain, it is obvious that the distribution of property is even more unequal than that of income” (Cling 2001: 57).

Language management within the South African context must grapple with the above sketched actual development context. There are those however, who are of the opinion that the implementation of the multilingual dispensation as envisioned in the Constitution will further serve to ingrain the already existing development disparities. This view misses a few important facts. Firstly, this opinion is mainly held by scholars and policy makers who do not experience any handicaps in participating in mainstream development processes due to language constraints, in fact scholars and policy makers who seem to benefit from a situation whereby language is a facilitator of exclusion of a majority of South Africans from mainstream development processes. Secondly, this opinion assumes that it is possible to anglicise and/or *afrikaanise* a majority of the South African population to a point whereby they can participate in mainstream development processes using English and/or Afrikaans. Suffice it to observe that with the deeply ingrained inequalities that are the legacy of centuries of colonialism and decades of apartheid, such a scenario is practically not possible in present day South Africa.

The actual development context of South Africa mitigates for an implementation of a multilingual dispensation if a majority of South Africans are to participate in mainstream development processes. Language management, with its insistence on the search for optimal methodologies and strategies for multilingual policy and planning implementation attempts to formulate mechanisms by means of which a majority of South Africans, who use languages other than English and/or Afrikaans in their daily political, social and economic intercourse can be integrated into mainstream development processes.

With regard to the desired development context in South Africa, language management seeks to harness the linguistic repertoire and language resources of all South Africans into the development process. However, language management does not in any way advocate for a scenario where South Africans would be restricted to using particular languages because of their political, social and economic circumstances. Rather, language management advocates for the establishment of a macro framework in which there is choice with regard to language use by all South Africans, but this does not preclude any South African from acquiring any other language(s) that they may need for political, social or economic advancement. Conceptualised in this way, language management becomes an integral component in South Africa's development processes. Language management should serve to redress the inequities attendant in the present South African society. Within the South African context multilingual policy implementation should be an integral component of the holistic development process as elaborated on in section 5.2.8.

### **5.3.2 The Micro Contexts for Language Management**

The macro contexts for language management elaborated in the preceding subsection comprise of various micro contexts. Examples from the South African situation are used to illustrate the discussion.

The public context comprises of various micro contexts, which may be identified as the various national departments and their embedded sections and operations, various provincial departments and their embedded sections and operations, the various departments and their embedded sections and operations found in various local authorities in South Africa, as well as the various departments and their embedded sections and operations found in public agencies, earlier identified as being charged with the responsibility of ensuring the creation of a multilingual dispensation in South Africa. The development context also comprises of various micro contexts, which may be identified as the various social, political, economic and cultural groupings, with their inherent differentiations, that constitute the South African population.

However, it is important to note another micro context for language management namely, the individual. Individuals, in their daily social, political, economic and cultural interactions with other individuals, either from their own social, political, economic and cultural groupings, or those who belong to other groupings, or with public agencies develop attitudes, especially with regard to the status of their various languages and/or other languages. These attitudes are critical in the overall success or failure of interventions designed to promote multilingual policy implementation.

Language management should take cognisance of the language attitudes of individual South Africans, or language attitudes that could be identified as being attendant to certain social, political, economic and cultural groupings in South Africa. However, within the LMA, focus should not be in identifying and documenting language attitudes, inasmuch as this is an important undertaking and point of departure. Within the LMA, focus should be on how negative language attitudes can be redressed and how positive language attitudes can be reinforced. The LMA takes the changing of negative language attitudes and the harnessing of positive language attitudes as one of the most potent tools for multilingual policy implementation.

## 5.4 The Purpose of Language Management

The purpose of language management can be subdivided into two broad categories namely, the research and scholarly purpose of language management and the practical purpose of language management. These two categories are discussed in the following paragraphs.

Within the research and scholarly domain, language management as a discipline serves to critique and question the established traditions in language planning research and scholarship, especially with regard to the adequacy of language planning theory in generating frameworks that can be deployed to facilitate multilingual language policy and language planning implementation.

Further, language management serves another research and scholarly purpose. Language management introduces within language planning research and scholarship a critical debate that questions the nature of language planning research and scholarship, especially with regard to the engagement of contemporary language planning research and scholarship with the challenges facing multilingual societies. Language management is self-critical of its undertaking as well as being critical of language planning research and scholarship. In this regard, language management poses the discomfiting question: has language planning research and scholarship done enough to develop language planning and language planning theory to a point whereby it can provide useful frameworks for multilingual policy implementation? Language management, due to its self-critical nature does not answer this question in the affirmative. Therefore, one of the purposes of language management is to continuously strive toward the formulation of frameworks that can facilitate multilingual policy implementation by a self-critique of its undertakings.

Language management as conceptualised within the LMA also serves some practical purposes. The overarching practical purpose of language management is to facilitate the

actual implementation of multilingual policies. To achieve this practical end, language management engages in:

- (a) Formulation of optimal managerial, sociolinguistic and development oriented methodologies and strategies for multilingual policy implementation.
- (b) Application and testing of the managerial, sociolinguistic and development oriented methodologies and strategies in practical multilingual policy implementation scenarios so that the methodologies and strategies can continuously be reviewed and updated.
- (c) Characterisation of the optimal variables that need to be secured for multilingual policy implementation
- (d) Characterisation of the macro and micro contexts (actual and desired) for multilingual policy implementation.

In its preoccupation with the implementation dynamics of multilingual policies and plans, language management is an integral component of the governance process. Some insights from Strauss (1997) serve to illustrate this observation.

Strauss (1997: 65 – 66) observes that “it is possible to say that it is the task of government to exercise its legislative and administrative power in order to ensure language justice for all its citizens, as well as for all foreign visitors and refugees within its territory, as individuals and in their language groups. The tasks of governance are not a scientific endeavour, although government might draw on scientific and other kinds of expertise in the exercise of its responsibilities. Governance is public service of the highest order, even if in our technolatrous age it has been reduced to its technical and organisational foundations of bureaucracy.

“The state has the task of legally integrating language relationships within its territory without dissolving the intricate complex of inter-relational language interlacements and mutually dependent language relationships. The tasks of government regarding language are shaped by:

- constitutional and legal recognition of the language rights of individuals and communities
- the requirement of equitable access to public language resources and infrastructure
- the provision of language protection and care for citizens from language communities weakened by their historical disadvantages or minority status, and
- the call to contribute to international language justice.

“The state is responsible for:

- the careful management of state language resources to establish and maintain public justice, and
- the exercise of language justice in such a way as to ensure balance and harmony among legal language interests, including
- the legal interests of people in their language interaction
- the legal interests of language communities
- and the protection of the right of individuals and language communities to use their languages in the public realm.

“This task also includes ensuring language justice for the linguistically disadvantaged, such as the deaf, the blind, and the illiterate, as well as the language communities of historically disadvantaged languages. There are at least three dimensions to this task of governance:

- *public intervention* against the exploitation of the linguistically disadvantaged
- *public provision* in the absence of other sources of opportunity and motivation for the linguistically disadvantaged, and
- *public encouragement*, or if necessary even *judicial enforcement*, of the fulfilment of language responsibilities by people in their non-state relationships.

Language planning intended to promote the well-being of all South Africans would have to be carried out within a coherent framework which recognises the simultaneous relevance of a complex array of norms as South Africa struggles towards language justice” (Strauss 1997: 66). Language management serves the practical purpose of providing the framework within which the state can meet its language obligations to its citizens, as well as for all foreign visitors and refugees within its territory, as individuals and in their language groups

## **5.5 Impediments to Language Management**

There are also impediments to language management. Again, these impediments relate to language planning research and scholarship as well as language planning practice. These two aspects are elaborated below, and examples from the South African language policy and planning scenario are used to ground the arguments.

It was observed in chapter 1 as well as the current chapter that one of major impediments to multilingual policy implementation [the main preoccupation of language management] is language planning research and scholarship, especially in the South African situation which has a supreme Constitution that declares multiculturalism, with its inherent multilingualism, as a constitutional norm.

The effort spent over the last one decade by South Africa’s language planning research and scholarship trying to rationalise the Constitution and trying to fit the Constitutional language provisions into a conservative language planning research and scholarship could have yielded better results if it sought to align language planning scholarship to the purport, ideology and discourse of the Constitution. The 1993 and 1996 Constitutions represented radical shifts in South African constitutionalism and the overall organisation of South African society [situations that have direct implications to language planning scholarship and practice in South Africa] cf chapter 2. The Constitutional language provisions which form the macro-framework for language planning in South Africa are

there to stay because many of the sections of the Constitution in which the Constitutional language provisions are embedded require special majorities for amendment, a scenario that has little chance of happening in the near future. The question that needs to be assessed critically is whether language planning research and scholarship in South Africa has occasioned an equivalent radical shift so as to support the multilingual dispensation envisioned in the Constitution.

Language planning practice is another impediment to multilingual policy implementation [the main preoccupation of language management], especially the attitudes of decision-makers in government and other agencies charged with the responsibility of implementing South Africa's language policy, towards the importance of a multilingual dispensation in the Republic and their marked failure to integrate multilingual policy implementation into critical aspects such as public service delivery, transformation and democratisation and the material conditions of South Africans.

It is submitted that decision-makers in government and other agencies charged with the responsibility of implementing South Africa's multilingual policy need to engage in serious reflection and fieldwork: reflection on the import of their decisions with regard to realising the purport of the Constitution, especially with regard to transformation of South Africa's society and the creation of a better life for all South Africans, and fieldwork because language policy implementation is more about execution at the grassroots and it cannot proceed if there is no serious engagement with the realities in the field, i.e. an actual engagement with language policy implementation in the outlying areas of South Africa, far from the national capital of Pretoria and the other provincial headquarters.

This process is however, not easy and it shouldn't be thought to be! It is a tedious and complex process that calls for a committed execution of the envisioned policy. However, there is solace in knowing that, as the United Nations Development Programme in its numerous Human Development Reports [cited earlier] has rightly observed, consistent and persistent public policy implementation even in the most difficult of circumstances



always produces positive results, especially if these results are measured against their impact in facilitating the creation of safety nets so that even the most vulnerable sections of society can be able to live a quality life.

There are many ways in which decision-makers can engage in the execution of South Africa's language policy as envisioned in the Constitution in a way that will have an impact on the quality of life of South Africa's, especially the most vulnerable. Among these, is the tying-up of the language policy implementation processes with actual service delivery, especially at the local government sphere, which are the nodal points for service delivery in the Republic, as well as the tying-up of language policy implementation process with transformation, community participation and empowerment efforts within the framework of a direct, participatory and representative democracy.

## **5.6 Language Management Variables**

Cluver (1991) writing on a "systems approach to language planning: the case of Namibia", provides an indication of the optimal set of variables that need to be secured for multilingual language policy implementation, referred to in the seminal paper as the different levels at which a language plan should be evaluated. Cluver (1991: 56) lists the levels as follows:

- (a) A socio-political level, i.e., to what degree will the plan help to promote national unity?
- (b) An administrative level, i.e., to what extent will the plan enable the central government to communicate with the more isolated villagers?
- (c) An educational level, i.e., to what extent will it actually be used as a medium of instruction and how will it affect the scholastic performance of the school children?

- (d) An economic level, i.e., to what extent will the plan create equal work opportunities and equal access to the higher-paid jobs and how will the plan enable the country to link up with the international community?
- (e) A legal level, i.e., to what extent will the minority language rights be protected?

The preceding questions identify a set of variables that interact with a proposed language policy and determine its success. Any attempt at implementation of a language policy must take these variables into consideration.

For the purposes of constructing the LMA, and informed by the author's experiences with multilingual language policy implementation at the local government sphere in the Free State Province, the set of variables identified by Cluver (1991) has been re-constructed into the following set of variables. The LMA identifies language management variables as the following:

- (a) Linguistic variables
- (b) Political variables
- (c) Legal variables
- (d) Economic variables
- (e) Socio-cultural variables
- (f) Management variables
- (g) Educational variables
- (h) Technological variables

These are the variables that need to be secured to a certain appreciable degree if multilingual policy implementation were to succeed: The idea is that for multilingual policy implementation to succeed, actors involved in the implementation process must strive to ensure that they secure the greatest possible mix of the above listed variables. Attention should be brought to bear on the notion that these are variables, i.e., they are not guarantees. Conscious efforts must be deployed to secure and sustain them and where they do exist in varying degrees, they should be reinforced.

### **5.6.1 Linguistic Variables**

These relate to language development and incorporate aspects of corpus planning, acquisition planning and status planning. This means that for multilingual policy implementation to succeed, the languages to be used must be developed to a level where they can be able to serve almost all, if not all functions in a modern and changing society.

### **5.6.2 Political Variables**

These relate to the political challenges that confront multilingual language policy implementation. In this regard, multilingual policy implementation should conceptualise political support, political will and elite closure as political factors that need to be addressed so as to facilitate multilingual policy implementation and should respond by designing proactive methodologies and strategies of securing the requisite political will and support, addressing elite closure, so that multilingual policy implementation can proceed without unnecessary disruptions from political forces. In instances where disruptions do occur from political forces, they should be managed so as to ensure that multilingual policy implementation processes are not compromised.

### **5.6.3 Legal Variables**

Legal variables relate to the recognition that multilingual policy implementation; especially in the South African scenario is based on a legal premise, i.e., the Constitution. The challenge for multilingual policy implementation therefore is to premise multilingual policy implementation on a legal basis, by ensuring that before the actual implementation can proceed, at all the three spheres of government, legislative instruments, in the form of Language Acts [at the national and provincial spheres] and language by-laws [at the local government sphere] have been enacted, as well as a development and implementation of language policies emanating from the legislative instruments.

#### **5.6.4 Economic Variables**

Economic variables relate to the budgeting for multilingual policy implementation. However, the scope of economic variables should be conceptualised in a more encompassing way to include not only the monetary dimension, but to also include a view that any monies spent in language policy implementation processes are monies spent in the creation of social capital, i.e. multilingual policy implementation has a multiplier effect because it facilitates the access to information and knowledge that can enlarge people's choices as they participate in economic activities. An investment in multilingual policy implementation is an investment in the long-term economic well-being of a society. This aspect cannot be reduced to purely economic aggregates.

#### **5.6.5 Socio-Cultural Variables**

These relate to the view that for multilingual policy implementation to succeed, it must take cognisance of the social and cultural fabric of the society in question. Any multilingual policy implementation that takes the social and cultural fabric of the society in question for granted or worse seeks to subvert the social and cultural fabric of the society in question is doomed to failure. The idea is that multilingual policy implementation should blend into the social and cultural fabric of the society in question. In this way, the multilingual policy becomes an integral part of the material and non-material culture of the society in which it is being implemented.

#### **5.6.6 Management Variables**

Management variables relate to the conscious realisation that the implementation of a multilingual policy is an effort at managing the various variables at play in a multilingual society, i.e. the management of diversity. Care should be taken not to conceptualise management variables as consisting of only management functions, but rather

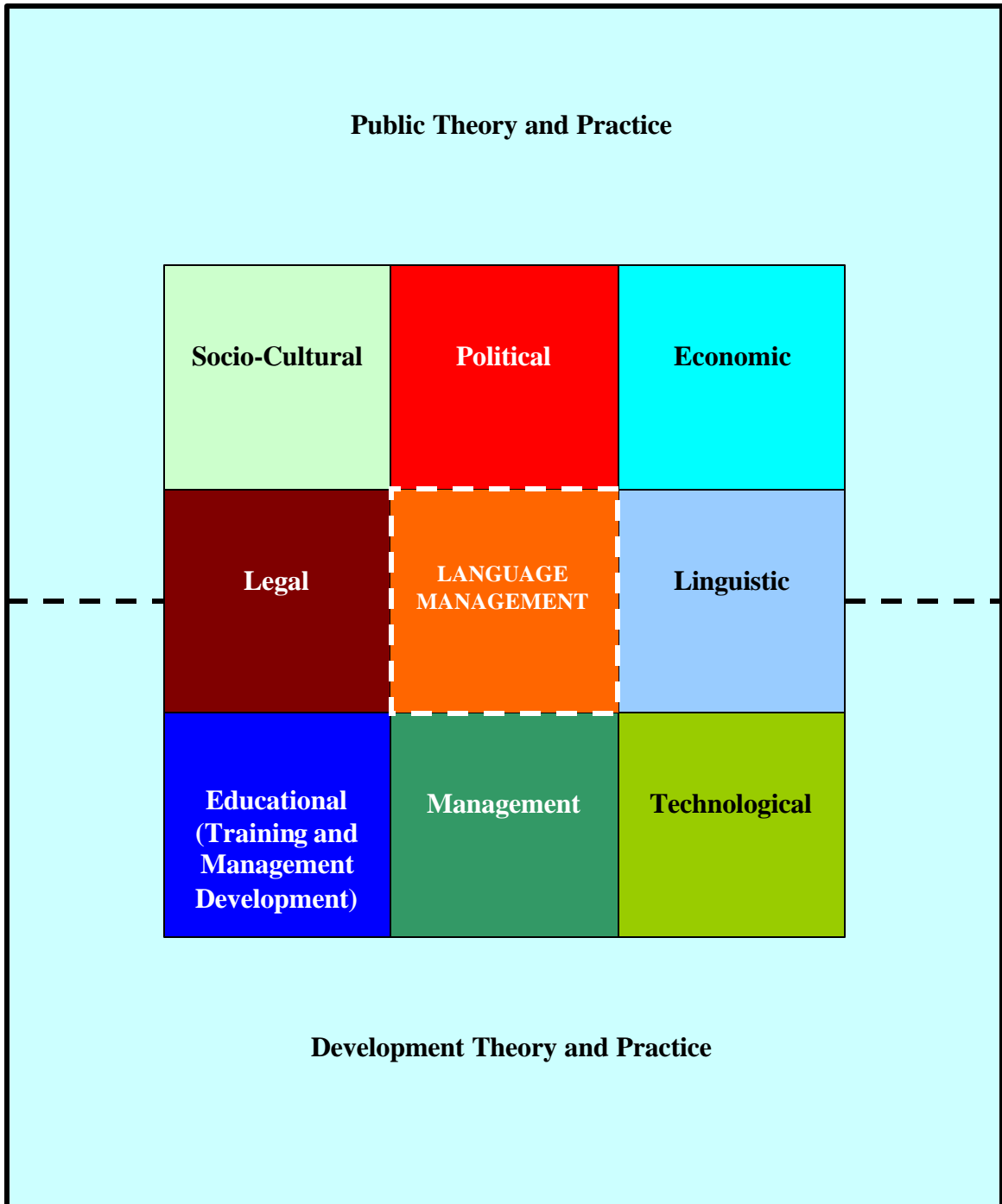
management principles, especially as explained under section 5.2.6. This broad conceptualisation of management variables would entail a creative search of optimal methodologies and strategies that work and produce results in the process of implementing public policies in multicultural societies even if the methodologies and strategies lie beyond the ambit of traditional management.

### **5.6.7 Educational Variables**

Educational variables for multilingual policy implementation relate to the insights provided by Cluver (1991) that multilingual policy implementation must remain conscious to the educational needs of the society in which the language policy (ies) is/are being implemented. However, the educational variables should extend beyond this conceptualisation: educational variables for multilingual policy implementation must also address the need to have a trained and highly specialised corpus of multilingual policy implementation experts, both at the managerial and technical levels (Mwaniki 2004: 82 – 93).

### **5.6.8 Technological Variables**

Technological variables for multilingual policy implementation relate to recognition and admission that we live in a society in which technological advances play a critical role in every sphere of social, political and economic life. With regard to multilingual policy implementation, opportunities offered by technology, especially the application of Information Communication Technologies (ICTs) into the language policy implementation process should be an integral component of the language policy implementation process. This can find manifestation in e-governance and should be used to support the other variables, for example by ensuring that various government documents are available in a multiplicity of languages electronically and online.



**Figure 2: Language Management Variables Matrix**

## **5.7 Language Management Methodologies and Strategies**

After a mapping out of the theoretical foundations and frontiers for language management, an elaboration of the macro and micro contexts for language management, as well as purpose of language management, the impediments to language management and the variables for language management, the next challenge in the development of the LMA is to specify the set of methodologies and strategies that need to be developed and deployed to facilitate multilingual policy implementation. The methodologies and strategies are categorised into three categories, namely management oriented methodologies and strategies; sociolinguistic oriented methodologies and strategies; and development oriented methodologies and strategies. Again, these methodologies and strategies are constructed from the author's engagement with the literature on language planning; an analysis of the theoretical foundations and frontiers for language management; an analysis of the purpose and impediments for language management; and an analysis of the language management variables as well as the author's experiences while managing the language management for local government project in the Free State Province.

### **5.7.1 Management Oriented Methodologies and Strategies**

Management oriented methodologies and strategies for multilingual policy implementation derive from a conscious realisation that multilingual policy implementation is a complex process that needs to be managed if it ever hopes to succeed. Fundamentally, management oriented methodologies and strategies for multilingual policy implementation derive from insights drawn from management in the public sector as elaborated on in section 5.2.6. There is however, another important aspect of management oriented methodologies and strategies, i.e. the management oriented methodologies and strategies need to be applied to the processes that constitute multilingual policy implementation from the perspective of strategic management.

“Strategic management can be defined as the process whereby all the organisational functions and resources are integrated and coordinated to implement formulated strategies which are aligned with the environment, in order to achieve the long-term objectives of the organisation and therefore gain a competitive advantage through adding value for the stakeholders. Competitive advantage is the edge that an organisation has that other organisations do not have. A strategy can therefore be defined as an effort or deliberate action that an organisation implements to out-perform its rivals. To be able to achieve competitive advantage, an organisation needs to meet the needs of stakeholders. To satisfy the needs of stakeholders is actually to add value. Adding value can be defined as adding certain characteristics to the product/service that the competitor and consumer (or other stakeholders) cannot do themselves. Therefore, in order to achieve competitive advantage, value should be added and this is done by the process of strategic management” (Ehlers and Lazenby 2004: 2).

“One of the biggest mistakes managers make is to forget about the most important factor when it comes to management, namely the human being. It does not matter how technologically advanced an organisation is and how much client value (goodwill) an organisation has, or how low the cost of its products/services is or how high the quality of its products/services is; the real difference is made by the human resources at an organisation’s disposal. The most important asset in any organisation is usually its human resources. Employees are the most important catalyst in taking the strategies of the organisation and implementing them successfully. The strategic plan and top management are not the drivers of strategy implementation, as is often implied – the drivers are the employees” (Ehlers and Lazenby 2004: 3 – 4).

“Therefore the first stage of the strategic management process, environmental analysis, is the responsibility of every manager at every managerial level, from top management level to the functional level (middle management) and down to the supervisory level. This stage will usually be driven by top management, but by means of inputs from all levels. This is a very important principle; functional and supervisory managers work as specialists in certain areas of the organisation and their inputs into scanning the



environment are not only useful but also a necessity. The second stage is mainly the responsibility of top management: to formulate strategies according to the results of the environmental analysis that has been done. This is a very important stage and needs as much input as possible from all levels of management. The last stage of the strategic management process (strategy implementation) is quite often the most challenging stage. This is the stage where all the strategies that have been formulated in the previous stages should come to life. This can only be done through the effective communication with all the parties involved – usually all the levels of employees and sometimes even with the stakeholders. Organisations cannot expect their strategic plans to be successfully implemented if they do not have the support of their most important stakeholders, the employees. It is therefore important to emphasise that strategic management is *not* only top management's responsibility. It filters right down to the lower levels of employment, and in fact will only be executed successfully by these employees if they were involved in the strategic planning (formulation) phase” (Ehlers and Lazenby 2004: 4).

Strategic management is critical in the implementation of multilingual policies fundamentally because of two reasons, i.e. the value adding nature of multilingual policies to services provided by the public sector and the complexities involved in multilingual policy implementation. These two reasons are explained briefly here below:

Multilingual policies serve to add value to the services provided by the public sector. In a multilingual country like South Africa, when public services are rendered in many languages, these services become more accessible to a majority of the citizenry. A strategic management approach to multilingual policy implementation identifies multilingual policies as an integral part of the strategic management processes in the public sector, especially with regard to the provision of equitable public services. Multilingual policies and equitable provision of public services compliment each other. The challenge in this regard is the linking of the two in the process of multilingual policy implementation.

A strategic management approach to multilingual policy implementation also allows policy makers to appreciate the complexity of the multilingual policy implementation process. It informs policy makers that it is important to scan the environment in the process of multilingual policy formulation; that it is important to involve all stakeholders in the formulation and implementation processes, especially the employees of public sector organisations who are charged with the responsibility of driving the multilingual policy implementation process; and that effective communication in and to all levels of the organisation as well as with all the stakeholders involved in the implementation of a multilingual policy is of utmost importance for multilingual policy implementation. The various management oriented methodologies and strategies are discussed in the following subsections.

#### **5.7.1.1 Planning**

Planning is an activity which focuses on the future. Specifically, it is the process of setting objectives and determining what needs to be done to accomplish the objectives. Thus the challenge of planning is to make decisions that will ensure the future success of an undertaking. It is a process that does not end with the development of a plan; the plan must be successfully implemented. At anytime during the implementation and control process, plans may require modification or change to maximise their effectiveness. Thus, planning is a decision-making activity that is the foundation of the management process. Planning helps managers in organising, leading, and controlling by giving purpose and a sense of direction to the organisation. Planning should occur at all levels in the organisation. The benefits of planning are: developing managerial skills; increasing the likelihood of success; coordinating interdepartmental efforts; and preparing for change.

Planning is the foundation of successful multilingual policy implementation. During the planning stage, the objectives of multilingual policy implementation need to be specified clearly and also a determination of the resources and processes that needs to be secured for successful implementation. Further, planning should also allow for the modification

of the language plans, or even change in the language plans during the implementation phase so as to maximise their effectiveness. Planning for multilingual policy implementation should occur at all levels so that all sectors are mobilised towards the achievement of the objective of multilingual policy implementation, i.e. the creation of a multilingual dispensation in as many sectors of the country as is practically possible.

#### **5.7.1.2 Organising**

Organising is the process that ensures that the resources needed for the attainment of an organisation's objectives are in place. With regard to multilingual policy implementation, the requisite human resources will have to be secured as well as capital and physical resources for successful implementation. Further, duties will have to be defined, as well as procedures needed to attain the specified objectives. Organising, with regard to multilingual policy implementation presupposes a need to develop an organisational structure that indicates how human resources and other resources should be employed to achieve the objectives set in various sectoral language plans.

#### **5.7.1.3 Leading**

Leading includes supervision and motivation in the management process. With regard to multilingual policy implementation, managers charged with the responsibility of implementation require to have the knowledge, skill and attitudes required to supervise the middle level managers and supervisors that oversee the implementation of multilingual policies as well as motivate them. Leading calls to attention the fact that managers involved in multilingual policy implementation cannot act in isolation, they must act in concert with all other stakeholders. However, managers charged with implementation must at all times provide strategic direction to the implementation process. This process involves the motivation of staff and the communication of the overall objective of multilingual policy implementation to all stakeholders.

#### **5.7.1.4 Controlling**

Controlling is largely a matter of structure. A control system consists of “those components of the organisation that constrain and direct the behaviour of members. Controlling seeks to ensure that the actual activities conform to planned activities. The control system measures progress towards the objectives that are set out in the plan and highlights deviations from the plan in time to take corrective action. The controlling function in the management process includes of four major steps: establishing of standards; measuring performance; comparing measured performance with standards; and taking corrective action if required.

Controlling as a methodology and/or strategy for multilingual policy implementation is important. Controlling within the processes that constitute multilingual policy implementation seeks to establish the languages services standards that need to be met so that an organisation or public sector department can be regarded as being multilingual or rendering services in a multilingual way; the measurement of performance; the measuring of performance standards against the standards that were previously determined; and the taking of corrective action where there are deviations.

#### **5.7.1.5 Staffing**

Staffing, i.e. the selection, recruitment and retention of the appropriate human resources is a fundamental strategy for multilingual policy implementation. Mwaniki (2004) observes that managerial and technical human resources are required for the eventual implementation of South Africa’s language legislation and language policies.

Mwaniki (2004: 83 – 84) observes that “fundamentally managerial language specialists will have to understand and execute the processes and/or series of activities that will give necessary direction to the country’s language resources so that the objective of creating a multilingual South Africa is realised. The successful implementation of multilingual

policies also requires a corpus of technical language specialists. Technical language specialists include interpreters, translators, lexicographers, terminologists and language technologists. Both managerial and technical specialists are critical for implementation’.

#### **5.7.1.6 Conceptual Skills Development**

Apart from the strategies outlined in the preceding subsections, and that mainly deal with the organisational level of multilingual policy implementation, successful implementation of multilingual policies will have to depend on the conceptual skills of the language managers and technical language specialists involved in the processes of implementation. This calls for conceptual skills development as a key to multilingual policy implementation. This mitigates for a scenario whereby the human resources involved in the process of multilingual policy implementation should be able to conceptualise the entire multilingual policy implementation process and how it buttresses into other processes within the South African society.

#### **5.7.1.7 Technical Skills Development**

Aspects such as interpreting, translation, lexicography and terminology development, and human languages technologies mitigate for technical skills development. The development of such skills is critical for multilingual policy implementation.

#### **5.7.1.8 Human Skills Development**

The successful implementation of a multilingual policy also depends on human skills development. This is fundamentally the case because multilingual policy implementation deals with the changing of people’s perceptions to the importance of multilingual policies. Implementers need human skills to change perceptions.



**Figure 3: Management Oriented Methodologies and Strategies Matrix**

## **5.7.2 Sociolinguistic Oriented Methodologies and Strategies**

Sociolinguistic oriented methodologies and strategies for multilingual policy and planning implementation concern themselves with the language end of multilingual policy and planning implementation mix. These methodologies and strategies serve two purposes: to “prepare” the languages involved in multilingual policy implementation scenarios for optimal use and value, i.e. the languages should be able to function in a multiplicity of domains without the restrictions of corpus inadequacy. Secondly, to provide decision-makers with the knowledge, and thus the tools, to justify why they engage in multilingual policy and planning implementation. The sociolinguistic oriented methodologies and strategies are discussed in the following subsections:

### **5.7.2.1 Language Surveys**

Language surveys entail the collection of language demographic data so as to establish the extent of language(s) prevalence in a polity. Language surveys produce data that shows what percentages of the population in a polity use what language(s). When data from language surveys indicates the prevalence of many languages within a polity, as is the case in the South African scenario, the data serves as a scientific basis for multilingual policy and planning implementation.

Language surveys can also be used to collect data on language attitudes. Language surveys that seek to establish language attitudes are also important to policy makers involved in multilingual policy and planning implementation because insights deriving from such language surveys are important in designing implementation interventions, especially when such interventions have to address negative language attitudes and support positive language attitudes in the process of multilingual policy and planning implementation.

Language surveys are an important methodology/strategy for language management because they provide data upon which policy makers can base their decisions with regard

to the imperatives of implementing multilingual policies and plans and in some instances, the kind of interventions that they have to deploy in the implementation process. From a language management perspective, it is recommended that language policy formulation, language planning and the subsequent implementation of both language policies and plans, especially in multilingual scenarios should be premised on language surveys so as to scientifically establish languages prevalence as well as attendant language attitudes.

### **5.7.2.2 Corpus Planning**

Corpus planning is an aspect of language development. Corpus planning relates to the development of the lexical base of a language so that it can be able to meet the demands of a dynamic and changing society. From a language management perspective, corpus planning is an important methodology/strategy for multilingual policy and planning implementation because it would be futile to advocate for and actually attempt multilingual policy and planning implementation if a majority of languages that are intended for use when a multilingual policy and plan are implemented do not have adequate lexical corpuses.

Webb (2002: 268) offers important insights into the importance of corpus planning by observing that “corpus planning is an important activity for a language community, and is basically not undertaken for its own sake, but for the facilitation of development. This is also true of general intellectual development. This point is clearly made by Dirven and Webb (1992: 5, cited in Webb 2002: 268): “The development of the autochthonous languages will support the development of the conceptual system(s) of the cultural community. The conceptual system of a community reflects the community’s categorisation systems, and the paths of its metaphorisation processes (which work from spatial experiences into more abstract or more general conceptualisations). If these languages are then used in the secondary domains such as government, administration and education, the need arises to develop their expressive power beyond the colloquial level of primary domains. This affects the vocabulary of the language, the terminology of



all specialised fields, the morphology, the stylistic varieties, the written code as such and the metaphorisation processes, allowing the *exploration* of new mental experiences in art, science and religion”. Viewed from this perspective, corpus planning is an important sociolinguistic oriented methodology/strategy for language management because apart from serving the purpose of enriching the language(s) involved in multilingual policy and planning implementation, it also serves an empowerment function for the speakers of the languages in question by allowing them to explore new mental experiences, an exercise which has empowerment connotations”.

### **5.7.2.3 Acquisition Planning**

Acquisition planning is an aspect of language promotion. As methodology/strategy for language management, acquisition planning presupposes that there is a need to have programmes and structures within multilingual policy and planning implementation processes that support the acquisition of language competence, either by speakers who do not have knowledge of certain language(s) or speakers seeking to extend their existing knowledge of certain language (s).

### **5.7.2.4 Status Planning**

Status planning involves authoritative measures that are undertaken to elevate the status of a language or languages. Usually these measures arise from statutory and government measures; an increase in the economic value of a language; an increase in the educational value of a language; an increase in the social value of a language; and increase in the cultural value of a language (Webb 2002). Status planning is a key methodology/strategy for language management because it serves to enrich the “value” of languages as they apply to the material conditions of the speakers. This is important if communities are expected to embrace multilingual policies.

### **5.7.2.5 Functional Language Planning**

Donnacha (2000: 15) observes that the functional level of language planning is the most diverse area. The various functions devolve from the language planning level. They involve the management of the planning process itself, research activities and the planning of various activities which lead to changes language in attitudes, levels of ability and usage, and changes in the levels of intergenerational transmission of the language.

### **5.7.2.6 Linguistic Auditing**

Reeves and Wright (1996: 5) observe that “the primary objective of a language or ‘linguistic’ audit is to help the management of a firm identify the strengths and weaknesses of their organisation in terms of communication in foreign languages. It will map current capability of departments, functions and people against the identified need. It will establish that need at the strategic level, at the process (or operational/departmental) level and at that of the individual post holders. It should also indicate what it will cost in time, human resources, training and finances to improve the system, so that the resource implications can be fed back into strategic and financial planning”.

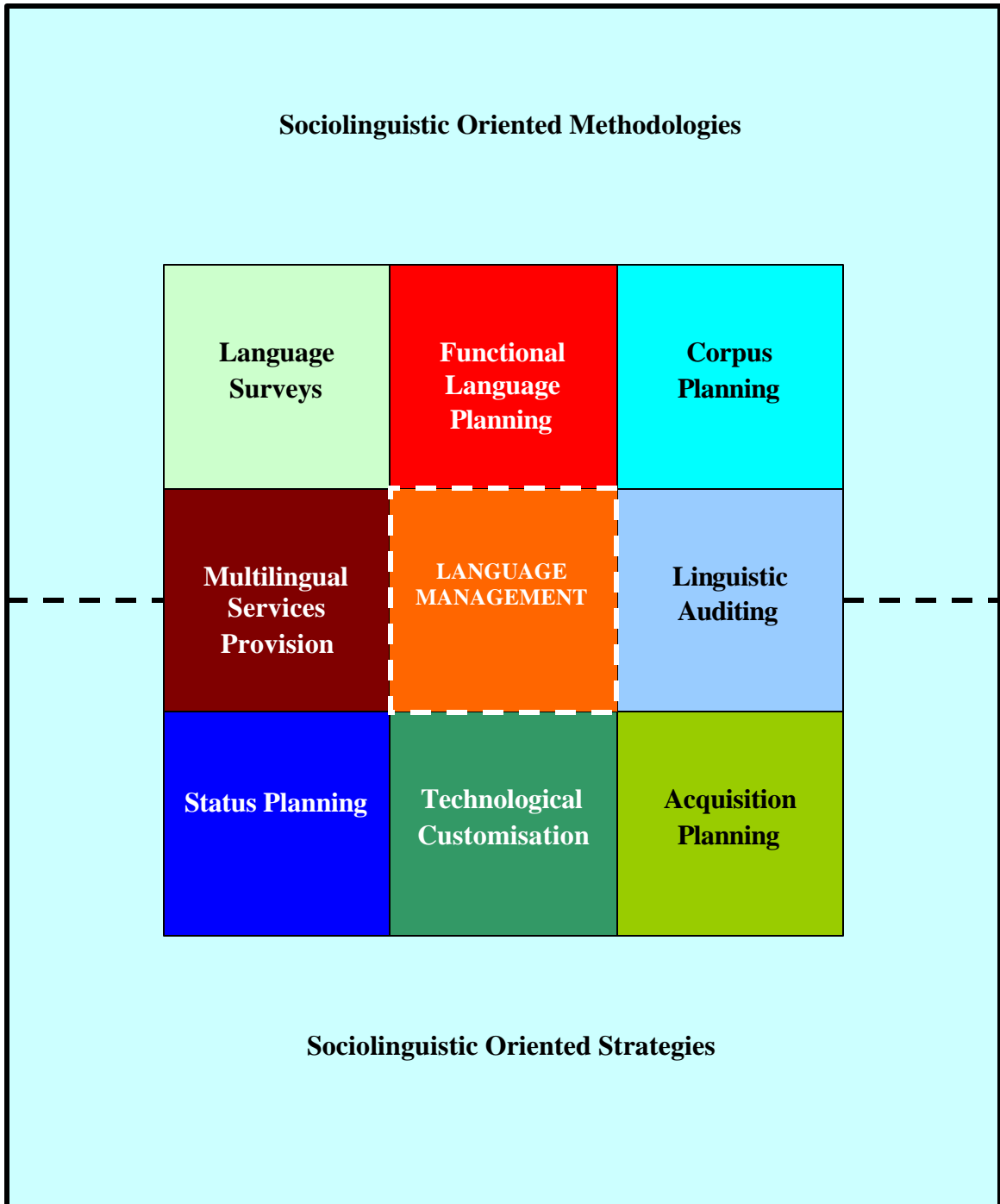
Linguistic audits are necessary in the implementation of multilingual policies and plans because they facilitate the establishment of the strengths and weaknesses of various departments and agencies involved in the implementation process in terms of communication in the adopted official languages. A linguistic audit also helps in the mapping of current capabilities departments and agencies, their functions and the people in these departments and agencies against the identified need of rendering services in a multilingual way, especially in public sector organisations. Linguistic audits also facilitate a clear mapping of the cost in terms of time, human resources, training and finances that will be required to make the system under review capable of rendering multilingual services. Therefore, linguistic audits serve to minimise error in the decisions and activities that constitute language policy implementation.

### **5.7.2.7 Technological Customisation**

Through the processes of globalisation the world is experiencing an era of unprecedented technological innovation. People all over the world have high hopes that new technologies will lead to healthier lives, greater social freedoms, increased knowledge and more productive livelihoods. Countries need to implement policies that encourage innovation, access and the development of advanced skills. In essence, “in the network age countries need to understand and adapt global technologies for local needs” (UNDP 2001: 1 – 4). Language management needs to respond to the pressures of technological innovation through the processes of technological customisation of languages. As an aspect of corpus planning, technological customisation concerns itself with the adaptation of languages for compatibility with diverse technological application.

### **5.7.2.8 Multilingual Services Provision**

Multilingual services provision refers to the actual rendering of services in a multiplicity of languages. This is the ultimate test of multilingual policy and planning implementation. It is not important to have all other methodologies/strategies in place if they do not result in multilingual service provision. Multilingual service provision however, plays another important role in multilingual policy and planning implementation: multilingual service provision entrenches a culture of multilingualism and also creates a multilingual *ripple* effect across organisations, i.e. when services are rendered in a multilingual way; it becomes easier for other sectors in an organisation to embrace a culture of multilingualism.



**Figure 4: Sociolinguistic Oriented Methodologies and Strategies Matrix**

### **5.7.3 Development Oriented Methodologies and Strategies**

The final set of strategies and methodologies is broadly categorised as “development oriented methodologies and strategies”. These are those methodologies and strategies that need to be deployed in a multilingual language policy implementation scenario so as to provide linkages between multilingual policy implementation and the macro and micro contexts for language management; multilingual policy implementation and the material conditions of people in multilingual contexts; multilingual policy implementation and development oriented initiatives; as well as ensure that multilingual policy implementation is conducted in a manner that allows for the monitoring of the extent of achievement of stated objectives, timeframes and available/allocated resources.

#### **5.7.3.1 Legislation**

Legislating multilingual policies is vital for multilingual policy implementation for two reasons: at the decision-makers end, language legislation provides a legal basis for the commitment of the motley of resources needed for the successful implementation of multilingual language policies; at the citizens’ end, language legislation provides a means through which language-related rights violations can be redressed in a legal way. Therefore, it can be posited that language legislation provides the macro-framework that binds all stakeholders to act in judicial and socially responsible ways when responding to language-related challenges in society, and also when committing public resources for the harnessing of language resources in society.

#### **5.7.3.2 Advocacy**

Advocacy entails a “marketing” approach to multilingual policy implementation. In this way, advocacy entails a conscious effort from all the stakeholders in the language policy implementation process to ensure that the “message” of the importance of multilingual

policy implementation remains alive, especially in the public consciousness. Advocacy is a process of conscientisation. It is important to note that advocacy should be targeted to all stakeholders, i.e. policy makers in all spheres of government; community based organisations (CBOs), Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and private sector stakeholders in the multilingual policy implementation processes as well as the citizens who are the recipients of public services.

### **5.7.3.3 Litigation**

Litigation on its part is a legal redress mechanism that could be deployed in instances where there are grievances with regard to language rights violations in the processes of multilingual language policy implementation processes, or lack of implementation thereof. Litigation is usually pursued through judicial structures and processes and seeks to mainly arbitrate or redress grievances. Within language management is both a check-mechanism for ensuring that the positive and negative obligations imposed on state agencies with regard to language matters are executed as well as a mechanism for ensuring that where language related transgressions do occur, they are redressed in a judicious manner.

### **5.7.3.4 Development Communication**

Development communication on its part entails the deployment of methodologies and tools specifically designed to spread information and contribute to behaviour change. As the end of development, development communication aims at improving the opportunities for community dialogue and access to information as well as enhancing communication as a defining aspect of citizenship, and participation in political communities. Development communication has also been defined as a process of identifying, segmenting and targeting specific groups and audiences with particular strategies, messages and training programmes through various mass media and

interpersonal channels, traditional and non-traditional. The Rockefeller Foundation defines development communication as a process of dialogue, information sharing, mutual understanding and agreement, and collective action.

As a methodology in initiating, implementing and sustaining development projects and interventions, development communication consists of the following concepts:

- (a) communication for development
- (b) communication for social change
- (c) information, education and communication
- (d) behaviour change communication
- (e) social mobilisation
- (f) media advocacy
- (g) strategic communication
- (h) participatory communication
- (i) strategic participatory communication

What works in development communication is a focus on 5 key ideas. These are:

- (a) focus on individual and contextual factors in behaviour change
- (b) integration of top-down and bottom-up approaches
- (c) the deployment of a tool-kit approach
- (d) a combination of media and interpersonal communication
- (e) a commitment to the idea that community empowerment should be the goal (Coetzee 2001).

Development communication as a methodology/strategy in multilingual policy implementation enables actors involved in multilingual policy implementation to focus on individual and contextual factors that impact on the behaviour change needed to support multilingual policy implementation; an integration of both top-down and bottom approaches [i.e. the lobbying of government official at all spheres of government as well

as lobbying communities and individual citizens on the importance of multilingual policy implementation]; the deployment of only those methodologies/strategies that would facilitate multilingual policy implementation in particular circumstances and not an application of one-fits-all approach; the combination of media and interpersonal approaches in the processes of multilingual policy implementation; as well as ensuring that implementers remain conscious at all times of the main goal of multilingual policy implementation, namely, community empowerment.

### **5.7.3.5 Participatory Action Research (PAR)**

Participatory action research is “an activity in research which is used to serve the ends of empowerment, conscientisation, and emancipation in development. Conscientisation is a process by which subjects of research achieve a new way of understanding their position in society and how to change it, whereas participation is a process by which subjects of research control and own as many aspects of the research activity as possible. The justification for defining PAR as a distinct methodology is to be found not so much in the methodological as in the epistemological realm. PAR is a *methodology for an alternative system of knowledge production*” (Reason 1994: 329 cited in Prozesky and Mouton 2001: 539).

Prozesky and Mouton (2001: 540) further observe that “PAR is in conflict with what is generally considered to be “normal social science” because it explicitly enters the *political* arena. PAR continuously addresses the question of which political interests research satisfies”. For instance, scholars such as Fals-Borda and Rahman (1991 cited in Prozesky and Mouton 2001: 540) consider “PAR to be a way in which the monopoly on the creation of knowledge that serves established privileged interests could be counteracted. In this sense PAR perspective provides researchers with an understanding of how ideology and epistemology, knowledge and power are bound together”



PAR owes much to critical theory, which emphasises the political role of scientific knowledge production. Marxism has also played a role in forming the distinctive viewpoint of PAR that domination of masses by elites is rooted not only in the polarisation of control over the means of material production but also over the means of *knowledge* production, including the social power to determine what is valid or useful knowledge. PAR constitutes of some key methodological features and principles. These are:

- The change agent and the participant;
- The emphasis on participation;
- The nature of the researcher – subject relationship;
- The incorporation of local knowledge;
- Mobilising and empowering communities

PAR is committed to working almost exclusively with and for grassroots groups, communities, or social classes and their organisations in rural areas in the Third World. PAR also seems appropriate when groups have the following characteristics:

- First of all they are poor, underprivileged, or socially and economically exploited and oppressed. Their disenfranchisement, peripheral position in society is seen to be an important condition that PAR aims to address. Their relative lack of power or disempowered status in society is also emphasised, especially when participants form grassroots groups whose very existence can be seen as illegitimate by local power structures.
- A group's cultural vulnerability, that is, they are vulnerable to "colonisation" by a dominant culture.

PAR is a critical methodology/strategy for multilingual policy implementation because it involves participation or collaboration between the participants and the change agents, i.e. participation or collaboration between the beneficiaries of multilingual policy implementation and the policy makers or organisations driving multilingual policy

implementation. PAR also enables for both the beneficiaries of multilingual policy implementation and the policy makers or organisations driving multilingual policy implementation to operate on an equal basis as they search for what best works in their circumstances, as well as the incorporation of local knowledge in the implementation process.

However, the importance of PAR as a methodology/strategy for multilingual policy implementation lies in the instance of PAR on mobilising and empowering communities, which is also one of the fundamental purposes of multilingual policy implementation and language management. “Action objectives are considered so important in PAR that they are usually built into the research design from the beginning” (Chelser 1991 cited in Prozesky and Mouton 2001: 546). “PAR is not, therefore, an end in itself, but a basis for, and a means through which, action can be planned and implemented. In line with the participatory character of PAR, the social action or change should be community-initiated and defined – as a shared goal – by the participants themselves on the basis of their own perception of reality, while the change agent supports or helps the people concerned to undertake such actions. PAR is particularly concerned with action that induces positive, progressive, remedial, and corrective social change or transformation” (Akong’a 1991; Fals-Borda and Rahman 1991; Huizer 1984; cited in Prozesky and Mouton 2001: 546). This means that when PAR is applied to multilingual policy implementation, it is not only conceptualised as a methodology/strategy of facilitating the implementation of multilingual policies, but it also serves to locate the implementation of multilingual policies within the greater context of mobilising and empowering communities.

#### **5.7.3.6 Dialogical Intervention Strategies**

Romm (2001) observes that “dialogical intervention strategies seek to mediate between different people’s perceptions of “the situation” and options for appropriate conduct. In this approach, there are no objective criteria for policy makers to ground their decisions as to whether, when and how to use the dialogical intervention approach. Rather, the aim

of the dialogical intervention approach is to establish possibilities for participation as well as allow for (some form of) negotiation between competing views of “the situation” under consideration: so as to extend considerations of options for action. A dialogical intervention approach does not expect that all people will come to a consensus, in the sense of coming to an overlapping view of “the situation” and “best” activities therein. Rather it sees negotiations as *hypotheses for continued action* on the part of the various participants. This means that the goal of “human development” takes priority over the particular solutions that are arrived at. The process of addressing issues (ideally a dialogical one) is more important than the content of the solution. Only a solution that bears the mark of a dialogical encounter in its formulation and implementation can be seen as standing the test of development in human terms”.

In language management, dialogical intervention strategies are important because they provide the means through which views of various stakeholders can be integrated into the implementation process as well as allowing for some form of negotiation between competing views on all aspects that constitute multilingual policy implementation. Even though dialogical intervention strategies as applied in multilingual policy implementation do not expect that all stakeholders will come to a consensus, in the sense of coming to an overlapping view of how best to manage the multilingual situation or the best activities in the implementation process, it is an important methodology/strategy for multilingual policy implementation because it provides discursive space for continued action on the part of the various stakeholders involved in the implementation process.

### **5.7.3.7 Indigenisation**

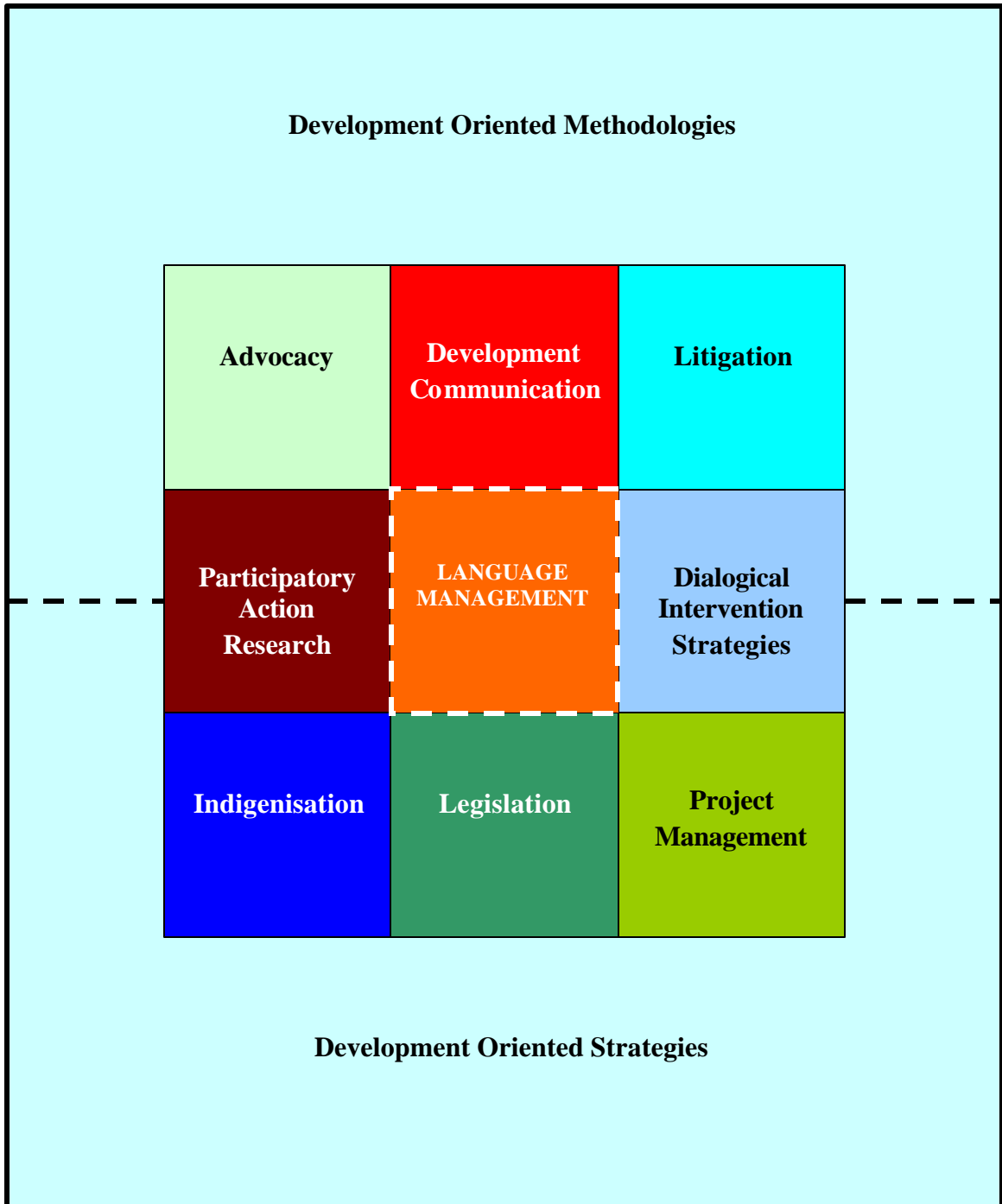
Indigenisation as a development oriented methodology/strategy for language management presupposes that governance structures, either in the social, political and economic domains are dialogically brought to “own” multilingual policy implementation initiatives. This process must be supported by tangible social, political and economic benefits to all the stakeholders involved in the multilingual policy development and

implementation process, i.e. only when stakeholders in a multilingual policy implementation scenario can take language policies as being their *own*, rather than being imposed from “outside” and as being of value to their social, political and economic undertakings can they support their implementation fully.

### **5.7.3.8 Project Management**

Project management is a development oriented methodology/strategy for language management that concerns itself with the pragmatics of the implementation of the language policies. A project is a unique venture with a beginning and an end, conducted by people to meet established goals with parameters of cost, schedule and quality (Williams 2002: 13). Project management entails the managing of scope; managing of cost; managing of people and the managing of time. Project management approach requires a clear statement of the objectives, the resources available, time-frames for particular actions or interventions and a clear statement of the expected results and mechanisms for redress if the projected results are not realised, within a process framework, not only an ends framework.

Within language management, project management is an important methodology/strategy because it allows for a clear identification of the scope of multilingual policy implementation initiatives, either at the national, provincial or local government spheres; a clear determination of the cost that would be incurred in multilingual policy implementation processes; the mechanisms to be deployed in managing the people who will drive multilingual policy implementation as well as the managing of time-frames within which various objectives, otherwise known as deliverables, have to be realised. Project management therefore provides a framework within which multilingual policies can be implemented within tight budgetary, human and capital resource constraints while remaining conscious of the overall objectives of multilingual policy implementation as well as the time-frames within which support structures for multilingual services provision as well as a rendering of multilingual services have to be realised.



**Figure 5: Development Oriented Methodologies and Strategies Matrix**

## **5.8 A Working Definition of Language Management**

On the basis of the foregoing discussion on the LMA, it is possible to formulate a working definition of language management. Admittedly, language management is not a simple concept to define. It is for this reason that the definition of language management as formulated in the following subsections focuses on three aspects of language management, namely: the theory and method of language management; language management as a discipline; and language management as a practice.

### **5.8.1 Language Management – The Theory and the Method**

From the perspective of theory, language management can be defined as a complex of theoretical precepts deriving from decision-making theory, social and linguistic theories; modernisation theory; systems theory; critical theory; management theory [especially as advanced by the new public management paradigm]; phenomenology; and human development theory that seeks to understand and explain the interactive dynamics of language in society and language and society, especially in multilingual societies, with an aim of formulating approaches and/or frameworks that can be deployed to address language-related challenges in society, but fundamentally the formulation of approaches and/or frameworks that can be deployed to harness language resources in society.

From the perspective of method, language management is a particular way of doing linguistic and social science, i.e. a complex of methods. The language management method derives from its foundational theories and its theoretical frontiers. However, there are fundamental aspects that mark language management method as a distinct method of linguistic and social science. First, language management, due to its preoccupation with attempts to comprehensively understand linguistic and social phenomena as a basis for the formulation of optimal approaches and/or frameworks for multilingual policy implementation, depends on *thick* descriptions of linguistic and social phenomena. Secondly, language management relies on the *rational* method developed in decision-

making theory and management theory because ultimately, the formulations emanating from language management must pass the test of rationality, i.e. justification of actions in light of available data, resources and expected outcomes. Thirdly, and fundamentally, language management relies on the *participatory* method so as to investigate, describe, account for and harness power relations in society as well as realise its empowerment agenda.

### **5.8.2 Language Management – The Discipline**

Language management can also be defined as a discipline. In this regard, it is important to point out that language management as a discipline is still in its formative stages. As a discipline, language management builds upon the epistemological foundations and advances of language planning. As a discipline therefore, language management is [or is attempting to be] an organised body of knowledge that preoccupies itself with a particular set of questions with regard to language in society and language and society.

Essentially, language management preoccupies [or is seeking to preoccupy itself] with questions relating to the theoretical adequacy of language planning theory and language planning models deriving from contemporary language planning theory in facilitating multilingual policy implementation; questions about language as a resource in society; questions about how language in society can be harnessed to foster a holistic development of society; and questions about the nature of optimal approaches and/or frameworks for multilingual policy implementation. Language management as a discipline seeks answers to these questions, while leaving room for the emergence of more questions.

Further, as a discipline, language management is self-critical. Language management holds the premise deriving from critical theory that people (including social scientists) should undertake a close scrutiny of what is involved in “doing science” as true and of fundamental importance. Language management must consider how the process of doing

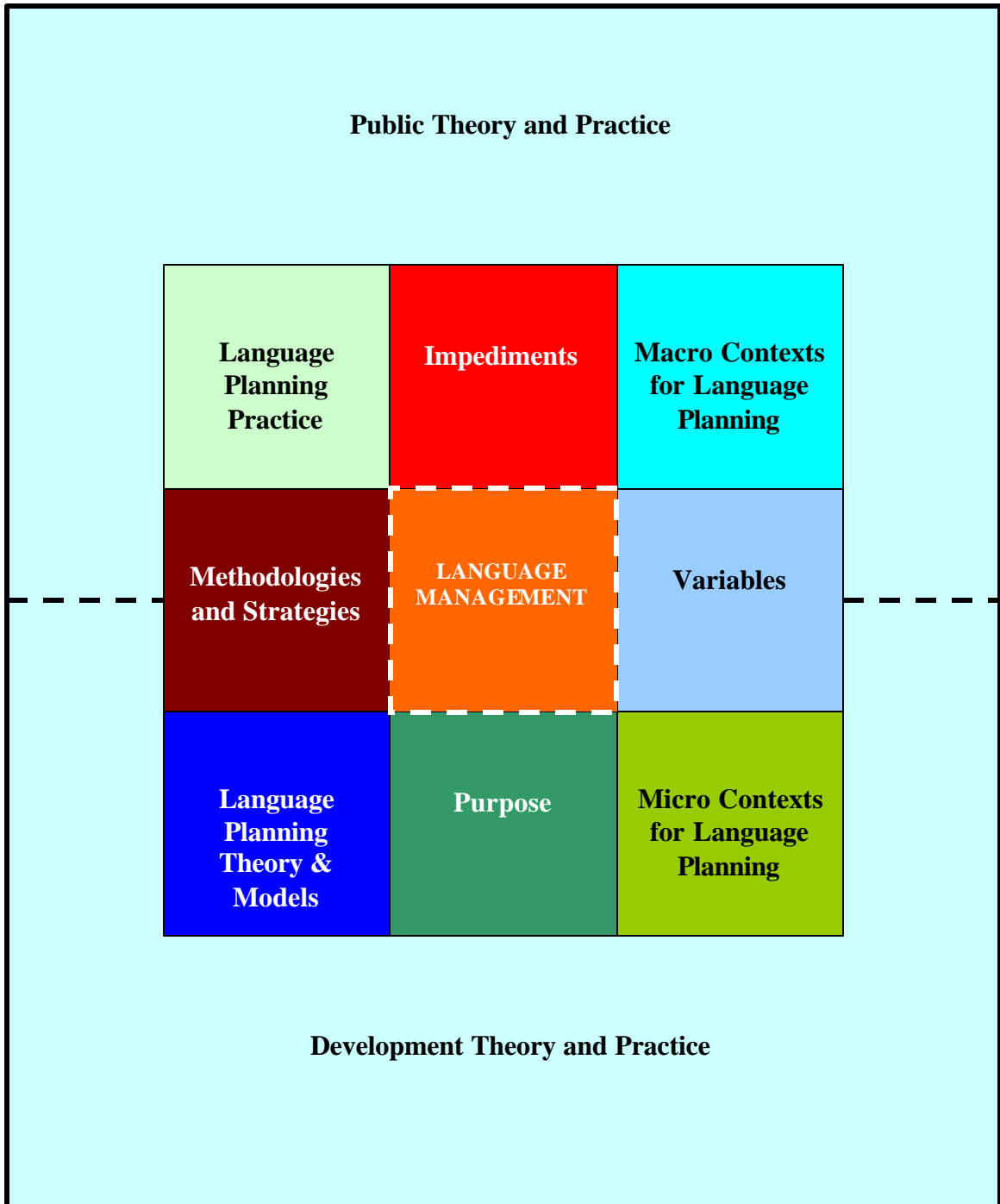
science may relate to the larger project of enhancing human freedom. By virtue of unapologetic criticism of contemporary language planning as a discipline, language management has to be self-critical. Consequently, language management seeks to develop an open attitude to any philosophical tradition that has held or holds out promise of human emancipation through social critique. In this way language management seeks to continuously review language planning so as to establish whether research and scholarship undertaken within the auspices language management is self critical to a point of serving the larger project of enhancing human freedom.

### **5.8.3 Language Management – The Practice**

Language management can also be conceptualised as a practice, ie. a way of *doing language policy and planning activities especially in multilingual settings*. As a practice, language management can be defined as:

A critical and creative development and deployment of management, sociolinguistic and development oriented methodologies and strategies in the addressing of language-related challenges in society as well as in the harnessing of language resources in society that takes into consideration most if not all of the variables that impact on language in society and how societal dynamics impact on language. It takes public theory and contexts and development theory and contexts as the main drivers for multilingual policy implementation and integrates insights from the two in the formulation of its methodologies and strategies with the ultimate goals of enlarging people's choices, whether at the macro levels of governance, development and democracy or at the micro levels of individual freedom and advancement, service access, information and knowledge access, transfer and application.





**Figure 6: Language Management Matrix**

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **A CASE STUDY**

#### **LANGUAGE MANAGEMENT FOR LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN THE FREE STATE PROVINCE PROJECT– REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA**

##### **6.1 Introduction**

The chapter presents a case study. The case study was used to develop some aspects of the language management approach discussed in Chapter 5 as well as test the applicability of the approach to multilingual policy and planning implementation. The case study covers a language management for local government in the Free State Province project. The discussion in the current chapter elaborates on the various elements of the language management for local government in the Free State Province project including the linguistic profile of the Free State Province; the rationale for a language management project at the local government sphere in South Africa; and the project design and execution. The project design and execution elaborates on the aim and objectives of the project; the language management variables within the context of the project; the project methodologies and strategies; project outcomes; and project challenges. The chapter concludes by a discussion of the generic lessons for multilingual policy and planning implementation that were learnt while executing the project.

##### **6.2 The Language Management for Local Government in the Free State Province Project**

The *Language Management for Local Government in the Free State Province Project* constitutes the case study discussed in this chapter. The project was based on the

Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) and the Local Government Municipal Systems Act (2000). Both legislations explicitly indicate that language preferences and usage in a municipality must be taken into consideration when a municipality communicates with its community.

The project was an initiative of the Free State Provincial Government Department of Local Government and Housing (Directorate Local Government Administration) in collaboration with the Unit for Language Facilitation and Empowerment of the University of the Free State. The project duration was March 2002 – October 2004. The Department of Local Government and Housing wanted to have a language management project designed and implemented as part of the transformation of the local government sphere. The end result was going to be language policy and planning formulation and development, but the main motivation for the project was to facilitate the formulation and implementation of multilingual policies and plans at municipalities as means of improving service delivery, accessibility of municipal structures by residents and facilitation of participatory governance and democracy at the local government sphere in the Free State Province.

Altogether, 24 municipalities participated in the project. These municipalities are:

1. Letsemeng Local Municipality
2. Mohokare Local Municipality
3. Mantsopa Local Municipality
4. Setsoto Local Municipality
5. Thabo Mofutsanyana District Municipality
6. Metsimaholo Local Municipality
7. Phumelela Local Municipality
8. Dihlabeng Local Municipality
9. Nketoana Local Municipality
10. Mafube Local Municipality
11. Moqhaka Local Municipality

12. Nala Local Municipality
13. Ngwathe Local Municipality
14. Maluti a Phofung Local Municipality
15. Northern Free State District Municipality
16. Motheo District Municipality
17. Matjhabeng Local Municipality
18. Xhariep District Municipality
19. Kopanong Local Municipality
20. Tokologo Local Municipality
21. Tswelopele Local Municipality
22. Naledi Local Municipality
23. Masilonyana Local Municipality
24. Lejweleputswa District Municipality

The various aspects of the project are discussed in the following sub-sections. However, sections 6.2.1 and 6.2.2 provide the background to the project and its design by elaborating on the linguistic profile of Free State Province and the rationale for a language management project at the local government sphere.

### **6.2.1 Linguistic Profile of the Free State Province**

Apart from the legislative provisions that indicate that municipalities must consider the language preferences and usage of the residents, the linguistic profile of the Free State Province provided a strong basis of justification why a language management project for the local government in the Free State Province was necessary. The table below shows the linguistic profile of Free State Province.

**Table 1: Language Demographics – Free State Province**

Language	Afrikaans	Eng	IsiNdebele	IsiXhosa	IsiZulu	Sepeledi	Sesotho	Setswana	Siswati	Tshivenda	Xitsonga	Other
No. of Speakers	323082	31246	10000	246192	138091	7007	1742939	185389	7451	1433	8960	4985
Percentage	11,9	1,2	0,4	9,1	5,1	0,3	64,4	6,8	0,3	0,1	0,3	0,2
Total No. of Speakers	<b>2 706 775</b>											

Source: Statistics South Africa (2003) (Census 2001: Census in Brief) pp 15 – 16.

The above tabulated data indicates that the Free State Province is a multilingual province and thus the need for the Province to formulate and implement a multilingual policy, the obligations imposed by the Constitution and other legislation notwithstanding. An analysis of data on the linguistic profiles of individual municipalities within the Free State Province (also sourced from Census 2001) further confirmed that individual municipalities in the province are multilingual entities that need multilingual policies and plans if they are to meet their Constitutional obligations with regard to language; render public services in the languages of the residents; and actively participate in the process of participatory development and democratisation. These issues are elaborated further in the following sub-section as the rationale for a language management project at the local government sphere.

### **6.2.2 Rationale for a Language Management Project at the Local Government Sphere**

There is an emerging body of literature especially on the developing world on the importance of local government in the realisation of development and the entrenchment of a culture of democracy. “More and more it is being realised that local government in these countries is an eminently suitable machinery to increase people’s participation in policy-formulation and its implementation. Strategies for macro-level development may

be determined at higher levels of government and they are also determined, in some cases, by international development agencies like the World Bank. But successful implementation of development policies can never be ensured by-passing local government and popular involvement. Herein lies the real significance of the role of local government” (Vajpeyi and Mukhopadhyay 1990: 6).

The above observations echo some earlier observations by Hanekom (1988). Hanekom (1988: 13) observes that “the importance of local government revolves around its role as a sub-system of government, its ability to promote citizen participation and its ability to further economic and social progress. Generally speaking, local authorities have two main purposes: participation and service. By *participation* is meant the partaking of as many as possible of the municipal area in the making or influencing of policy decisions pertaining to local public needs in a way which would be conducive to responsible and responsive administration. The effect of such participation would be the promotion of democracy. *Service* refers to the economical discharge of public functions in line with public needs, that is, the efficient supply of goods and services beneficial for the well-being of the local community” (Hanekom 1988: 14).

The contribution of local government towards the maintenance of a prosperous, orderly and enlightened society can be summarised in the following points:

- Local authorities are essential links in the relationship between the government and citizenry, especially because they are bound to particular geographical areas, and to the people who are affected by the problems which are peculiar to those areas. This places them in a favourable position to understand and address those problems.
- Local authorities are also instruments for greater community participation, because they have jurisdiction over fewer people than higher levels of government. They therefore provide more channels and opportunities to utilise the talents, insights and creative abilities of the individual citizens.

- Local authorities are the cornerstones in the structure of a democratic political system, because they serve as vehicles for intelligent and responsible citizenship on this particular level. They are also intimately involved with those matters with which individual citizens identify or which they experience in a concrete manner. Through allowing initiative and discretion at the local level, well-developed local government serves the cause of democracy.
- Local authorities are important training grounds for future leaders in government and could also serve to educate voters in the execution of their civic duties.
- Local governments are potential bulwarks against uniformity, conformism, bureaucratic regimentation and dictatorship. They favour individualism and diversity, and add local colour – all of which contribute to a richness in the national life and cultural patterns of a nation. As such, they are active and energetic growth points for the idea of self-government.
- The suppleness and adaptability of local authorities, as well as the room they provide for variety and enterprise, make them important socio-political areas for experimenting with new ideas, policies and methods (Hanekom 1988: 18 – 19).

The above cited points underscore the importance of the local government sphere to the overall structures of governance in South Africa and elsewhere. These points, coupled with the Constitutional obligations of local government in South Africa with regard to languages and the linguistic profile of the Free State Province and individual municipalities provided the rationale for a language management project at the local government sphere in the Free State Province.

During the designing of the project it was noted that one of the defining aspects of the South African democratic transformation and reconstruction processes is the focus on the redress of the material disparities created by the former dispensation. One way of ensuring that the material disparities entrenched by the policies of the former dispensation are redressed is through effective and efficient public service delivery. The local government sphere, as a nodal point for the implementation public policies has a critical role to play in the realisation of a system of effective and efficient public service

delivery. The project further advanced that for effective and efficient public service delivery to be realised, there is a need to have operational multilingual policies and plans at the level of individual municipalities because a majority of the residents of respective municipalities use languages other than English and Afrikaans in their daily interactions with municipal structures.

Further the selection of the local government sphere as the most suitable sphere for a language management project that sought to facilitate the formulation and of multilingual policies and plans was based on practical considerations with regard to the dynamics of public policy formulation and implementation. From public management literature, it was established that the complexities of public policy formulation and implementation are best managed if they are approached from a multiplicity of approaches, especially an integration of top – bottom and bottom – up approaches.

The top-bottom framework was provided by the Provincial government which was the financier of the project and also played the supervisory role in the project execution. However, it was realised during the project design and execution that in order to facilitate optimal results, there was need to adopt a bottom – up approach where multilingual policy and planning formulation and implementation was facilitated from the level of individual municipalities. The logic of this aspect of the project was that the implementation of a multilingual policy and plan for the Free State Provincial government, or worse the implementation of a multilingual policy and plan for the Provincial Department of Government and Housing does not in any way make the Free State Province government system a multilingual government system. To be able to facilitate the achievement of a provincial government system, there was need to facilitate the formulation and implementation of multilingual policies and plans at individual municipalities. It is only the aggregated formulation and implementation of multilingual policies and plans at individual municipalities throughout the Free State Province coupled with the formulation and implementation of multilingual policies and plans within the provincial government that can be able to achieve the ideal of a multilingual Free State Provincial government system.



### **6.2.3 Project Design and Execution**

The discussion on project design and execution covers the following aspects: the project aim and objectives; the language management variables within the context of the project; the project methodologies and strategies; project outcomes; and project challenges. It is important however, to reiterate that all these aspects of the project were continuously reviewed and updated in the process of implementing the project, and incorporated into the language management approach discussed in chapter 5. In this case, some aspects of the language management approach discussed in chapter 5 were developed before the project was implemented and the project was used to test them, while some aspects of the language management approach were derived from the experiences and insights gained during the implementation of the project.

#### **6.2.3.1 Project Aim and Objectives**

The aim of the project was to assist municipalities in Free State Province to formulate and implement multilingual policies and plans in order to address the language needs, usages and preferences of staff and residents.

The objectives of the project were:

- (a) To facilitate the appointment of Language Committees in the participating municipalities.
- (b) To facilitate the formulation and implementation of multilingual policies and plans by the participating municipalities through information and knowledge transfer, the development of language management skills and attitude change.
- (c) To monitor the implementation of multilingual policies and plans by the participating municipalities.

The aim and objectives of the project were derived from the *purpose of language management* discussed in chapter 5 (cf section 5.4).

### **6.2.3.2 Language Management Variables within the Context of the Project**

The fundamental task during the project design phase and the project implementation phases was the securing of language management variables that are requisite to multilingual policy and planning implementation. These variables include:

- Linguistic variables
- Political variables
- Legal variables
- Economic Variables
- Socio-cultural variables
- Management variables
- Educational variables
- Technological variables

As observed in section 5.6, these are the variables that should be harnessed and sustained to a certain appreciable degree if multilingual policy and planning implementation were to succeed. In the context of the project the idea was that for the project to succeed, actors involved in the project had to strive to ensure that the greatest possible mix of the above listed variables was secured. The following paragraphs discuss the language management variables within the context of the project. The discussion highlights the variables that were in existence before the project was implemented; the variables that were harnessed and sustained in the course of implementing the project and the variables that were not harnessed nor sustained in the course of implementing the project.

o *Linguistic Variables*

In an attempt to secure linguistic variables for the project, the Project Team focused on corpus planning; acquisition planning; status planning; and language attitudes. The importance of corpus planning was repeatedly emphasised during the project, especially with regard to the development of the lexicon of the previously marginalised languages so that the lexicon of these languages could meet the demands of a modern and progressive municipality. Acquisition planning was also emphasised in the project especially with regard to the importance of having municipal officials, especially the ones who work at service points and the councillors who have to directly interact with the residents, to have a working knowledge of the municipal languages.

Status planning was a major focus in the project. This was especially the case with the previously marginalised languages. In the case of Free State Province the mostly prevalent previously marginalised languages are: Sesotho; Setswana; IsiZulu; and IsiXhosa. The language policies that were designed for individual municipalities included sections that explicitly indicated that individual municipalities will engage in affirmative action to ensure the promotion of the previously marginalised languages. However, it was emphasised that official recognition of the previously marginalised languages does not in itself constitute affirmative action. After official recognition, mechanisms must be built into the language plans seeking to provide a detailed programme of action of how the language policy will be implemented on how the previously marginalised languages were to be used in the official domains of the municipalities and on a daily basis.

Language attitudes were also a major concern in the process of securing the linguistic variables for the implementation of the project. Some important language attitude issues came to the fore in the initial stages of the project. One of the issues was that among the non-Afrikaans speakers, there were negative attitudes towards Afrikaans. It was also established that there were some negative attitudes towards previously marginalised languages by both the speakers of these languages and non-speakers, especially with regard to their viability as official languages. The Project Team, through dialogical

intervention strategies tried to redress these negative attitudes, by bringing all the participants to an understanding that South Africa as a progressive democracy and a multicultural state is for all who live in it, and historical circumstances notwithstanding, as responsible citizens and leaders, members of the respective language committees had a responsibility to show tolerance and leadership when issues like language were at stake.

This approach was also coupled by an exposition to the participants of the linguistic data from their respective municipalities. This data indicated that despite entrenched notions that a majority of their residents do not use the previously marginalised, demographic data indicated otherwise. A realisation that census data [not data compiled by the Project Team] indicated that a majority of their residents speak languages other than English, managed to get the participants in the project to develop positive attitudes towards the previously marginalised languages and to appreciate the importance of having multilingual policies and plans if they were to meet the needs of their residents.

#### ○ *Political Variables*

The securing of political variables was of paramount importance to the project. Attempts to secure political variables were informed by insights elaborated on in section 1.2.1 of the study. Particularly, political variables within the context of the project were not only conceptualised as just being prerequisites for multilingual policy and planning processes, but rather as composites of the multilingual policy and planning implementation processes. In this regard, the canvassing of requisite political will and support for the project was one of the primary objectives and end results of the project.

To secure the requisite political will and support for the project, the Project Team involved the Member of the Executive Committee (MEC) in charge of Local Government and Housing in the Free State Province from the conceptualisation of the project, the designing of the project and the implementation of the project. It is noteworthy that all communication informing municipalities about the project and what is expected of

municipalities was from the Office of the MEC, Local Government and Housing. In instances where the Office of the MEC, Local Government and Housing, could not issue such communication, the communication was from the Chief Director in the Department of Local Government and Housing and was mainly issued within the framework of delegated powers. In effect therefore, the political leadership of the Department of Local Government and Housing was involved in the entire project and this contributed a large extent to the overall success of the project.

However, the securing of the requisite political will and support for the project was not only confined to the political leadership of the provincial Department of Local Government and Housing. Political will and support from individual municipalities was considered critical if the project was to achieve its objectives. In this regard, during the design phase of the project, it was determined that the composition of municipal language committees must include councillors. The objectives of the project were carefully explained to councillors who embraced the project, because the project did not only provide them with a tangible policy platform and outcome that they could present to their communities, but because the project also provided them with political capital: they could be seen to be working to address the language needs of their communities as well as being able to use the languages of residents during public meetings and ward committee meetings.

During the implementation phase of the project, councillors as political leaders and representatives of local communities played a critical role in sensitising residents on the importance of having multilingual policies and plans. Once the political support and will of political representatives at the provincial and individual municipalities' levels was secured, the project became a point of reference as one of the successful projects in the Province and also in individual municipalities. This continued political goodwill was critical in determining the success of the project. The logic of political variables in language management is that actors involved in language management initiatives must not only secure requisite political will and support for their programmes, but they should also strive to sustain the political will and support by continuously engaging political

actors and demonstrating that the implementation of multilingual policies and plans is in congruence with stated political ideologies and programmes, and of importance, that the implementation of multilingual policies and plans provide political capital to political actors.

o *Legal Variables*

The securing of the legal variables for the project was founded on the legality of the Constitutional language provisions. The implications of the Constitutional language provisions were clearly explained to the project participants. The focus in this regard was to bring the project participants to an understanding that the formulation and implementation of multilingual policies and plans in respective municipalities was a legal requirement, i.e. the Constitutional clause [s 6 (3) (b)] that direct municipalities to take into account the language usage and preferences of their residents is a **peremptory** clause, meaning that the obligations imposed by the clause **must** be fulfilled. Further, it was emphasised to the project participants that the formulation and implementation of multilingual policies and plans for their respective municipalities was in congruence with the *Free State Province Draft Language Policy*, as well as the *Standing Rules and Orders deriving from the Municipal Systems Act*, in the case of Free State Province, Rules 75 and 76.

However, the focus on securing the legal variables for the project extended beyond an elaboration of the Constitutional obligations imposed on municipalities with regard to language. The Project Team sought to ground all language policies that were developed and implemented within the context of the project on a solid legal basis. In this regard, the language policies were drafted as language policy by-laws, thus giving them legal status within municipalities. By the end of the project, many of the municipalities were either in the process of having “*public comment*” on their language policy by-laws as required by law; they had adopted their respective language policies as by-laws after the

language policies had gone through the public comment process; and some municipalities have already published their language policy by-laws in the *Provincial Gazette*.

This approach was conceptualised as being of critical importance by the Project Team for a variety of reasons. These reasons are listed below:

- (a) By having language policies as by-laws of respective municipalities, it provided a customised legal basis for multilingual policy and planning formulation and implementation in each of the municipalities apart from the Constitution.
- (b) Language policy by-laws provide individual municipalities with a legal basis to commit human and capital resources for the formulation and implementation of multilingual policies and plans.
- (c) Language policy by-laws also serve to engender language rights within each of the municipalities because they provide a legal platform from which if residents were to become aggrieved by the language practices of their respective municipalities, they can seek legal redress.

o *Economic Variables*

The securing of economic variables was also of critical importance in the overall success of the project. The project was implemented with funds from the Free State Department of Local Government and Housing. Focus within the context of the project was to bring to the attention of the participants that it is important to budget for the formulation and implementation of multilingual policies and plans in their yearly budgets and within the Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF).

However, one of the greatest achievements of the project was when the Project Team thought through the incessant assertion by many of the participants that their respective municipalities did not have funds to spare to facilitate the formulation and implementation of multilingual policies and plans. The Project Team requested individual

municipalities to give an indication of their recurrent and capital budgets and also an indication of the average funds that were not used by the 10<sup>th</sup> month of the budgetary year. The 10<sup>th</sup> month was picked because it is at this time of the budgetary year when many government entities engage in panic spending of funds that could have been used in the year for development projects, but which were not, and which the various government departments do not want to return to the Treasury. From the information that was collected from this inquiry, it was established that many municipalities had recurrent and capital budgets that ran into millions of Rand per year and that by the 10<sup>th</sup> month of their budget year they still had substantial amounts of funds that had not been utilised in the course of the year for projects that they had been earmarked for.

From the analysis of the above information, the Project Team proposed to the respective language committees of participating municipalities that each municipality would only need to spend a **maximum** of 1% of their recurrent and capital budget, and this 1% of the recurrent and capital budget can always be discounted against the funds that normally have not been spent by the 10<sup>th</sup> month of the budget year, to successfully implement multilingual policies and plans, and this 1% would only be required for the initial phases, with the allocation reducing in subsequent years as the language services infrastructure in respective municipalities became established. The average recurrent and capital budget of the small municipalities in Free State Province is R 24 million. 1% of this budget would be R 240,000.00. From the experiences of the Project Team, R 240,000.00 is sufficient to implement a multilingual policy and plan for a small municipality and this would even cover remuneration of a permanent language practitioner to handle interpreting and translation.

The Project Team proposed a novel way of budgeting for the implementation of multilingual policies and plans at the level of individual municipalities. The Project Team propositioned that since language matters transverse all aspects of municipal endeavour, the language budget does not have to be one consolidated entity, but each expenditure unit within a municipality should budget for language services provision. In this way,



each of the expenditure units would bear a small percentage of the 1% of the recurrent and capital budget proposed for multilingual policy and planning implementation.

Further, it was brought to bear on the participants that funds spent on the implementation of multilingual policies and plans could not simply be discounted through monetary aggregates only. In this regard, funds spent on the implementation of multilingual policies and plans should be discounted against the greater framework of the creation of social capital; the enhancement of effective and efficient public service delivery; the facilitation of knowledge and information access and transfer; and the promotion of societal discourses that serve to engender a culture of representative, direct and participatory democracy.

○ *Socio-Cultural Variables*

Within the context of the project, the advocacy for the formulation and implementation of multilingual policies and plans was premised on the recognition that such policies and plans are in tandem with the social and cultural fabric of respective municipalities. In this way, the formulation and implementation of multilingual policies and plans was conceptualised and presented within the context of the project as one of the means through which the municipalities could promote the social and cultural well-being and diversity of their residents.

○ *Management Variables*

The management variables for the project were secured through the dissemination of language management skills to the participants. In this regard, it was emphasised during the project that the formulation and implementation of multilingual policies and plans is an effort at securing and managing all the other variables that are needed for the successful implementation of multilingual policies and plans. Fundamentally, the

emphasis was on the idea that these variables are not freely occurring in the policy space. Rather, actors involved in multilingual policy and planning implementation must engage in methodologies and strategies to at least harness and sustain an optimal mix of these variables. Such an endeavour calls for more than an application of management functions, but rather an application of management principles, some of which lie beyond the ambit of traditional management functions.

○ *Educational Variables*

Educational variables within the context of the project were conceptualised within the broader framework explained in section 5.6.7 of the study. Within the implementation of the project, respective municipalities, all of which are contributors to the National Skills Development Levy Fund were advised to formulate Work Skills Development Plans for the training of language practitioners [interpreters, translators and language managers] and for submission to the Local Government and Water Services Sector Education and Training Authority (LGWSETA) so that they could train the corpus of language practitioners required for the successful implementation of their language policies and plans.

The benefit of training and management development of language practitioners within the ambit of LGWSETA is that municipalities can claim monies used for training from LGWSETA once the training is completed. In this way, the funds used for training do not impact on the long term financial viability of municipalities.

○ *Technological Variables*

Technological variables as elaborated on in section 5.6.8 were conceptualised by the Project Team as being important for the implementation of multilingual policies and plans, especially for those municipalities that would be considering going online or those

that were online already. However, within the context of the project, the technological variables were not secured nor were they tested.

### **6.2.3.3 Project Methodologies and Strategies**

The overall methodology of the project included project design and management; workshops; visits to individual municipalities; and evaluations.

The project design and management was based on project management as a development oriented methodology and strategy for language management as discussed under section 5.7.3.8. Project management as a methodology and strategy enabled the Project Team to clearly state the objectives of the project; to determine the resources that were available for the attainment of the project objectives and the optimal management of available resources; to clearly determine the time-frames within which particular actions and/or interventions in the project were to be realised; a mapping of the expected results for each of the phases of the project; and to state clearly the mechanisms for redress if the projected results were not realised.

The workshops were conducted for each of the five districts in the Free State Province. The participants in each of the district workshops were the language committee of the district municipality and the language committees of the local municipalities in the district. Five rounds of workshops were conducted for each of the five districts in the Province, i.e. during the entire project implementation period, 25 workshops were conducted. The workshops focused on the transfer of knowledge, skills and attitudes for:

- (a) multilingual language policy formulation following the guidelines provided by the Pan South African Language Board (PANSALB);
- (b) formulation of language plans;
- (c) specification of the requisite macro and micro environments for multilingual policy and planning implementation;

- (d) specification of the variables required for multilingual policy and planning implementation;
- (e) specification of methodologies and strategies for multilingual policy and planning implementation;
- (f) specification of the purpose of multilingual policy and planning implementation, especially as it relates to public service delivery and the entrenchment of representative, direct and participatory democracy at the local government sphere; and
- (g) specification of the impediments to multilingual policy and planning implementation.

The Project Team developed Project Manuals in which the above were detailed. The above listed aspects were also explained in detail during the workshops.

As observed in section 3.3.3, however, the particular content of the workshops was not determined by the Project Team alone. The content of the Project Manuals was revised as the project unfolded, and insights drawn from the participants and their feedback after every workshop session were incorporated into subsequent Project Manuals and workshops. This particularly relates to the specification of the methodologies and strategies for multilingual policy and planning implementation and how these relate to public service delivery and the entrenchment of representative, direct and participatory democracy and the specification of the impediments encountered in the process of multilingual policy and planning implementation. It is important to observe that successive workshops were used as platforms for evaluating the progress that the entire project was making and the progress that individual municipalities in each of the districts were making towards facilitating multilingual policy and planning implementation.

Visits to individual municipalities were occasioned by the feedback that was given to the Project Team after each of the workshops and by the formative evaluation of the project. From the feedback and the formative evaluation of the project it was established that language committees from some municipalities did not fully understand the intricacies of

multilingual policy and planning formulation and implementation as elaborated during the workshops. It thus became imperative to individually visit the municipalities whose language committees were experiencing problems with formulating and implementing their language policies and plans. In these individual visits, the fundamentals and processes that constitute multilingual policy and planning formulation and implementation were explained to the respective language committees and in many instances the Project Team assisted the language committees to formulate language policies and plans. The summative evaluation of the project was done through a final report that was submitted to the Free State Provincial Department of Local Government and Housing.

The three language management methodologies and strategies discussed in chapter 5, namely management; sociolinguistic; and development oriented methodologies and strategies were used in the project. The specific methodologies and strategies from each cluster of methodologies and strategies that were used in the project are discussed below.

o ***Management Oriented Methodologies and Strategies as applied to the Project***

All the management oriented methodologies elaborated on in section 5.7.1 were used in the project. The planning, organising, leading and controlling within the project context were done to detail, especially with regard to human and financial resources, time-frames and the methodologies and strategies that were needed for successful execution of the project. Staffing was also important. The Project Team consisted of people who were conversant with the intricacies of multilingual policy and planning formulation and implementation.

The importance of management oriented methodologies and strategies to the project was however, not confined to the operational efficiency of the project only. The participants in the project also acquired management oriented methodologies and strategies that they used in formulating and implementing multilingual policies and plans in their respective municipalities. In this regard, the management oriented methodologies and strategies of

planning, organising, leading, controlling and staffing were introduced and explained to the participants. They were informed of how to apply these methodologies and strategies in the formulation and implementation of their respective municipalities' language policies and plans. This process involved conceptual skills development and human skills development as explained in sections 5.7.1.6 and 5.7.1.8 respectively. However, within the framework of the project, it was not possible to introduce, nor develop technical skills in the participants.

From the above discussion of the application of management oriented methodologies and strategies to the project, it was deduced that these methodologies and strategies are critical for successful implementation of multilingual policies and plans, especially when applied from a strategic perspective that seeks optimal means of achieving the best results under the constraints of resources and time. The challenge is upon actors in multilingual policy and planning formulation and implementation contexts to deploy a wide variety of management oriented methodologies and strategies because the conceptualisation of the “problem” posed by multilingualism and how to respond to it depends primarily on how these methodologies and strategies are applied in pragmatic situations.

○ *Sociolinguistic Oriented Methodologies and Strategies as applied to the Project*

Sociolinguistic oriented methodologies and strategies as discussed in section 5.7.2 were also used in the project. Language survey data on Free State province and the individual municipalities derived from the 2001 census was used in the project to justify multilingual policy formulation and implementation. Corpus, acquisition and status planning were also used as discussed under the securing of linguistic variables for the project. The other sociolinguistic oriented methodologies and strategies of functional language planning; linguistic auditing; technological customisation; and multilingual services provision were not used in the project. The reason why these methodologies and strategies were not used in the project was due to constraints of time and resources.

- ***Development Oriented Methodologies and Strategies as applied to the Project***

The development oriented methodologies and strategies used in the project included legislation, advocacy, development communication, participatory action research, dialogical intervention strategies indigenisation and project management. Many of these methodologies and strategies were conceptualised as being able to facilitate multilingual policy and planning implementation during the course of the project and their application in the project is as discussed under section 5.7.3.

#### **6.2.4 Project Outcomes**

The project managed to meet its aim and objectives to an appreciable degree. The project outcomes are discussed here below.

##### **6.2.4.1 Project Aim**

After a summative evaluation of the project, it is reported that the project managed to meet its aim of assisting municipalities in Free State Province to formulate and implement multilingual policies and plans in order to address the language needs, usages and preferences of staff and residents.

##### **6.2.4.2 Project Objectives**

- ***Appointment of Language Committees***

All the participating 24 municipalities managed to appoint language committees comprising of councillors and municipal officials. The rationale of having language committees comprised of councillors and municipal officials was based on the need to have both the political and executive branches of municipalities involved in the language

policy and planning development and implementation processes. This proved to be an asset in the eventual implementation of language policies and plans because the political and executive actors in individual municipalities felt that they were involved in the entire process and therefore a need for them to support the process. However, not all language committees were equally active.

o ***Multilingual policy and planning formulation and implementation***

By the end of the project, 20 of the participating 24 municipalities had formulated multilingual language policies in the form of language policy by-laws that were at different stages of the by-law enactment process. These municipalities are listed below:

1. Letsemeng Local Municipality
2. Mohokare Local Municipality
3. Mantsopa Local Municipality
4. Setsoto Local Municipality
5. Thabo Mofutsanyana District Municipality
6. Metsimaholo Local Municipality
7. Phumelela Local Municipality
8. Dihlabeng Local Municipality
9. Nketoana Local Municipality
10. Mafube Local Municipality
11. Moqhaka Local Municipality
12. Nala Local Municipality
13. Ngwathe Local Municipality
14. Maluti a Phofung Local Municipality
15. Northern Free State District Municipality
16. Motheo District Municipality
17. Matjhabeng Local Municipality
18. Xhariep District Municipality
19. Naledi Local Municipality
20. Masilonyana Local Municipality



Of the above municipalities, 10 municipalities are in the process of implementing their multilingual policies and plans after having adopted them as language policy by-laws. These are:

1. Northern Free State District Municipality
2. Ngwathe Local Municipality
3. Metsimaholo Local Municipality
4. Thabo Mofutsanyana District Municipality
5. Nketoana Local Municipality
6. Mohokare Local Municipality
7. Matjhabeng Local Municipality
8. Masilonyana Local Municipality
9. Motheo District Municipality
10. Mantsopa Local Municipality.

From the above, it can be deduced that 83% of the participating municipalities have language policies in draft format which they are taking through the by-law formulation and adoption processes. From the above it can also be deduced that 42% of the participating municipalities are implementing their multilingual policies and plans which have already been adopted as by-laws although not all of the municipalities have yet published their language policy by-laws in the *Provincial Gazette*. These outcomes indicate that the language management approach used in the project produced tangible results with regard to multilingual policy and planning formulation and implementation.

○ ***Monitoring the implementation of multilingual policies and plans***

The implementation of the multilingual policies and plans formulated by respective municipalities was monitored throughout the project and results of these evaluations fed back into the project. This process helped in the formulation of the methodologies and strategies that were used in the project, especially the development oriented methodologies and strategies. These methodologies were developed to respond to the needs that were identified during the monitoring and evaluation processes of the project.

### **6.2.5 Project Challenges**

The project was confronted with many challenges. These included:

- (a) Language attitudes about the importance of previously marginalised languages in high status functions of government administration.
- (b) Difficulties in mobilising requisite political and executive support needed for the formulation and implementation of multilingual policies and plans.
- (c) The unwillingness of many municipal officials to set aside budgets to facilitate the formulation and implementation of multilingual policies and plans.
- (d) The lack of requisite human resources needed to facilitate the successful implementation of multilingual policies and plans.
- (e) The failure of many municipal officials to conceptualise multilingual policy and planning implementation as an integral part of the municipal service delivery efforts as well as community participation processes.

However, the extent to which the objectives of the project were met as reported in the preceding section shows that many of the above challenges were addressed positively during the project.

### **6.3 Chapter Conclusion**

The case study reported in the current chapter indicates that the language management approach developed in the current study and that was used in the case study and refined during the course of the case study facilitates multilingual policy and planning implementation to an appreciable degree. The study does not hold the view that the language management approach as developed in the study and as applied to and tested in the case study answers all the questions with regard to multilingual policy and planning implementation, nor the view that the approach is the *only* approach that can be used to facilitate multilingual policy and planning implementation in South Africa.

However, the study advances two views with regard to the application of the approach developed in the study in practical scenarios. First, it is important for all spheres of government to initiate multilingual policy and planning formulation and implementation projects. In such an endeavour though, it is important to incorporate top-bottom and bottom-top approaches as well as a combination of management, sociolinguistic and development oriented methodologies and strategies.

Secondly, the study advances the view that it is important within the South African context to have projects and other initiatives that seek to use and extend the proposed approach and other approaches in practical multilingual policy and planning formulation and implementation scenarios and the results from such projects and initiatives should be made available in mainstream language planning literature. It is worrying to note that with a large number of language planning research publications in accredited journals being published on the South African language planning scenario, many of these publications do not report *actual* attempts at facilitating the implementation of multilingual policies and plans as envisioned by the Constitution. Such studies are needed, and they should serve to further test and refine the approach developed in this study and particularly the language management methodologies and strategies.

## **CHAPTER SEVEN**

### **CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND FURTHER ISSUES**

#### **7.1 Introduction**

The chapter reviews the entire study to establish whether the research problem, research questions, the aim and objectives of the study were adequately addressed and a review of the wider contribution of language management to South Africa. The insights from this review are presented as conclusions. The chapter also consolidates insights deriving from the study into clear points on what needs to be done to facilitate multilingual policy and planning implementation in South Africa, and elsewhere. These are presented as recommendations.

#### **7.2 Conclusions**

The conclusions focus on the insights contained in the study with regard to the adequacy of contemporary explanations to the non-implementation of multilingual policies and plans; the language management approach developed in the study; a justification for a paradigm shift to a language management approach in South Africa's multilingual policy and planning implementation; the epistemological challenges facing language management in South Africa; the practical challenges facing language management in South Africa; and the opportunities provided by language management to South Africa.

### **7.2.1 Adequacy of Contemporary Explanations of Non-implementation of Multilingual policies and Plans**

The study is premised on an investigation of the adequacy of contemporary explanations of non-implementation of multilingual policies and plans. The study identifies four categories of explanations, namely the political, economic, sociolinguistic and the theoretic. Through the coding processes used in the study, the adequacy of the four explanations was tested. The study established that the political, economic and sociolinguistic explanations, although important in understanding and explaining the dilemma confronting multilingual policy and planning implementation, cannot wholly be used to explain the non-implementation of multilingual policies and plans in South Africa and elsewhere.

The political explanations that decry the lack of political will and support for multilingual policy and planning implementation were found to be inadequate because it is advanced in the study that the seeking of requisite political will and support for multilingual policy and planning implementation should be one of the fundamental tasks of language policy and planning processes and the agencies that carry out these processes, even in cases where the language policy and planning agency is the government. With respect to political will and support for multilingual policy and planning implementation, the study advances that these two are not invariables in multilingual policy and planning processes. They are variables and language planning agencies should strive to secure them in the processes of multilingual policy and planning implementation.

The economic explanations that use Western economic hegemony, financial constraints and market forces, especially in the South African multilingual policy and planning implementation scenario were also found to be inadequate. These explanations are inadequate because they don't seem to appreciate South Africa's macro-economic framework, the role that the government plays in market-stabilisation and the funds that have been made available for the implementation of the National Language Policy Framework within the MTEF.

The sociolinguistic explanations that relate to language development and language attitudes were also found to be inadequate. The study advances that the tasks that multilingual policy and planning should constitute of cannot be used to justify why multilingual policy and planning implementation is not taking place. Language development and the engendering of positive language attitudes should be some of the core processes of multilingual policy and planning implementation in South Africa and elsewhere and thus cannot be used to explain why multilingual policy and planning implementation is not happening. The study advances that actors involved in multilingual policy and planning implementation should adopt a proactive approach when dealing with language development and language attitudes challenges. In this regard, they should be preoccupied with a search for how to ensure that there is language development and that positive language attitudes are developed, but not a discourse that seeks to only isolate the problem without proposing solutions.

The theoretic explanation to the non-implementation of multilingual policies and plans at first seemed to be a far-fetched explanation. However, with open and axial coding of the data that was used in the study, it emerged as the core category for explaining the non-implementation of multilingual policies and plans. The importance of the theoretic category in explaining the non-implementation of multilingual policies and plans does not only hinge on the fact that language planning theory has not been able to produce approaches that can be used to facilitate multilingual policies and plans. The importance of the theoretic category also hinges on the fact that the political, economic and sociolinguistic explanations that seek to rationalise the non-implementation of multilingual policies and plans are advanced from a theoretical standpoint in language planning theory that is antithetical to multilingualism, namely the positivistic tradition in language planning theory. To respond to both dilemmas, the study set out to conceptualise and propose the language management approach.

## **7.2.2 The Language Management Approach**

The language management approach developed in the study was based on an analysis of language planning theory and language planning models and practical insights deriving from the implementation of the language management for local government in the Free State Province project.

The strengths and weaknesses of the foundational theories of language planning and how these theories manifest themselves in language planning models were analysed. These theories formed the theoretical foundations of the language management approach. In the conceptualisation of the language management approach, focus was on how these theoretical foundations could be adapted into a framework that can facilitate the formulation and implementation of multilingual policies and plans.

However, there were concerns that were not catered for by the theoretical foundations of language planning theory that were incorporated in the language management approach to form the theoretical basis of the language management approach. These concerns related to making language planning theory responsive to actual linguistic realities of multilingual policy and planning formulation and implementation scenarios and making language planning theory responsive to the emerging holistic development paradigm that conceptualises development as the enlargement of people's choices. To address these two concerns, the study incorporated phenomenology and human development theory as theoretical frontiers for language management.

The practical insights deriving from implementation of the language management for local government in the Free State Province project together with insights drawn from a review of literature on language planning were critical in conceptualising and integrating the following elements of the language management approach: the macro and micro contexts for language management; the purpose of language management; the impediments of language management; the language management variables; and the language management methodologies and strategies.

The study does not make any pretensions that the language management approach developed in the study is *the* only approach that can be used to facilitate multilingual policy and planning implementation in South Africa. However, it is submitted that the language management approach proposed in the study is not only important in facilitating multilingual policy and planning formulation and implementation within the South African context which was used to develop it, but it can be used to facilitate multilingual policy and planning formulation and implementation elsewhere.

### **7.2.3 Justification for a Paradigm Shift to a Language Management Approach in South Africa's Multilingual Policy and Planning Implementation**

The study also provides a justification for a paradigm shift to the language management approach proposed in the study in South Africa's multilingual policy and planning implementation. This justification is based on a detailed analysis of the macro framework for language policy and planning in South Africa as provided by the Constitution and the socio-political and historical contexts that led to evolution of the 1993 Interim Constitution and the 1996 Constitution. These analyses established that the Constitution is founded on certain theoretical, ideological and discourse foundations that espouse the nature of the South African society of the present and the South African society of the future. Fundamentally, the Constitution espouses transformative constitutionalism and advanced cultural politics. The multilingual dispensation envisioned by the Constitution is in tandem with the transformative constitutionalism and advanced cultural politics espoused by the Constitution.

However, language planning practice in South Africa premised in traditional language planning theory and language planning models does not seem to be able to facilitate a multilingual dispensation as envisioned in the Constitution. This observation is corroborated by an earlier observation by Bamgbose (1989) that from the application of the current models of language planning to a wide range of language planning situations, it is becoming obvious that some of the earlier assumptions about the nature and



processes of language planning will need to be re-examined and if possible, revised. To respond to the dilemma facing language planning practice in South Africa with regard to the rolling-out of a multilingual dispensation as envisioned by the Constitution it is critical to develop a new approach. The study develops such an approach, namely the language management approach.

#### **7.2.4 Epistemological Challenges to Language Management in South Africa**

There are epistemological challenges to language management in South Africa. Fundamentally, these challenges relate to the fact that language management as a discipline in South Africa and elsewhere, is a relatively new field. There is therefore the need to develop language management theory, through research that integrates theoretical principles with the testing of the theoretical principles in real-life multilingual policy and planning implementation scenarios, to a point whereby language management theory can provide approaches and/or frameworks that can be used to facilitate multilingual policy and planning implementation in South Africa and possibly elsewhere. The current study is just but one small tentative step in that direction.

Related to the theoretical challenge to language management is the methodological challenge. The development of language management discipline and the accompanying theory must be accompanied by an equal development in methodology. It is however, important to observe that the development in methodology in language management must be in two areas: language management as a discipline and language management as an activity. With regard to the former, the Grounded Theory Methodology elaborated on in Chapter 3 provides opportunities to develop a coherent methodological framework for theoretical analysis and development in language management. With regard to language management as an activity, the language management methodologies and strategies elaborated on in chapter 5 provide leads on future development of language management methodology at the level of practical multilingual policy and planning formulation and implementation.

### **7.2.5 Practical Challenges to Language Management in South Africa**

There are practical challenges to language management in South Africa. These are:

- (a) The implementation of multilingual dispensation as envisioned by the Constitution can occur in South Africa but it is a process that needs careful planning, an involvement of as many stakeholders as its practically possible and dedicated execution.
- (b) It is important to legislate for language at all spheres of government.
- (c) It is important to take a proactive approach with regard to the harnessing and sustenance of the language management variables needed for successful implementation of multilingual policies and plans.
- (d) The successful practical implementation of multilingual policies and plans needs a combination of top-bottom and bottom-up approaches.
- (e) The successful implementation of South Africa's multilingual policy and plan poses the challenge of human resource training and development.
- (f) The implementation of multilingual policies and plans is a complex undertaking and it is not possible for one sphere of government to achieve the ideal of a multilingual government system in South Africa without involving the other spheres. This is the challenge of coordination of multilingual policy and planning implementation.
- (g) It is incumbent upon government to raise funds to finance the implementation of the multilingual dispensation as envisioned in the Constitution. This poses the challenge of strategic planning for financing of the implementation of the multilingual policy and plan.
- (h) There is also the challenge of establishing a working language services infrastructure in the South African public sector, and a framework within which Community Based organisations (CBOs), Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), other Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) and the private sector can be integrated into endeavours to implement South Africa's multilingual dispensation.

## 7.2.6 Opportunities Provided by Language Management in South Africa

Language management approach proposed in the study offers many opportunities to South Africa. These opportunities are listed below:

- (a) The approach, which is based on and advocates for the justiciability of the Constitutional language provisions can serve to further the entrenchment of the respect for the Constitution, its principles and its underlying ideology.
- (b) The approach provides for an opportunity for the development of South Africa's languages, especially the previously marginalised languages.
- (c) The approach, if and when implemented in the South African public sector can enhance public service delivery within the context of the *Batho Pele* principles. This submission is based on the observation that the actualisation of the *Batho Pele* principles of consultation; service standards; access; courtesy; information; openness and transparency; redress; and value for money in actual public service delivery scenarios, especially within previously marginalised communities will depend to a greater extent on whether public services are rendered in a multilingual manner or not.
- (d) The implementation of multilingual policies and plans as advocated for by the language management approach can lead to the enhancement of a culture of direct, representative and participatory democracy because it would facilitate the conduct of mainstream socio-political discourses in all the South African official languages.
- (e) The implementation of multilingual policies and plans as advocated for by the language management approach would lead to a development and entrenchment of a culture of human rights with the corollaries of the development and entrenchment of a culture of language rights and linguistic human rights in South Africa.
- (f) It would contribute towards the realisation of language justice as elaborated by Strauss (1997).

- (g) It would contribute towards human resource development in the South African public and private sectors because the realisation of the multilingual dispensation envisioned by the Constitution would require a large corpus of committed managerial and technical language specialists to implement.
- (h) The application of the language management approach developed in the current study to the South African language policy and planning scenario would lead to the development of a language services industry in South Africa. Such an industry would create jobs and other economic opportunities, especially to speakers of previously marginalised languages.
- (i) The implementation of multilingual policies and plans as advocated for by the language management approach developed in the current study would also serve to bring many of the South Africans who were marginalised from mainstream social, political and economic activities by the former dispensation into mainstream social, political and economic activities. This would serve to create social capital in South Africa.
- (j) The implementation of a multilingual dispensation in South Africa would also enable the access to indigenous knowledge and information systems, many of which are encapsulated in the lore of the previously marginalised languages.
- (k) It would serve to enhance national unity and the promotion of a inclusive national consciousness because the implementation of multilingual policies and plans serves to mediate conflict and promote tolerance in linguistically and culturally diverse societies.
- (l) Fundamentally, the implementation of multilingual policies and plans in South Africa within the framework of the language management approach developed in the study would serve the ends of human development. That is, the implementation of multilingual policies and plans in South Africa would enlarge the choices available to South Africa's in their daily lives, as well as facilitate an endangering of a culture of human freedom.

### 7.3 Recommendations

The recommendations consolidate the insights deriving from the study into clear points that indicate what needs to be done to facilitate multilingual policy and planning in South Africa, and possibly elsewhere. The recommendations cover diverse aspects such as language planning theory; method in language planning; language planning research; language legislation; language policy and planning practice; training and management development for language management; development planning; advocacy and litigation; and funding for language management.

#### 7.3.1 Theory

##### *Recommendation 1:*

It is recommended that there is a need develop language planning theory to a point where it can generate approaches that can be deployed to facilitate multilingual policy and planning implementation.

The recommendation that there is need to develop language planning theory is even more urgent when one evaluates the nature of contributions to language planning in the form of publications. A sizeable number of publications on language planning theory, either by design or otherwise, chose to eschew questions that deal with language planning theory. This scenario does not augur well for the development of language planning discipline and practice.

To facilitate the development of language planning theory, institutions that engage in language planning research and training must have the inquiry and development of language planning theory as one of the core aspects of their research and training programmes.

### 7.3.2 Method

#### ***Recommendation 2:***

It is recommended that there is an urgent need to define and elaborate on what constitutes method in language planning and language management.

In epistemology, the theoretical development of a discipline is always accompanied by an equal development of method in the discipline. Admittedly, there is a corpus of methods that are used in language planning studies, but these methods are inextricably tied down to the inadequacies of the language planning theory upon which they are premised. It therefore logically follows that a re-examination of language planning theory and language planning models will also call for a re-examination of language planning method, and within the context of this study, language management method.

The specification of method in language planning and language management would involve two tasks. First, it should specify the *method* of doing language planning and language management as disciplines or as science. Secondly, it should specify the *methodologies* and *strategies* that are needed to facilitate language planning and language management activities in diverse practical situations. The twin development of methods for language planning and language management as disciplines and as practical interventions would consolidate the importance of language planning and language management both as scholarly endeavours and pragmatic undertakings.

### 7.3.3 Research

#### ***Recommendation 3:***

It is recommended that there is a need to conduct research in language planning and language management that grapples with the epistemological concerns of theory and method in language planning and language management as well as pragmatic concerns in both disciplines that relate to language planning and language management practice.

Inasmuch as the need to have research that engages with *practical problems* and the *generation* of workable interventions in language planning and language management is understandable, the view advanced in this study is that such research which does not address theoretical concerns, or is not founded on plausible theoretical premises in the first instance may end up addressing itself to trivial concerns, and worse, making and/or producing mediocre and/or wrong results and recommendations.

However, such research should seek to move beyond the realm of theoretical inquiry once the theoretical concerns have been *adequately* addressed. Such research must always strive to test the validity of its theoretical findings in practical language planning and language management scenarios. It is only when theoretical precepts are validated by primary data that their applicability in real-life situations can be claimed to be valid. In this regard, case study research is recommended as one of the main tools that can be used to develop, test and apply language planning and language management theory and method.

#### **7.3.4 Legislation**

##### ***Recommendation 4:***

It is recommended that with regard to language legislation development, there is need for a proactive approach that hinges on active lobbying for enactment and implementation.

The study established that legislating for language policy and language planning implementation is a crucial step in the processes that constitute multilingual policy and planning implementation. It is therefore recommended that there is need to expeditiously enact language legislation at all the three spheres of government in South Africa.

The study submits that it is not excusable that the Languages Bill is still awaiting enactment by Parliament and that 7 out of the 9 South African provinces do not language legislation. This scenario points towards levity on the part of politicians, but it is

incumbent upon language planning agencies in South Africa, as per the framework proposed in the study to secure the requisite support of politicians to have the Languages Bill enacted by Parliament and the Provincial Legislatures of Free State Province, Northern Cape Province, Northwest Province, Gauteng Province, Mpumalanga Province and Limpopo province to develop and enact language legislation.

### **7.3.5 Language Policy and Planning Practice**

#### ***Recommendation 5:***

It is recommended that there is an urgent need of actors involved in language policy and planning practice in South Africa to start seeking practical ways of making the multilingual dispensation envisioned by the Constitution a reality.

Further, it is recommended that the language management approach proposed in this study would be a good starting point in seeking practical ways of making the multilingual dispensation envisioned in the Constitution a reality, and in dealing with the discomforting ignorance that one picks out from some public sector actors when discussing language planning issues.

The discourses that characterise language policy and planning practice in South Africa and that in the main seek to advance the view that the Constitution is wrong on proposing an 11 language policy, are not only antithetical to the eventual implementation of South Africa's multilingual policy and plan, but they seem to undermine the tenets that underlie the Constitution and the South African efforts at transformation and reconstruction.

Particularly, when such discourses originate from South Africa's public sector corps they are not excusable. Public sector corps should be in the frontline of implementing a multilingual dispensation for South Africa, but from the experiences of the researcher, many of them are either engaged in the discourse described above, or they don't have an



idea of what is required and expected of them when it comes to the formulation and implementation of multilingual policies and plans.

### **7.3.6 Training and Management Development of Language Management Specialists in South Africa**

#### ***Recommendation 6:***

It is recommended that there is an urgent need for training and management development of language management specialists in South Africa.

Such training would equip actors in the language policy and planning enterprise in South Africa with the requisite knowledge, skills and attitudes for multilingual policy and planning implementation.

### **7.3.7 Development Planning**

#### ***Recommendation 7:***

It is recommended that language policy, language planning and language management issues, especially in a country like South Africa that explicitly pronounces in its Constitution an 11 languages policy and that has an equal measure of linguistic and cultural diversity within its borders, must be incorporated into mainstream development planning.

It was established during the study was that language policy, language planning and language management issues are seldom considered matters of critical concern in government development planning. The project that constitutes the case study in the present study however, managed to change this scenario to a certain extent at the local government sphere in the Free State Province. Through the project, language policy, language planning and language management issues were re-cast into mainstream

development planning contexts of respective municipalities. In this regard, language management issues were related to diverse issues such as service delivery, community development and participation and Integrated Development Planning. This view derives from the Human Development approach to development that considers the promotion and entrenchment of diversity as a key objective of and means to a holistic development.

### **7.3.8 Advocacy and Litigation**

#### ***Recommendation 8:***

It is recommended that there is an urgent need to engage in advocacy and litigation that seeks to promote multilingual policy and planning and planning implementation in South Africa.

The study submits that the implementation of a multilingual policy and plan for South Africa is not going to happen all by itself. There must be conscious and planned efforts toward their realisation. Since the government at all the three spheres is the one that is constitutionally charged with the responsibility of facilitating the implementation of multilingual policies and plans, but in some instances seems to be the greatest barrier towards the realisation of the same, Community Based Organisations (CBOs), Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) that have a stake in the implementation of a multilingual dispensation for South Africa should engage in a campaign of advocacy so as to sensitise both the government and societies on the need to implement a multilingual dispensation for the Republic.

However, in instances where there is a justiciable premise that the language rights of citizens have been violated by actions of Government, and/or government departments and agencies, it is strongly recommended that citizens either acting singularly or as groups must enter into litigation so as to redress language rights violations.

### **7.3.9 Funding for Language Management**

#### ***Recommendation 9:***

It is recommended that public sector managers charged with the responsibility of implementing South Africa's multilingual policies and plans should strategically finance their implementation from existing budgets, or raise money for their implementation outside existing budgetary allocations, through bilateral, multilateral, private sector and civil society funded language management projects.

Funding should not be used as an excuse not to implement the multilingual dispensation as envisioned by the Constitution. If it is accepted as a valid hypothesis that public sector managers in charge of Departments and Agencies that should implement South Africa's multilingual dispensation carry a vicarious responsibility of strategising for the funding of the implementation of multilingual policies and plans, they therefore cannot use lack of funding as a reason not to implement multilingual policies and plans. Rather, any allusion to lack of funding as a reason why multilingual policies and plans are not being implemented should be a pointer to the failure of these managers to provide strategic leadership to their Departments and/or Agencies.

### **7.4 Chapter Conclusion and Further Issues**

This chapter set out to review the entire study to establish whether the study adequately addressed the research problem, the research questions, and the aim and objectives of the study. The discussions in the preceding sections of this chapter establish that the research problem, the research questions and the aim and objectives of the study were adequately addressed.

The chapter also set to consolidate insights from the study into clear points on what needs to be done to facilitate multilingual policy and planning implementation in South Africa,

and elsewhere. The recommendations of the study comprise the signposts for multilingual policy and planning implementation in South Africa and elsewhere.

The study however, raises some fundamental issues in language planning and language management disciplines and practice. These issues include but are not exclusive to the theoretical frontiers of language planning and language management; the issue of method in language planning and language management; the self-critiquing nature of the language management enterprise; language management and the management of conflict and diversity; language management and the greater project of human emancipation and human development; the role of the public management theory and practice in language management, both as drivers of language management and as ends of language management; and the critical role that language management can play in facilitating public service delivery, community participation and the establishment and sustenance of democratic institutions and processes.

These issues need further research attention. The manner in which language planning and language management disciplines and practice respond to the above issues will determine to a great extent their viability as disciplines and practical concerns worth any attention. Further, engagement of language planning and language management disciplines and practice with the above issues will determine the extent to which the two serve the greater project of social justice, human emancipation and freedom.

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## **ABSTRACT**

The study investigates the reasons for the non-implementation of multilingual policies and plans with special reference to South Africa's language policy and planning implementation scenario. The study identifies four categories of explanations for the non-implementation of multilingual policies and plans in South Africa, namely political; economic; sociolinguistic; and theoretic explanations. Of particular interest is the adequacy of these explanations in explaining the non-implementation of multilingual policies and plans in South Africa.

Chapter 1 introduces the study, discounts political, economic and sociolinguistic explanations as inadequate in explaining the non-implementation of multilingual policies and plans in South Africa and establishes the theoretic category as the core category to explain the non-implementation of multilingual policies and plans in South Africa. The chapter provides a preliminary review of language planning literature that explores the inadequacy of language planning theory in providing approaches that can be used to facilitate multilingual policy and planning implementation as well as statement of the research problem and questions, the aim and objectives of the study, overview of research methodology and outline of the thesis.

Chapter 2 provides the background to the study. The chapter discusses the macro framework for language policy and language planning in South Africa as provided by the Constitution. The chapter elaborates on South Africa's constitutional language developments as from the early 1990s and the socio-political and historical contexts that led to the evolution of the 1993 Interim Constitution and the 1996 Constitution. The chapter elaborates on the theoretical, ideological and discourse foundations of both the 1993 Interim Constitution and the 1996 Constitution and points out that the multilingual dispensation envisioned by the 1996 Constitution is in tandem with the project of transformative constitutionalism and advanced cultural politics espoused by the Constitution. The chapter concludes by pointing out that the obligations imposed by the Constitution with respect to language in South Africa must be fulfilled. Its attendant upon

language planning actors in South Africa to formulate approaches that can be used to facilitate multilingual policy and planning implementation based on plausible theoretical premises.

Chapter 3 discusses the research methodology. The research method used in the study is Grounded Theory Method. The chapter elaborates on the appropriateness of Grounded Theory Method as a method for the development of approaches from qualitative data and how the method was applied to the three elements of the study, namely, literature review; the development of an alternative approach to multilingual policy and planning implementation; and the case study.

Chapter 4 reviews literature on language planning theory and models using Eastman (1983) framework. The review establishes the weaknesses of language planning theory and models. These weaknesses account for the inadequacy of language planning theory and models to provide approaches that can be used for multilingual policy and planning implementation. The chapter concludes by discussing how the inadequacies of language planning theory and models have contributed to the non-implementation of South Africa's multilingual policy and plan.

Chapter 5 develops an alternative approach to multilingual policy and planning implementation. The study names the approach "*The Language Management Approach*". The approach specifies the theoretical basis for the new approach; the purpose; impediments; the variables; and the methodologies and strategies for multilingual policy and planning implementation.

Chapter 6 presents a case study which was used to develop some aspects of the new approach as well as test the new approach. The case study demonstrates that the new approach facilitates multilingual policy and planning implementation. Chapter 7 outlines the conclusions and recommendations.

The study contributes towards the resolution of the theoretic and practical dilemmas facing multilingual policy and planning implementation in South Africa and elsewhere.

**KEY TERMS**

LANGUAGE POLICY, LANGUAGE PLANNING, LANGUAGE PLANNING THEORY, LANGUAGE PLANNING MODELS, LANGUAGE POLICY AND PLANNING IMPLEMENTATION, LANGUAGE MANAGEMENT, TRANSFORMATIVE CONSTITUTIONALISM, ADVANCED CULTURAL POLITICS, GROUNDED THEORY METHOD, VARIABLES, METHODOLOGIES AND STRATEGIES.

## OPSOMMING

Die studie ondersoek die redes vir die nie-implementering van veeltalige beleide en planne, met spesifieke verwysing na Suid-Afrika se taalbeleids- en -beplannings-implementeringscenario. Dit studie identifiseer vier kategorieë van verklarings vir die nie-implementering van veeltalige beleide en planne in Suid-Afrika, naamlik politiese, ekonomiese, sosiolinguistiese en teoretiese verklarings. Die ontoereikendheid van hierdie verklarings om die nie-implementering van veeltalige beleide en planne in Suid-Afrika te verklaar, word spesifieke geaksentueer.

Hoofstuk 1 bied 'n inleiding tot die studie en toon aan dat politieke, ekonomiese en sosiolinguistiese verklarings nie voldoende is om die nie-implementering van veeltalige beleide en planne in Suid-Afrika te verduidelik nie en vestig sodoende die teoretiese kategorie as die kernkategorie ter verduideliking van die nie-implementering van veeltalige beleide en planne in Suid-Afrika. Die hoofstuk bied 'n inleidende oorsig van die taalbeplanningsliteratuur wat die ontoereikendheid van taalbeplanningsteorie by die verskaffing van benaderings wat gebruik kan word om veeltalige beleids- en beplanningsimplementering te fasiliteer, ondersoek. Voorts word die navorsingsprobleem en -vrae, die doelstelling en doelwitte van die studie, 'n oorsig van die navorsingsmetodologie en die breë trekke van die proefskrif ook gestel.

Hoofstuk 2 verskaf die agtergrond tot die studie. Die hoofstuk bespreek die makroraamwerk vir taalbeleid en -beplanning in Suid-Afrika, soos daarvoor voorsiening gemaak word deur die Grondwet. Die hoofstuk brei uit oor Suid-Afrika se grondwetlike taalontwikkelings vanaf die vroeë 1990's en die sosiopolitieke en historiese kontekste wat tot die evolusie van die 1993-Interimgrondwet en die 1996-Grondwet gelei het. Die hoofstuk wei in besonderhede uit oor die teoretiese, ideologiese en gespreksgrondslae van beide die 1993-Interimgrondwet en die 1996-Grondwet en toon aan dat die veeltalige bedeling, soos in die vooruitsig gestel deur die 1996-Grondwet, in tandem loop met die projek van transformatiewe grondwetlikheid en gevorderde kulturele politiek, soos voorgestaan deur die Grondwet. Die hoofstuk sluit af deur uit te wys dat die verpligtinge

wat deur die grondwet opgelê word betreffende taal in Suid-Afrika, nagekom moet word. Dit berus by taalbeplanningsakteurs in Suid-Afrika om benaderings te formuleer wat gebruik kan word om die veeltalige beleids- en beplanningsimplementering, gebaseer op aanneemlike teoretiese uitgangspunte, te fasiliteer.

Hoofstuk 3 bespreek die navorsingsmetodologie. Die navorsingsmetode wat in hierdie studie gebruik word, is die Gegronde Teorie-metode. Die hoofstuk brei uit oor die toepaslikheid van die Gegronde Teorie-metode as 'n metode vir die ontwikkeling van benaderings tot kwalitatiewe data en hoe die metode op die drie elemente van die studie, naamlik die literatuuoroorsig, die ontwikkeling van 'n alternatiewe benadering tot veeltalige beleids- en beplanningsimplementering en die gevallestudie toegepas word.

Hoofstuk 4 bied 'n oorsig van die literatuur oor taalbeplanningsteorie en -modelle deur gebruik te maak van Eastman (1983) se raamwerk. Die oorsig stel die tekortkominge van die taalbeplanningsteorie en -modelle vas. Hierdie tekortkominge verklaar die ontoereikendheid van taalbeplanningsteorie en -modelle om benaderings te verskaf wat gebruik kan word vir veeltalige beleids- en beplanningsimplementering. Die hoofstuk sluit af deur te bespreek hoe die gebreke van taalbeplanningsteorie en -modelle bygedra het tot die nie-implementering van Suid-Afrika se veeltalige beleid en plan.

Hoofstuk 5 ontwikkel 'n alternatiewe benadering tot veeltalige beleids- en beplanningsimplementering en noem dit "*Die Taalbestuursbenadering*". Die benadering spesifiseer die teoretiese basis vir die nuwe benadering, die doel, struikelblokke, die veranderlikes en die metodologieë en strategieë vir veeltalige beleids- en beplanningsimplementering.

Hoofstuk 6 bied 'n gevallestudie aan wat gebruik is om sommige aspekte van die nuwe benadering te ontwikkel asook om die nuwe benadering te toets. Die gevallestudie het gedemonstreer dat die nuwe benadering die veeltalige beleids- en beplanningsimplementering fasiliteer. Hoofstuk 7 bevat die gevolgtrekkings en aanbevelings van die proefskrif.



Die studie dra by tot die oplossing van die teoretiese en praktiese dilemmas wat veeltalige beleids- en beplanningsimplementering in Suid-Afrika en elders in die gesig staar.