CHAPTER VI

6.1.0 Suggestions for future research

In the first few sections of this chapter, I shall, in the light of my experience in the present project, evaluate briefly the usefulness of each tool (observation schedule, questionnaire and interview schedule) used by me for the collection of data. Then I shall suggest changes for an improvement in these tools on the basis of a consideration of their suitability from the point of view of the researcher on the one hand and the respondent on the other. From a researcher's point of view a suitable format for a tool and an effective method of using it are essential to enable him to employ a scale which would also facilitate a systematic and convenient analysis of the responses. From the point of view of the respondent it is important for the questions in an interview and in a questionnaire to be structured so that the responses fall within certain expected categories. This is necessary for interpreting and collating these responses. (This point is elaborated in 6.1.2 ff). In the course of the review I shall dwell briefly on the problems of preparing and trying out tools for a project of the kind undertaken and indicate the time and careful planning it entails. The latter part of the discussion will centre on suggestions for the
overall planning and organization of similar projects. The suggestions are, I feel, fundamental to the successful conduct of similar large-scale projects. In the last section, besides justifying the need for more and more projects in India, I shall suggest some related areas of research in industries that might point to fascinating trends in the use of English and Indian languages by employees in industrial organizations and highlight some of the problems that language planners have to contend with in deciding the future function of English vis a vis the Indian languages especially Hindi in a multilingual setting as complex as the one in India.

6.1.1 The Observation Schedule*

As the observation schedule was intended to serve the dual purpose of a basis for the framing of the questionnaire, and a source of information on the actual language behaviour of employees in industrial organizations (see page 90) it was designed to enable me to make a note of information on the participants in an interaction and the actual language used by them for the interaction. I was also able to make a note of the possible reasons for the language used in a column provided for general observations. The column provided for noting down the number of participants was useful for recording the names of only two participants at a time, but

* See Appendix B.
during a group discussion changes in the interlocutors were so swift that it was difficult to note them down. This became even more difficult when there was a change in the language used along with a change in the interlocutors. The only way in which this information could be preserved and later retrieved was by means of a tape recorder. In the column under 'topic' of conversation it was possible to note very briefly the broad general topic rather than its details. The latter was not possible due to my inability to understand and write Telugu or Tamil or any other South Indian language when it was used and because of the physical impossibility of the pen keeping pace with the spoken word, in orthography. It might have been possible had I known shorthand. The notes made on language realization in terms of the 'speech act', in the column which had been included in anticipation of recording actual speech along with it, stood bald in the absence of a recording to supplement information. The column 'languages used' was very useful and closely related to the first three columns for the participants in an interaction, the situation-type and the topic. The two columns for noting the time when the interaction took place and the duration of an exchange did not serve any purpose in the absence of a recording for which they were to be used as cues for the beginning and the end of each exchange. The column on general observation was absolutely
necessary for writing my comments on the speakers in the interaction, reasons for their preference for one language rather than another in a particular exchange on the basis of observable facts such as the relationship between the participants, the topic of conversation and the first language of each participant.

The first aim of the observation schedule was only partially met, in that the procedure followed during the observation sessions was constrained

(i) by limitation on my movement on the premises of E.C.I.L.

(ii) by limitation on the total amount of time spent on observation sessions prior to the framing of the questionnaire.

(iii) by a limiting of the observation sessions to only one organization and to the offices of only a few employees (a corollary to ii) and therefore limitation on the amount of information obtained on the nature of interaction in industrial organizations as a basis for the consideration of items to be included in the questionnaire and

(iv) by limitation on the naturalness and spontaneity of the interaction observed due to the employees' awareness of the presence of an 'outsider'. 
The observation sessions in the E.C.I.L. and the other organizations during the administration of the revised questionnaire, were however, much longer and were not constrained by any of the above limitations, though the absence of a tape recorder was felt during these sessions as well.

6.1.2 Suggestions for modification of the Observation Schedule, and the method

There was no provision in the schedule for noting down an important feature of language choice in a multilingual setting, that is, code-switching and code-mixing among employees in the various organizations. These features fall along the cline of the quantum of English used ranging from 'only English' to 'no English', and a majority of the 311 employees reported the use of a mixed code or the switching of codes (E+) in various situations in the office and outside (see pp.170-80). It would therefore be advisable to include 'mixed code' and 'code-switch' as columns in the observation schedule which are essential to the observation of the linguistic behaviour of bi/multilinguals, and exclude the columns for 'time' and 'duration' of interaction which do not contribute significantly to the information obtained during observation. In retrospect, the two proposed columns might have provided me with useful information before the framing of the questionnaire, as it was this preparatory phase that was crucial for a
suitable frame of the questionnaire in general and of individual items in particular. With these two changes in the observation schedule, it would be worthwhile to modify the method used during observation sessions. Two important aspects of this phase were, for reasons mentioned above, not concentrated on. These were

i) the duration of the observation sessions and variation in the situation-type and

ii) the extension of observation sessions to all or at least 50% of the industries from where data were to be collected.

i) Observation sessions prior to the framing of a questionnaire need to be long and to be spread over a longer period of time. They have the advantage of giving the employees in organizations enough time to get used to the observer and reduce chances of observation of unnatural linguistic behaviour by partially overcoming the 'observer's paradox'. They might give the observer an opportunity to determine the situation-types within an organization with greater certainty, and to understand better the differences in the interaction patterns of employees from different organizations. The observer is then well equipped to frame a questionnaire that would be relevant to employees in a larger number of organizations both urban and rural. Longer observation sessions, in
other words, are a necessary first step towards an identification of the relevant content or themes to be covered in the questionnaire.

ii) Not only an increase in the duration of observation sessions but also an extension of these sessions to two organizations each in urban and rural areas, one in the public sector and one in the private sector, would provide the broad base necessary for an effective questionnaire-frame on language use. This, however, requires much more time than was available to me.

I would like to add that my discussion has by and large been confined to observation as a base for the construction of a questionnaire. The suggestion for a change in the frame of the observation schedule is, however, applicable to all observation sessions, before the framing of the questionnaire and during its administration.

The second aim of the observation schedule was met in that it did provide me with useful information that was supplemented by the questionnaire. In the absence of the tape recorder it helped to provide me with some clues for the kind of questions that could be asked at interviews.

6.1.3 The Questionnaire

As has already been stated, initial observation formed the basis for information that the items in the questionnaire
were to obtain. A draft-questionnaire was tried out on only 20 employees of whom only 11 filled it in, all of them from E.C.I.L. Of the four aims (see p. 83) of administering a draft-questionnaire, the first, that is, assessing the time taken by the respondents to fill it in, was achieved without any difficulty. The third aim, that is, obtaining the respondents' attitude to the questionnaire, was achieved to the extent that the small group of employees who filled in the questionnaire did express their opinions about the kind of questions asked, the format of the questionnaire, and the difficulty-level of the items. All the respondents found the questions asked interesting and not difficult to understand. Some of them did, however, suggest some changes in the format of the questionnaire, one of them being a reordering of questions and another being the use of a uniform scale to facilitate quantification. Officers in the higher management suggested that the questionnaire be programmed. The second aim, that is, to make sure that the language used in the questionnaire was clear to a respondent and the questions were interpreted correctly, was difficult to achieve, for it was not possible to assess accurately the extent to which the items would be interpreted as I expected them to be interpreted, on the basis of only 11 filled-in questionnaires. This was due to the fact that very often the omissions or the mistakes made were the result of oversight and carelessness.
and not a lack of understanding of the language of the items. This became evident when the revised questionnaire was administered, for the same mistakes as for the draft-questionnaire were made after the items had been modified. This and also the attitudes of the employees might have been better ascertained by administering the draft-questionnaire to small groups from the different types of industries to be taken up for the present project, as it would have yielded a wide spectrum of opinions of employees in industrial organizations. A try-out of the draft-questionnaire enabled me to predict the problems of administering the questionnaire in general, though it did not enable me to anticipate any problems arising out of characteristics peculiar to each type of organization. This again would have been possible if the draft-questionnaire had been administered to groups in each of the organizations selected for the study. I had not been able to do this because of the constraints on the selection of industries (see pp. 71-72). In brief, it is important, both from the point of view of the researcher and the respondent, for the researcher to exercise his/her choice of industrial organizations in urban and in rural areas prior to preliminary observation of interaction among employees and to the administration of a draft-questionnaire. Though this is undoubtedly a time consuming procedure, it provides a sound unbiased base for observation sessions and later for
the administering of the draft-questionnaire, for its revision and for an administration of the revised questionnaire. The respondents' spontaneity is ensured and so is his willingness to cooperate with the observer and interviewer.

In evaluating (in retrospect) the revised questionnaire* I shall examine the items in terms of their nature and in terms of their contribution to the overall format of the questionnaire as a tool for collecting reasonably reliable data. Items should have a form that can reduce considerably chances of occurrence of errors in the filling in of the questionnaire. This could be achieved by a reduction in the lack of clarity or explicitness in the frame of an item. Items that are not directly relevant for quantification but provide invaluable information for qualitative assessment should as far as possible be excluded from the questionnaire and form part of the interview schedule. This helps to give the questionnaire a tighter design. This is also enhanced by a proper grouping of items according to the kind of information sought.

The first section of the questionnaire consists of items pertaining to the personal profile of each respondent. The nine items included in this section are brief and self-explanatory. They proved useful in providing me with information about a number of social variables for each respondent,

*See Appendix A-II.
in relation to which the use of English vis a vis the Indian languages was examined. An item on one of the variables, that is, the respondent's medium of instruction at primary school, secondary school and at college, was included in the section on 'The language/s you know.' It is out of place there and should be included in the section entitled 'personal profile'. It should read:

(10) Medium of Instruction at: (a) primary school  
(b) high school  
(c) college

In this form the item is less ambiguous and would also help to reduce the length of the questionnaire. Item 9 in which section one requires the respondent to fill in his mother tongue, should include part (b) on 'the language you learnt to speak first'. The latter item could then be deleted in section two where it is not relevant. The section 'the language/s you know' should comprise only two of the existing items which are related to the number of languages a respondent knows and how well he knows them. Items 3 and 4 should therefore be retained in this section and items 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8 deleted. Of these 1 is redundant, 2, 5 and 6 are to be included in section one on 'personal profile', and 7 and 8 would be in place in the interview schedule.

The third section on 'the languages you use', ought
to comprise items strictly related to the respondent's use of English vis a vis Indian languages in different situation-types and according to the relationship of the respondent to the other interlocutors in an interaction. Item 9, which is a general question on the frequency of communication should be the first item in this section. Item 10(a) (b) (c) which required the respondent to tick in order of preference the language/s he used to communicate with his seniors, equals and juniors, was not satisfactory because the respondent often tended to overlook the words 'in order of preference' so much so that it became necessary for me to check the response of each respondent and request him to fill it in correctly if he hadn't done so. This was normally done during my interviews with the respondent, but it did not guarantee a rectification of the mistake in all cases as all the respondents were not interviewed. It is felt that the item would be clearer and would have a more satisfactory form if in each case that is for (a) (b) or (c) each of the combinations possible be placed on a scale of frequency, and the respondent be required to tick the appropriate point on the scale. This would not only help the researcher to have a finer scale but record more accurately a variation in the frequency of each language used in a particular situation-type or in the case of a particular relationship with other interlocutors. Thus item 10(a) should read as follows:
How often do you communicate in each of the following languages or combinations of languages with your seniors in the office. Tick the appropriate point on the frequency of-communication scale in each case.

1. Only your mother tongue

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very Often</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
<th>Not At All</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Sometimes your mother tongue and sometimes another regional language

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very Often</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
<th>Not At All</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

3. A mixture of English and your mother tongue or another Indian language

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<th>Very Often</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
<th>Not At All</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
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4. Sometimes English and sometimes your mother tongue

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<tr>
<th>Very Often</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
<th>Not At All</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
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5. Only English

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<th>Very Often</th>
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<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
<th>Not At All</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Likewise items 10(b) and (c). Items 11(a) (b) (c) aimed at obtaining information about the language used with seniors, equals and juniors sharing the same language as the respondent. Most of the respondents said that there were very few occasions when they communicated with officers belonging only to their language group. Dyadic interaction between officers with the same mother tongue was not frequent either. They
therefore chose to ignore 'language group' in their response to these items. Had the draft-questionnaire been administered to a larger number of employees this would have come to my notice before the questionnaire was revised and the item could have been modified. I suggest that 'language group' be omitted and the three items be framed according to the finer scale suggested for item 10 as the existing form was not satisfactory for obtaining information on the use of English according to situation-types and to the relationship between interlocutors. In each of the items 11(a) (b) and (c) the 'office' as a situation-type is redundant as it has been included under item 10(a) (b) and (c). It should therefore be excluded. Additional items such as the use of English with clients of the same language group as well as of a different language group, the use of English with foreign collaborators, the use of English with counterparts in other organizations in the same State and in other States, would be directly related to a study of the use of English by the work force in industrial organizations and give it a perspective. It would, therefore, be worthwhile to include them in the questionnaire. Items 12, as also 13,14,15 and 16 were intended to obtain additional information regarding the respondent's family and his background. These would be in place in the interview schedule which was designed to enable me to record additional information. Under the section on 'your family and friends' items 17,18(a) (b), and 19(a) (b)
(c) (d) have been retained. It is suggested that items 18(b) and 19(a) have the same frame as items 10 and 11; for that, I feel, would be more suitable for recording more detail. Items 19(c) and (d) were not directly related to language use by the respondent. While 19(c) did not pose any problem to the respondent, item 19(d) did. It did not specify whether 'school' meant primary school or secondary school or both. In the absence of a distinction between the stages at school, most respondents ticked two or all three squares. Being an ambiguous item this got ambiguous answers. To make 19(d) clearer, therefore one would, for instance, need to introduce two parts instead of one, as follows:

19(d) What would you like the medium of instruction in primary school to be? (Tick the appropriate box)

| English | Hindi | Your mother tongue (specify) | Any other regional language (specify) |

19(e) What would you like the medium of instruction at high school to be? (Tick the appropriate box)

| English | Hindi | Your mother tongue (specify) | Any other regional language (specify) |
The section on 'your interests' presents a typical example of the problem of presenting in a quantifiable frame items that the respondent has seldom conceived of in terms of a frequency scale. He finds it difficult for instance, to record exactly how often he reads newspapers, or magazines in English or in an Indian language. A mention of the magazines he reads, is only an indication of the number of languages he knows, and the order of preference need not be a clue to his preference for a particular language but rather a preference for a particular magazine or newspaper. An item like 20(b) can at best yield an approximate idea of the frequency, for the respondent does not think in terms of the finer points on a scale. Very often extreme points on the scale are ticked off. This is also true of scales for self-assessment regarding a respondent's knowledge of a language, for instance; in the latter case the reasons for marking the extreme points on a scale are due to other reasons such as self-esteem as well. For obtaining information regarding a respondent's exposure to English, the more informal frame of items 20(1) and (n) is more suitable. A similar frame for items on how frequently a respondent reads magazines and journals, might be introduced for a uniformity in the items quantified. It is difficult to suggest any concrete changes in the wording or the scale used for the items in this section, as there are no established
conventions to capture an individual's preference in reading and listening in neat quantifiable terms. An improved format can, however, be evolved over a period of time after a number of successive experiments relating to an individual's interests.

The section entitled 'Your opinion' is also difficult to assess from the point of view of the respondent. In some cases a positive response to two contradictory statements, does suggest that the placement of statements on opinions is an important consideration in the framing of a set of statements to assess respondents' opinions. General statements such as (a) (b) (c) and (d) could, for example, be placed after those that relate specifically to a respondent's own use of English and the relative need for English both at work and outside. A respondent would probably find it easier to react to general statements after he has had sufficient time to think about a problem in the light of his own experience. General statements placed at the beginning of the section, on the other hand, may often evoke a response that is the result of a state of unpreparedness for a consideration of larger issues. Also, the wording of some statements, it is felt, affected the response. In statement (i) for example, the word 'chores' does not seem to have been understood by about 50% of the total number of respondents, particularly those from the lower educational groups. In addition
to this, statements need to be as clear and unambiguous as possible.

The items in this section were not presented in the form of neatly ordered functions, as I felt that that would have made the response of each individual to items under a particular function mechanical. The statements have, however, been reordered and grouped under seven functions for the purpose of quantification. Reordering and grouping was considered necessary for systematizing attitudes to various aspects of a problem. The reordering of statements under seven functions of English revealed that there was an imbalance in these in terms of the number of statements under each function, and the extent to which each function was covered in its various aspects. While there were 8 statements under the function 'English for an individual's job opportunities and success at work,' there were 5 under 'English for education' and 4, 3 and 2 statements under 'English for science and technology', 'English for inter-State communication' and 'English for the success of an organization', respectively. There are 2 statements under 'English at home' and only one statement under 'English for social prestige'. The scoring was in some cases constrained by the inclusion of too few statements for an opinion on one function, and so was the range of trends in attitudes. This imbalance exists not only in the number of statements but
also the number of positive, negative and neutral statements relating to each function. A larger number of very positive or very negative statements are likely to bias the results. 

It is possible to reduce this by making an attempt to evenly distribute positive and negative statements under each function as far as possible. The statements under 'English for education' (a, b, c, d and o), for example, are more or less evenly balanced, with only one very unfavourable statement against a very favourable statement. The three statements under 'English for inter-State communication' are also fairly well balanced. Of the others, 3 of the 4 statements under 'English for science and technology' are unfavourable towards English. Only one of the 8 statements under 'English for an individual's job opportunities and success at work' is unfavourable. Two statements (l and m) under this function, which are mildly favourable and neutral respectively, could be omitted as statements (g) and (h) are inclusive of these. In place of these it is suggested that two statements unfavourable to English, be introduced. Statements under 'English for the success of an organization', 'English at home' and 'English for social prestige' are all biased in favour of English. In all these cases the number of statements should be increased and the positive and the negative statements balanced as far as possible.
Given below under the section entitled 'Your opinion', is a list of modified and reordered statements in the light of the discussion above.

Your opinion

If you agree with a statement put a tick (✓) mark in the square against the number of the statement. If you disagree with a statement put a cross (X) against it. If you are not sure, put a question mark (?) against it.

☐ (1) One should know English to do well at work.
☐ (2) It is important to speak English with one's colleagues at one's place of work.
☐ (3) It is essential to know Hindi to be able to consult professional journals.
☐ (4) It is important to use English at All India science conferences.
☐ (5) It is better to speak one's mother tongue than to speak English to get on well socially.
☐ (6) There is no need to know English to get a good job.
☐ (7) English is essential for any professional/technical training.
☐ (8) It is important to speak English to be able to do shopping, to buy postage, to buy a ticket in the bus or at the railway station.
☐ (9) It is better for people from different States to communicate in English than in Hindi.
☐ (10) English is the most effective form of oral communication between people from different States.
(11) It is better to speak Hindi than to speak English at work.

(12) It is a good thing to be able to speak English to get a good job.

(13) One should learn only one's mother tongue.

(14) It is a good thing to be able to speak English well to get on well socially.

(15) English is an effective form of oral communication between people from different States.

(16) The success of an organization depends largely on the ability of the employees to communicate in English.

(17) It is important to communicate in English at home.

(18) There is no need to speak to clients of one's organization in English.

(19) It is better for people from different States to communicate in Hindi than in English.

(20) It is important to know English to win the respect of one's friends.

(21) There is no need to speak English to get on well socially.

(22) Hindi is the most effective form of oral communication between people from different States.

(23) It is important to be able to communicate with prospective clients of one's organization in English.

(24) There is no need to discuss topics of scientific and technological interest in English.

(25) It is possible to function normally at my place of work if I am required to communicate with my colleagues or subordinates entirely in a regional language.
(26) There is no need to communicate in English at home.
(27) We can discuss topics of scientific and technological interest effectively in our mother tongue.
(28) One should not use any English at all at home.
(29) One must use only an Indian language with prospective clients of one's organization.
(30) English need not be learnt at school.
(31) English must be the medium of instruction at primary school.
(32) English must be the medium of instruction at high school.
(33) There is no need to learn English in India.
(34) English should be the medium of instruction only at the college level.

An important point to be considered in terms of the respondent's reaction to the statements and the researcher's assessment of the reaction, is the provision made for the respondent to put a question mark against a statement if he doesn't either agree or disagree with it, that is, if he is doubtful about it or indifferent to it. Though as a result of the question mark assessment becomes less efficient, it makes for flexibility, thus giving the respondent the freedom to react or not to react to a statement. There is no doubt that in a different type of investigation the inclusion of a
question mark could be avoided by conducting a series of pretests and eliminating all those items that evoke no response from the respondent. Thus an investigator would be able to evolve a set of statements to which a respondent definitely reacts either positively or negatively, and make assessment and quantification much more efficient. But by forcing a respondent to be constrained by a set of statements to which he must react, an investigator might lose some information that can be obtained by allowing the respondent a certain amount of freedom in the form of a third possible choice. Hence the retention of a question mark as an indication of a respondent's doubt about a statement or indifference to it. It may be in order to point out that in the present study, question marks did not significantly affect the results as the number of these was very small, the maximum for any single statement not exceeding 5 percent of the total number of respondents.

6.1.4. The Interview Schedule (see Appendix E)

The modifications suggested by me for the questionnaire as a tool for the collection of data are closely connected with the use of the interview as an additional tool for obtaining information that was to supplement and verify the information obtained by means of the questionnaire. Ideally, all the respondents to whom the questionnaire was given ought to have been interviewed. This was not possible due to difficulty
in coordinating their schedule and the schedule for my inter-
views. The number of questions used as a guideline at inter-
views were the minimum that each respondent was asked but the
interview was not rigidly structured, the sequence of questions
being varied and also the beginning and end of an interview,
depending on how much time the interviewee could spare and how
much explanation or clarification he required. The interviews
were successful to the extent that most of the interviewees
were relaxed and not guarded in their replies. Though an
effort was made to take down notes in as much detail as possible,
in the absence of a tape recorder, there was no method of
retrieving information later. It is felt that under similar
circumstances a knowledge of shorthand would be of great
advantage to the interviewer. The interviewer should spend
as much time as possible on interviewing the respondents, so
that he is able to interview all those who fill in the question-
naire. Questions on detailed information about the respond-
ent's family and friends, that are not intended for quantifica-
tion and do not relate directly to the use of English by the
respondent, could conveniently form part of the interview
schedule, thus widening the scope for the inclusion of items
in the questionnaire that are more directly related to the
problem being investigated and are quantifiable. The inter-
viewer should begin each interview with a short but clear
account of the nature of the project, its aims and most
important of all he should explain the rationale behind it. The success of the interview depends largely on the ability of the interviewer to dispel any suspicion that there might be in the mind of the interviewee regarding the intention of the interviewer. One cannot, however, overestimate the importance of the disposition of an interviewee for a successful interview. Some interviewees' unfavourable dispositions resulted in disastrous interviews in spite of all my efforts to save them. A knowledge of the regional language is advantageous for interviewers who conduct interviews in rural areas where a common language acts as an aid to establishing a rapport with the interviewee. I was at a great disadvantage because I did not know either Telugu or Kannada.

6.1.5 Suggestions for the overall planning and organization of a similar survey

On the basis of my experience in planning and organizing the present survey (which was essentially exploratory in nature) I would like to sum up briefly the suggestions I have made at different stages in my discussion of the experiment.

(i) There is no doubt that a survey can be better planned and conducted by a team of workers, than by an individual.
(ii) A survey that is to be conducted for obtaining data on an issue that concerns the whole country, must necessarily be sponsored by the Central Government. Official sanction to carry out the project has the advantage of enabling the investigators to have free access to all government, semi-government and sometimes even private organizations. Restrictions such as the one on the use of the tape recorder or on movement within the premises of an organization would also be relaxed except in the case of organizations where free movement, within the premises would endanger the life of an investigator.

(iii) Criteria for selection of industrial organizations should be established on the basis of information gathered from visits to various industries and informal observation of interaction among employees in those industries.

(iv) It is much more fruitful to select all the organizations for the study at the beginning rather than selecting them as and when contacts are available. The former has the advantage of enabling simultaneous observation of interaction among employees of all the organizations by the team. An exchange of notes on their varied experiences by the members of a team would facilitate the construction of a questionnaire suitable for the investigation on hand.
(v) Observation sessions during the administering of the questionnaire should be much more systematic than they were in the present project. Highly systematic observation is possible only for a team of investigators to whom the various tasks can be assigned.

(vi) It is essential for the investigator to know the language of the region in which the survey is being conducted. This increases his mobility within the region, ensures the cooperation of the employees in an organization, helps to avoid delays and makes the researcher independent of interpreters and guides.

(vii) It is common knowledge that a pilot survey is a necessary first step to the conduct of the final survey. It enables the investigator to refine his tools and his methodology, to re-define the problem for investigation and to re-formulate his hypotheses on the basis of his experience during the pilot survey.

6.1.6 My suggestion in the previous section that a study of the use of English in industrial organizations be extended and that the project be undertaken on a national scale is intended to focus attention on the importance of socio-linguistic surveys at the national level. It is a reiteration of linguists' emphasis on the importance of such surveys time and again, for example, in 1975 Charles Ferguson in his
comments on sociolinguistically oriented surveys remarked, "The fact remains that the availability of accurate, reliable information on the language situation of a country can be influential in making policy decisions and is of tremendous value in planning and carrying out the implementation of the policies." Another justification that Ferguson (1975:2) gives for sociolinguistic surveys is that description of this kind constitutes a useful body of data for social scientists of various interests. Mkanganwi (1981:4-10) makes a strong plea for surveys on a national level. His contention is that government decisions regarding important questions on the relative status of language in Zimbabwe, could have a sound basis with information obtained through sustained controlled, objective observation. According to him, apart from being useful at the national level sociolinguistic surveys have a very great educative value. They can also provide a much clearer picture of the language situation to teachers, all administrators as well as educated laymen. Several surveys in East Africa, Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines have aimed at obtaining information about the place of English vis-a-vis the local languages. This has been assessed on the basis of the use of each language by various sections of the population and the functions it has in the particular bi/multilingual setting. In India there have been very few surveys on the use of English and attitudes to English vis-a-vis the Indian languages on a national level. Census
reports have been the main source of information on the number of languages an individual knows, but not necessarily the languages he uses. Nor is there any indication of attitudes towards language. My contention here is that details regarding language use and attitudes to language cannot be supplied by censuses. In addition to census reports, information flowing in from the results of longitudinal surveys on the use of and attitudes to English conducted every ten years would help the Government to identify the changes in its status and functions with the passage of time. A replication of the present study along the time axis every ten years would provide useful information regarding changes in the use of English in industrial organizations and in attitudes towards it vis-a-vis the Indian languages in relation to its function both in the professional context and in the Indian context. Though there is no doubt about the value of such surveys they may not be able to capture the change in progress. A project that might serve this purpose would be one in which the use of English and attitudes to English by different age groups is studied. Age in that case should be the only variable while other factors such as education, occupation, medium of instruction, type and location of industries should be kept constant for each age group. Another interesting aspect of a study of the use of English in industrial organizations would be a contrastive study of the linguistic behaviour of employees in industries
in the North* of India and the South of India, and of their attitudes. By highlighting the differences between the North and the South, it is hoped that such a project will increase an awareness of the problems of determining the status and function of English vis a vis the Indian languages, particularly in view of the large number of Indian languages that have a claim to being treated on par with Hindi which is the official language of the Central Government. Thus a project of this kind would have implications for an important aspect of language policy, that is, the question of a national language. It might be possible to review objectively, advantages and disadvantages of having a national language on the basis of an in-depth study of the attitudes of employees in industries to the question of a national language, in terms of their attachment to one or more languages and reasons for their attachment and their support for a particular language. My hunch is that in a professional context reasons for attachment to a particular language would be more 'instrumental' than 'sentimental' (Kelman 1971:25). Closely related to this type of investigation is one which might explore the role of identity in language choice in a professional context. It is possible that the year in which industries were set up may affect the linguistic behaviour and attitudes of employees to English, due to differences in the pattern set and the

*'North' and 'South' here refer to the States North of Delhi and those South of Andhra Pradesh.
conventions established in industrial organizations at different points in time depending on the Government's policy regarding the status and nature of industrial organizations. An interesting aspect of the use of English in industrial organizations would be the differences between men and women in their use of English and attitudes to English. Some of the differences in use and attitudes might stem from the restrictions on the kinds of jobs considered suitable for women and from unequal opportunities. (I found that most of the women were working either in research and development or in personnel administration, and there were none at all in the senior managerial cadre. Some industries did not have women at all.) Factors such as marital status might impinge on the nature of their answers to the questionnaire and would need to be controlled for an unbiased study. The results of my study indicate that it might be worthwhile to study further, the differences in the use of and attitudes to English between industries that use indigenous technology and those that use imported technology. These differences might have implications for the need for English at the work place.

In addition to studies in the use of English in industries that have a broad base, some studies on the English used by employees for specific activities might have implications for language choice by an important part of India's
work force. A study of the use of English in decision-making processes in industrial organizations would not only throw light on the kind of English used for decision-making but also indicate differences along its various stages from initiation to implementation. A related study would be one that examines discourse processes in decision-making at different stages. An important feature of language choice in a multilingual setting, is code-switching and code-mixing. In industrial organizations, this feature could be examined as a functional device in interaction for implementation, and as a device that varies with the function and position of an employee in an industrial organization. For further insight into the use of the device by employees in industries, a few case-studies would be ideal.

Studies extended to other professions such as law, etc. medicine, teaching/ would also provide a fund of information on the use of English vis-a-vis Indian languages in professional contexts in the Indian multilingual setting.