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Language Planning and Social Change by Robert L. Cooper. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989, 187 pp.

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In *Language Planning and Social Change*, Robert Cooper engages the reader as he describes the field of language planning and adds to the field by synthesizing literature and building a theory of language planning. His work is a thorough and readable account of language planning complete with a variety of concrete, interesting examples that span both geography and history. In less than 200 pages, Cooper's book is a methodical step-by-step approach for the beginner to understanding the diverse and complex issues in language planning.

Cooper starts in the first chapter by describing the histories of four separate instances of language planning. In colorful and textured detail Cooper recounts the formation of the Académie français, the revitalization of Hebrew in Palestine, the American feminist campaign for non-sexist language use, and the Ethiopian mass literacy campaign. These short but interesting histories provide the reader with a sense of the diversity of instances of language planning and how the goals of each of these campaigns constitute instances of social change. In the subsequent chapters, these examples of language planning allow Cooper to consider the components of a good definition for language planning. These four examples additionally provide a shared basis of knowledge for discussion of language planning throughout the book.

In Chapter Two, Cooper considers previous work on language planning, as well as the examples from Chapter One as he builds a current definition for language planning. He examines 12 previous definitions by well-known scholars and shows how many definitions miss crucial components. Cooper constructs his own definition as a synthesis of previous definitions based on the question: "*Who* plans *what* for *whom* and *how*?" In considering the question of *what*, Cooper reviews three central types of planning which include corpus planning, status planning and acquisition planning. His own definition concludes the chapter: "Language planning refers to deliberate efforts to influence the behavior of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes." (p. 45) The strength of his definition is that it does not limit planning to authoritative agencies or restrict the target or form of planning. Language planning is furthermore considered to be a *type of influence* as opposed to outright *change* since much of language planning is concerned with maintenance and preservation of language.

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Chapters Three and Four are a discussion of frameworks for language planning. Cooper defines the tasks for language planners as: (1) describing; (2) predicting; (3) explaining processes and outcomes; and (4) deriving generalizations. Cooper also considers how judging the success of these tasks can be determined in terms of adequacy. A key distinction presented in this chapter is the difference between *correlative* and *observational* and *experimental* explanations. Cooper quite aptly refers to descriptive frameworks as "molds wherein behavior may be poured to cool and harden for analysis." (p. 58) That is, frameworks can be drawn from a number of different disciplines to describe different aspects of language planning. Cooper understands the activity of language planning in terms of the following factors: management of innovation, marketing, a tool for power, and an instance of decision making. In the process of reviewing these various frameworks, Cooper continually asks the questions: Who? What? When? Where? Why? and How? This strategy for inquiry allows him to get at all of the perspectives involved in language planning. Cooper continues to provide concrete language planning examples as he considers these questions within the frameworks of analysis.

In Chapters Five through Seven, Cooper reviews *status planning, corpus planning* and *acquisition planning* respectively. Whereas status planning refers to the various functions languages have in societies, corpus planning refers to modification or maintenance of the actual forms of language, which are deemed appropriate for the functions of the language. Acquisition planning looks at the organized efforts to promote the learning of language. Cooper draws on Stewart (1968) as a basis for examining the many possible roles of language in a society. Languages may be used for official purposes, for provincial or regional communication, as a language of wider communication, for international, capital, group, or educational purposes. Language may also have a function as the language of literacy or religious practice. Common focuses for corpus planning are issues of standardization, graphization, (establishing or standardizing writing systems), modernization (e.g., instituting new lexical items for scientific concepts) and renovation, (changing an already developed code in the name of efficiency, aesthetics, political or national ideology). Corpus planning often involves establishing attitude and ideology about language as much or more than influencing actual practice for language use. Among the recognized terms in the field discussed in this section is Kloss's seminal distinction between *ausbausprache* and *abstandsprache.* Cooper continually reminds us that corpus planning may be instigated to serve the power maintenance wishes of an elite, but it may just as well be used to strengthen the identity or self worth of minority groups or address the functional needs of the masses. Cooper's conclusions in this section, which recur as a theme throughout his book, show his continuous ability to view all language planning from many perspectives with a balanced understanding of ways in which power is a constant factor in language planning.

Since language planning is often an endeavor that initiates a change, Chapter Eight considers social change and discusses various common factors that are

thought to affect social change. Cooper notes that physical environment, population, discovery and invention, cultural diffusion, ideology and decision making often work together in some way to form social change. Therefore, theories which try to credit social change to one of these factors alone will invariably be wrong. Cooper briefly summarizes evolutionary, cyclical, functionalist, conflict and dependency theories and how they are related to language planning. All of these theories have come from different disciplines and Cooper determines in the end that no single theory can account for social change. He concludes that as language planning involves so many complex issues, a theory of language planning can not be determined until the field is better able find a satisfactory theory of social change.

In Chapter Nine, the summary and conclusions are simply a list of 24 generalizations offered to the reader about language planning. Many of the generalizations dispel common myths about language planning, and Cooper reiterates some of his most important conclusions from the previous chapters. Among these conclusions are that language planning is always concerned with the maintenance or the transfer of power. Language planning is and always has been a common and widespread endeavor. It is often concerned with language ideology as much as it is concerned with actual language behavior. With a comprehensive index of authors and subjects, *Language Planning and Social Change* gives the reader a balanced, readable summary and synthesis of language planning before 1989. The examples of planning both historically and at present give readers concrete cases to contextualize and understand the complexity and diversity of issues in language planning.