CHAPTER 2

SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION AND LANGUAGE PLANNING: THE FRAMEWORK

The focus of this chapter is the framework within which the problems to be addressed through language planning and policy in the Northern Province must be undertaken. It will provide the larger framework within which language planning must be developed since language planning cannot be developed in isolation. In this framework two models of social transformation will be explained, **the systems model** and **the dynamic social field model**. In the systems model the whole society may be conceived as a system at the macro level and at the micro level local communities may be viewed as small systems. The dynamic social field model of transformation views society as a process, which consists of continuous and unending events.

I will also discuss the role of language and language planning in social transformation, and in the analysis of language policy, I will consider the power dimension since the role of language policy as an instrument of government power is undeniable. Language policy is a tool of government but I will also look at the influences of grassroots pressure. Instruments and strategies of language planning will be discussed and thereafter language education policy with mother-tongue education as proposed by UNESCO in 1951 will be looked at. I will end the chapter with a discussion of policy construction, planning and implementation.

2.1 Social transformation

A. The systems model: engendering the concept of social change.

Sztompka (1994:3) asserts that in accordance with the systems model of sociologists, "organisms are cases of systems, but so are molecules, buildings, planets and galaxies". This general notion may be applied to human society at various levels of complexity . According to him, at the macro level the whole global society (humanity) may be conceived as a system, at the mezzo level, nation states and regional political alliances could also be seen as systems, and at the micro level, local communities, associations, firms, families or friendship circles may be treated as small systems.

Distinct domains of society like the economy, politics and culture may also be viewed as systems. The transformation of society is conceived then as the change occurring within, or embracing the social system. Transformation is seen as 'the difference between various states of the same system succeeding each other.' (Sztompka 1994. 4). If one speaks of transformation, one has in mind a change that comes into being after some time. "We actually deal with differences between what was observed before that point and what we see after that point in time". (Strasser and Randall. 1981).

In the context of this dissertation I look at what was observed in society before 1994 and what we observe after 1994. The society that changes always affects other human phenomena like culture, education, politics, religion, etc. Underlying observable structural changes in society there are deeper causal social factors. The post 1994 South Africa is the focal point, but more specifically the Lompopo Province. Politics changed in this country and a number of other human phenomena must change as well. The country's constitution expects people to be non-racial, multilingual, equal in the eyes of the law, and be politically aware.

In attempting to give a standard type of definition of transformation Hawley said: " By social change [transformation] I mean any non-recurrent alteration of a social system considered as a whole" (Hawley 1978. 787). The system of transformation is not simple or one-dimensional, but it incorporates various components. This includes:

1. The number and variety of human individuals, social bonds, and linkages between individuals. Languages have both a binding and a separating function. People can use language as an instrument to group themselves together or to separate themselves from others.

2.The occupational roles played by individuals and the recruitment principles in associations. Language can be an instrument that allows people to participate in activities and enjoy certain privileges.

3.The boundary-criteria of inclusion and gate-keeping arrangements in organisations. Language also have a symbolic function when it is used for identification (Webb et al, 2000:2). People feel at home with the languages they identify with. The same feeling goes for a national anthem sung in one's mother-tongue.

Linguistic affirmative action can speed up transformation since individuals and groups will feel accommodated in society and through empowering the formerly marginalised languages, one will actually be empowering speakers and learners of such languages.

In developing language policy for the Province in Chapter 7 these aspects of change will be considered.

According to Sztompka (1994:5-6), the systems model implies the following possible changes:-

a. Change in composition, e.g. migration from one group to another, recruitment to a group, depopulation due to famine, demobilization of a social movement, dispersion of a group.

b. Change in structure , e.g. appearance of inequalities, crystallization of power, emergence of friendship ties, establishing co-operative or competitive relationships.

c. Change of function, e.g. specialization and differentiation of jobs, decay of the economic role of the family, assumption of an indoctrinating role by schools and universities. For example, the Universities of the North and that of Venda can help develop and strengthen the African languages and cultivate positive attitudes in the speakers of these languages to their languages. Translation work can be undertaken to have literary and scientific documents prepared in the indigenous languages of the Province.

d. Change of boundaries, e.g. merging of groups, tertiary institutions, relaxing admission criteria and democratization of membership, conquest and incorporation of one group by another.

e. Change in the relations of sub-systems, e.g. ascendancy of the political regime over economic organization as in the politics as controlled by black South Africans, control of the family and the whole private sphere by totalitarian Government.

f. Change in the environment, e.g. ecological deterioration, earthquake, appearance of the Black death or HIV virus.

The transformations /changes cited above are sometimes only partial and restricted in scope. These may occur while the system itself remains intact without an overall change of its state. For example, the success of a political ruling party lies in its ability to meet challenges and solve problems (like the negative self-esteem of Bantu speakers), and conflicts (like the ones between the different African language speakers in the Province) by partial reforms without tampering with the stability of the Province. This type of change Sztompka calls "changes in" the system. But in cases where a change may embrace all or at least the core aspect of the system, to an extent that a new system emerges and is viewed as fundamentally different from the previous one, the radical transformation will be called "changes of" the system. The best example for this are all major social revolutions. One must indicate here that the relationship between "changes in" and" changes of" the system is so fluid that at times "changes in" the system may even touch the core of the system and thereby become "changes of". In South Africa, for example, we had radical changes of the system of government.

Most sociologists agree on what transformation entails even though their definitions of social change/transformation may be different like in the following:

*Social change is a modification or transformation in the way society is organized.' (Persell, 1987: 586).

*Social change is the transformation in the organization of society and in patterns of thought and behaviour over time' (Macionis, 1987: 638).

*Social change refers to variations over time in the relationship among individuals, groups, organizations, cultures and societies' (Ritzer et al, 1987: 560).

Social changes are "alterations of behaviour patterns, social relationships, institutions and social structure over time." (Farley, 1990:626).

The above definitions all stress structural changes, maybe because structural changes lead to "changes of" , rather than "changes in", society. Once there are structural changes, all else is apt to change. Changes at macro levels affect even the individual and changes initiated at micro level may ultimately have macro effects. According to Hernes (1976) "social change is mediated through individual actors. Hence theories of structural change must show how macro variables affect individual motives and choices and how these choices in turn change the macro variables" (Hernes, 1976: 514).

Since the systems model does not include all aspects of social change, it becomes necessary here to touch on an alternative model of social transformation which provides the dynamic social field perspective.

B. The dynamic social field model.

Recently sociologists conceive society not as a steady state but as a process, as a continuous, unending stream of events. A society (group, community, organization, nation-state) may be said to exist only in so far as something happens inside it, some actions are taken and some changes occur. "All social reality is pure dynamics, a flow of changes of various speeds, intensity, rhythm and tempo" (Sztompka 1994:9). Society is here viewed as a "soft field of relationships and not as a rigid, hard system. Social reality is an inter-individual (interpersonal) reality, that exists between or among individuals" (ibid). According to Sztompka society is " a specific social tissue or social

fabric binding people together" (ibid.10). One of the connectors that binds people together in society is language. In my opinion, a commonly used language creates improved social relations and may lead to oneness and fraternity, e.g. English.

This type of field keeps on changing, it may expand or contract. Friendship and associations with individuals or groups may strengthen or weaken. This social field includes groups, communities, organisations, institutions and nation-states. They all keep on moving and changing. What exists according to Giddens (1985:9) are: constant processes "of grouping and regrouping, organizing and reorganizing instead of a stable organization or stable entities called groups".

That social relations link individuals is true and they specifically link ideas, thoughts and beliefs held by individuals or groups. The society is bound by a number of tissues or fabrics according to Gidens (1985). There are tissues of ideas, rules, actions, interests, language, etc. The tissues of ideas and interest are very relevant to my topic as social transformation will depend on the ideas that society and its authorities have about themselves, i.e." their beliefs, values, ideals and their interests which include life-chances, opportunities, access to resources", etc (Giddens.1985:10). In this connection, the ideas of the Limpopo Province legislature are expressed in their vision and mission of the Growth and Development Strategy as cited in the next page.

For the Province these can be represented by the vision and mission of the Legislature as expressed by its Executive Council in a booklet entitled *Growth and Development Strategy, 1999*. It states that:

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"The Growth and Development of the Limpopo Province and the creation of a better life for its people is a goal beyond the might and capacities of any tier of government, individual actions of the private sector and unco-ordinated community action. The success ingredient include:

*Co-ordination and integration of policies and programmes within the Province.

*Co-ordination of local growth and development plans formulated and adopted by Local Governments. This requires a partnership of effort and unison of thought between the Provincial Government and local Authorities.

*In addition the success of this goal is predicated upon partnership with business, communities, labour and all other stakeholders in the Province.

This Growth and Development Strategy provides the basis for constant dialogue and focused co-operation within the Provincial Government between different tiers of government, and between the Provincial Government and all organs of civil society.(1-2).

The Provincial vision:

The vision of the province is that of being peaceful, vibrant, self-sustaining and prosperous. (2)

There are a number of challenges the Province have but I am interested in the social development and the Province have it thus:

- Ensuring a well-trained labour force is an integral challenge for growth and development. Adequate skills base to implement and sustain the desired growth

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should be endured through a balanced package of human resource development policies and strategies which impact on vocational training and curricula. Thus, future education and training at all levels of the normal schooling system, including informal training and adult education, should have a bearing on and/or be influenced by the Provincial Growth and Development Strategy.

"- A sustainable primary health care system focussed on preventative, rather than curative approach, is a key health challenge. A clear strategy of encouraging the private sector's involvement in the higher care markets is crucial in the medium to long term.

- Peace in the youthful society, without adequate labour absorption capacity, remains unguaranteed and not sustainable in the long run. Thus, social security programs remain a mammoth challenge.

- A clear hierarchical system of Social Services (criminal justice network, Health Care System, Educational System, Welfare System, etc) with regional equity distribution, is necessary to alleviate inequitable access and ease the backlogs. This would improve changes for integrated planning and provision of services through regional service centres.

- Educational backlogs remain a major obstacle to development. The present matric failure rate is a matter of great concern and poses further challenges for the Growth and Development Strategy." (Limpopo Province Growth and Development Strategy, 1997/98.: 6-7)

Language planning is one strategy to be used to attain some of the Provincial (ideas) missions stated above and they are addressed by the aspects of change cited above and I will discuss the role of language as an instrument of transformation in 2.2.

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All the tissues that bind society together, as mentioned above, form what Giddens (1985) calls "the socio-cultural field" (10). Within the model of a fluid socio-cultural field:-

- **social change** refers to differences between states of the social field over time,

- **social processes** refers to a sequence of social events,

- **social development** refers to differentiation, expansion, crystallization, articulation of the social field in its various dimensions, resulting from internal, immanent propensities, and

- **social progress** refers to any such developments, provided they are conceived as beneficial relative to some view points.

The main difference from the systems model is the conceptualization of changes and processes as truly continuous and never discrete, fragmented or broken. The systems model sees change as a series of discrete steps while the dynamic social model sees it as a continuous, ongoing process.

To grasp social transformation we need to look at the typology of social processes in brief. It is important to understand:

a. The form or shape that the process take.

b. The outcomes or results of the process.

c. The awareness of social processes in the population.

The following discussion of the three processes is taken from Sztompka, 1994:10-13:

The form of social processes

Social processes may be directional or non-directional. Directional ones are irreversible and often cumulative. In this case each consecutive stage is different from any earlier stage and incorporates effects of the earlier stage. This implies that there are needs in humanity which cannot be undone, feelings which cannot be unfelt. An obvious example of directional processes is the socialization of a child, or the expansion of a city. Directional processes may be gradual and linear. A process is uni-linear when it passes through similar sequences of necessary stages. But when a process follows a number of alternative stages, skipping others, substituting some and even adding stages not typically found, that is called a multi-linear process.

There can be non-directional processes which are random and chaotic, with no pattern discernible, like mobilization and demobilization in social movements or in children's games. It is always wise to embark on directional social transformation processes rather than on non-directional, random and chaotic processes. One may take as an example, affirmative action as applied in the provincial legislature and in the provincial education system. It is done in order to redress previous discriminatory actions based on colour or sex or whatever. A similar move is taken at the two universities in the Province with regard to employees. There must be affirmative action even on languages. The previously marginalised and neglected African languages must be elevated to similar positions with English and Afrikaans which will be the equality position, and they should also be accorded the equity position which is more sustainable, attainable and theoretically justifiable.

End results of social processes

Some processes result in the emergence of completely new social conditions, states

of society, social structures, etc. These usually result from creative endeavours, eg, enacting the constitution of a new legislature, the spread of a new fashion, the development of a new writing system. This social condition should be distinguished from transformation which produces less radical results without fundamental novelty. Simple reproduction keeps everything unchanged. When basic qualitative change occurs we no longer speak of reproduction but rather of "transformation". These two processes may not be clearly distinct from one another. Transformation is therefore a synonym of what was earlier referred to as "changes of", whereas "reproduction" indicates at most "changes in".

Processes in social consciousness

Any change in the human world may be viewed in the following three ways by the people involved. Firstly the process may be recognised, anticipated and intended, for instance if we reform the policy on Higher Education to accommodate previously marginalised students. Secondly the process may be unrecognised, unanticipated and unintended. In this instance the change and its outcome appear as a surprise. It may be welcome or it may not. Thirdly, people may recognise the process, anticipate its course and intend its effects, but be completely wrong, like a propaganda campaign which ultimately strengthens the attitude it condemns.

2.2 The role of language and language planning in social transformation.

Language and language planning can play an important role in social transformation. It is not surprising that social change accompanies language planning because language planning, which is concerned with the management of change," is itself an

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instance of social change". (Cooper 1989. 164). I support Cooper in saying that if there be a place in which equilibrium reigns supreme, and day to day events repeat themselves without any change, and where people are all satisfied with such conditions, there won't be a need for language planning. This serves to emphasise that language planning is basically a means to achieve social transformation. Language planning can be used to bridge (ethnic) tensions; it can be used in creating (national/regional) loyalty; establishing new values, norms, attitudes, patterns of behaviour; facilitating development and supporting effective state administration. (Cooper 1989).

The role that language and language planning play in social transformation cannot be ignored. These **social functions** of language may be divided into the **instrumental** and the **symbolic** functions. The instrumental function is when "language is used as a 'tool', an instrument; when languages are used to do something, such as giving or receiving information or expressing emotions and desires". (Webb and Kembo-Sure, 2000.2). This they call the **informative function** of language and is needed for interpersonal and social interaction.

People can also use language as an instrument to group themselves together or to separate themselves from others. This is one important function of language for this study: the binding or separating function of language.

The **symbolic function** of language works well with national languages, but it also works with any other language with which people identify or associate. People need to

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identify with their language. It serves to function as a symbolic token like the national flag or anthem. Self identity is constructed with a number of things but language is one important identification mode. Language can also become a political tool; it can be developed into a symbol of a particular political ideology or movement and this will serve to strengthen the movement.

There exist a number of sources of social transformation like the physical environment, the population size, discovery and invention, cultural diffusion, ideas, etc. For most of these sources to function they need to be transmitted not only in the most appropriate language, but within a suitable political situation. Bilingual speakers serve as agents of language change as they influence monolingual speakers of the second language and these agents cause some considerable amount of social transformation. One may refer to the economic, cultural and political changes introduced by colonial powers like England in South America, Africa and Asia.

According to Cooper," when established elites seek to extend their influence or to resist the incursions of rivals, when counter-elites seek to overthrow the status quo, and when new elites seek to consolidate their power, we find pressure for language planning". (Cooper, 1989: 185). Maybe this is true of the ANC leadership who use English dominantly, probably because of the lack of a clear language policy . Language planning contributes both to continuity and change, not only in the target language (the language to be used) but also in other social institutions. Language planning contributes to change by promoting new functional allocations of language varieties, structural changes in those language varieties and their acquisition by new populations,

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e.g. when white citizens of the province learn and use Northern Sotho.

Language planning aims to strengthen the individual's dignity, self-worth, social connectedness, and the individual's ultimate role as a member of a group. This is not true of the Limpopo Province at present as individuals and speech communities and language groups are undermined linguistically, for example Xitsonga and Tshivenda languages don't have equal broadcasting time with other languages on the S.A.B.C. Political democratization or increased political participation, which are social processes, exert pressure to increase access to literacy, which depends on language planning. This usually results in the reduction of the distance between spoken and written varieties or to increasing access to formal education.

The Province needs a language or languages that can act as a connecting device to bring people of the Province together. Language planning is a necessary condition for economic development even though not a sufficient condition. People who are socially well developed with well-defined communicative means may acquire the economic power and ultimately the political power. This leads us into a discussion of the power associated with language (see the next section).

For Weinstein language planning may be defined as "a government authorised, long term sustained and conscious effort to alter a language itself or to change a language's function in a society for the purpose of solving language problems" (Weinstein 1980, 1983: 55). Grin describes language planning as a "systematic, rational, theory-based effort at the societal level to solve language problems with a view to increasing welfare.

It is typically conducted by official bodies or their surrogates and aimed at part or all of the population living under its jurisdiction" (Grin, 1996:31).

Language planning should be aimed at all of the population and not part of it, for example, it should not be done for one specific preferred group of people as I will show in the next section under "Language and power."

These definitions can be discussed in terms of who plans what for whom and how, why, when and where is language planning done. Some scholars restrict their definitions of language planning to activities done by organisations such as government agencies, language academies or other authoritative bodies which are mandated for such functions . These definitions may exclude the activities of language planning efforts of individuals like Ben Yehuda who single-handedly planned the Jewish language in Palestine and Samuel Johnson who alone compiled a comprehensive dictionary of English in 1755 (Cooper,1989).

According to most definitions, language planning involves corpus and status planning. Cooper adds a third task which is acquisition planning. Corpus planning relates to changes in restructuring the orthography, spelling or the adoption of a new script, terminology and determining language standards. This is aimed at modifying the language itself. Usually this type of planning is done by "linguists". Status planning relates instead to changes in the functions and status of a language within a country. Planners, according to Wardhaugh (1989:354) may choose from a status table which looks as follows:

      i. The national language

<div align="center">45</div>

ii. The official/joint official language(s).

iii. A regional language

iv. A promoted language, the language may lack official status but it is promoted by the authorities for certain purposes.

v. A government-tolerated language, this might be a language which is not written, not taught, but the authorities need to consider it as such.

vi. Language of education

According to him, considerable planning is directed towards language spread, but not all planning for language spread can be subsumed under status planning. In his addition of a third focus of language planning (acquisition planning), Cooper mentions language teaching as a subject of policy making.

When planning is directed towards increasing a language's uses, it falls under status planning, but when it is directed towards increasing the number of users, then it is acquisition planning. He goes on to say that the changes in function and form sought by status and corpus planning affect the number of users of a language. New users can be attracted by the new uses to which a language is put. New users may still influence the language through language contact just as the structure of English has been influenced by the large number of non-native speakers. Since function, form and acquisition are related to one another, planners of any one should consider the others (Cooper, 1989:88).

Five of the definitions provided in Cooper (1989) regard language planning as an

attempt to solve language or communication problems. Beside these definitions, it is hard to think of an instance in which language planning has been carried out solely for the sake of improving communication, where communication problems are the only problems to be solved, or where the facilitation of communication is the only interest to be promoted. Language planning is carried out for the attainment of a number of non-linguistic ends like national integration, nation-building, political control, economic development, the creation of new elites and the maintenance of old ones. I would like to agree with Cooper (1989:89) that "regardless of the type of language planning in nearly all cases the language problem to be solved is not a problem in isolation within the region or nation but is directly associated with the politics, economic, scientific, social, cultural and/or religious situation".

Some of the definitions given do not in any way refer to the people whose behaviour is to be influenced. Thorburn's definition (in Cooper 1989) refers to "a group of people". This implies that language planning does not only operate at a national level but also occurs at lower levels. All definitions but one (Thorburn's) imply that language planning is typically carried out for large aggregates. Language planning may not be directed only towards aggregates at the level of national society or state but also at smaller aggregates, which may be ethnic, religious, occupational, racial, etc.

To stress other aspects, Wardhaugh(1992) has two approaches to language planning which are not alternatives to the ones above. The **policy approach** which includes selection of a variety, standardization, literacy and orthography. Then the **cultivation approach** which is concerned with correctness, efficiency, linguistic levels of fulfilling

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specialised functions and problems of styles. Fasold (1984:266) also presents two kinds of choices as well: **language determination** and **language development**. If a nation decides that a particular language is going to serve as its official language or medium of instruction or a national language, that is an example of language determination. Language development refers to the selection and promotion of varieties within a language or of languages as wholes. It means something nearer to what is referred to as standardization of language in a narrow sense.

The classical conception of language planning separated corpus planning from status planning and each is seen as an area which could be addressed separate from the other. But a number of studies undertaken in the 1970's, eg. Rubin 1971, Das Gupta 1973, Fishman 1974 and 1978, Kuran 1974, etc. led to important insights into the process. They emphasised the equal significance of corpus and status planning. I align myself with the view of language planning that incorporates Haugen (1983) and subsequent research (eg. Rubin 1984), which is essentially as follows:-

Figure 2.1. Steps taken in language planning

A. FORM (Policy planning)

STATUS PLANNING

1.CODE SELECTION (Decision-making processes)

a. Identification of problems

b. Allocation of norms

CORPUS PLANNING

2.CODIFICATION (Standardisation procedures)

a. Graphisization

b. Grammaticalization

c. Lexication

B. FUNCTION   (Language cultivation)

3.IMPLEMENTATION (Educational spread)

a. Correction procedures

b. Feedback/ Evaluation

4.CODE ELABORATION (Functional development)

a. Terminological modernization

b. Stylistic development.

(Adopted from Bokamba, 1993)

I will follow Grin's(1996) definition of language planning as quoted previously but I would prefer language planning to be aimed at all of the population and not only part of it as Grin also mentioned.

2.3 Language and power

It becomes important to include in this section issues around language planning as a pursuit and maintenance of power. Like language planning, politics refers both to an activity and to a field of study. The two most prominent themes of politics are decision-making and power. Power is seen by Cooper (1989:86) as the ability to influence the behaviour of others. Since language planning attempts to effect social change, the categories employed by political science are relevant to students of language planning.

These were also the views of Das Gupta (1996) and Weinstein (1996). The view that politics, as an organised activity, determines who gets what, when, and how can serve as a useful framework in the study of language planning.

We need to know who benefits from language planning in the Province, whether it is the elites, or the masses. In most cases language planning is "employed to maintain or strengthen elite power, the power of the influential, the power of those who get the most of what there is to get, or the power of counter-elites" (Cooper 1989.80-81). The approach creates problems instead of solving them. The Apartheid language policies were aimed at strengthening elite power and it created problems for the majority of the South African citizens, mostly the Bantu language speaking people. Cooper argues that political and economic elites or counter-elites benefit most of the time.

It will be fitting to discuss the means whereby elites maintain their power. This they do through authority, force, violence and bribery to remain in power. Language of course can be manipulated to help create the perception of a common destiny. Counter-elites create whatever symbols are available to them to mobilize mass movement and to develop national self-consciousness. When a language serves as a symbol of the glorious past, the elites or counter-elites can use it " to maintain or acquire legitimacy in the name of authenticity and tradition" (Cooper, 1989. 87). As Hudson summed it up " ....nothing is valued in politics unless it is believed to be useful as a means of keeping a stronger group in power or of embarrassing or defeating one's opponents." (Cooper, 1989.87).

2.4 Policy construction, planning and implementation

The language stipulations of the new constitution of the Republic of South Africa are a great improvement compared to the constitutional language stipulations of the former government of this country. All major languages spoken by communities in this country have been recognised as official. The language Policy and Plan for SA, final draft of September 2001, states clearly that its purpose is to set out a coherent language policy and implementation plan for a multilingual dispensation within the parameters of the Constitution. This is done in concert with broad social planning and transformation in the country. A policy must be a legal document, that sets out precise aims and objectives concerning provisions regarding language, its management mechanisms and arrangements which clearly outlines support services to be provided, as well as details on funding, complaints and mediation (Webb 2000).

It is clear from the stipulations that the government intends promoting major languages, and that the government may choose the language they wish to use for purposes of government. All official languages are accorded parity of esteem and must be equitably treated. Pupils have the right to be taught in languages of their choice and there should be no discrimination on the basis of language .

These stipulations serve as guidelines for the vision the government has for the country's linguistic reality, but it seems the government lacks a specific set of rules, as a language policy must specify what must be done, who should do it, how and when. A language policy is expected to contribute towards the establishment of new values, norms, views, beliefs and attitudes among the people of the country and these, should

not be vaguely proclaimed without proper implementation procedures. Clearly formulated statements are needed to show how the government's vision of the linguistic situation should be realised.

All the language problems mentioned in Chapter 1 should be addressed in a language policy. For example it must state how unwritten languages like Northern Ndebele should be handled, and how the policy will address the educational underdevelopment of most people in the Province. A policy should indicate how language can make people economically active and contribute towards economic growth, which is another facet of transforming society.

Like all other policies, a language policy must explicitly state the goals it wishes to achieve, it must be directed at solving the problems which exist in the area, it must state the tasks to be performed and it must be directive enough. According to Human (1998) as stated by Webb (2000), a policy is a mission statement: " a detailed list of tasks to be performed in order to realise the vision the political leaders have for the country as a whole" (Webb 2000: 80).

A language policy has to indicate explicitly how it wishes to achieve the specific language ideals which the government has set for the country. According to Webb (2000.81), language policies should not be directed at the promotion of languages for and unto themselves. They should instead be developed or promoted with the purpose of serving the interests of the people of the area. The policy should be based on a needs analysis of the concerned communities, eg, educational development, economic

growth and democratisation. Language planning must not be based on the view that multi-lingualism is a problem, instead it should be seen as a resource and the linguistic diversity should be viewed as wealth. This fact should therefore be seen as a point of departure in all language policy development. Language is here seen as a resource as it can be used by both government and society to achieve various goals to the benefit of the users. Language promotion can better be achieved if languages acquire economic and educational value and this usually depends on the economic and educational prosperity of the communities who use these languages.

2.5 Language education planning

Beside the tasks mentioned above, language planners will have the task of planning for a language to be used as medium of instruction in schools and in education in general. They will have to account for questions like: What criteria should be employed in selecting that language? What level of proficiency should be aimed at? Who should learn in that language? What provisions have to be made to implement the language education policy upon which planners have decided? These questions demand major policy decisions about issues such as: the education and supply of teachers, the compilation of grammars, dictionaries, the development of language curricula and the preparation of course materials (Stern 1983:239). The Limpopo Provincial language-in- education policy states that: the learning of more than one language must a general practice and principle and that it aims to promote societal and individual multilingualism by maintaining home languages while providing access and effective acquisition of additional languages.

Usually the education policy of most countries may be divided into two categories: the formal system of education, which is administered by the ministry of education, and includes primary, secondary and tertiary education levels. The second is the adult education system. This non-formal system is not offered in school but in continuation classes, distance education or special counselling to prepare learners for work. Language education policy is concerned with planning the introduction of education to learners of different ages and it addresses the LoL/T and the language of study.

The process forms a hierarchy with both macro and micro levels of planning decisions. Starting from the highest we may have the government, ministry, regional authorities, and institutions of learning.

The national curriculum is the domain of education planners, some of whom may be linguists. Empowered by law they decide on issues like school readiness and admission age, the length of primary school education, the length of compulsory education. The choice of medium of instruction is very important in primary school education, as pupils are then first introduced to formal education. The vehicle of transmitting education should be the most appropriate to assist starting learners to learn and achieve their educational goals maximally. If planners select an ex-colonial language to be the medium of instruction, it implies that speakers of the indigenous languages will have to learn in the selected foreign language. Where there is more than one language in a country or province, it is difficult to decide which language to choose.

The question of what language to use in education is a problematic one in any multi-

lingual country, more so if such a country has been subjected to an imposed language from colonialism. First there is, the world over, the child's first language, which serves as medium of informal education in the home and socialisation in the immediate community of peers. Second there is the language of the immediate community which serves as a local or regional lingua franca. Children from minority language communities also need to master it. Third, in some countries there is also a widely spoken language like Afrikaans in South Africa. Fourth, there is a language of wider communication which was the official language during colonial periods like English in South Africa. In the case of South Africa there is Afrikaans and English which have become second languages to black South Africans. Each of the four groups of languages mentioned above has a claim to be used in the education process. Examples of such cases are the mother-tongue instruction in primary schools in many African countries including South Africa.

In education language may be used for three purposes: it can be used to introduce literacy, taught as subject, and be used as medium of teaching other subjects. Literacy includes initial literacy for children where reading and writing are introduced or it may refer to adults trained in reading and writing. A language may still be taught as a subject without any intention of using it as a medium of instruction. When a language is used as medium of instruction, it implies that it is also taught as a subject. It is important to determine the level at which a language is introduced, primary, secondary or tertiary level. As a subject the language may be introduced at any of the levels. For a language to be used as medium of instruction at secondary school and tertiary levels, it must be known well by the learners and teachers, it must have been used as medium of

instruction in some subjects at primary school, and it must be fully developed to cater for technical, scientific and intellectual demands. It is, however, possible for one medium to give way to another like when mother-tongue ceases to be medium and is replaced by a language of wider communication. Two media of instruction can also be used concurrently as the case was when both English and Afrikaans were used in South Africa as mediums of instruction for different subjects in the 70's. This can be done in different schools and may not be recommended for one school.

There are various factors which influence language-in-education planning. According to Appel and Muysken (1987), there are socio-demographic, linguistic, socio-psychological, political and religious factors to be considered in selecting a medium of instruction.

Socio-demographic factors.

Planners will have to consider the languages spoken in the area, the speakers and their distribution, eg: Tanzania has more than 99 languages with comparable numbers of speakers. The fact that these ethno-linguistic units are numerically small, clearly favoured the selection of Swahili as national language to become the medium of instruction in Tanzanian schools. But in Kenya, where there are a few languages which can compete with Swahili in the number of speakers, English strengthened its position. This is a direct influence of socio-demographic factors. Kenya preferred a language of wider communication over the larger indigenous languages.

Language political factors .

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This has to do with the status and the character of a language and the (dis)similarities between languages. Status of languages refers to the degree of development and the literary tradition. Most African languages were ignored because of their lower degree of modernized development, especially where fully developed colonial languages were in use. But if the government wanted to use these African languages they could have planned to develop them and allocate them new social functions. All languages can be deliberately developed to serve specific functions. Similarities and dissimilarities also count. Swahili was preferred in Tanzania partly because as an African language it was known better than any foreign language and shared aspects with local languages and it would therefore be easier to learn in Swahilli than in a foreign language.

Socio-psychological factors

These concern the attitudes of people towards a language. Attitudes are related to the social distribution of languages in a particular speech community and the social meaning attached to various languages. In South Africa, for example, many languages are identified with particular ethnic groups. Even though there is nothing negative with this identification, other ethnic groups may have a negative attitude towards certain languages. If a group clearly stigmatises a particular language for any reason, it is not advisable to prescribe it for them as a LoL/T.

Political factors

Here the direct relation between general government policy and language policy become visible. To cite an example, the general policy of the former colonial powers was expressed in language planning decisions. Belgium and Britain promoted the use

and   standardization of local languages in their African territories. This was derived

from their colonial policy. By contrast, Portuguese authorities pursued a policy of

restricted assimilation to the Portuguese language and discouraged the use of local

languages.

Religious factors.

 The work of Christian missionaries favoured the use and standardisation of local

languages. Missionaries studied local languages, wrote grammars, and translated the

Bible into local languages to simplify their mission of evangelization. The relationship

between language and religion is important. The Sudanese were able to change from

English as an official language and medium of instruction to Arabic because it is directly

related to their Moslem religion. It is therefore important to consider the language of

religion in selecting a medium of instruction where such a choice appears to be crucial.

Fasold (1984) asserts that in some countries the determination of a medium of

instruction is to an extent part of the determination of a national language. He cites the

example of Ireland and Tanzania even though in both countries compromises had to

be made. In Ireland, Irish could not be used as medium of instruction because only few

people could speak it. Swahili in Tanzania was widespread enough to be used as a

nationwide medium of instruction but surprisingly in primary schools only, maybe

because of the so-called underdevelopment of the language. Still, some pupils had

problems because they didn't speak the language when they first went to school. Three

considerations can generally be forwarded when choosing a medium of instruction:

do the prospective learners know the language well enough to learn

effectively in it; or can they easily and quickly acquire proficiency in it?

would the proposed choice be consistent with the overall national

aims?

is the language itself, materials written in it and the number of people

able to teach in it, adequate for educational use at the proposed level,

or can such material be developed? (Rufai. 1977)

It becomes difficult for planners when the considerations do not all agree. For example, Irish failed on the first consideration. It is with such shortcomings that a language may not be used for purposes stated above.

2.6 Mother-tongue education

UNESCO, in 1951, recommended the first of the three considerations above, ie. the language that children can effectively use. It becomes apparent in every case that the choice will be the child's mother-tongue. Mother-tongue was defined as follows:

 " the language that a person acquires in early years and which normally becomes his natural instrument of thought and communication" (Fasold 1984: 293).

The UNESCO committee stated that this need not be the language used by parents, neither should it necessarily be the language the child learns to speak first. The recommendation actually means that mother-tongue should be the medium of instruction where the mother-tongue is a vernacular. Their other recommendation was to extend mother-tongue instruction to as late a stage in education as possible.

The fact that children know their mother-tongues and therefore do not have to learn

them was disputed by saying that the language knowledge that children have serves child purposes, and that children's facility in the mother-tongue must be increased through teaching. One may point out that the school will not be teaching mother-tongue, but other subjects in mother-tongue but the LoL/T must also be a subject of study. The UNESCO committee recommended further that to introduce a second language as medium of instruction effectively, it should first be taught as a subject, while using mother-tongue as a medium of teaching other subjects. The same report suggested that the second language be taught through the first language and the transition from first language to second language instruction should be gradual. This sounds like the language of learning and teaching should always change to L2 at some level in school but one may argue that this must not be seen as a norm. Subjects which the mother-tongue is capable of supporting should be continued in mother-tongue. Furthermore, materials for all subjects can be developed in any preferred language to be used at any level in education.

Around the issue of a choice of language as medium of instruction planners may prefer a language that has already been used as a medium of communication among subgroups. Others may prefer a language with a large group of native speakers over small-group languages. A language that is equipped to serve as a school language without extensive "language engineering" is recommended over those which need development first. This may be done as an interim arrangement to allow some time to develop the preferred medium of instruction and make materials available in it.

Language policy and planning reflect developments as they become pluralistically orientated and this research looks at all the languages spoken in the Limpopo Province.

The issue has become a political activity which leads us to look at the broader socio-political context in which language is used. The language plan and policy, in our context, embraces both the regional level and local level, public administration and large corporations.

I have , in this chapter, referred to the conceptualisation of social transformation/ change as sociologists viewed it traditionally as a system, and how they currently view it as a dynamic field. A number of things are involved in social transformation, and from what is presented in this chapter, language planning may play a useful role in facilitating social transformation in this province. The transformation includes social, political, economic and educational spheres of life but my emphasis will be on the role of language in education.

I have briefly outlined the role of language and language planning in social transformation including the physical environment, the population size, cultural diffusion, ideas, etc. Thereafter I provided the framework of language planning and its instruments and strategies. This included corpus, status and acquisition planning, as well as language education policy and mother-tongue education as presented by UNESCO, 1951. The next chapter will look at language-based conflicts in comparable African countries.