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Rearticulating the Case for Micro Language Planning in a Language Ecology Context¹

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Language planning is normally thought of in terms of large-scale, usually national planning, often undertaken by governments and meant to influence, if not change, ways of speaking or literacy practices within a society. It normally encompasses four aspects: status planning (about society), corpus planning (about language), language-in-education (or acquisition) planning (about learning), and (most recently) prestige planning (about image). When thinking about these aspects, both policy (i.e. form) and planning (i.e. function) components need to be considered as well as whether such policy and planning will be overt or covert in terms of the way it is put into action. Language policy and planning on this scale has dominated current work in the field. However, over the past decade language planning has taken on a more critical edge and its ecological context has been given greater emphasis, leading to an increasing acceptance that language planning can (and does) occur at different levels, i.e. the macro, meso and micro. This shift in focus has also led to a rethinking of agency – who has the power to influence change in these micro language policy and planning situations. Given this break with the dominant macro history, the question may be asked, is this developing notion of micro language planning and local agency actually language planning? If so, what are its parameters? Micro language planning studies are examined to illustrate trends in the literature.

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Keywords: language planning, micro language policy, language ecology, agency

Introduction

Since an earlier review of micro language policy and planning (LPP) was completed in 2003 (Baldauf, 2005a), there have been a number of studies completed, creating the need to rearticulate this area of language planning study. Although there continues to be traditional ‘modernist’ LPP work done, a range of studies are now appearing that take a more critical position, that extends the notion of language policy (and planning) to local contexts. These studies also tend to use discursive methods and are concerned with issues of agency, harking back to recommendations found in the early work of Luke *et al.* (1990).

In a more recent overview volume on the field of language policy and planning, Kaplan and Baldauf (1997: 52) suggested that language planning occurred at several levels, the macro, the meso and the micro. Although they provided several examples in the volume of micro-level planning (e.g.

a company requiring business translation in North America (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997: 254ff)), this application of the principles of language policy and planning to micro situations was not a significant focus of the volume nor was it developed in any detail. As they indicated in their introductory chapter, when applied linguists think of language planning, they normally think of it in terms of large-scale, usually national, planning, often undertaken by governments and meant to influence, if not change, ways of speaking or literacy practices within a society. Nevertheless, Alan Davies, in a review of that volume, argued that the authors had been less convincing than they might have been about the centrality of applied linguistics to language planning and policy. He suggested that the authors tried to 'claim too much: language planning is best restricted to governmental activity, difficult as that may be to encompass' (Davies, 1999: 123).

Governmental activity is, of course, precisely where early language planning studies and practice had their roots, in macro sociolinguistics and related disciplines (see e.g. Fishman, 1974; Fox, 1975; Rubin & Jernudd, 1971) and it continues to be the site of the majority of language planning and policy related studies² (and critiques). Furthermore, the notion of agency often lies with government officials, who are the prime actors in language planning activity (Baldauf & Kaplan, 2003). But, studies arising from this tradition raise the question of whether language policy and planning activity, almost by definition, is restricted to such large-scale (macro) governmental activity or can the frameworks that have been developed be applied differentially, but in an equally valid manner, to micro situations? Or, to put it another way, does language planning operate on a continuum from the macro to the micro? Is the resultant micro work still language policy and planning, or does it (should it) then fall into some other sub-field of applied linguistics or of some other discipline; e.g. sociolinguistics, education, critical discourse studies (CDA) or business studies?

More recently there has been some discussion of, and a number of specific studies reporting on language planning that has occurred at the micro level (i.e. language planning for businesses, educational bodies and other organisations). Although such studies often use different methodology – a focus on discourse, it might be argued that many of the same issues that can be found in the macro policy and planning frameworks and literature are relevant to the micro. To contextualise this question, it is helpful to examine briefly what is meant by language planning – and how this might relate to micro studies – the nature of the macro models and frameworks that have been developed and how those relate to the micro. Following this review, the available literature related to micro studies is then examined in an attempt to understand how this emerging area is developing. The studies in this issue of *Current Issues in Language Planning* provide further examples of the phenomenon.

Some Brief Definitions

Traditionally, language planning has been seen as the deliberate, future-oriented systematic-change of language code, use and/or speaking, most visibly undertaken by government, in some community of speakers. Language

planning is directed by, or leads to, the promulgation of a language policy(s) – by government or some other authoritative body or person. Language policies are bodies of ideas, laws, regulations, rules and practices intended to achieve some planned language change (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997: 3). Language policy may be realised in very formal (overt) language planning documents and pronouncements (e.g. constitutions, legislation, policy statements, educational directives) which can be either symbolic or substantive in form, in informal statements of intent (i.e. in the discourse of language, politics and society), or may be left unstated (covert). While the distinction between language policy (the plan) and language planning (plan implementation) is an important one for users, the two terms have frequently been used interchangeably in the literature.

A Language Planning Goal-oriented Framework

Over the roughly 35 years that language planning has been developing as a field – drawing on a variety of academic traditions, a number of language planners have put forward their ideas about what might constitute a model for language policy and planning (e.g. Cooper, 1989; Ferguson, 1968; Fishman, 1974; Haarmann, 1990; Haugen, 1983; Neustupný, 1974), while others (e.g. Annamalai & Rubin, 1980; Bentahila & Davies, 1983; Nahir, 1984) have contributed to our understanding of the field by concentrating on defining the nature of language planning goals. Hornberger (1994, 2006) and Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) independently have explicitly brought these two strands together in a single framework while the latter have argued that any such framework is situated within an ecological context. Kaplan and Baldauf (2003) have developed a revised and expanded framework with illustrative examples for each of the goals, drawn from polities in the Pacific basin. Several alternative conceptualisations to this framework exist, but with different scope and foci, e.g. the continua of biliteracy (Hornberger, 2002) or language management (Neustupný & Nekvapil, 2003), but in some respects one could argue that they can be seen as complementary approaches. The latter, which has predominantly developed in a French language context, has evolved somewhat separately and is briefly discussed in the next section of this paper.

This evolving framework reflects the changes that have occurred in language planning itself, which was an outgrowth of the positivistic economic and social science paradigms that dominated the three post-World War II decades. Since the 1990s critical approaches to, and the broader context of, the discipline have taken on greater importance (see Ricento, 2000a for a historical overview, and 2006 for a summary of theory, methods and issues) as those involved have confronted issues such as language ecology (e.g. Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997; Mühlhäusler, 2000), language rights (e.g. May, 2001, 2005), and the place of English and languages other than English (e.g. Maurais & Morris, 2003; Pennycook, 1998; Ricento, 2000b).

The framework, set out in Table 1, suggests that the practice of overt (explicit, planned) or covert (implicit, unplanned – see e.g. Baldauf, 1994; Eggington, 2002) language policy and planning may be one of four types: status planning – about society (see e.g. van Els, 2005), corpus planning – about language (see,

Table 1 An evolving framework for language planning goals by levels and awareness

Productive Goals	Approaches to goals	1. Policy Planning (on form)	2. Cultivation Planning (on function)	Levels planning processes and goals						
	Goals	Goals	Goals	Awareness of goals						
				Macro		Meso		Micro		
				Overt	Covert	Overt	Covert	Overt	Covert	
	1. Status Planning (about society)	Status Standardisation Officialisation Nationalisation Proscription	Status Planning Revival <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Restoration• Revitalisation• Reversal Maintenance Interlingual Communication <ul style="list-style-type: none">• International• Intra-national Spread							
	2. Corpus Planning (about language)	Standardisation Corpus <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Graphisation• Grammatication• Lexication Auxiliary Code <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Graphisation• Grammatication• Lexication	Corpus Elaboration Lexical Modernisation Stylistic Modernisation Renovation <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Purification• Reform• Stylistic simplification• Terminological unification Internationalisation							
	3. Language-in-Education Planning (about learning)	Policy Development Access Policy Personnel Policy Curriculum Policy Methods & Materials Policy Resourcing Policy Community Policy Evaluation Policy	Acquisition Planning Reacquisition Maintenance Foreign /Second Language Shift							

Table 1 (contd.) An evolving framework for language planning goals by levels and awareness

	<i>Approaches to goals</i>	<i>1. Policy Planning</i> (on form)	<i>2. Cultivation Planning</i> (on function)	<i>Levels planning processes and goals</i>					
				<i>Macro</i>		<i>Meso</i>		<i>Micro</i>	
				<i>Awareness of goals</i>					
				<i>Overt</i>	<i>Covert</i>	<i>Overt</i>	<i>Covert</i>	<i>Overt</i>	<i>Covert</i>
<i>Receptive Goal</i>	4. Prestige Planning (about image)	<i>Language Promotion</i> Official/ Government Institutional Pressure group Individual	<i>Intellectualisation</i> Language of Science <i>Language of Professions</i> Language of High Culture Language of Diplomacy						

Source: Baldauf, 2005a: 960

e.g. Liddicoat, 2005), language-in-education (acquisition) planning – about learning (see e.g. Baldauf & Kaplan, 2005) and prestige planning – about image (see e.g. Ager, 2005). Each of these four types of language planning can be realised under one of two approaches: a policy approach – with an emphasis on form: basic language and policy decisions and their implementation, or a cultivation approach – with an emphasis on the functional extension of language development and use. These eight language planning perspectives can be best understood through the goals that planners set out to achieve, which may be at the macro, meso or micro levels, with macro top-down goals predominating. But, however useful these perspectives may be for mapping the discipline, most of the goals in the framework are not independent of each other, e.g. policy-planning goals normally need cultivation-planning support. A particular language planning problem may also have a number of different goals, some of which may even be contradictory, e.g. the widespread introduction of a strong foreign language (like English) may potentially conflict in the school curriculum with goals related to local or regional language maintenance. Nor are goals normally implemented in isolation, but as part of a broader (even if covert or unstated) set of objectives. Thus, while it can be argued that LPP by can be implemented by progressively moving through the framework, in practice goals are often tackled independently. As Ingram (1990: 54) has pointed in relation to language-in-education planning, it 'is more often unsystematic, incidental to other policy-making, and piecemeal than it is rational, systematic, integrated, or comprehensive'.

A Language Ecology-oriented Framework

Although the goal-oriented framework just described also includes a consideration of language ecology, McConnell (2005) has summarised the somewhat different direction that those writing about language planning (*aménagement linguistique*) in French, and in particular about Québec, have taken where language ecology has been given more prominence.³ Building on the same foundations as the previous framework (i.e. Haugen's (1983) categories of policy, codification, elaboration, implementation and later evaluation) and with an interest in terminology and jurisprudence, the ecological model:

... was in some ways an extension of the (LP) model, but it went beyond and covered territory not included in the (LP) macro model. In a sense what was proposed was both a macro and micro model: data on *language attitudes* or *representations* were largely specific to the micro approach. What was then established was both a structuralist-functionalist and an ethnographic model combined. (McConnell, 2005: 10)

McConnell goes on to suggest that Calvet (1999: 16), who proposed a four-tiered model of language in society or social communication as a framework for understanding language planning and the relationship between the macro and the micro provides one theorisation for this approach. The four tiers consisted of *the gravitational* – a macro focus on the geolinguistic situation or the relationships between languages, *the homeostatic* – a macro self-regulatory focus for languages, *the representational* – a micro focus that operates at the level of

individuals or groups, and *the transmission* tier, which deals with change and evolution across tiers. McConnell (2005: 11) further suggests that while this is not a well-integrated model, it is ecological in that it examines the relationships not only between languages, but with society at large. McConnell cites Heller's (2002: 185) view that the contrast between the two traditions found in this model is that the macro aims at fixed objects or structures, while the micro aims at processes, relations and dynamic activities. Neustupný and Nekvapil (2003) provide an alternative way of viewing these same phenomena, arguing that language management issues may either be 'organised' – involving multiple participants and ideologies in the management process or 'simple' – dealing with specific often individual problems.

The macro and the micro are often simultaneously at work. McConnell (2005: 13) provides the example of the French Language Charter legislation in Québec (macro policy) where it was possible to change language behaviours relative quickly in public workplaces and state dominated domains (e.g. schools), but much more difficult – even after 25 years – in manufacturing and sales (or micro, personal, in-group) situations. In Figure 1 a language planning framework is outlined which could be used to map language policy and planning development taking this perspective. By mapping the extent to which a language is present in all dimensions, i.e. (1) policy or judicial status, (2) codification or corpus tools, (3) elaboration or corpus texts – genres, and (4) implementation or domains and functions, one can see some of the relationships between languages – by using multiple charts – and within a language across macro and micro domains like schools or manufacturing.

McConnell (2005: 14) concludes by arguing that it is clear 'that macro processes cannot account for all aspects of language-in-society variation and certainly not for representations' (social psychology). 'On the other hand micro processes are often so localised as to be undetectable or absent at the macro level.' Thus, while some combination of the macro and micro might be useful, he says that Heller (2002) has argued that 'the macro processes prevent us from developing a "critical analysis", i.e. one concerning the interaction of social actors and their environment'. While his suggestion that this discontinuity may be a blessing for minority languages whose activities may be too micro to be affected by macro policies, it also raises the question of whether the macro-micro continuum is conceptually valid.

The issue of the macro and micro in an ecological context has also been seen increasingly through the lens of globalisation and the positions of power that are assumed by macro bodies such as law firms, industrial and services-based corporations and educational bodies where powerful languages, particularly English, have come to dominate. In an introduction to a volume on *Reclaiming the Local in Language Policy and Practice*, Canagarajah (2005b) argues that there is a disciplinary shift in progress, at least within ESL/EFL, from pedagogical practices which focus on top-down notions of 'target language' to bottom-up ideas of 'repertoires' and in professional discourse from 'dominant native varieties' to 'plural systems of global English language' use. Other authors in the volume (Canagarajah, 2005c) make the case that local social practices and linguistic realities should inform languages policies and practices in classrooms

and community contexts – i.e. make the case for what might be called micro LPP studies.

Micro Language Planning and Agency

Having briefly outlined how macro language policy and planning can be conceived, and its general relationship to the micro via more traditional studies, language ecology and critical studies related to globalisation and power, the question becomes how to frame such work. Are the framework or elements of the framework such as those presented in Table 1 relevant for small-scale or micro situations – remembering that the framework is meant to be used selectively, or are the two discontinuous and incompatible bodies of knowledge developing in both content and methodology, as Heller seems to suggest? In examining this issue, the notion of agency becomes an important consideration.⁴

The issue of agency has traditionally not been very important in language policy and planning. In macro language planning, it was often assumed that planning was done by a team of disinterested planners who investigated the linguistic, social, political and educational requirements and made decisions that were in the best interests of the state. Who they were made little difference as long as they had the required expertise.⁵ Baldauf (1982) was one of the first to point out that agency – who language planners were – was potentially an important variable in a given language planning situation. However, while frameworks for language planning, such as the one provided in Table 1, have largely left the issue of agency as something understood, agency has not gone entirely unnoticed, even if it doesn't figure explicitly in most macro language planning studies. Cooper (1989: 98) in his accounting scheme for the study of language planning (i.e. 'what actors attempt to influence what behaviours of which people for what ends under what conditions by what means through which decision making processes with what effect') relates agency to actors (i.e. as 'formal elites, influentials, counter-elites, non-elite policy implementers'), while Haarmann (1990: 120–1) looks at who is involved in levels of prestige planning promotion (i.e. from macro to micro – official, institutional, pressure group and individual⁶).

The issue of agency is more important in micro language planning studies, a number of which have argued that particular groups, e.g. teachers (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996), are central agents in language policy development. Thus, it can be argued that besides the scale of the planning effort, agency is also central, i.e. are those involved in small-scale (micro) language planning work implementers or actively involved in the planning process? Where does agency lie? (See, Li & Baldauf (submitted) for a discussion of this issue in regard to school language-in-education planning in China.)

Most people would acknowledge that 'the impact of language planning and policy depends heavily on meso and micro level involvement and support' (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003: 201) and that there are a number of studies that have looked at micro support for the implementation of macro language planning and policy. These are what might be classified as 'implementation studies', because agency basically is retained at the macro level, i.e. the fundamental planning is conceptualised and carried out at the macro level with the local

taking an implementation role. This is the traditional top-down approach where language policy decisions are implemented via good professional development models. By contrast, micro planning refers to cases where businesses, institutions, groups or individuals hold agency and create what can be recognised as a language policy and plan to utilise and develop their language resources; one that is not directly the result of some larger macro policy, but is a response to their own needs, their own 'language problems', their own requirement for language management. Although this distinction is not always clear cut, such micro planning can be contrasted with micro implementation of macro planning some examples of which are examined in the next section.

Micro Implementation of Macro Policy

In this section, a number of micro implementation studies are examined. Although these studies or this planning work is often local and small scale, agency lies centrally with the macro provider. These studies represent the way that top-down policy and planning impacts on the local and the kinds of micro implementation that is required to meet broad-scale language policy demands. This can also be seen as the traditional view of how LPP should function.

Much school English language policy in Asia has historically been dominated by top-down policy making by central government education agencies, with teachers in schools seen only as implementers (see e.g. Li & Baldauf (submitted) for China, but a similar case could be made for Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Thailand and Vietnam – see Kaplan & Baldauf (2003) for further examples). Language policies in these countries have often been dictated by economic, political and social factors, with the syllabi, the methodology and the textbooks created centrally to meet these demands. Despite massive social and linguistic differences between Bangkok, Beijing, Hanoi, Jakarta or Shanghai and their respective hinterlands, common national policies have meant that students nationwide have used common materials and teachers have been required to rigidly adhere to the syllabus. Despite the moves to more communicative and student centred programmes and to a degree of decentralisation in e.g. China and Indonesia, centralised high stakes examinations and a lack of a tradition of teacher autonomy have hindered the move to more micro policy development to meet local needs.

Breen (2002) provides a micro educational example with a clear national policy basis. The macro policy context is the Australian government's idealistic policy in the 1990s to increase access to second language teaching in primary schools. However, the meso and micro implementation of that policy is dependent on the Australian States, which control education and ultimately schools. Thus, specific policy development and implementation – the reality of what happens in schools and classrooms – occurs at the State and school levels, making only general reference to national initiatives. The study examines Western Australian volunteer generalist primary teachers, who had a language background, and who then were provided with professional development in language methodology with the goal of implementing second language study in their schools. Breen examines how this micro-implementation of policy affected the 21 teachers' professional identity and their ongoing social relationships with

others in their work context. The tensions revealed by these teachers in their new roles have implications for the implementation of language policy in schools more generally.

Blachford (2000) examined the nature and characteristics of Chinese language policies and their impact on the 90 million people from the 55 ethnic groups that make up the Chinese national minorities. These policy making and implementation processes were examined to see how they related to micro-policy goals and micro-implementations through a complex bureaucratic structure. To illuminate the macro processes, several minority groups and their languages and educational situations were closely examined, using case study methodology.

DeLorme (1999) in a study in Kazakhstan used an ethnographic case study from a Kazakh-medium school to collect micro-level data that clarifies the attempts by the Kazakh ruling elite and Kazakh language medium school administrators to restore ethnic national consciousness, to consolidate the Kazakh's political power in government and to implement Kazakh as the official language. This policy and planning had to be undertaken in such a way as not to antagonise the large Russian speaking minority, or Russia itself.

Corvalan (1998) critically analysed the history and current state of school-based bilingual education in Paraguay, examining both the micro and macro dimensions of linguistic policies. These school programmes included both Guarani and Spanish-only speakers. Corvalan argued that policies must cater for these minority groups, not only at the general macro level, but must contribute to more micro-level decisions such as student classification, teacher training, language of instruction, and teaching the other language as a second language.

Kuo and Jernudd (1993) linked macro-level language planning in Singapore, which was centred on government programmes that tried to foster national consolidation through socio-ethnic and economic development, with micro language planning, which focused on individual conduct in discourse and group behaviour in communication. They argued that these macro and micro language policy and planning methods were complementary in encouraging a new Singaporean identity that contributes to economic, social and cultural advancement through greater communicative integration. Kuo and Jernudd suggest that a greater micro-level emphasis is needed (i.e. greater attention to individual language and discourse patterns) if a balanced approach to nation building is to occur.

These examples indicate that micro language planning typically has referred to the use of micro situational analysis or methodology (e.g. case studies) to examine macro issues arising from the language problems to be found in nation states. Although most of the studies are evaluative and there is often the suggestion of some tension between the macro and the micro, there is little or no suggestion that micro-level policy should be developed or that planning should extend beyond what is required to implement macro policy. Rather, it is the impact of macro policy (or the lack thereof) on micro situations that is being examined, and agency remains firmly located in the macro.

Micro resistance to implementation of macro policy

As the previous section suggests, tensions may arise between macro-level policy and the micro situation, and teachers or other individuals can either conform to the policy, or resist by working to make what they do appropriate to their particular micro situation.

One example of this conflicting policy orientation is presented in the study by Li and Baldauf (submitted). Since 1999 the Chinese Ministry of Education has had a new macro foreign language policy whereby the philosophy of 'three-centredness' (i.e. classroom, teacher, textbook centred) is to be replaced by task-based teaching and communicatively focused learning. The study showed that while teachers were on the whole familiar with the new policy, and were even generally in agreement with it, a number of them had not tried communicative teaching and seemed to be resisting implementing the policy. It can be argued that this is occurring because the students of English teachers at secondary schools and universities face high stakes examinations – one must pass to graduate – which have a lexical and grammatical focus. With both students' and teachers' careers on the line in such high stakes situations – teachers are judged on students' examination results – teachers revert to traditional cram methods. Thus, while a more communicative English language populace may be the national macro goal, the local reality is that examinations are what really count and micro strategies are adopted to meet those needs.

Martin (2005a) provides another similar example in his discussion of 'safe' language practices in two rural schools in Malaysia in the context of the particular classrooms and the language policy framework within which the classroom participants are meant to operate. In 2003 there was language policy change in Malaysia and a switch to English in senior schools for mathematics and science. However, this left many teachers caught between obeying macro-level policy, and meeting the needs of their students who at least in rural interior areas could not cope with instruction only in English. Even in English classes, teaching only in English would be problematic in those contexts, and other linguistic resources needed to be employed if learning was to occur. These 'safe' practices allow the participants to be seen to accomplish the lessons, but 'there is little exploratory use of language in the classroom'. (Martin, 2005a: 89). Studies suggest that this type of resistance through the use of other resources, alongside the official language, is commonplace in a range of situations (see e.g. Arthur, 1996 – Botswana; Bunyi, 2005 – Kenya; Martin, 2005b – Brunei; Probyn, 2005 – South Africa).

Edwards and Newcombe (2005) examined the achievements of a family focused project called Twf ('Growth') in Wales, where families were encouraged to raise their children bilingually. Although there has been a state policy to promote Welsh, families have been rather diffident in carrying it out. The project has raised the awareness of families and the community of the benefits of bilingualism, an important undertaking for language maintenance as language survival depends on intergenerational transmission. Whereas agency for this planning initiative initially resides in the Welsh Language Board (a macro LPP body), the purpose of the project is to transfer that agency to the family. Thus, in this case the study focuses on innovative ways of overcoming resistance through a combination of health professionals and innovative promotional materials.

In each of the cases of resistance, agency begins top-down, but it is evident that at the micro level actors are either taking, or in the case of families in Wales, being urged to take, some of agency in order to cope with the discontinuities found in top-down policy.

Post-graduate Responses to the Micro Language Policy and Planning Challenge

Studies like these have raised the question of the relevance of LPP for post-graduate students interested in applied linguistics. As it seemed unlikely that most post-graduate students would be involved in drawing up a new language policy for Mexico, China or South Africa – at least in the short or medium term, the question of relevance was raised. It could be argued that at least some of them could use the ideas of resistance in their teaching or other work-related situations, but, if language planning and policy is the premier example of applied linguistics as their textbook suggested (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997), how then could they directly apply what they had studied in a manner relevant to their situations? Could post-graduate linguistics students use the frameworks and models of macro language planning and apply them to micro situations with which they were familiar? As these students came to this problem with no pre-suppositions about whether such a task would be possible, and as at the time there were few micro LPP studies where agency was located at the micro level for them to draw on, it was interesting to see how they approached the problem.

The students came up with a range of situations, many based on real situations they had encountered in their working lives. They were able to translate what they had learned about macro language policy and planning to micro situations of their own choosing in the areas of business, education, religion, government bodies, journalism, the law and services (see Baldauf, 2005b: 237–8 for a brief overview of the studies proposed). In these projects there were examples of:

- status planning goals – the need to choose which languages would be needed for what purposes in particular businesses or institutions;
- corpus planning goals – the need to develop appropriate materials to support planning decisions for training or implementation;
- language-in-education planning goals – the need for (re)training for staff in a variety of language skills; and
- prestige planning goals – the need to give certain languages, or language related issues greater status in particular situations.

Policy positions and decisions were developed and planning processes were suggested to meet a variety of goals. Importantly, in each case, agency was based at the project level. These post-graduate projects provide further (hypothetical) examples of micro planning in action, or in several cases, the failure of language planning because micro planning was ignored.

Micro-centric Language Planning

It might be argued that micro language policy should originate from the micro and not the macro level. However, compared to the vast macro-planning

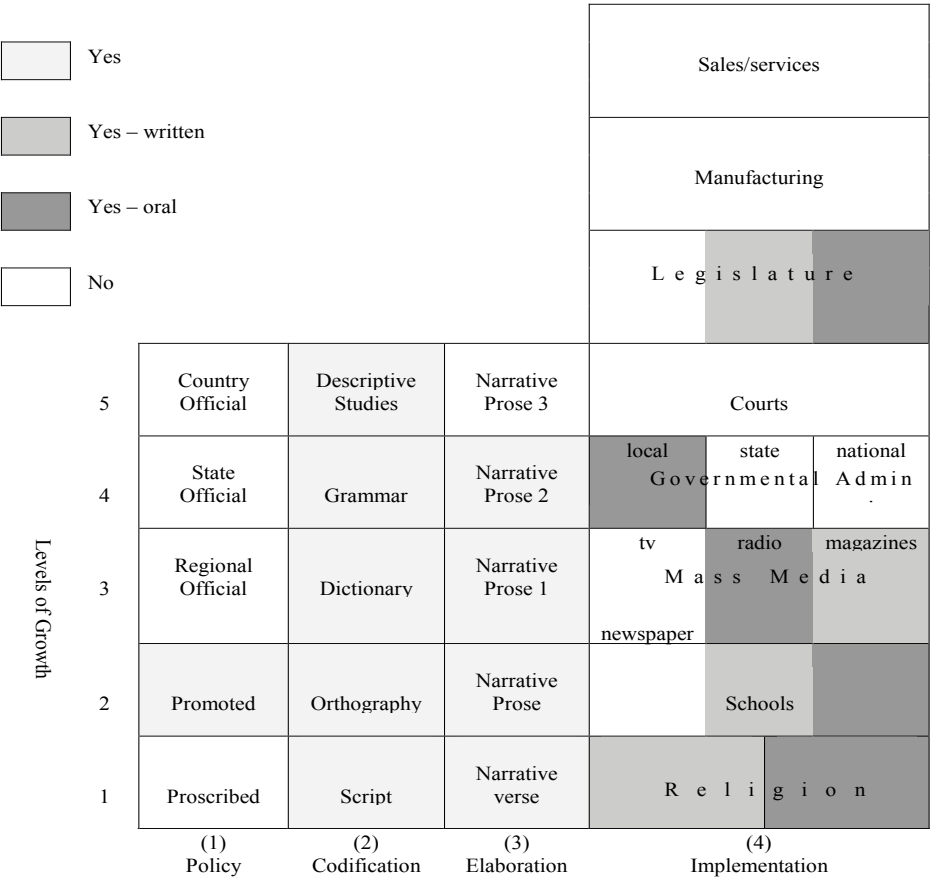


Figure 1 Language planning dimensions of language development for a particular language (adapted from McConnell, 2005: 24)

literature, there are relatively few studies of this type. Perhaps this was because such work currently was not valued because it doesn't belong to an 'authentic' research genre, or perhaps because business and other micro sites are less open to public scrutiny (and therefore academic analysis) than governmental entities, or perhaps because it is published in 'business-related' or other disciplinary journals under different headings. However, an increased emphasis on the critical studies and discursive methodology has seen a rise in this type of study. These are studies motivated by the local context where agency is located at the local or micro level. These studies can be found under a number of subheadings, some of which are present in Figure 1 in the language planning dimensions of language development (adapted from McConnell, 2005: 24). In this paper they have been categorised under seven subheadings, related to sales and services, manufacturing, the law and legal systems, administration, education and schooling, families and community language needs. This range of studies is

probably only indicative and others may emerge as more interest is generated in this type of research.

Micro language planning for sales and services

Kaplan *et al.* (1995) and Touchstone *et al.* (1996) did two related studies on the banking sector in Los Angeles, one of the most polyglot cities on earth. In the first study they looked at written business communication coming from 34 bank branches located in identifiable ethnic communities – Japanese, Chinese and Hispanic. The purpose was to determine their commitment to multilingualism and to analyse their specific attempts to reach out to non-English speaking communities. Parallel English and non-English texts were compared. The second study focused on similar material, but related to home loans, for the Hispanic community which had a lower percentage of bank home loans than other communities, i.e. had a higher usage of non-bank sources of funding. In both cases, the studies found three types of ‘language problems’ with bank materials: (1) translation errors, (2) translation misfit, and (3) translation omission. They conclude that:

The results of these comparisons show that there is a substantial failure on the part of banks in Los Angeles to serve their non-English speaking clientele. The economic consequences for banks that do not adequately interact with that significant segment of the market can be inferred. The findings of this study suggest that corporate banking policies concerning written banking documents reflect banks’ compliance with regulations, though the policies may not be entirely effective. It is hoped that language-planning efforts by banks might be applied more uniformly and strategically to enhance profitability in minority language communities and to serve minority communities more effectively. (Kaplan *et al.*, 1995: 427)

Kerpan (1991) pointed out that translators spend about 45% of their time on terminological research, and that this involves standardisation at the micro and macro levels. Poorly researched terminological usage results in mediocre translation. Managers generally have little understanding of the effort involved in providing accurate texts or of the micro-level language planning which results from terminological work. Individual translators need to be given more time and agency to develop better translation outcomes.

Micro language planning for manufacturing

Kaplan (1980) examined the language needs of migrant workers in industry for language instruction. Over two months he met with industrial executives, workers, officials and with teachers and administered a multilingual questionnaire to 291 workers. Based on this research, Kaplan offered 30 recommendations on migrant and industrial language training, on the preparation of teachers and materials and on language planning and research. He emphasised that these recommendations were not a blueprint, but rather provided in a systematic manner a ‘supermarket full of interesting options’. Although many were not new, they had in the past not been implemented due to (1) inadequate resources, (2) inadequate background preparation, and (3) inadequate planning. Arising

from this was the challenge for New Zealanders to make choices that would work for and belong to them.⁸

Nekvapil and Nekula (this volume) study language planning in the context of a multinational company operating in the Czech Republic. Using a Language Management approach (Neustupný & Nekvapil, 2003), they examine the ways in which German, English and Czech are managed in the company in order to achieve the workplace of goals of the company. They demonstrate a relationship between micro and macro language planning: macro planning influences micro planning and yet macro planning results (or should result) from micro planning. This study examines how the two different levels of language management are dealt with in one context, with micro language planning identified with simple (discourse-based) management, and macro language planning with organised language management. They conclude that the optimal language planning situation is one in which organised management influences simple management, and at the same time results from simple management. Conversely, situations in which organised and simple management do not influence one another are problematic, in particular in situations where the language planners underestimate or even deliberately ignore the language problems of the speakers in individual interactions.

Micro language planning for the courts

Skilton (1992) examined language acquisition planning and a class action law suit filed on behalf of Asian students in Philadelphia in the United States related to meeting their linguistic and academic needs. Both micro- and macro-perspectives were examined in an attempt to understand the complexities of the situation and the effectiveness of implementing such programmes.

There are also a number of micro language planning related studies in the journal, *Forensic Linguistics*, and the literature around language in the law more generally (e.g. Dumas & Short, 1998), although such studies often relate to the absence of such planning. There is also some additional micro material related to translation. However, much of this work has no specific planning focus, and was not written using this genre as a framework.

Micro language planning for administration

McEntee-Atalianis (this volume) examines an international organisation, the International Maritime Organisation, an institution made up of 165 countries (and three associates) with six official and three working languages. Although the IMO is a multinational organisation it is also possible to see it as a site of micro-level planning, in which the practices of individuals establish the practices of the organisation. McEntee-Atalianis discusses the nature of interlingualism at IMO, investigating whether the instruments in place ensure equitable and efficient communication and argues that, while multilingual practices are guaranteed at the highest levels of political representation, at lower levels, English functions as the main tool of communication. The macro-level policies of the IMO form a framework which affects individual language practices, but it is the micro level which most actively determines language use in the organisation. Although the institution is multilingual, micro-level practices mean that the only language device guaranteed to permit access at all levels of functioning

within the organisation is English. This practice ensures that some delegates have the advantage of only having to learn one language (e.g. Australian/UK/USA/citizens), others two or three and it is perhaps here that true equity is called into question.

Micro language planning for schools

Corson's (1999) book provides an excellent starting point for anyone in schools concerned with developing school-based (micro) language planning and policy. It provides a detailed discussion and a set of questions for micro language planners interested in developing school based policy in L1, L2, literacy, oracy, bilingual or multilingual education programmes.

Tollefson (1981) was one of the first people to argue that the SLA process can be analysed as a series of policy level decisions that involve both macro and micro-level policy goals and implementation decisions. Tollefson has subsequently gone on to edit several books that provide examples of a wide range of studies of school-based language policy and planning decisions from around the world.

Winter and Pauwels (this volume) view education as a complex site for endorsing and contesting knowledges and practices. Macro-level language planning has relied heavily on education for the implementation and spread of the particular reform agenda largely reliant on discourses of compulsory obligation (e.g. spelling reforms). However, education is not a mere external agent of implementation but central to the raising of awareness, with the practices of individual teachers, as role models of language behaviours, constituting a key language planning activity in classrooms. While Pauwels (1998) reported that the role-model strategy was far less intrusive, or constituted an example of planning at a remove, Winter and Pauwels show that intrusion is a key element of the ways in which teachers effect language planning through responsive use of text-based resources, direct challenge and comment as well as negotiation and 'correction'.

Payne (this volume) discusses students' choices in relation to foreign language education planning as an instance of micro-language planning in the context of secondary schools situated within multilingual communities in England. He argues that, as a part of the micro-level planning process, pupils themselves as the recipients of the outcomes of language planning can contribute in a meaningful way to foreign language and curriculum planning processes. The students' decision-making about ideal language programmes in their showed a convergence towards fairness and equality of choice. They included salient community reflecting the linguistic groups prevalent in the wider community, such as Urdu or Hebrew, and also moved outside conventional thinking about modern languages provision by including Latin. Although it is clear that at the micro-level of the school language choice is dictated to a large extent by issues such as teacher availability, resources and the historical and social ties of the languages on offer, Payne demonstrates that the voice of students is a valid component of language-planning in school contexts.

Marriott (this volume) reports on a case study of organised support for students who experience problems with language or academic study skills at a pharmacy faculty of an Australian university. Employing Language Man-

agement Theory (Neustupný & Nekvapil, 2003), Marriott's study exemplifies organised management and explores the various processes involved, including the noting of students' problems, and the design and implementation of adjunct support programmes. She sees this as a planned language process in which local events become the basis for decision making which in turn is enacted and evaluated within the immediate context.

Chua (this volume) looks at the 2004 education reforms of the government and Ministry of Education in Singapore, which are moving from a tight national system macro-level system of language planning to a more locally based micro-level system, where schools and teachers will have more choice over what they study and teach. The changes in the Singaporean education system at a national level result from the dichotomy between the global and local demands of the Singapore's education system and have the possibility of changing local realities, benefiting certain students. In schools, therefore, macro-level planning connects with micro-level planning. Macro-level language planning requires micro-level planning not only for its implementation but also to ensure that it responds to local needs. Therefore, both macro and micro planning are needed in any re-adjustments in the education policy since 'policy is both text and action, words and deeds' (Ball, 1994: 10) and macro language planning needs micro language planning in individual schools if it is to be effectively implemented.

Van der Walt (this volume) reports on the experiences in which one university – the University of Stellenbosch – has developed a language policy and implementation plan to manage language in education issues. In particular she examines the university's bilingual teaching policy, which attempts to deal with language diversity without complete duplication of classes and materials. She examines the requirements of the language policy regarding bilingual teaching and evaluates some of the common practices used. Students gain some direct advantages from the bilingual approach in terms of access to course content and material, but that bilingual provision does not fully overcome the problems faced by students. In particular, the linguistic diversity of the student population means that it is difficult to cater for all students within a bilingual teaching programme and so students continue to have to study in languages which are not their preferred language of study. She also notes that the development of this language plan at the university has created some difficulties in that the prescriptive nature of the language plan does not always articulate with the ways in which academics have developed ways of dealing with the demands of their own subjects in a multilingual environment.

Micro language planning for families

In an earlier section of this paper, Edwards and Newcombe (2005) was identified as an example of resistance where families were being persuaded to accept agency for the survival of Welsh. Nahir (1998), when looking back over the revival of Hebrew a century ago, provides an example of this in action. He argued that the shift to Hebrew that occurred within communities and families was a case of micro language planning in which potential speakers constituted the language planning agents. Because there was no macro language planning and policy body involved, agency for micro language planning resided in the families.

Neustupný and Nekvapil (2003) in their discussion of language management, use families as an example where 'simple' management or micro language planning occurs. There is of course a large literature on raising children bilingually, including specific examples where this has been done, which might be said to be related to micro LPP.

Micro language planning for communities

Mac Giolla Chriost (2002) drew on micro developments in Wales and used them as the basis for suggesting that progress in planning for Irish in Northern Ireland may depend on the use of micro language planning, since at the polity level, Irish could either be a divisive or a unifying factor. Although Irish was more strongly associated (and better known) by Catholics (as compared to Protestants), attitudes toward it were generally positive by both groups. There also seemed to be a more general revival of the language among the young and the upwardly mobile. Given the dangers of the language issue becoming embroiled in politics at the macro-policy level, Mac Giolla Chriost suggests that progress in language planning needed to be at the micro level – locally based and tailored to specific community needs.

Yoshimitsu (2000) examined some language planning and policy strategies as they apply to an attempt at language maintenance by bilingual Japanese children in Melbourne whose parents are of Japanese background. This micro-level study showed that children's background (sojourner vs. permanent resident in Australia) was the key variable affecting the maintenance process. Micro-level maintenance was the result of a combined effort on the part of the parents and the children.

Jones (1996), in a community oriented study, compared the results of the findings of two methodologically identical micro studies of different Breton-speaking communities in France. These micro to micro-level study comparisons show that replication and comparative methodology can be used to verify language trends in speech communities as a whole and to reveal localised aspects that might otherwise escape the attention of language planners.

Tulloch (this volume) argues that language planning research and practice have largely ignored, or considered problematic, the diversity within endangered languages. Such a stance, though, conflicts with speakers' attitudes and desires, which often place high value on specific dialects. As grassroots, bottom-up approaches move to the forefront, so do concerns about the maintenance of distinct dialects of endangered languages. Dialect preservation has emerged (implicitly or explicitly) as a concurrent, complementary goal. Based on descriptions of dialect death and maintenance in the literature, this article suggests that 'micro' approaches to language planning favour the preservation of dialectal diversity within the broader pursuit of promoting endangered languages.

Sims (this volume) describes some of the challenges and issues facing American Pueblo Indians in their efforts to plan and implement language maintenance initiatives. According to Sims, language planning for language maintenance is necessarily a micro-level practice because language planning has to engage and reflect local oral traditions and local social structures. For the Pueblo Indians in Sims study, oral language traditions such as collective interactions and reciprocal relationships of kinship, ceremonial life, and internal governance form

the main contexts in which language maintenance can be addressed, while the traditional social and governance structures provide important roles for tribal leaders in language maintenance efforts. Sims argues that, by considering how community dynamics work within specific tribes, a better understanding is afforded about what drives members to engage in the types of planning activities they view as critical to language maintenance. For Sims, schools, because of their history and previous attitudes to indigenous languages, cannot easily be sites for indigenous language maintenance. Instead, processes involving negotiation and formal agreements are needed between indigenous people and local so that the underlying foundation of community beliefs about language can guide school initiatives and ongoing planning and decision-making. Dialogue between tribes, local school entities and their representatives is necessary to further an understanding about language perspectives and reasons for attempting to preserve and transmit indigenous languages.

Mac Giolla Chríost (this volume) focuses upon the emergence of micro-level practices in language planning in both the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. He argues that the limitations of macro-level have resulted in an eventual circularity of state policy and the ongoing contraction of the Gaeltacht. In response to the problems of macro level language planning, some micro-level language planning practices emerged in parts of the Republic of Ireland during the 1960s. Mac Giolla Chríost proposes that micro-level language planning could make a substantial contribution towards attaining cross-community engagement for Irish in Northern Ireland, helping secure the intergenerational transmission of the language in the Gaeltacht in the Republic of Ireland and providing more effective direction to language planning activity outside of the Gaeltacht.

Hatoss (this volume) provides an example of micro-planning for the Hungarian diaspora in Australia which involves community, government and non-government organisations both in the context of immigrants' source and host countries. The Hungarian language is supported by Hungarian government and non-government organisations, but the activities of these organisations are realised through micro-level language planning activities in Australia. Hatoss argues that micro-level planning is initiated in the community, but can only be understood within the wider scope of macro-level planning. She demonstrates that the micro-planning activities in the Hungarian community in Australia cannot be sustained simply by the community itself and rely on the community having access to and fostering links with expert support for both content and methodology. As a result, micro-level planning initiatives are essential complementary elements of macro-level language planning and neither macro-level nor micro-level planning is sufficient on its own.

Summary and Conclusions

In this paper, the question of whether or not micro language planning is a genre that should be explored and developed as a way of analysing and solving small-scale language problems has been raised. Whereas there have been significant developments in the understanding of macro language policy and planning (i.e. at the polity level) in the literature, much less attention has been

paid to micro developments, either in relation to macro planning implementation or in genuine micro-level analysis and action. However, with the turn to critical studies and from the perspectives of neophytes not bound by conventional definitions of LPP, micro language planning seems to be a useful concept for solving language problems in a range of areas including business, education and for families and communities more generally. It appears that we are seeing micro language planning beginning to get the wider research consideration it deserves.

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Notes

1. This is an expanded and substantially revised version of a chapter first published as Baldauf (2005b). I would like particularly to thank Minglin Li and Catherine Hudson for the helpful discussions we have had on various issues related to the issues raised in this paper, and to Tony Liddicoat and Bob Kaplan for their comments on various versions of this paper. Any errors of fact or interpretation, of course, remain my own.
2. The polity studies published in *Current Issues in Language Planning* provide examples of this genre as do a range of monographs such as Kaplan and Baldauf (2003, 2005); Baldauf and Kaplan (2004, 2006a, 2006b); Heugh (2003) and Ho and Wong (2000).
3. It is interesting to note how LPP terminology has changed. McConnell (1977a,b) characterised language planning as descriptive of the macro situations while language management represented the micro planning that was occurring in Canada/Québec in the 1970s.
4. The nature of agency, which is a major issue of debate in the general critical literature, has broad philosophical underpinnings, but is too vast to discuss in any detail in this paper. However, a number of recent language planning studies may serve to indicate the importance of this focus. For instance, Canagarajah (2005a) argues, based on a review of Tamil language languages policies, that there is a need recognise the agency of subaltern communities to negotiate language politics in creative and critical ways that go beyond the limited constructs of language rights. In another study, dealing with the politics of Philippine English, Tupas (2004) argues for the need to recognise the situated agency of speakers of Philippines' English speakers and their right to have their own variety recognised as a legitimate way of speaking, free of neo-colonial constraints. In a final example, Winter and Pauwels (2003) the issue of the evaluation of feminist language planning in Australia, presenting a 'trajectory' framework for the exploration of evaluation as part of the language planning cycle. The users' trajectories of change are mapped through documenting their first contact with gender bias in language (an initiating trajectory); their responses, practices, and actions in relation to this (a trajectory of practice); and their perceived roles in bringing about, facilitating, and spreading change (a trajectory of agency).
5. See, for example, Rubin and Jernudd (1971: xvi); Jernudd and Baldauf (1987) for the argument as it relates to Science communication; or Baldauf and Kaplan (2003) for a polity level summary.
6. See Baldauf (2004) for Australian examples of this type of prestige promotion.
7. There is of course literature related to business and technology that would be useful for those planning for this sector (e.g. Ulijn & Strother, 1995), but these are not themselves micro language planning documents.
8. Kaplan was an academic working at University of Southern California at the time but was in New Zealand as a Fulbright scholar.

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