CHAPTER V

5.0.0 IMPLICATIONS FOR LANGUAGE PLANNING AND LANGUAGE POLICY

The relationship between the employees' reported use of English and their attitudes to it vis-à-vis the Indian languages is indicative of the growing recognition of the importance of English on the one hand and of the Indian languages on the other. Their feeling that in addition to English the Indian languages will now play a variety of roles is reflective of a multilingualism that according to Fishman is being "governmentally recognized, sponsored, planned, and protected" (Fishman, 1982:19). Thus the implications of the language use and attitudes of these employees in industries can be better understood in the context of language planning in general and the Indian Government's language planning and language policy in particular.

5.1.0 The Concept of Language Planning

Language planning would be inconceivable without reference to a social context, for it is in a social setting that the role, the functions and the status of a particular language can be determined and its future use for that setting examined. The basic assumption underlying language planning is that more than one language in a multilingual setting is used by the people for communication in that setting and that the ongoing role and function of all the languages used, need
to be identified and determined. According to Gupta and Jernudd, "the logic of language planning is dictated by the recognition of language as a social resource. The importance of this resource is due to the communicational and identific values attached by the community to one or more languages." (Gupta and Jernudd, 1971:196). It is towards the best possible utilization of this resource that language planning is directed. It derives its dynamic character from this.

Planning is a continuous and cyclical process in the designing of which there are different stages. The first or preparatory stage in this process would be an identification of the status a particular language or variety of a language enjoys in a community in terms of the nature of its function in that community and the emotive value attached to it. This would involve the framing and validating of hypotheses. Joan Rubin calls this the fact-finding stage for the planner. "The planner must have a certain amount of information about the situation in which the plan is to be effected. It is important for him to know what constraints, tendencies, and rationales the existing social, cultural, political and economic parameters offer." (Rubin, 1971:218). The next stage in language planning would involve decision-making regarding the goal/s to be set for and the roles to be played by each language/language variety. A particular language might need to be spread and its use encouraged among a certain community or
it may need to be equipped for the role it is expected to play in a setting and thus elaborated in form. The execution of a plan is one of the most difficult stages in language planning as its success depends largely on the cooperation of various government agencies and most important of all, the community that is to use the language/language variety. The effectiveness of a plan can be assessed by examining closely its outcome in relation to the existing goals of the planner. Constant feedback thus enables the planner to re-examine and re-formulate a plan for its successful execution.

5.2.0 Language Planning in India: Historical background

Two important historical factors formed the base for language planning in India (a) the newly achieved independence of India after having been under colonial rule for more than a hundred and fifty years, (b) the linguistic heterogeneity of India as is clearly evident in the tables presenting the distribution of languages in India (1973).

The immediate result of India's newly attained status was its determination to rid itself of all vestiges of colonial rule by introducing certain symbols to establish its identity as an independent nation. One of the symbols that was considered necessary for this was a national language. The choice of one out of many different Indian languages — Hindi as the national language in the teeth of strong resistance to it
from the non-Hindi speaking people, was partly an attempt to assert itself as a nation. Later, realizing the fantastic magnitude of the task of implementing the national language programme within the short space of 15 years (the time-limit it had set for the completion of the task) the Central Government extended indefinitely the time-limit for the use of English as 'the subsidiary official language' (see Le Page, 1964). While the Constitution provides for establishing Hindi as the official language of the Union, it provides for most of the regional languages as official languages for the States as well. Each State legislature may adopt any one or more of the regional languages in use in that State, or Hindi, as the language to be used for any or all official purposes. The selection of the Indian languages as official languages is only one aspect of a language planning process. The role of the Indian languages having been identified, it would be essential to codify those languages, that is, prepare technical glossaries, standard dictionaries, encyclopaedias, text-books etc., to facilitate the use of the official language and to standardize the code. It would also be essential to elaborate the languages in order to enable them to play the new roles required of them in a particular setting, that is, in the context of a particular State. It is the implementation or execution of the plan that is most important for a planning programme as it provides the planner
with feedback as to the acceptability and use of a language. It helps 'evolve' technical terms through the actual use of a language. This aspect of planning completes the cycle of the language planning process and starts it at the same time.

5.3.0 Implementation: aspects and problems

According to Fishman, et al, "the entire process of implementation has been least frequently studied in prior investigations of language planning" (Fishman, et al, 1971a: 299) in spite of its importance in the language planning cycle. Implementation constitutes evaluation of the language planning programme as well. Evaluation provides feedback for re-examination and re-formulation of the plan. It is in the larger context of the implementation of the language planning programme by the Indian Government that the language use and language attitudes in an industrial setting have to be viewed. In addition to actual use, education plays an important role in the implementation of a plan.

5.3.1 Education

As the Government of India has used education as an important means for the implementation of its language policy, I shall examine the implementation of its language planning programme in the context of the total educational set up. Consequent upon the decision of India to adopt Hindi as the official language of the Union and a link language for inter-
State communication and 14 of the major Indian languages the official languages of the States, the Official Language Commission in 1955 'identified' the language problem of India. According to the Commission "The enfranchisement of the regional languages in their appropriate fields and the forging of a common medium of expression for all relevant purposes, official and non-official, with reference to all aspects of pan Indian intercourse constitute the language problem of India." (Official Language Commission, 1955; 1975:54). This indeed was the problem, for it was not possible to retain English as the language for the masses to use. The Commission thought that the obvious linguistic medium for pan Indian purposes was the Hindi language. It was not practicable to adopt two Union languages, one from the Indo-Aryan and the other from the Dravidian families, nor was it possible to think in terms of Sanskrit as an all-India medium. It was recommended that for their development the language of the Union and the regional languages be furnished with an adequate technical terminology wherever it was deficient. The reorientation of the educational system to achieve the imparting of sufficient literacy in the Hindi language by the age-limit of 14 years in compulsory education was suggested. The Commission recommended that instruction in Hindi be compulsory at the secondary school stage all over the country. It considered a change of the
existing medium of instruction (English) imperative, provided
the change-over was properly phased. This change-over was
effected with a view to achieving the objective of reducing
the gap between the educated classes and the rest of the
community. The change-over of medium was not, however,
necessarily to be uniform in all universities and for all
courses of study. The humanities, for example, can be more
appropriately taught in the regional language. In some
universities it may be preferable, particularly at higher levels,
to continue the English medium. Decisions made by universi-
ties in this regard would depend upon availability of teachers,
text-books and other supporting literature in various branches
of study. The report of the University Education Commission
chaired by S. Radhakrishnan in 1948 had already made recommenda-
tions for the development of Hindi and the Indian languages
and for the introduction of the teaching of Hindi in all
classes of higher secondary schools, in colleges and in
universities.

The importance of English as a means for keeping abreast
of scientific advances in the world was stressed by the
Official Languages Commission (1955) and English was considered
as a window on the world of knowledge and the Radhakrishnan
Commission recommended that English be retained as the medium
of instruction. Thus the pupils at the higher secondary and
University stages should be made conversant with three
languages -- the regional language, the language of the Union and English for study purposes. In 1956 the Central Advisory Board of Education evolved the three-language formula, which was reiterated by the Government of India in its Draft of National Policy on Education, 1979. This and other recommendations such as the strengthening of programmes for the propagation of Hindi as a link language were made. The use of the mother tongue and its importance as a medium for primary education (c.f. U.N.E.S.C.O. 1953) was widely accepted. The main consideration then, was the implementation of the three-language formula at the secondary and the college levels.

Theoretically, a two-language formula or a three-language formula in schools and proposals for the development of Hindi and the regional languages, and the retention of English in higher education, appear to be quite feasible but the implementation of a programme that includes the elaboration of 15 languages, involves practical difficulties such as the availability of manpower and resources and psychological problems such as reconciling the national need and the individual's need. The former problem for instance, is reflected in the Secondary Education Commission's (1953) observation that there was a serious dearth of properly qualified teachers for both Hindi and English. The standards being accepted were lower than they should be. The failure to maintain high standards in language-teaching was producing serious problems for the universities. In the final paragraph of this chapter of its
report the Commission highlights another aspect of the problem:

"In regard to some of the vocational courses taken in the diversified scheme of studies at High School or Higher Secondary stage, it may be necessary that English should be continued... It has been represented that at present neither the regional languages nor the federal language can step into the breach and supply the necessary literature in the particular subject of study for the higher stages of learning. Among the reasons stated were: the great paucity of standard books in the languages concerned; at present several of the languages are still in the process of developing a literature suited to the exposition of modern scientific thought.... The necessity, therefore, of reading in English or in some foreign language many of the books now produced in higher ranges of learning cannot be disputed; moreover English is at present the medium of instruction in many universities and will be the language used by the Centre and certain States for some years to come. It is felt that until books written in the regional languages replace books now available in a foreign language, it is inevitable that students will need to have a good knowledge of English to study the subjects in the books available in that language."

Paucity of good teachers and suitable text books, translational facilities etc., reflects only one kind of
implementational problem in the field of education. Another
important factor lies within the individual. The need for
a particular language other than the mother tongue contributes
largely to the motivation to learn it, that is the greater
the need the higher the motivation. For instance, the
introduction of the three-language formula in most of the
States without ascertaining the needs of the learners in each
state had undesired results. At least one of the three lan­
guages taught in school, though compulsory was a mere formal­
ity and did not count for passing an examination. In other
cases only 25% marks were the pass marks. (See Study Group
Report, 1967: Appendix One). This was one of the few attempts
to take stock of the implementation of the three-language
formula. The latter as it has been pointed out was reduced
to a mere formality in the absence of fact-finding regarding
the needs of the people. My hunch is that in high school
and also at college all the students do not need three lan­
guages. Some of them need only one language -- their mother
tongue, others two -- their mother tongue and one of the other
languages, and a very few need all the three languages or
more. Need and motivation cannot emerge from the compulsion
to learn three languages. On the other hand, the learning
of a language becomes easier if it follows from an individual's
need to learn it. The formal teaching of three languages in
all the States and in all schools irrespective of the need
for them has resulted in a colossal waste of time, resources and man power. This might have been avoided had more time been devoted to an identification of the need for each language, the people who need it and at what stage in school it should be introduced to fulfil that need. Also, regular spaced evaluation of the programme implemented might have helped in its re-formulation.

5.3.2 Use

The need for a language to be taught in school/college is closely related to the second important aspect of implementation of a language planning programme, that is, use. Thus the planning of language use in education has to be seen in relation to language use in administration and the professional context and its implementation evaluated in terms of actual use of and attitudes towards one or more languages. Against the background of India's language planning programme including the educational policy, I shall mention briefly the trends indicated in the present study on the use of English and attitudes to English and the regional languages in a professional context, and evaluate these trends in terms of the implications they have for language planning and language policy.

As might be expected, 218 (70.10%) of a total of 311 respondents report that they are multilinguals, that is,
they know more than two Indian languages in addition to English. Their 'knowledge'* of one or two or all the skills in these languages is their own assessment of how well they know each language. Of the rest only 12 (3.86%) respondents are monolinguals whereas 81 (26.05%) know at least two Indian languages. While the mother tongue is acquired during their early life and in school and English is learnt at school and college, the other languages are learnt informally by these people to meet their communicational needs.

The choice of a language for communication naturally depends upon the total 'context' at any given time, that is, the first language of the participants in an interaction, their relative occupational status, and the situation-type within the context of the work place and outside it. The results of the present study clearly indicate a high degree of covariation of language use variables with the social variables: Type and location of industry, age, occupation, education, medium of instruction and function. A summary of the results of the use of English is given below:

*Knowledge of a language here includes varying degrees of proficiency in one/two/three or all of the skills (understanding, speaking, reading and writing) in the language. Sometimes the knowledge of a language may imply the respondent's ability to understand a language, at other times it may imply the ability to understand and speak it and so on. Normally, the word 'competence' is used but here I have used the word 'knowledge' in a technical sense.
The attitudes of all these employees to English have already been summarized on page 260. From the figures above it is clear that there is a strong tendency to use English when the addressee has a high official status irrespective of his occupational and educational status, and irrespective of the situation-type (office, canteen or get together) or of the function of an employee in an industrial organization. English is thus closely associated with position and power, and is one of the instruments for the attainment of position and power in an organization. That the frequent use of English and proficiency in English increases an individual's chances of promotion and his job opportunities is evident from the large percentage of employees (78.70%) (ref. p. 270) who are of the opinion that English is important for an individual's job opportunities and success at work. Operationally, at the level of the individual, this function becomes even more prominent in contrast with the negligible number of employees who are of the opinion that English is important at home. I have clearly shown in the analysis on the use of English that a very significant factor influencing the use of English is the communicational need for it. This largely depends on

(a) whether an organization is a private or a public sector undertaking.

(b) whether it is situated in an urban or a rural area.
(c) whether the technology in an organization is indigenous or imported.
(d) the age, occupation and education of an employee.
(e) the requirements of an employee's job in an organization.
(f) the relationship of participants in an interaction.
(g) the topic being discussed and
(h) the degree of formality/informality inherent in a situation-type.

This multiplicity of factors thus influences an individual's choice of language in the workplace, and is an image of the choice that is exercised by each individual for communicating with other individuals in a multilingual setting. The choice is not an apparently considered and conscious one in the total context but is the natural result of a setting in which people with different languages as their mother tongue come into contact. The need to use a particular language can be very closely related to the motivation for its use. The most motivating factor in a work-situation is to be able to communicate successfully so that the work is done -- and this is the basis for nonformal learning of Indian languages which is quite common among Indians. It does not necessarily imply a high level of attainment in all the languages learnt but a working knowledge of a language to facilitate normal functioning. Other motivating factors for learning and using a
language can be reward, personal advancement in career, access to advanced modern technology and the latest literature in the natural sciences. From the interviews and observation sessions I gleaned that while some of the languages that the employees reported they used had been learnt as part of their education programme, others had been learnt informally because the situation demanded it. There was no emotional bias for or against a language but its importance was measured in terms of its usefulness and importance in their domain of work today. A brief look at the attitudes of most of the employees towards English in the Indian context, reveals that English is still considered important for a number of functions and though the employees are not averse to the idea of an eventual switch-over to Hindi, they do not think it feasible for another 50-60 years. According to them, translation facilities/availability of text books in Hindi and the regional languages were inadequate to keep pace with the rapid advancement in all fields of knowledge in the modern world. The general opinion that the 'switch-over' to Indian languages would be a very slow process and should not be rushed into without proper planning, is indicative of the unpreparedness of the employees in these industries for a change to Indian languages. It also indicates their awareness of the enormous amount of money, time and other resources that will be required for the 'modernization'
of all the regional languages in general and for Hindi as it is an Inter State link language and the official language of the Centre. Most of the employees consider English as indispensable for the following reasons:

1) English is a world language and is being more and more widely used for international communication. It is imperative to retain it if we are to keep in touch with the rest of the world.

2) English is a language in which the largest number of the world's books and literature on modern science and humanities are available. It is absolutely necessary for scientists and technologists to know English in order to have access to the vast wealth of literature available.

3) English is a rich* language which we have inherited. It would be a shame to lose a language that is so important in the world today and that can serve as an example for the development of the Indian languages.

The employees are of the opinion that in the field of education English should be taught as a subject in primary school and while some think it should be the medium of

*By the word 'rich' the employees probably mean that English has been widely used and is therefore equipped to play various roles that Indian languages have not had a chance to play.
instruction at high school, others feel it should continue to be taught as a subject. The majority of them feel that English should be the medium of instruction for higher education. The reasons stated are very practical ones such as the non-availability of text books, reference books, journals and enough teachers to teach in Hindi or in the regional medium. Many of the respondents particularly in the rural areas consider English to be important and essential for the above purposes yet they hardly use English at the workplace. These opinions stem from their awareness of the status of English and its functional importance today and not only from the use it may have for them in their immediate surrounding. The same importance is not given to Hindi by those who in fact use only their mother tongue or another South Indian language at the workplace and also outside. This is a clear indication that Hindi has not yet achieved the status it needs to achieve to play the role of an inter-State link language. On the whole the reported use of English and Indian languages and the attitudes of Indians in the work situation reflect an approach to language that is primarily functional. Language, in other words, is regarded as an instrument for successful communication and for the achievement of goals that an organization has set itself in relation to the State, the nation and the world.
5.4.0 Implications of Language use for Language Planning in India

Thus though the majority of employees are not yet prepared for the change they are not averse to it. They reiterate the importance of English for professional purposes, and as a means of access to the modern world of knowledge. These two factors have forced the Central Government to extend its bilingual formula to public sector undertakings. Just as forms at post offices, at banks are in Hindi as well as English and sometimes even in three languages; so circulars, questionnaires and all other official documents sent to these undertakings are bilingual. This is quite natural in the transitional phase. The employees concerned complained that the translation of communication to the Centre into Hindi was an expensive and time-consuming job. These difficulties are only to be expected in the initial stages of any 'planned' change. But the change to be successful, must be slow. It is a universally established fact that integrative attachment to a language other than the mother tongue is the exception rather than the rule. The attachment to a second or third language is generally an instrumental one. As the present study shows, the language for which workers in industrial organizations have the latter kind of attachment is English. The growth of this kind of attachment for Hindi can only be enhanced by a growing need to use it and by a systematic reward structure through a system of incentives.
offered for a high level of competence in Hindi. (A system of rewards has been introduced in Tamil Nadu to encourage extensive use of Tamil in official correspondence. See Mahadevan, 1976:49). While the first is a natural process the second is a 'planned one'. Instead of introducing a language at the level of education it might be more viable to introduce it at the vocational level where its use and the incentives for its use would increase its importance at the workplace. Once the use of a language increases the felt need for it increases and consequently its function is expanded. The elaboration of a language is of no value unless the language is used. Increased use of Hindi and the regional languages at the workplace, for instance, would serve as feedback for its elaboration, and pave the way for their increased use in education. The latter in turn minimizes the element of strangeness in a language that is to be an official language or a national language. Another means for the spread of the use of Hindi and the regional languages, is mass media, newspapers, magazines, the radio and television. These can make a fair contribution towards familiarizing people with the Indian languages as they are in the process of incorporating new vocabulary and usage. Thus the pace for the modernization of the Indian languages can be accelerated.
5.4.1 **Evaluation**

Evaluation of a language planning programme to measure the effect of implementation is, as I have said, imperative for its progress. This has been done in India by official language committees visiting government offices or sending questionnaires to government organizations to obtain statistics of the correspondence done, the officers trained in a particular language etc. (a bilingual questionnaire was sent to Public Sector Undertakings by the Committee of Parliament on Official Language regarding use of Hindi in Ministries/Departments/Attached and Subordinate offices/Undertakings of the Central Government 1978.) Such questionnaires are not adequate for the evaluation of the wider use and acceptance of a language. They are meant only to find out whether Government orders are enforced and hence the process becomes an activity to enforce orders. The wider acceptance and use of a language can only be assessed by studies of the use of the official language/s by various non-government organizations and by people from different professions. The present study has made a beginning. Suggestions for the effective implementation and evaluation of the implementation of the Indian language planning programme are, however, very tentative and do not offer a solution to the language problem in India for one cannot overestimate the enormity of the task of the language planner in such a complex setting.