

Book Reviews

Language Planning and Education

Gibson Ferguson. *Edinburgh Textbooks in Applied Linguistics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006. Pp. 248. ISBN 0-7486-1261-0 (hbk): £60.00. ISBN 0-7486-1262-9 (pbk): £19.99.

This book is part of a series on applied linguistics that focuses on language planning and policy. The book is an introduction for students in MA-level courses who may be contemplating doing research on language planning and educational policy. The volume addresses specific topics such as immigration, autochthonous minorities, the impact of globalisation, cultural and linguistic diversity, problems with nation building in post-colonial Africa and Asia, and the challenges of educational policy and ethnic identity.

In the first chapter Ferguson presents an historical overview of the discipline of language planning. He revisits basic terminology and refers to classic publications on language planning (e.g. Fishman *et al.*, 1968; Haugen 1959, 1966a; Ruben & Jernudd, 1971) that students should have encountered in previous course work. Criticisms of language planning are discussed that were common in the 1980s and 1990s by scholars working from Marxist, post-structuralist and critical sociolinguistic perspectives. Ferguson stresses the resurgence of language planning as an academic discipline brought about by recent tumultuous global events, such as the globalisation of capital, outsourcing of jobs, mass migrations, resurgence of ethnic nationalisms, language endangerment, the formation of new states following the breakup of the Soviet Union, the global spread of English and the expansion of the Internet.

Chapter 2 is an overview of key concepts in the practice of language planning. These include the four processes identified by Haugen (1966c) in the development of a standard language: (1) selection of norm; (2) codification of form; (3) elaboration of function; and (4) acceptance by the community. Extensive examples of these various processes are provided from a variety of languages and geographic regions. The author also elaborates on the psycholinguistic dimensions of language planning in education, since in many countries this domain is largely funded and controlled by the state. He reminds his readers of the crucial role state schools play in the socialisation process of future generations by shaping the attitudes, behaviours, and expectations of young students. Some of his examples include the national mass education systems of the 1870s in England and Wales and those in France in the 1880s.

Following a general overview of language planning, the author focuses on the educational and political dimensions of bilingual education and English as a second language (ESL) programmes in the United States. He reviews most of the research literature of the 1970s and 1980s, especially Jim Cummins' linguistic interdependence hypothesis, and the legislative history of bilingual education, such as the 1968 Bilingual Education Act (BEA), the 1974 landmark decision in *Lau vs. Nichols*, the various reauthorisations of the BEA from 1974 through 1994,

Ron Unz's anti-bilingual education proposition 227 (1998), and the most recent politically motivated No Child Left Behind Act of 2002. The various types of bilingual education (e.g. transitional, maintenance, developmental and two-way) are reviewed, as well as the various types of ESL instruction (pull out, sheltered instruction and structured immersion). Ferguson discusses in detail the educational research and pedagogy behind bilingual education in the United States, and spends considerable time examining Cummins BICS/CALP distinction. Incidentally, this distinction is erroneously identified as BISC/CALP through this chapter. Missing from the entire discussion of bilingual education in the United States are the research studies and reports prepared by the Center for Puerto Rican Studies and the work of anthropological linguist Ana Celia Zentella. For example, *Intergenerational Perspectives on Bilingualism* by Attinasi, Pedraza, Poplack, and Pousada (1988) is an excellent resource for educators and social scientists on intergenerational language learning, use, and choices. Likewise, Zentella's 1997 book, *Growing up Bilingual: Puerto Rican Children in New York*, an insightful account of what it means to grow up in modern bilingual and bicultural communities, is not even mentioned in a chapter that is supposed to provide a comprehensive account of bilingual education in the United States. Also, missing from this discussion is the 'ebonics' controversy in which the Oakland School board sought federal funds set aside for Limited English Proficient (LEP) students for imparting instruction to African American students in their vernacular for the combined purposes of maintaining the legitimacy and richness of such language and facilitating the acquisition and mastery of academic English language skills.

In his overview of minority language and language revitalisation, Chapter 4, Ferguson examines the theory and practice of language revitalisation, specifically the various arguments used for the preservation of global linguistic diversity. An extensive and detailed discussion of Fishman's (1991) Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) follows. Ferguson explains the key role of stage six for future revitalisation efforts since it is at this stage that the threatened language is transmitted intergenerationally. He also presents a detailed analysis of Giles, Bourhis and Taylor's 1977 framework of structural variables affecting ethnolinguistic vitality. This is seen as complementary to the GIDS scale which gives insufficient weight to economic variables. The most important section of Chapter 4 is Ferguson's extensive discussion of the Welsh and Breton case studies of language planning and revitalisation. In comparing the fate of two languages of Celtic minorities, Ferguson shows how the decline of both appears to have accelerated following the processes of nation state formation in Britain and France. He also enumerates and explains the reasons for the different outcomes of language revitalisation efforts of these two languages: national policies of centralism, issues of linguistic identity vs national identity, language standardisation from below as opposed to standardisation from above, attitude of the speakers of a particular language, and timing. As the author points out, 'in terms of vitality Breton now has more in common with Irish than it does with Welsh' (2006: 107). Though much has been written about the lack of success of Irish revitalisation despite the fact that its teaching is compulsory in Ireland, there are interesting

experiments with its use in restricted American enclaves (see Ihde, 2005). Ferguson reminds the reader that sociopolitical and economic factors determine the fate of languages.

In Chapter 5 Ferguson explores the sociopolitical and ideological dimensions of the spread of English and their implications for English language instruction. He examines explanations concerning the spread of English following the destructive consequences of World War II on the scientific communities of Germany and France. The language of scientific research shifted from German to English, and eventually English became the dominant international language of science. Other explanations concerning the spread of English are extensively discussed and critiqued by Ferguson: linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992; Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996, 1997; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000) and English as a 'hypercentral' language within an emergent global, transnational society (de Swaan, 1998, 2001). The author quotes de Swaan's (2001) criticism of theories of linguistic imperialism because they emphasise top-down processes and deny individual responsibility or agency in decision making. However, in a recent study by Varghese and Johnston (2007: 28) based on in-depth interviews of Christian missionary teachers of English, the authors warn that 'the political dimensions of missionary work, and more specifically the alignment of many evangelical organizations with extreme right-wing politics and American expansionism, is a major matter for concern'. Their findings raise some further questions about linguistic imperialism and the globalisation of American culture which have been addressed by Phillipson and others. Ferguson also extensively addresses the claims that English is a threat to linguistic diversity and discusses the nuanced distinctions made by Mufwene (2001, 2002). The role of English in depriving African languages of functional elaboration or intellectualisation is also discussed. With respect to the use of indigenous African languages, Ferguson criticises Ngũgĩ's ideas on decolonising the mind as being informed by misguided Whorfian undertones. However, the understanding of this reviewer is that Ngũgĩ's (1986, 1997) use of Gikũyũ in writing *Matigari*, which belonged to an experimental oral narrative form, was to try to make a direct connection with ordinary people in the Kenya of the 1980s where many intellectuals had been imprisoned, exiled or killed for merely asking questions about truth and justice in a country then ruled by a brutal, authoritarian regime. The author advances the argument for a policy of complementarity, which means enhancing the role of local languages, especially in post-colonial Africa, and democratising access to English. He concludes with a discussion of the possible implications of the notion of a decentring of the native speaker of English for English language teaching (ELT) worldwide.

Chapter 6 of Ferguson's book focuses on the continuing debate concerning the New Englishes and teaching models. Kachru's (1985) schema of the three-circles of English and its limitations are briefly discussed, as well as the characteristics of the New Englishes. Ferguson presents valuable examples of Singapore English and Indian English and demonstrates their divergence from British or American Standard English at the phonological, grammatical, lexical and discursive levels. The author notes that there is now agreement concerning differences in lexis as being attributable to the effects of transplantation of

English to new cultural surroundings, but also points out that there is far less agreement with respect to the status of variation among the New Englishes because differences in interpretation are based on quite different theoretical perspectives (e.g. whether these are consequences of the individual's incomplete learning from the conventional SLA view with its notion of a 'target language', or outcomes of specific sociohistorical circumstances, referred to as macroacquisition). Ferguson's extensive discussion of various models for teaching English and their pedagogical implications is thorough and very valuable to prospective teachers of English as a foreign language. In addition to the differences between writing and speaking, he also discusses the work of Biber *et al.* (1999) and of other corpus linguists who have shown that 'the lexicogrammar of spontaneous speech is somewhat different from that depicted in grammars based on the written language' (p. 174). He concludes his discussion by pointing out that those who call for a new model of English as a lingua franca (ELF), not as the exclusive property of its native speakers, but as being part of the repertoire of competent bilingual speakers, face formidable obstacles because there is still a widely held assumption that one must aim for native-speaker proficiency as the truest measure of second language learning achievement.

In the final chapter Ferguson returns to the issue of the medium of instruction in post-colonial Africa. He addresses the major controversies presented by researchers and commentators in the language planning community. Socio-political, economic and practical constraints in various African nation states are extensively discussed in light of the powerful influence of globalisation in altering the geographic and social landscape and exacerbating the persistent demand for proficiency in a lingua franca such as English. In discussing the medium of instruction and the role of the applied linguist, Ferguson confronts the unavoidable conclusion that any radical change on media of instruction beyond the early primary grades is highly unlikely in the near future, yet he makes some proposals for improving a very complex and difficult situation, some of which focus on conventional topics such as classroom pedagogy, second language learning theory and teacher education. In his concluding remarks he stresses the need for further research and experimentation.

Ferguson includes a section with possible discussion questions for each chapter, as well as exercises focusing on morphosyntactic and lexical analyses of the new Englishes, and suggestions for further readings for those wishing to pursue various aspects of language planning and policy. Most of these are from conventional academic sources. Very few Internet resources are mentioned by the author, and no reference is made to the possible use of novels written by creative representatives of the new Englishes. It would have been helpful if the author had designed problem-solving exercises that allowed students to approximate some of the real-life dilemmas involved in language planning, language policy and education in a variety of geographic locations.

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The Politics of Language in South Africa

Vic Webb and Theodoros Du Plessis (eds) Pretoria, South Africa: Van Schaik, 2006. Pp. xx + 163. ISBN 0-627-02685-0: R 175.95 (EU 22.00; US\$30.00).

This book, basically a collection of ten papers, most from the 2005 Politics of Language Colloquium (part of the annual meetings of the South African Applied Linguistics Association and the Linguistics Society of Southern Africa, held at Dikhololo in July 2005) with some additional papers, is the fifth volume in the publisher's (Van Schaik's) series *Studies in Language Policy in South Africa*. The order of presentation is simply alphabetical by author's last name. In addition to the ten papers, there is a foreword by Webb, a two-page table of contents, a list of tables, a list of figures and a set of notes on the contributors. Regrettably, there is no index.

In the foreword, Webb provides, in the same alphabetical order as the volume, ten brief commentaries, one for each of the papers. This strategy constitutes a most useful introduction to the volume as a whole. In addition, at the end of the foreword, Webb anticipates some of the challenges that may arise: 'Obviously, the analyses, descriptions and views expressed in the contributions of this

volume will not go unchallenged by all readers – some may even be challenged quite strongly (p. xvii). Webb goes on to cite a number of examples; although most of these challenges should be evident to readers, it is useful to have them exemplified at the start of the volume, illustrating a few of the weaknesses in this otherwise impressive book.

As Peddie (1991) pointed out, policy statements tend to fall into two general types, symbolic and substantive, where the former articulates good feelings toward language change (or perhaps ends up being so nebulous that it is difficult to understand what language specific concepts may be involved), and the latter articulates specific steps to be taken. The numerous policy statements promulgated in South Africa over the past decade illustrate both types, though substantive statements are in the minority. The legislature seems to have been reluctant to act on the promulgation of a national language policy that will gather together the loose ends of the many area-specific documents and weld them into a coherent policy that will mandate funding to achieve national objectives. Some have said the absence of a national policy reveals a lack of political will; on the other hand, while there may be some political reluctance, the real problem may lie in the scope of the language issue – a scope of such magnitude that it defies understanding and that is unlikely to achieve the ambitious articulation in the new constitution (Republic of South Africa, 1994).

A major excellence of this volume lies in the breadth of perspectives brought to bear on the politics of language planning in South Africa. Language planning has, in the past, been allocated to linguists to study and resolve (indeed, it has primarily been allocated to applied linguists and especially to attention to language-in-education specialists – some scholars taking the position that language planning can be accomplished entirely through the Ministry of Education (see, e.g., Department of Education, 1997, 2000, 2002a, 2002b, 2002c, 2004), but this volume contains perspective reflecting the views of specialists in business communication, economics, education, literacy, media communication, political science, public administration, translation and interpretation, as well as both corpus and status planning drawn from theory in both autonomous linguistic and applied linguistics. Although it appears that the Republic of South Africa does not yet have a national language policy in place, this volume speaks to the need for such a national policy designed to draw together the whole panoply of concerns with language (Department of Arts and Culture, 2003a, 2003b, 2003c).

Two notions become apparent as one reads through the collection:

- (1) Given the broad coverage in the volume, it appears that South Africa, in the period following the demise of Apartheid (1993), which gave rise to 'a new [democracy committed] to promoting multilingualism and [a] progressive stance on language as a human right' (Beukes, p. 15), created a euphoric condition under which all sorts of policy documents were drafted implicating goals that would be virtually impossible to achieve while failing to give adequate consideration to such practical impediments as limited human resources, funding, and time;
- (2) In consideration of the various stances taken by the ten authors, and in consideration of their respective reference lists, it appears that South Africa is indeed isolated not only by geography (lying as it does at the

southern-most tip of Africa) but also by the myopia engendered by the long period of intentional self-imposed intellectual isolation from the centers of scholarly activity in the Americas, the Asia-Pacific basin, and Europe. In short, it appears that these articles were written by South Africans for South Africans citing largely South African sources.

Although the papers are presented in alphabetical order based on the last names of the authors (except the foreword by Webb), it might have been useful to present them in a different (perhaps less 'democratic') order. Webb himself, in the foreword, suggests another possible organisation:

Language policy development is covered in Balfour, language policy implementation in Beukes, Coetzee-Van Rooy and Du Plessis, language development in De Kadt and Prinsloo and the interaction between language and political considerations in Deumertr, Kriel and McLaughlin. Webb discusses the considerations underlying different approaches to language planning. (p. xiii)

While the suggested division makes sense, an outsider – one not intimately familiar with South African problems and even with South African geography – might have a slightly different set of needs.

Webb's closing paper, 'On a normative approach to language planning in south Africa', might have been put at the start of the volume as an 'Introduction'. Webb writes:

... the concept *normative language planning* needs clarification. . . . This, then, is the aim of this contribution: to indicate my understanding of the concept and how I use it, and then, secondarily, to discuss some of the issues pertaining to normative language planning in South Africa. (p. 147)

Webb goes on at some length to differentiate ideological language planning from normative language planning, stating that the former can be described as 'a set of views, beliefs, ideas and so forth, subscribed to in a specific dominant social group (class, language, gender, race or ethnic group) to maintain the existing social order. . . .' (pp. 148–149), while the latter:

... is not directed at establishing a specific set of views, beliefs, patterns of behavior, and so forth, with the aim of serving the interests of the dominant ruling class, maintaining a particular social order, control and domination, or reproducing relations of inequality and keeping the Other subordinated, or representing the Other as secondary, inferior and subservient. (p. 152).

Since Webb is an editor of this volume and a significant actor in South African language planning over many years, his views must be taken into consideration, even though his preferred model is stated in the negative; it would be difficult to achieve a negative, that is, to depend on the absence of something.

The paper by de Kadt might have been presented following the 'Introduction' since it discusses the history of language development in South Africa, thereby providing a background against which more recent events may be understood. De Kadt compares the development of Afrikaans in the 1920s and 1930s to the contemporary attempt to develop the nine African languages mandated in the

new Constitution. Afrikaans developed as the result of the English victory in the Boer War (1899–1902) and in the conditions expressed in the Treaty of Vereeniging (1902) creating a situation such that the Boers (Afrikaners) were threatened politically by English imperialist interests and socially and economically by the growing dominance of the English language. A racial superiority myth grew up around the Afrikaner 'volk', and language provided the clearest way to distinguish the Afrikaners from the English.

McLaughlin's paper might have been presented next since it discusses attitudes and beliefs (the original title, according to Webb's foreword, was 'Could language policies influence the behavior, attitudes and beliefs of ordinary South Africans?' [p. xvi]). The paper is heavy with statistics ('i.e. The analysis is based on multiple regression models and a maximum likelihood estimation technique commonly known as the "probit" model' [p. 124]). As a consequence, there is, for the ordinary reader, the danger of the 'disappearance of the data' phenomenon; that is, numbers and statistical formulae may mask the actual human relationships examined. But the author does provide a useful summary of the problems:

Citizens without an adequate command of the elite language may be prevented from enjoying a meaningful communicative relationship with [the] elites.... In such a society, language might create problems for representation in three distinct but related ways. First, citizens may experience difficulties communicating preferences to elites and, consequently, elites who are elected to respond to citizens' preferences may fail to understand the full distribution of those preferences. Secondly [sic.], citizens may experience difficulties in receiving communications from elites or in monitoring their activities.... Thirdly, citizens in a society characterized by linguistic diversity may encounter obstacles in maintaining a lively, active, participatory public realm. (pp. 121–122)

Indeed, Australian Aboriginal people describe the language used by the *balanda* (White Europeans) as including a 'secret language' not available to Aboriginal speakers – even those with reasonable proficiency in English (see e.g. Walton & Eggington, 1990).

It is clear that language planning is a political activity rather than merely a linguistic or an educational activity (see e.g. Kaplan, 2007; Youmans, 2006). The paper by Balfour and Coetzee-Van Rooy deal with the ways in which tertiary institutions have managed the new language dispensation, while the paper by Du Plessis looks at the problem from the perspective of the broadcast industry. Beukes sees opportunities lost to the field of translating and interpreting, and Kriel and Prinsloo bring an Afrikaans perspective to the problem, given that Afrikaans has proven to be the heavy loser in the emerging preference for English – a situation that must be understood in the local as well as the global context.

That language planning is not easy, and that it is essential to understand the complex interaction between language and society as macro-phenomena, that is the inter-relationship between languages and the economic, political (e.g., the politics of identity and ethnolinguistic awareness), social and cultural order. (p. 160)

Just a few years ago, CNN posted the following item on its web cite on November 9, 2002:

The FBI has hired more than 300 linguists since the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, but there's still a severe shortage of people in the United States who know languages used by terrorists and who can decipher intelligence, said Margaret Gulotta, chief of the FBI's Language Services Section.

'Yes, we were unprepared. We needed more linguists than we had,' Gulotta told more than 500 people at the 43rd annual Conference of the American Translators Association on Friday. . . .

The American Translators Association said only 614 students are now studying Pashto, Dari, Farsi and Uzbek at U.S. colleges, although 40 million people speak those languages. There's also a need for many more Arabic speakers, the group said. . . . 'We still need a lot of people to work for us,' Gulotta said. 'They're not getting languages through the American school system.'

The government commits money to language education only in a time of international crisis, and then interest lags, said Richard Brecht, Director of the National Foreign Language Center, a Washington think tank. 'We've never made that investment,' said Brecht, a panelist at the meeting. . . .

The problem continues at the present time; the government does not employ individuals who may be considered security risks or who may engage in different gender relations. Whether such problems occur commonly in South Africa is not really germane; other issues may restrict employment not only in government but also in academic institutions; these constraints may be perceived as a lack of political will.

In any case, for anyone who wishes to understand the diversity and complexity of language politics (and language planning) in South Africa, this is a splendid volume. Indeed it would serve well in linguistics, political science or sociology classes dealing with developments in South Africa since the mid-1990s

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An Introduction to Language Policy: Theory and Method

Thomas Ricento (ed.) Malden, MA, Oxford and Carlton: Victoria Blackwell Publishing, 2006. Pp. x + 371. ISBN 13: 978-1-4051-1497- 4 (hbk): £60.00. ISBN 13: 978-1-4051-1498 (pbk): £20.99.

This edited volume provides a compilation of theories and methods used by contemporary scholars of language policy. The book is concerned with the interplay between theory and practice in language policy research and aims to provide a starting point, as the editor puts it (Ricento, p. xi), for those interested in combining ‘theoretical/methodological rigour with social advocacy’. Readers, he claims, will be able to judge the usefulness of the theories and methods discussed in the book for themselves as well as for their own research interests (Ricento, p. x). Indeed, for the reader/researcher looking for such a theoretical and methodological overview of the field, this book is a valuable resource.

The book is divided into three parts, which deal respectively with theory, methods and areas of topical interest. Each part is introduced by an editor’s overview, which previews the content of each chapter and each chapter is followed by an annotated bibliography and a set of discussion questions. There are 19 well-known contributors, each of whom discusses language policy from a particular perspective. These contributions capture the breadth of the field and the range of perspectives from which language policy can be examined.

Part One is devoted to key theoretical concepts in language policy research. Nancy Hornberger’s chapter proposes an integrated framework that incorporates the various schemata used to describe language policy and planning activities since the 1960s. Hornberger (p. 35) accurately describes language policy as a field perpetually poised between theory and practice and the contributions in this section demonstrate this tension. The authors consider the relevance of critical theory, postmodernist philosophy, economic and political theory and the notion of linguistic culture to language policy studies. James Tollefson introduces the notion of critical language policy, which reflects the influence of the notions of power and struggle, hegemony, historical-structuralism and governmentality in

language policy analysis. Alastair Pennycook discusses the influence of postmodernist philosophy in understanding language policy. As Pennycook (p. 66) explains, postmodernism calls into question whether languages exist as ontological entities and, by extension, whether languages can be planned at all. François Grin assesses the potential of economics for language policy evaluation, particularly for the purposes of cost benefit analysis. Ronald Schmidt uses the current language debates in America to show how political theory can contribute to our understanding of language policy conflicts and the identity politics that lie at their heart. In the final contribution, Harold Schiffmann discusses and justifies his notion of linguistic culture.

Part Two is dedicated to methods in language policy research. The authors present a repertoire of methods that are currently used to explore and analyse language policy. They deal with historical investigation, ethnography, linguistic and geolinguistic analysis and psychosocial analysis. Terrence Wiley's chapter draws on historical research methods and historiography, suggesting that language policy scholars should critique the agendas and prevailing models of history in order to better inform language policy formulation. Suresh Canagarajah's contribution discusses the uses of ethnographic methods in language policy research. Ruth Wodak's chapter presents a working example of the use of critical discourse analysis to deconstruct language policy and its ideologies. Don Cartwright introduces the notion of geolinguistic analysis, using the examples of the Welsh in the United Kingdom, who represent a geographically peripheral, fragmented ethnolinguistic community, and the Flemish and Walloons in Belgium, who represent more extensive and geographically contiguous ethnolinguistic communities. Last, but by no means least, Colin Baker discusses the contributions of psychosocial analysis to understanding language policy.

Part Three of the book is dedicated to questions of topical interest in language policy. The chapters all deal with issues of identity and language rights in multi-lingual states. The authors address the relationship between language policy and human rights, the education of minorities, language shift and linguistic imperialism. An interesting addition is a chapter on policy and planning for sign languages. Jan Blommaert's chapter uses the example of Tanzania to illustrate the role of ideology in language policy. Stephen May and Tove Skutnabb-Kangas both discuss language rights. Skutnabb-Kangas highlights the negative effects of policy omissions and discriminatory language practice, particularly in language classrooms. May emphasises the importance of understanding how languages become positioned as 'good, useful and valuable' or 'bad, useless and valueless' within state systems (Ricento, p. 233). May (p. 266) also discusses some principles by which language rights could be accorded to linguistic minorities. Christina Bratt-Paulston and Kai Heidemann consider in detail the education of linguistic minorities in school systems. They show through examples how educational language policies can either reinforce or challenge social inequality. Joshua Fishman discusses whether language policies can or should be used to prevent language shift and avoid its deleterious effects for minority and indigenous language speakers. Timothy Reagan shows how language policy for sign languages also offers examples of group

empowerment or disempowerment and oppression. In the final chapter of the book Robert Phillipson revisits the question of linguistic imperialism.

Five contributions to the book stand out as particularly informative and engaging. Pennycook provides a lucid explanation of how postmodernism has challenged traditional notions of language. Postmodernism, as Pennycook (pp. 64–65) suggests, has shifted the focus from language to discourse in the study of language policy. This implies a similar shift from perceiving the state as an intentional actor towards more localised and situated ways of understanding languages and language policies. Schmidt's description of American identity politics provides an excellent example of contemporary language politics in action. Wiley's useful summary of the issues and challenges in interpreting history offers insights into historical methods and their pitfalls. Baker's detailed discussion of psycho-social analysis offers a comprehensive introduction to the uses of census data, language attitude surveys and language performance testing in language policy research. Baker also describes and explains social network analysis and target language planning. Finally, Blommaert's chapter elegantly illustrates the ideological processes by which a single, dominant identity is projected or imposed onto people whose inhabited identities are, in reality, highly diversified.

Whilst the book aims to provide an accessible introduction to the field of language policy, it might serve the reader with some knowledge of the essentials better than the non-specialist reader. This is because it sets out the central issues and debates rather than providing explanations of basic terms, processes and practices in language policy. These are dealt with in detail by other authors (see, e.g. Cooper, 1989; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997; Wright, 2004). The book's value is in bringing together the major theoretical and methodological questions in language policy in one volume. All the chapters offer departure points for discussion and suggestions for further reading. Overall, the book achieves its aim and is recommended for teachers and students of language policy, most particularly doctoral students interested in identifying theories and methods for their research studies.

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Language Policy: Hidden Agendas and New Approaches

Elana Shohamy. London: Routledge, 2006. Pp. xiv + 185. ISBN 0-415-32865-9 (pbk): US \$35.95.

Shohamy's recent book is a must read for everyone interested in language planning and policy. The major contribution of this book is that it moves beyond traditional definitions of language policy and myopic analyses of official language policy documents, to draw our attention to de facto policies and the many ways such policies are created and, ultimately, affect language use and practice. In this way, language policy in Shohamy's book is brought to life, as she traces the complex, multidirectional path from language policy to language practice.

Shohamy is known for her critical analyses of language policy, and robbing readers of any innocence in her insistent attention to power dynamics. This volume is no exception, and continues along the trajectory begun in Shohamy's (2001) book entitled *The Power of Tests*. In that book, Shohamy argued that language testing policy is actually de facto language policy, and concluded that the study of testing practices is necessary to truly understand and expose the motivations behind language policies. This examination of the 'real priorities' of those in power, which are often hidden from view, continues in Shohamy's new book, which is relentless in its critique of the myriad ways that language policies and their mechanisms contribute to social inequalities and dominance. The reader is left with the feeling that nothing should be taken at face value.

Shohamy's book is divided into three parts and nine chapters, plus a moving, personal preface, a powerful introduction, and an epilogue. The introduction presents what Shohamy terms the 'mechanisms' of language policy (LP), highlighting how language policies are implemented to affect or, as she terms it, 'manipulate' language behaviours and usage in society. As she states:

Thus, the study of LP should not be limited to formal, declared and official policies but rather to the study of the powerful mechanisms that are used in most societies nowadays to create and perpetuate 'de facto' language policies and practices. (p. xvi)

Shohamy accurately argues that we must look beyond official policy documents to examine both the overt and covert ways that language practices occur, due to the mechanisms which create and perpetuate them. In this book, particular attention is paid to how 'real' language policies shape language practices in ways that promote the agendas and political ideologies of nation states. Throughout the book, Shohamy makes linguists culpable for their own roles in supporting hidden agendas of those in power, and perpetuating abuses of language.

In Chapter 1, the book moves beyond traditional views of language as rule-bound and rigid, to propose a view of language which is far more organic and dynamic, and whose boundaries are in fact fluid. Moving away from prescriptive views of language that she argues have been perpetuated by linguists, and thereby critiquing grammatical rules, the concept 'native language,' and standardised spelling, Shohamy instead is interested in the many ways language is

actually used. The chapter introduces what she terms 'linguaging', which encompasses all of the ways we communicate; thus, Shohamy argues that food, fashion, architecture, visual images, and even numbers are examples of 'linguaging' and used for self-expression.

Having expanded the definition of language, Chapter 2 analyses the different ways languages are manipulated, particularly within nation states, and offer a means for the dominant group to maintain their status and power. For example, the choice to use a particular language within a society or country privileges the speakers of that language and sets them apart from speakers of other languages. As Shohamy writes,

[L]anguage has become a tool for the manipulation of people and their behaviors, as it is used for a variety of political agendas in the battle of power, representation, and voice. (p. 22)

The chapter details how the establishment of nation-states promulgated the view of language as a closed, imposed system and the association of language with status, power, assimilation, nationalism and patriotism. A great strength of the book is its global perspective, and Shohamy shares examples from different countries of how they negotiate linguistic diversity, so often perceived as a threat to national unity.

The purpose of Chapter 3 is to expand the definition of language policy to include bottom-up and implicit policies along with the top-down and more explicit policies typically studied in this field. In her discussion of the variety of devices used to perpetuate language practices, she states that 'it is only through the observations of the effects of these very devices that the real language policy of an entity can be understood and interpreted' (p. 46). Therefore, language policies are found in every layer of decision making about language, from a nation or city to the level of a family or individual. In addition, Shohamy notes that language is always attached to ideology, so studies of language policy need to move beyond purely linguistic analyses to consider also the hidden agendas of status and power driving decisions about language.

The second part of this book is comprised of Chapters 4–7, which examine specific mechanisms affecting *de facto* language policies. In Chapter 4, Shohamy centers discussion around rules and regulations for language usage. Language laws are described, such as the law in Quebec offering French a higher status than English. Officiality, which can pertain to official languages and policies, and official language standardisation, nationalisation, language academies and citizenship laws are all offered as further instances of how language use is regulated. However, using the case of Israel as the point of departure, Shohamy then shows the difference between such laws or regulations and actual language practices. While Hebrew and Arabic are considered official languages of Israel, English holds high status in spite of the fact that it is not an official language; meanwhile, Arabic has low status in spite of its official status. There is obvious resistance to official policy, and the limited effects of declared policy on actual practices supports Shohamy's call to examine the mechanisms of LP rather than official policy documents on their own.

Shohamy rightly recognises the power of schooling in Chapter 5, which examines language education policy (LEP) as the primary LP mechanism to shape language practices. LEP is presented as an important 'tool' to determine the status of

languages in society, and how they should be used, taught, and learned. Shohamy argues that teachers typically have no say in this process, and must implement top-down policies without questioning them. Shohamy then presents another mismatch between policy and practice in her discussion of the pluralistic 1996 LEP in Israel mandating trilingual study of Hebrew, English and either Arabic or French. In fact, it seems the policy is mainly lip service, as mostly Hebrew and English are taught in schools with Arabic being taught far less; as a result, most Jews do not learn Arabic, while Arabic speakers must learn Hebrew.

Chapter 6 presents language testing as a widely used covert mechanism with great impact on creating and imposing de facto LP. She describes how language tests manipulate languages in the following three ways: by determining power and prestige of language, standardising and perpetuating notions of correctness, and in suppressing language diversity. For example, her research found that Russian immigrants to Israel typically fail national math tests which are offered in Hebrew only. Similarly, Hebrew is the medium of university entrance exams, which acts as a gatekeeper to higher education, placing Arabs and other minority language speakers at a disadvantage. Another example is in the case of Latvia, where Russians have to pass Latvian proficiency exams for employment and/or citizenship. These rich cases show how nations can impose monolingual language policies, using language testing as a powerful tool to do so.

Chapter 7 examines language in public spaces, as displayed language (for instance, in the street, on public signs, and in print media) communicates a message that can affect language practices. Shohamy brings in another of the abundant stories from her active scholarship in Israel, this time describing research she conducted which shows different patterns in Jewish and Arab areas, with the Hebrew language being most visible in both communities – another important symbol of the unparalleled power of that language in Israel at present. Shohamy notes that this ‘linguistic landscape’ is a more subtle and covert mechanism of language policy, but very powerful nonetheless in effecting language change.

The third part of this book moves into a wider critical analysis, examining the mechanisms of LP within democratic societies. Chapter 8 offers such an examination, defying past blind acceptances of language policies as apolitical. The chapter identifies several ways that such policies violate central democratic principles, in that language policies are often imposed from the top-down, with a lack of representation or involvement of constituents. Shohamy thereby exposes the role of LP in perpetuating class differentiation, exerting power, and violating personal rights. Having highlighted the inherent contradictions between policies like these and true democracy, Shohamy offers in Chapter 9 ways to respond to these violations through inclusion, critical awareness of languages as sociopolitical, personal rights, and language activism – with the role of applied linguists regarded as especially vital to the latter.

A shortcoming of this book, which otherwise portrays language policy as complex and multidirectional, is in the flat description of teachers. In Chapter 5, Shohamy writes of teachers:

Thus, they serve as ‘soldiers’ of the system who carry out orders by internalizing the policy ideology and its agendas as expressed in the curriculum, n textbooks and other materials and the very perceptions of language. (p. 78)

While Shohamy notes that schools can be sites of resistance, teachers are primarily depicted as unquestioning bureaucrats. However, the reality is that teachers must by definition interpret and negotiate languages policies in order to implement them in classrooms. As such, they often create new language education policies and are thus language policy makers in their own right; moreover, teachers are often at the epicenter of resistance to top-down policies (Freeman, 2004; Menken, in press). In other words, teachers are a very complex and opinionated 'tool' of LP, who might implement policies very differently from how policy makers intended.

That aside, this is a groundbreaking, provocative book which makes significant contributions to the field. Though the writing and ideas put forth are complicated, even readers less familiar with this field will be able to make sense of central themes because each chapter is organized methodically, and ends with a summary in bullet-point format. This excellent book is an essential addition to the reading lists of academics, students, and practitioners in language policy and language education policy, and it is a call to action for all of us.

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