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Language and Identity in Algeria : from a Language Planning
Perspective

Dissertation submitted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of *Master* in
Didactics.

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Declaration of Originality

I hereby declare that this submission is my work and that, it contains no material previously published or written by another person nor material which has been accepted for the qualification of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution.

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Dedication

I dedicate my work to my beloved parents my mother Djohar and my father Mohammed who gave me support and encouragement .

To my brothers Zakaria and Abderahman and all my uncles and aunts for their encouragement.

To my sweetest Meriem and Imane and my angels Mellissa and Jad.

To my besties Amira BOUHAFS and Imene BECHAREF and Manel BECHAREF .

Acknowledgments

First and above all, I praise ALLAH, the Almighty for blessing, protecting, and guiding me to proceed successfully. It gives me pleasure to express my gratitude to my supervisor Dr. M. GACEM who supported me and contributed in making this thesis possible.

I would also like to thank the members of the committee, Mrs. BELESKRI and Mrs.MARROUF who have given their time to read and evaluate this humble work.

Abstract

The principal aim of this study is twofold. First, it tries to investigate the impact of Arabization policy on identity. Second it attempt to explore students attitudes and evince teachers' opinions about the essence of identity and its main constituent segments. Although Algeria is an Arab country, as the standard Arabic language is the official language recognized by the constitution, in spite of that the situation of the language is still complicated in the country because it is the Algerian Arabic and Berber in addition to the French language is still used on a daily basis by the people. During the past fifty-eight years, and specifically after the French independence in 1962, different generations of Algerians had different experiences with the language used in the work, social and even academic environment.

In order to address the core issues mentioned above, the present study depends on a mixed method research; that is, interview a questionnaire as main data collection tools. The obtained results show that identity is not a matter of articulation only one feature but the mobilization of a whole repertoire of languages. Thus our identity is in process rather than crisis.

Key words : Algeria, identity, language , Arabization, French, Arabic, Berber.

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List of Abbreviations

AA : Algerian Arabic

FR: French

MSA : Modern Standard Arabic

LPP: Language planning policy

FL: Foreign language

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General Introduction

General Introduction

It is communication, notably through language, that enlivens human beings co-existence in their societies, to facilitate their exchange of ideas, and to trigger their capacities to plan for the future. The purpose of this study is twofold first, it tries to investigate the impact of Arabization policy on identity formation in Algeria, second it attempts to explore students attitudes and evince teachers opinions about the main constituents of identity . the results has shown that MSA has a core cultural value whereas mother tongs acquire a constructivist value. In addition to that, foreign languages obtain with an instrumentalist value.

In particular, Algeria provides a considerable realm of study in language issues, first, because of her experience with a long period of French colonialism (the persistence of French language), second, the pressure of world globalization (the prevalence of English language), third, the future of local languages for argument's sake Mozabite, Targui,Chaouia, and Algerian Arabic. After independence (in 1962), the linguistic struggles were evident and varied opponents to Arabic, and proponents to French.

On the other hand , Language Planning Policy (LPP) in Algeria has frequently related with coincidence of circumstances, instead of functional decisions to encounter the country's greatest challenges. Since independence in 1962, the language issue has usually proved the struggle for interests at the highest level. These conflicts that make any language reform illprepared or undertaken inadvertently. As long as , the choice of such topic is motivated by an immense interest on the part of the researcher to try to get rid of the languages' illness in the country , and to overcome the greatest challenges starting with : the Arabization process, which created a division between the Algerians, was in the bands of some who did not respect the parameters of LPP (status, corpus, acquisition, and prestige planning), and it was not embodied within the good LPP framework (i.e. conscious initiation, relevant implementation, and worthy evaluation). The faster and bigger Arabization project made Modem Standard Arabic (MSA) badly implemented, that is to say, no language cultivation, no social participation, and partial Arabization of higher education. Further, this bitter failure pushed our political language planners to change the way of drive by claiming that Modem Standard Arabic is not in tune with modality and science. Thus , they call for an urgent shift due to globalization, which is seen as a second step in the hits and miss of a reform policy (if foreign

languages are present, the policy about them lacks coherence and realism). The third challenge in LPP is the necessity of the inclusion of mother tongues, for instance, Tamazight, and the expense of Algerian Arabic, Targui, Chaouiya, Mozabite. The opaque acknowledgment of Tamazight as a national language lacks officialization and a reliable standardization. Besides, the second root cause is the necessity to move from the descriptive to a more explanatory and critical thinking in LPP, so, language ecology, social ideology and human agency have increasingly become very important areas, and rich elements for moving the LPP forward.

The research questions set in this thesis are as follows:

1. How has Arabization dealt with identity in Algeria ?
2. Do students want to be affiliated with MSA only ?

The hypotheses formulated are follows:

1. Arabization enhances assimilations of ideology towards identity by claiming that MSA is the unique component.
2. Students may want to be affiliated with multiple “Mes” instead of a single “Me”.

In an attempt to answer the mentioned research questions, the researcher has recourse a study based on the answers of online standardized semi-structured questionnaire that covers 100 students distributed over three university region: West, East, and North. Besides, the use of semi-structured interview that embrace 4 university teachers.

The present work is divided into three chapters. The first chapter describes the social and linguistic diversity of the Algerian landscape through a historical and geographical overview of the country and the language policy stages . This chapter briefly presents Algeria and provides the linguistic background of the country. It offers an insight into the identity , sociolinguistic and socio-cultural reality of the Algerian society and shows the huge flaw between the real language practices and the current language policy of the country.

The second chapter deals mainly with the identity and language policy of Arabization as an example of language planning in Algeria. It explains why MSA was seen as important and why its implementation was fraught with serious obstacles. it exposes the different problems that the present language policy has created at different levels.

Our last chapter focuses on the overall analysis of the results based on the responses of the questionnaire. The latter highlights our informants' attitudes towards the linguistic situation and the linguistic future of the country. This chapter discusses the features of both quantitative and qualitative research. It also addresses the data collection technique in the study. A general conclusion ends the study; here we offer some recommendations, on the basis of our findings, for the improvement of language planning and language policy in Algeria.

Chapter One

Review of Literature

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1 Chapter One: Review of Literature

1.1 Introduction

The geographical location of Algeria played an important role in making it the center of several civilizations throughout history and a target of colonialism, The factors that affected in one way or another the current language situation in the country. Which provides us with a case of study that is culturally and linguistically diverse and rich context. Moreso, it will be important to take a comprehensive look at the historical developments of the current languages and the common points between them in several scopes focusing on the sociolinguistic, socio-cultural, political and educational issues.

In this chapter we will briefly explore in sociolinguistic terms, some key concepts in the process of language planning and language policy. Initially, there will be a contextual background on the country population to show its geographical and ethnic diversity of the country. Then, a description of the language profile in Algeria which reflects the linguistic richness of the country. Finally, we come to a conclusion that every language in is a major component of Algerian history and heritage that must be preserved and promoted.

1.2 Geographical situation :

The geographical location of Algeria has strategic importance and vital characteristics that collect rare features that have drawn from its location in the world map, it is a linking bridge and a meeting point between Europe and Africa and between the great Maghreb and the Middle East and an energetic area for many global marine, air and land communication paths.

Algeria extends from the white sea in the north is bounded by Tunisia and Libya to the east; Niger, Mali, and Mauritania by the south; Morocco and Western Sahara to the west. It is the biggest country I Africa and the 10th largest country in the world which is divided into two special geographic regions. The north is called the Tell, which is exposed to moderate effects, of the Mediterranean and it is generally formed from the Atlas Mountains, which separate the coastal plains from. The second region in the south, It is almost entirely desert, represents the

majority of the country's territory and is situated in the western portion of the Sahara, which stretches across North Africa¹. Carl, L.B., Chanderlie, A., Sutton, K., Zaimchche, S.(2019). Algeria Retrieved from <https://www.britannica.com/place/Algeria>

This geographical diversity has an important influence on the cultural and linguistic situation in Algeria starting by the west the great cities of Oran, Tlemcen that were influenced by the migrating Moors and Jews of Andalusia and by their neighbor country Morocco in art, music, food and some traditions. Back to the north where the Mountains of al-Awres¹ lays home of Berbers and the ancient cities of Constantine and Annaba close to the Tunisian and Libyan cultures and dialects which are the route to the Middle East. lastly the south, "The Great Desert " Its population who are various ethnic groups such as Berber groups Mezab and Touareg, who are a mix of African, Berber and Arab ideologies, languages and cultures.

1.3 The population:

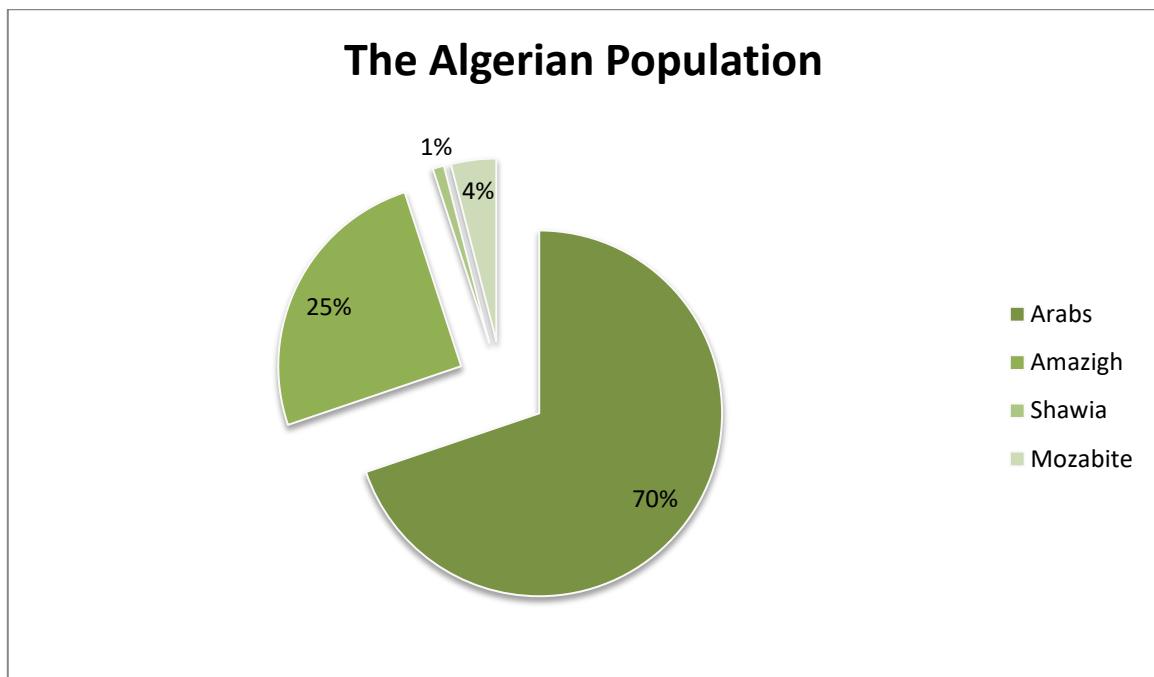
Due to the various encounters, colonizers and settlers, the Algerian population is varies in languages, dialect and ways of life what makes the Algerian socio-cultural one of the richest and diverse linguistic situations. It is fairly homogeneous, nearly 75% Arabs and 25% Amazigh.

The two groups Arabs and Berbers are basically set on the mother tongues “...people who are raised in the Arabic or Berber language respectively and who grow up in an environment where Arabic or Berber traditional customs prevail” (Benrabah, 2007). In fact, ethnic, religious and cultural connections between Arabs and Berber communities in

Algeria are so intertwined that a true Arab/Berber divide is hardly possible. Gravel indicated that:

Hence what has been commonly called ‘Arabization’ of the Berber traditions might with equal validity be called the ‘Barbarization’ of the Arabs because Berber traditions are quite strong, even among those whose ancestors have been Arabised for centuries (Gravel, 1979)

Suppose that it is possible to separate Arabs from Berbers according to Benrabah (2007) the use of the term "Arabophones" refer to those who mostly speak Arabic and "Berberophones" to refer to those who speak one of the several varieties of Berber.



Pie-chart 1.1: The Algerian Population

Note. This pie-chart illustrate the ethnic difference of the population in Algeria.

1.3.1 Arabophones :

The Arabic language in Algeria is a symbol of unity and as sign of the preservation of identity. In other words all Arabic speakers should be united by a shared history, language, and culture has long influenced most of Algerian people, who accordingly identify themselves as Arabs. This identity is determined by language rather than ancestry. Moreover Algeria always considers itself with the Arab World (Middle East) mote than it does with African countries.

Algerian Arabophones are linguistically Arabic-speaking population. They present the vast majority in Algeria; they are the dominant ethnic group culturally and politically.

Arabophones are settled all over the country with different lifestyles from one region to another.

1.3.2 Berberphones:

Studies show that the Berbers represent 25% of the population. The Berbers can be divided into groups (the Kabyles, the Shawias, the Mozabites and the Tuareg). The name Berber is derived from the Greek word Barbarus that meant any outsider to the Greeks. It has also used by the Roman to refer to the people who were refractory to the Roman civilization.

However, the Berbers do not refer to themselves as Berber. They use the word Imazighen it mean ‘free man’ or ‘noble man’, and is also used here as an adjective in the same way ‘Berber’ is used. Imazighen is the plural from this word, used to describe the

Berbers collectively. Tamazight is used to refer to the language spoken by Berbers. Tamazigha is the ‘land of Berbers’, not necessarily corresponding to any particular modern day nation, but to the perceived indigenous homeland of the Berber in North Africa.

1.4 Linguistic Profile of Algeria :

The current linguistic situation in Algeria is complicated. Before the arrival of Islam in the seventh century the language situation in Algeria consisted of three languages: Berber the native language, Latin the language of administration, and hybrid mixture composed of Greek and Latin. The current languages in Algeria are Algerian Arabic, Berber, Standard Arabic and French.(Berrabah, 2014)

After independence the government adopted the Arabization policy but French is still used in government, in diplomacy and higher education in the fields of Sciences. Although the majority of the Algerian population is monolingual, there is a large part that is multilingual. This has been due to all the foreign influence throughout history and colonization as is the case in many of the African countries.

1.4.1 Arabic language in Algeria

The spread of the Arabic language in North Africa was the result of the Islamic conquests; however the spread of the Arabic language was not as fast as the spread of Islam. Therefore, it was limited to a few major cities. Arabic did not replace Berber but it did replace Latin, which was used as the language of administration.

Algeria represents a classic example of a diglossic speech community, a term first used in 1930 by Marçais as ‘a peculiar linguistic phenomenon that involved two aspects of the same language’ and defined by Ferguson (1959) as follows:

Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to primary dialects of the language ..., there is a very divergent, highly codified ... superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of literature. Which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation (Ferguson, 1959, as cited in Hymes, 1964, p.435)

In the context of what Charles Ferguson provided to analyze this phenomenon, Arabic was among four classic defining languages. The other three were Modern Greek, Swiss German, and Haitian Creole.

The Arabic language is classified into two categories, classical and vernacular. MSA is a language with a long literary tradition and closely guarded sense of grammatical and rhetorical correctness. This classification is no longer valid as the Arab renaissance of the 19th century and the renewed interest in the language, In addition to its use in education, it witnessed the development of a third category emerging from high forms of speech in the Middle East. Nowadays, the Arabic language is classified into three main categories: Classical, Modern Standard, and vernacular. Some authors contested the existence of several varieties of Arabic in a continuum between Classical Arabic and the vernacular. The Algerian Constitution states that “Arabic is the national and official language” (Algerian. Const, 1989. Art. III, appendix B); however, it does not specify which Arabic is refer to.

It should be mentioned that the spoken varieties of Arabic differ more and more significantly from one to another and their mutual intelligibility lessens the further one goes

from any given point of origin. Thus, Iraqi and Algerian Arabic are almost entirely mutually unintelligible ; Chejne observes that “*the Arabic spoken in the different Arab countries shows a disparity in the use of language as great as any of divisive elements which separate the Arabs in the political, economic and governmental systems*”(Chejne, 1958,p. 14). Spoken Arabic has been classified into Eastern and Western varieties because “*there are marked difference between the linguistic situation in the Middle East countries and that in the North African countries*” (Bouamrane, 1986. P4). Moreover, “*there are points of vocabulary which place the Arabic dialects of Maghrib in the clearest, if not the deepest, contrast to those of the Middle East*” (Marcais, 1958. P580).

Western Arabic	Algerian	Use in an area which extends from the Moroccan border to Tenes.
Central Arabic	Algerian	Spoken in the central zone, which extends to Bejaia and includes Algiers and its surroundings.
Eastern Arabic	Algerian	Spoken in the high plateaus around Stif, Constantine, Annaba and extends to the Tunisian border.
Saharan Arabic	Algerian	Spoken by around 100.000 inhabitants in the Sahara desert

Table1. 1: The Distribution of Algerian Arabic across the Four Major Areas in Algeria

Note. The table above highlight the four major geographical areas of where Algerian Arabic spread

1.4.2 Tamazight Language in Algeria

In addition to Algerian Arabic, Tamazight (the Berber language) is the other native language spoken bay a minority approximately 25% of the Algerian population. This language is known to be spoken in North Africa for over forty centuries. Despite this long history and

strong cultural presence, Berber language is not recognized as an official language of Algeria or any North African country. The Algerian state, in particular, has until recently accorded Tamazight the status of a “national language” but not an official one. Berbers obtained the right to teach and learn their language at school.

Along with Arabic, the Berber language forms one subgroup of the large Afro-Asiatic language family. It is widely accepted that Tamazight is derived from a very old language called Libyan. However there has been considerable debate as to whether this latter was a single language or group of languages, as Haddadou pointed out :

Preset Berber descends from Libya, language which was spoken in North Africa since high antiquity. Ancient Greek and Latin authors signaled this language, which was distinct from that of the Phoenician colonizers. But unfortunately, no one of them described it. In the 5th century, St Augustine noted that the indigenous tribes of North Africa spoke one language; however, we do not know different spoken varieties, or a particular dialect which was widespread in his time or spoken in certain regions of the country

(Benali-Mohamed, 2007. P38 as cited in Haddadou, 2000, p.210)

Berber has been able to survive, despite its orality because of its capacity for borrowing and incorporating words from the languages with which it came into contact. Its resiliency and its success in resisting various influences and maintaining itself as the language of the home may have come from the fact that Berbers have insulated themselves from the successive foreign influences that came to dominate the country. The teaching of Tamazight is quite problematic; in fact, there exist many varieties of Berber, not one standardized version which can be taught to all pupils. To that end, a “national educational and linguistic center for teaching of Tamazight” was created in order to come up to the needs of the teaching of Tamazight.(Bratt-Paulston, 1986. P 124)

Although, appended to the common linguistic root of Berber varieties, one can not speak of one Berber community in Algeria since these groups are divided by geographical and

traditional differences. As a matter of fact the standardization of Tamazight language not yet been achieved. As explained by Roberts:

As a consequence of their geographical separation from one another and the absence of both any sustained commercial intercourse between them and of a written language, there has been no tendency for their culture to become unified or for their language to become standardizes in the course of their history”(Roberts, 1980, p.117)

Before the Arabs settled in the area, all of Tunisia, Morocco, Libya, and Algeria was Berber territory. Because of the increased migration into the cities and different parts of the country, the spread of Arabic dominates; Berber-Algerian bilingualism is the most widespread form of societal bilingualism within the speech community that involves the concurrent use of Berber and Arabic (Ferguson, 1972).

1.4.3 French Language in Algeria

According to a study conducted by "La Francophonie en chiffres" in 2013 that showed that Algeria is considered as the second largest Francophone country in the world regarding speakers.

...we are a francophone country, even if the constitution says that Arabic is the official language, that does not prevent 70% of Algerians from knowing French... Algeria is the second Francophone country after France itself (Abou-Djarra Sultani, 2002)

During French colonialism in the twentieth century, colonial authorities attempted to restructure the Algerian society according to Western ideals of modernity and economic progress. Among other projects, they initiated anti-Arabic, pro-French language policies that assigned symbolic value to these languages. The status of Arabic was weakened because it was perceived as inferior and random, while French was projected as being modern. Furthermore, if the French were to succeed in their colonial mission, the Algerian cultural identity was the first factor to get rid of. This identity, as it is the case all over the Arab world, was to large extent molded around two fundamental elements: religion and language. They sought therefore to eradicate the use of the Arabic language which is the medium of Islamic teaching.

Indeed, their strategy aimed at spreading French in order to be at the forefront of their political and economic domination over the country. This was done through introducing the French educational system in Algerian schools, a strategy that was best summed up by Gordan: “*When the Portuguese colonized, they built churches; when the British colonized, they built trading stations; when the French colonize, they build schools*” (Gordan, 1962. P 7)

The addition of French to the already existing languages was to have profound cultural, linguistic, social and economic effects on the Algerian society; some of these effects are still felt today. The French language did not dominate Arabic in schools only, but also in the public sector. All government institutions and public services related to the various ministries functioned in French. So that one could get a respected job and move up to more respected position in society, he had to master this language.

Thus, French became entrenched in the linguistic repertoire of Algerian intellectuals and politicians and its use did not cease with independence. It has been maintained as an important medium of expression and education. Today, this language enjoys a prominent position in the Algerian society and shares with Standard Arabic a high status, although it is used in different but sometimes overlapping domains, particularly in private and higher education, science, technology, business, tourism and media. With regard to this latter, we should note that there is a radio station and TV channel that magazines and newspapers that are published in French.

In fact, a lot of Algerian have some notions of French, receive French programmes’ by television and have relationships with emigrants settling in France. On another hand, a lot of teachers and institutors learnt in French and French universities still accept Algerians (Eveno, 1994, p.103)

As a result of the combined presence of French and Arabic in Algeria, speakers constantly mix or alternate between these two languages consciously or unconsciously in both formal and informal spheres. This has become part of their daily conversation. As Benchrefa observes:

By examining closely the different types of speech such as: political speech, the conversations within the family, we notice in the majority of cases the alternation of passages in Algerian Arabic, passages in Modern Standard Arabic and in French (Benchrefa, 1989, p.123)

In present Algeria, scientific domains and industry continue to operate in French, the language that is considered as meaning to bring modern ideas and gain more prestige. In many ways, the French language provides Algeria with ties to modernity and Western models of economic, scientific and technological success ties much needed in a country with great need

for economic development. That is why Algerians prefer to speak French more than Arabic as is explained by Sebaa:

Speakers of French are perceptibly more numerous than forty years ago. Barely some thousands at independence, they are now nearly 9 million ... the independent national and "Arab" authority has done more for French than French school and administration united during colonial period (Sebaa, 2002, p.61)

Nevertheless French is not given any official or institutional recognition; in other words, it is not present in the Algerian constitution, neither as a national nor as an official language. Additionally, its functions have been changing due to the massive introduction of the policy of Arabization which started in Algeria right after the independence, and recently, due to spread of English as the 'international language'. *"English has been gaining dominance in a number of sectors: the oil industry, computing and scientific and technological documentation."* (Bouhadiba, 2002. P16)

1.5 Language planning

It is the conscious and human deliberate manipulation of the linguistic resources of a society to achieve certain educational, political, and economic ends. Language planning is a widespread phenomenon in today's world particularly in the organization and development of multilingual states and recently decolonized countries.

Because of the increasing complexity of societies and the demand raised by minority groups in the world to establish linguistic equality, a careful and systematic language planning has become necessary and compulsory to take part in the building of states. Further, language planners are involved in the selection of official or national languages; development of writing systems; preparation of dictionaries, grammars, and textbooks; promotion of literacy; and standardization; modernization and technological enrichment of both majority minority languages. Their work is also closely related to that educational planners.

Once an agency or government has decided on the selection of a language or languages, it gives the task of planning to a language academy, or a language regulatory body. Thus, language planning can be defined as the practical implementation of language policy across all the possible domains of language use referred to in language policy. Besides, a more

comprehensive definition was recently formulated by François Grin, who describes language planning as:

A systematic, rational, theory-based effort at the societal level to modify the linguistic environment with a view to increasing aggregate welfare. It is typically conducted by official bodies or their surrogates and aimed at part or all of the population living under their jurisdiction. (François Grin, 2000, p.18)

A few comments about this definition can be presented. first, it is:

- **Systematic**

It means that language planning is made to be organized according to a certain method and aims at certain goals. Besides, language planning is systematic means that it is done in an organized, step-by- step way. Second, it is:

- **Rational**

It is interesting to focus on language planning as a rational activity, based on reasoning and logical exercises that ensure objectivity and not subjectivity. In addition, rationality, first, requires mentioning which language will be used for which official functions will be performed, and then decide which language will be most appropriate to serve those functions. Second, it requires that planners will be fully informed about all linguistic facts, such as the precise linguistic realities of the situation which needs to be changed, the exact goals they are expected to achieve, and the resources available to them. Third, it is :

- **Theory-based effort**

It is based on theories about two important factors, notably, language and planning, and the relationship between language and social life. As regards the language, the features which need to be considered are nature of linguistic system and the nature of language knowledge (grammatical or functional) (Ricento, 2006. P 66), the way in which language are used in the communication process, besides the role languages such as its psychological functions (for

instance as instrument in people's mental and affective development), its social functions in facilitating the socialization process, and its symbolic function (for instance in identity construction). The second constituent factor is the planning activity. Fourth, it modifies the

- **Linguistic environment**

It is regarded as the body of language planning. It has several aims either to increase the use of a minority language in actual life, to develop foreign language use in schools, or even to eliminate the use of certain languages. Fifth, it increases.

- **Welfare**

It is worth mention that the goal of language planning is to increase welfare- and this pushes us to ask the question: what kind of welfare ? to answer, welfare is not just matter of material dimension, but it refers to cultural welfare such as the preservation of our cultural heritage. Not only but also linguistic safety is needed by establishing equality between groups in society. Sixth, it is conducted by:

- **The state**

This means that the state intervenes through deliberate language manipulation. It is important to mention that this manipulation is understood here not in terms of political power play between actors holding conflicting views, but in terms of a discussion between different solution, each of which has advantages and drawbacks. Besides, language planning implementation is a difficult tasks, because it is difficult to change people's ways of language use, language norms, language attitudes and beliefs. Thus, it needs strong help by political leaders through the formalization of policies in legislation. Seventh, language planning is directed at:

- **Solving language problems**

The goal of language planning is to establish social, economic, educational, political and cultural comfort of society. Again, language planning discusses complex national problems. Because the term language policy and planning provide a unified conceptual area, the analysis of its coalescence is compulsory because they each play valuable roles in clarifying social ambiguities .

1.6 Division or Accommodation

The distinction between language policy (i.e. the plan) and language planning (i.e. plan implementation)is an important one for language researchers; the two terms have frequently been used interchangeably and relatedly. According to Appel and Mysken,

Language planning is in fact, part of, or the factual realization of a language policy: a government adopts a certain policy with regard to the language(s) spoken in the nation and will try to carry it out in a form of language planning. Any case of language planning is based on a certain language policy (Appel & Mysken, 1990, p.50).

Several policy analysts and sociolinguists have classified both terms in one terminological area called language planning policy (LPP) as a powerful related field. Both of them work in a complementary operation in devising strategies to solve language problems. Undoubtedly, this will enable us to foster the view that bridging the gap between the two terms will create a collaborative realm capable of dealing with and serving language problems and disputes. So as to illustrate the link between language planning and language policy Fettes stated,

Language planning ... must be linked to the critical evaluation of language policy: the former providing standards of rationality and effectiveness, the latter testing these ideas against actual practice in order to promote the development of better language planning models. Such field would be better described as ' language policy and planning (Fettes,2000, p.14)

Its domain of uses or to modify its form, is to be regarded as language treatment. Spolsky has pointed out,

Such treatment forms a continuum, at one end of which is non - rigorous treatment , which is equivalent to language policy, and

rigorous treatment at the other end, which is equivalent to language planning. In between the ends of the continuum are a series of activities ranging from language teaching to translation (Spolsky, 2006, p.125)

A more interesting analysis of the link between policy and planning is a relationship of inclusion. Ager stated, "*One could either say that language policy includes language planning or that language policy is an aspect of language planning*".(Ager, 2003. P 75)

The third dimension of the link between language planning and language policy is the role of intervention by an authority. All that needs to be mentioned here is that the authority that makes a language policy need not to be political,

indeed, there could be a hierarchy of authorities and levels of policy decision matched by the status or power of the authority concerned. For example, top-down decisions are fundamental decisions taken at the level of the government. An example of such a decision is the status of a language. Bottom-up decisions are consequential decisions taken in the course of implementation by commissions, committees and institutions. The truth is that the designation of LPP is useful and relevant. On the one hand, it enables us to know how LPP are inextricably linked with the role strength of each field. On the other hand, it creates a way around the lack of agreement on the exact nature of that relationship.(Shohamy , 2007,p. 55)

LPP offers a conceptual coalescence. and considered to be two sides of the same coin under which to pursue wide elucidation and big clarification of the implications of the policy and planning interplay. Further it is necessary to shed light on explicit and implicit LPP.

1.7 LPP Orientations

Orientation in LPP According to Ruiz, refers to "a complex of dispositions toward language and its role, and toward languages and their role in society" (1990, p.16). It is the backbone to carry out the entire planning, therefore, different orientations lead to different policy decisions. In addition, there are three language orientations: language -as -problem, language-as-right, and language-as-resource.

1.7.1 Language -as -a Problem

Under the orientation of language -as a problem, "language is seen as an obstacle standing in the way of the incorporation of members of linguistic minorities into the mainstream" (Hornberger, 2003, p.24) . It is imponent to keep in mind that the languages of minority communities were excluded from the general scene of many countries; rather, the priority ,vas given to more dominant languages. However foreign language (FL) cases are also mentioned under this orientation. As a matter of fact. during the Chinese and Iranian revolution, English education was banned in both countries because FL was seen as a symbol against their goal to pursue national unity.

1.7.2 Language -as -a Right

It considers each language as a basic human right. Hornberger has pointed out the right of linguistic minority members to speak and maintain their mother tongue is defined as a human civil right(2004, p. 24). Thus, the use of a language is regarded a basic fundamental for people within their countries. According to Kymplika,

It is important to preserve the structure of cultural communities in order to preserve meaningful choices about the 'good' for the individual since the state operates within a linguistic and cultural context. Thus, in order to give individuals fair equality of opportunity to realize their own conception of a good life, the state must try to provide equally effective support for the structures of each ethnolinguistic community making up the country. This would seem to provide great support and strong backing to multiple languages in a multilingual country". (Kymplika, 2004, p.56)

In addition, Stephen May (2004, p.30) argues that the languages of national minorities merit explicit protection and promotion by the state, because these minorities are legitimate groups.

1.7.3 Language -as -a Resource

It regards the languages of communities as important resources, where "the importance to the nation of conserving and developing all of its linguistic resources is emphasized" (Hombberger, 2004, p. 88). The fundamental idea behind this orientation is to foster multilingualism and tolerance to other cultures among people which would lead to peace as an outcome. However, this orientation can be criticized as:

A form of cultural -linguistic conservatism, this means preserving every linguistic and ethnic heritage as if to keep it in a live museum, in a society where movements towards standardization of language are dominant. This orientation is also against the voluntary and rational choice of people to acquire the standard language and to become full-fledged members in society. (Silverstein, 1987, p.154).

On the one hand, some language analysts suggest that these three orientations have different connotations. In their view, 'language as a problem' is an ideological mistake that , would be avoided; 'language -as right' is better, more popularly accepted but still too stagnant and conservative; whereas 'language as a resource' is the truly subservient area. On the other hand, other language commentators stress that these orientations are not divergent but convergent and constantly in play in most language situations. Besides, Ruiz (1990, p.78) provides an important analysis of the three dominant orientations towards LPP. He identifies a number of difficulties associated with the first orientation; the most salient of which is its regard of cultural and social diversity as 'problem' .He also notes that there are many unresolved problems associated with the second orientation, especially for language planners who perform this orientation enter into social conflicts, activism, and confusion. Based upon what he sees as limitations of the first two orientations, he argued that:

it can have a direct impact on enhancing the language status of subordinate languages; it can help to ease tensions between majority and minority communities; and it highlights the importance of cooperative LPP. (1984, p.25-26)

1.8 Stages in LPP

According to the model proposed below, each stage of the LPP process significant

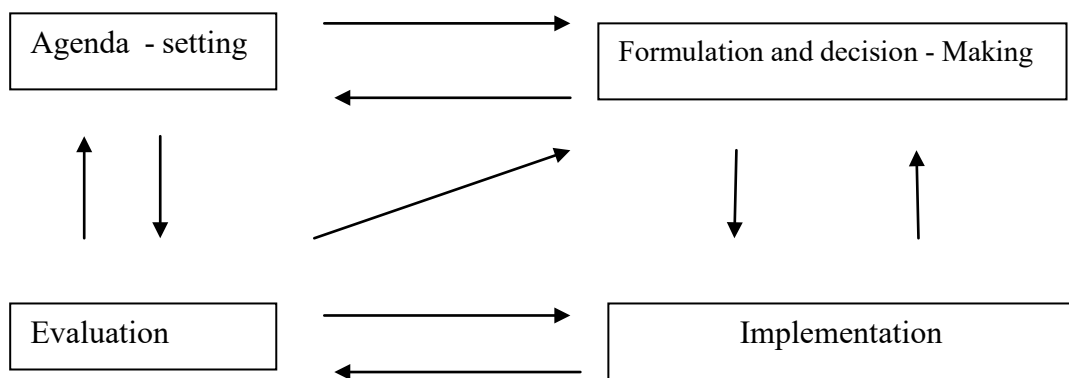


Diagram 1.1 : Four-fold Stages of LPP (Ingram, 1990, p.55).

Note. The diagram above illustrate the four- fold of LPP

The first stage in LPP is agenda -setting that is presented when language problems are identified. Language problems are then identified and their nature is clearly defined. The language problems are made in an agenda for discussion, and the strategic solutions are formulated as a part of government policy. The second stage is the formulation of LPP and the articulation of decision -making area. The policy formulation refers to language choice which is made, i.e. how to work out solutions to the language problems and how to select people who are expected to carry out the implementation tasks. The implementation phase is about the execution of the LPP decision, while evaluation ensures weather the policy is successful or not

1.9 Conclusion

Each of the constituent languages has acquired a prominent socio-cultural position that is the result of a long historical development marks by the country’s colonial past. Starting with Tamazight the ancestral language, Arabic the official language, and French the language of modernization are all strongly connected and inevitably making up a multilingual Algeria.

These languages are inseparable in the mind and life of Algerians. They constitute the Algerian linguistic patrimony and reflect the sociolinguistic richness and diversity of the country, in addition to the different phenomena that prevail in the country as a result of the interplay between these languages and which make of Algeria a very interesting and rich ground for studying language contact phenomena.

The following chapter aims to investigate language contact phenomena with evidence from the Algerian context. We try to show some key concepts in the process of language planning and Arabization and how has Language planning policy dealt with identity in Algeria .

Notes to Chapter One

1- Mountains of al-awras:

is a partly mountainous region located in the North-East of Algeria, characterized both by its rich history, its partly mountainous relief and by its traditional settlement, the Berber group of Chaouis.

Chapter Two

Identity from Language Planning Perspective

Chapter Two Identity from Language Planning Perspective

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2 Chapter Two Identity from Language Planning Perspective

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is an attempt structured around the analysis of Arabization policy and its impact on national identity . the deep social fractures and the mosaic linguistic situation all for careful policy attention in Algeria in order to preserve linguistic stability and to reconstruct a sincere national identity that can encompass all citizens. Thus, analysis of Arabization policy and how it has dealt with identity is presented.

2.2 Identity from Language Planning Policy Perspective

“please tell me what we have learned, I know it sounds absurd, but please tell me who I am”
(Subertramb, 1979).

It could be argued that the notion of identity appeared before 1600s; however, Benwell and Stokoe (2006) identified two different eras in Western history, which gave rise to this construction: the Age of Reason, or enlightenment and the Romantic movement. These two distinct periods showed different conceptualizations of identity, which were directly linked to the construction of the self. Seventeenth-century scholars emphasized that the only way to understand the self was through cognitive thinking; that is, the sum total of knowledge and experiences in the mind (i.e., what Descartes stated, I think therefore I am). However, in the 19th century, scholars began to construct the self in relation to nature. It is this construction of the Romantic Self that we will return to it in my upcoming discussion of nationalism in Algeria, the relationship between nation and state, and the meaning of 'one people-one country'. Bakhtin (1981) suggests that there is a "a dialogue of different times, epochs, and days". Bakhtin's notion of heteroglossia, which refers to the self and its various voices reveals that these voices are impacted by interactions of the past, of being, and positioning of the future, of becoming. Blommaert also argues that "the performance of an identity is not a matter of articulating one identity, but the mobilization of a whole repertoire of identity features"

(2005, p. 232). These different positioning define identity as part of a process that calls forth past, present and future. In other words, the construct of identity is diverse, dynamic, and vibrant over time and space.

From another parameter, the field of social sciences and humanities is marked by five main conceptions of identity: primordialism, instrumentalism, situationalism, constructivism and hybridity. For primordialists, the links between language and identity are inseparable and primordial. For instrumentalists (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000), speakers learn to activate languages when required. Jernudd and Das Gupta perceive language as "a social resource that acquires importance according to the identify values which members of a speech community grant it" (1997, p.196). Constructivists perceive identity as a result of historical accounts of a common past and language; thus, building symbolic boundaries for entities.

Hall (1992) and Gilroy (1993) emphasize on the notion of hybridity that rejects any form of rooted or fixed identity. For Bhabha (1994), it is the undefined spaces between ascribed identities. However, it is criticized for its over emphasis on the division and rootless nature of identity. What is more, variations in language use are apparently due to a process of constant negotiation (Le Page, 1985, p.82). Blommaert (2006) provides a useful dichotomy of 'inhabited identity' which people articulate or claim, and 'ascribed identity' which is given by someone to someone else. He points out, "national identity is invariably ascriptive, attributed by the state or state-affiliated institutions such as education system ... which may lead to an inhabited identity in which people adopt the ethnolinguistic national identity as part of a broader repertoire of identities" (p. 123). Thus, several key concepts have emerged from the post modernist school about identity. First, identity is not only self attributed, but also ascribed by others. Second, linguistic identity is changeable, negotiated, and performed (Pennycook, 2006).

In a society where the majority of the population is Muslim, Islam is legitimizing, this is one of the main features of Arab-Muslim countries (Grandguillaume, 1982). As regards nationalism, Arabization was essential because the language issue was so apparent in the agenda of the national movement. The link between Islam and Nationalism in Algeria was the Arabic language (Cubertafond, 1995, p. 109). Nevertheless, the Ulemas had close ties with Middle-Eastern Pan-Arab ideologies, and they remained obedient to their directives (Ageron, 1969, p.88). They equated Arabization with Islamization: "the Arabic language is not thought of as a means of transmitting knowledge but as a support for religion which must hold the highest influence over ideas. The revival of Arabic is both put in competition with French and used as a barrier erected against foreign influences" (as cited in Benrabah, 2004, p.161). Thus,

the Ulemas advocated an ideology of exclusion: their insistence on the Arab-Islamic dimension alone pushed the Algerian post-independent decision-makers to make identity in crisis instead of becoming in process, and prevented any harmonious integration or negotiation of other constituent parts of the Algerian identity (the Berber in particular).

In the outcomes of Algeria's political independence, the country's newly appointed leaders set out to correct the linguistic and cultural situation of the pre-independence era. In addition , they intended to seek the complete elimination of the system recognized by the colonial authorities, and in particular the French influence with regard to linguistic and cultural matters. And they meant to restore national unity and Arab identity to the country. Language was a prerequisite for achieving their goals. Thus , a very intensive and strict program of Arabization was initiated, preferring Arabic as the only national and official language in Algeria.

It was believed that the continued existence of the French would allow a form of colonialism to survive. Indeed, efforts have been made to strengthen the standard form of the Arabic language as a source of authenticity and identity, as well as a way to overcome the controversial role of the spoken varieties prevalent in Algeria in particular and the Arab world in general.

Types of Planning	Objectives
<p>Corpus planning: The linguistic aspects of language planning such as orthographic innovation, spelling, pronunciation, language structure, vocabulary, registers, style and the preparation of educational materials.</p>	<p>1- Orthographic standardization a. Officialization b. Campaign for good use of the orthography 2- List of words a. Compile list and print 3- Spelling checker a. Officialize and upgrade 4- Standardize lexicon (create a dictionary) a. Officialize, establish deadline 5- Specific vocabulary (lexicon . developn1ent) a. Invent and optimize 6- Grammar standardization a. Complete a basic manual of Algerian Arabic grammar 7- Publish and study Algerian Arabic literature a. Distribution of authentic Algerian Arabic literature 8- Devise a program to systematically study Algerian Arabic oral literature</p>
<p>Status Language Planning: Concerns the function of a language within its speech community as a tool of communication and as a symbolic force serving as an emblem of groupness (Kaplan & Baldauf,1977). These aspects of . status language planning relate to social issues and concerns.</p>	<p>1- Conduct sociolinguistic surveys 2- Collect and publish data on Algerian language issues 3- Organize workshops and seminars on language investigations 4- Involve the students for language investigation</p>
	<p>Use public newspapers, radio and television to reinforce and legitimate the use of Algerian Arabic. Hosted a symposium on Algerian Arabic</p>
<p>Acquisition Planning: Determines how the language is going to be acquired and maintained by the public. Included are the issues related to language and education such as school programs and teaching materials to be utilized for language acquisition through content instruction.</p>	<p>1- Promote good use of Algerian Arabic a. Radio program b. TV lessons on Algerian Arabic. e. Create a special school for teachers of Algerian Arabic 2- Promote production of books in Algerian Arabic a. Increase translation production b. Stimulate native speakers to write and produce books in Algerian Arabic. 3- Get feedback from teachers, parents, and administrators about the need to formally implement Algerian Arabic into the school curriculum.</p>

Table 2.1: Language planning Strategy

Note. The table above highlights language planning strategy and objectives.

2.3 Language planning policy and Arabization

Arabization is a term referring to the linguistic process that was launched in the early years of independence, particularly in the countries of North Africa, as part of the quest for political and linguistic unity among all Arabic speakers. It seeks to replace colonial French as an official language, by Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) as a way to restore a sense of identity that was dismantled by the French colonialists. Above all, Arabization was a hasty reaction to imperialism and the French domination that lasted for more than a century, during which France included Algeria as an integral part of the French legacy, and this is what makes Algeria's colonial experience clearly distinguished from many other experiences. (Stora, 2001). In this respect Ennaji says:

By contrast, in Algeria the place of French is a paradoxical subject of conflict for historical reasons. Because France attempted to assimilate Algeria (more than Morocco and Tunisia) into the French cultural community, officials in independent Algeria react in a hostile way to French and are very keen on seeing it replaced by the national language, Arabic. (Ennaji, 1991, p17-18).

Unsurprisingly, the Algerian base adopted a central policy for Arab Algeria only to restore its pre-colonial past and restore its Arab-Islamic¹ characteristics as expressed by the well-known slogan of the leader Abdelhamid bin Badis during the Algerian struggle for independence ' *islam is our religion, Arabic is our language and Algeria is our nation*'. Hence, MSA has been promoted as a language for wider literacy, management and communication.

Moreso, the political leaders of the newly independent nations depict these states as units made up of people who have a common culture, a common history, and a common language. The idea of one nation / one language², that is, one nation should have only one language, was a very common language and it was one of the ways in which postcolonial societies often grappled with the cultural and linguistic legacies of colonialism.

Arabization was promoted from different ideological motives. First in the first place first . It was based on the idea that Algeria is an Arab country and that it should be closely linked with other Arab countries and aspire to Arab unity. A goal that cannot be achieved as long as the Arabic language does not belong to the Algerian state as a single official language. In

general, Arabization was seen as a necessary condition for ensuring the Arab-Islamic identity of the countries inventory by colonialism.

Accordingly, Arabization was essentially synonymous with unity and homogeneity in the religious aspect. It was believed that MSA, being the language of divine revelation, was the only language that would appropriately represent the religious identity of Algeria as a Muslim state. As such, the establishment of MSA as an official language was a prerequisite for unifying Algeria's loyalty to the Arab-Islamic world. An ardent defender of Arabization, Rouadjia assert that :

The Arabic language and Islam are inseparable. Arabic has a privileged position as it is the language of the Quran and the prophet, and the shared language of all Muslims in the world, language of science, language of culture. (Rouadjia, 1991, p. 111)

Culturally, Arabization was prominently associated with the so-called cultural independence, that is, it was considered the cultural counterpart to political and economic independence. K. Brahimi said that Arabization is a fundamental measure of the Cultural Revolution after the Industrial Revolution. As shown:

Arabic is an essential component of the cultural identity of the Algerian people. One cannot separate our personality from the language which expresses it. Therefore, the widespread use of the Arabic language and its mastery as a creative and functional instrument, is a primordial task for the Algerian society at every level of cultural manifestations and of socialist ideology. (Taleb Ibrahimi, 1997)

The same view was also expressed by Bentahila:

It seems to be generally agreed that CA is the most appropriate vehicle for Arabization, for two main reasons: its links with the religious and cultural heritage, and its role as a unifying factor in the Arab world. (Bentahia, 1987, p.235)

From a political point of view; Arabization 'serves two contradictory, though not incompatible purposes' (El Biad, 1985. P 130-131). On the one side, the elite classes, who were greatly influenced by the French language and the value system, knew that French would remain essential for social and economic development. Nevertheless, they promoted Arabization in an attempt to distance the masses from political power. On the other hand, the

general population, which is mostly illiterate, was persuaded to support Arabization because they believed it would lead to greater equality of opportunity for them.

What class calls for Arabization, in whose interest is it? In reality, the poor classes call for Arabization, hoping that it will establish equal opportunity, whereas the privileged classes grant it [Arabization], knowing that it will not affect their children, and that it will keep the children of the other classes out of the competition (Grandguillaume,1983, p.36)

2.3.1 Problems of the Arabization policy

Grandguillaume (1983) explains that the problem of Arabization revolves around three linguistic, social or social, political and anthropological differences . On the linguistic level, it appears that Arabization faces serious problems related to the strong presence of other languages that serve different and sometimes similar roles within Algerian society. As such, the implementation of the process of immediate and total Arabization sharpened the gap between written languages, that is, Modern Standard Arabic , French and sometimes English, on the one hand, and spoken languages : Algerian Arabic and Berber on the other hand. Furthermore, the attempt to introduce Modern Standard Arabic in all fields of activity heightened the problem of which language should be used for what purpose. It is partly due to the fact that Modern Standard Arabic has never been naturally or spontaneously spoken by Algerians. It has always been regarded as a Foreign language that is learnt at school only, as it cannot be used as a natural means for self-expression or daily communication. That is why, in some respects, replacing Fr by Modern Standard Arabic simply substitutes one non-native language for another, as Hadjarab confirms *'This leads to absurd situations. Politicians ... who badly express themselves in Classical Arabic Jabber and desperately look for their classical words on television instead of speaking the language of the people''*. (Hadjarab, 2000. P 2)

It is also due to the situation of Arabic diglossic⁴ in which the official standard variety is significantly different from the spoken variety. This diglossic relationship between Modern Standard Arabic and Algerian Arabic created a major sociolinguistic and educational problem; it contributed to a higher school dropout among a whole generation of Algerian Arabic and Berber speaking pupils who were forced to begin their formal education in a language other than their native language. In this respect Grandguillaume states *'L'école Algérienne se porte*

mal' (the Algerian school is in bad health) (Grandguillaume, 1997, p.8) . As it is known, teachers still find it necessary to resort to the spoken varieties in teaching and explaining Modern Standard Arabic to learners , because it is not their first acquired language but it is formally taught in school. Talmoudi suggests:

Dialect/Classical Arabic bilingualism calls for the introduction of dialect teaching at compulsory schools during the first two years, where the children learn to master the own mother tongue and to write a language adequate to their cognitive development when learning to write their own vernaculars they also get the ability to express their thoughts and emotions in a nuanced way and thereby avoid falling into illiteracy (Talmoudi, 1984, p.32)

Nevertheless, this aspect of the base of the linguistic position did not receive sufficient objective attention, although it was alluded to by some Algerian intellectuals such as Taleb Brahim, who explained:

In order to succeed, Arabization has to bridge the gap between the spoken and the written forms of the language. Diglossia, although not characteristic of Algeria, presents particular aspects because some 'orientalists ' want to turn dialectal Arabic into a real Maghrebi language, as far removed as possible from literary Arabic. (Taleb El Ibrahim, 1937,p.19)

Given the prestige and supremacy of MSA, being the language of divine revelation, this means that it is relatively easy to convince people that it is the only appropriate language to use, while the spoken types are synonymous with inferiority and ignorance. Arabic speakers have been reported to "deny the existence of the low variety and claim to only use the high variety" (Versteegh, 1997, p.190), because the low varieties are usually stigmatized and ignored. In the literature on Arabic speech societies, spoken variants have become equivalent to those of the uneducated, says Versteegh:

The low variety of the language is associated with low education, since the standard is taught and learnt at school, and hence with illiteracy and poverty, since people with a poor education cannot make a career. The standard language, on the other hand, is associated with higher education, success in society and a high socio-economic class. (Versteegh, 1997, p.195)

However, many linguists advocate and promote the use of the speaker's mother tongue because they recognize its important role as a vehicle for expression and development of conceptual formation. The language policy that lowers the level of the mother tongue has an

effect on the socialization of individuals. With their languages underestimated, they will feel social exclusion, according to Haldi:

A speaker who is made ashamed of his own language habits suffers a basic injury as a human being: to make anyone, especially a child, feel so ashamed is as indefensible as to make him feel ashamed of the color of his skin. (Halliday,1968. P165 as cited in Bouamrane, 1986, p.293).

Likewise, Gill (1999) argues that speakers of Berber or homonymous Arabic dialects may feel that they are at a disadvantage or limited because their languages are not affected by the state. For them, the language barrier, and thus the social barrier, still exists despite the departure of colonialism. Supporters of indigenous languages say:

The future of Algeria lays, in our opinion, in the recognition without any kind of complex of the Maghrebi language ... Teaching in the elementary level will take place in the mother tongue and would offer classical Arabic as the first language of wider communication. The French language will, in this case, find its proper place and can be in competition with English. Finally, knowledge of a Foreign language will contribute to the blossoming of Algerian children, finally reconciled with themselves. (Gill, 1999)

Furthermore, a group of American sociolinguists from the University of Berkeley participated in the period 1963-1964 in order to draw the sociolinguistic map of Algeria. The group came up with advice to promote the use of the Algerian Arabic and Berber languages: the most commonly used languages and compatibility. Regardless of these recommendations, the government has gone so far as to conclude an agreement with sociolinguists, according to which the survey results will not be made public. (Benrabah, 2002) Of equal importance are the problems of body planning and the need for a new vocabulary so that SA becomes a vehicle for modern culture and is suitable for social and scientific expression. Grandguillaume says in this regard:

In order to meet the needs and uses of the language it replaced, the Arabic language should be modernized, somehow reshaped into the image of the language it replaced: the fact that would lead to profound changes, semantic and functional. (Grandguillaume, 1991, p.49)

The problems remain at the level of commitment to Arabization and its implementation. The relatively slow development and promotion of MSA use in many areas is the main cause of ineffectiveness and disruption of localization. This is largely because political priorities often take precedence over the requirements of applied linguistics for successful implementation and because financial and human resources do not always coincide with language planning plans. *"Indeed, Arabisation as a goal is one thing and its implementation in a society is quite another thing "(Mostari, 2005, p.45).*

In fact, Arabization aims at the linguistic unity of the country as a fundamental factor of national unity; meanwhile, it constitutes a factor of exclusion of the Berber speaking people, the French speaking people and even the speakers of Algerian Arabic. This is the plural nature of Algeria's landscape, which made : *Guilt-ridden Algerians wonder about the legitimacy of such a [multilingual] legacy. They ask themselves: Is it a feature of a thriving society or of an alienated one? Should they continue to use all their languages? Might they lose themselves, or rather, find themselves, in so doing? (Saadi-Mokrane,2002, p.57).*

Since then, the language policy pursued in Algeria has always been a source of linguistic and political conflicts. The reactions of Amazigh speakers against Arabization varied, as they tried to pressure the government to recognize their rights, including the right to declare their national and official language in the country. They sought to restore the Berber identity within the framework of linguistic and cultural independence. Many rebellions and violent protests have been recurrent, essentially in the Kabylia region, against the state. This was particularly evident in the spring of 1980 and 2001 which have come to be referred to as Tafsut Imazighen and Tafsut Taberkant ; 'Berber Spring' and 'Black Spring' respectively, when violent riots led to the death of a big number of civilians. Language has been seen as one of the main constituents of the identity of the Imazigheo, and has been used by them as a unifying force, that is why there has been a steady increase in Amazigh cultural associations (about 300 Amazigh cultural associations in Kabylia alone, according to Chaker 1995) and print media in and about Tamazight. The table below highlight the official and popular language planning discourses in Algeria .

Languages in Algeria	Official Discourses	LPP	Popular Discourses congruent with official LPP	Popular discourses counter to official LPP
MSA	-Official and a national language of the country		-It represents our identity, solidarity, unity and authenticity	-Official neglect towards MSA -Further cultivation and enrichment
Tamazight	-National language		-National triumph for mother tongues	-Nationalization without officialization is a failure
Algerian Arabic, Mozabite, Chaouia, Targui	-Tolerance without officialization		- It is better to have some rather than none	-They represent a significant repertoire. Thus, they need a niche, a role and space.
French	-First foreign language		-Language of science and technology	-Sound decision but insufficient.
English	-Second foreign language		-Language of wider communication	- A further recognition of other worldwide Languages: Hebrew, Chinese, German, Russian...

Table 2.2: Official and Popular Language Planning Policy Discourses in Algeria

Note. The table above provides a summary of the official LPP discourses in Algeria

2.4 Conclusion

After independence, Algerian society could not begin to rebuild itself without regaining what it was. The identity is presented as a Muslim and therefore speaks Arabic. After that, intensive efforts were made to Arabize the Algerian people and the various sectors in the country. MSA was separation from the French language as a reaction to cultural and linguistic imperialism, but the result was controversial. Not only did Arabization fail to put an end to the use of French that pervaded all walks of life, but it also caused sociolinguistic, social, economic and educational problems that have thrown the country into a state of constant

chaos. This has remarkably led to an interruption in mastery of the language and its use, and the different attitudes towards languages on the arena between generations and social classes living in Algeria today.

The official language policy was unsatisfactory and inconsistent because it did not take into account some important variables such as the country's ethnic and linguistic make-up and colonial history. Indeed, the multilingual nature of the country and the absence of a single and independent body responsible for regulating behavior and implementing issues of language policy are among the main factors working against Arabization and leading to its disruption.

The next chapter handle the research methodology in this research paper. It also deals with the instrument used for the data collection, plus the analysis of Algerian people towards present linguistic situation in Algeria.

Notes to Chapter Two

1. Arab-Islamic: A country inhabited by the majority of Arabs who follow the Islamic religion.
2. One nation/ one language: one nation should only have one language .
3. Illiterate: unable to read or write.
4. Diglossic: The use of two markedly different varieties of a language in different social situations, such as a formal variety at work and an informal variety at home.

Chapter three

Data Analysis and Interpretation

Chapter Three Data Analysis and Interpretation

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3 Chapter Three Data Analysis and Interpretation

3.1 Introduction

This chapter aims at investigating the core features of identity. It encompasses an empirical study which sheds light on the language repertoire that exists in Algeria, and enhances the main components of identity. Thus, the researcher had recourse to two data collection tools : questionnaire and interview.

3.2 Research design

research methodology is defined as "a way of thinking about and studying social reality (Strauss, 1998, p.3). It is used to seek answers to the research questions.

From another fence, a mixed method research embraces the collection and analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data in a single study with some attempts to integrate the two approaches at one or more stages of the research process. In clearer words, mixed method research involves the mixing of quantitative and qualitative research methods or paradigm characteristics (Johnson & Christensen, 2004). On wuegbuzie and Leech (2005) emphasize that "Monomethod research is the biggest threat to the advancement of the social sciences" (p. 357). These supporters of mixed methodology do not simply regard the application of manifold viewpoints, philosophies, and research methods as a potency in educational research, but they would claim that mixed methods studies can be excellent and of top-quality to explorations produced by either quantitative or qualitative research alone.

Yet, it should be noted that there are distinct purposes for combining methods :(a) to achieve a complete understanding of a target occurrence and (b) to validate one set of findings against the other (Sandelowski, 2003). In the first instance the goal is to attain a detailed and wide-ranging insight of a complex matter, looking at it from different angles. The second purpose is to corroborate one's results by converging outcomes gained via the use different method

It is to be noted; however, that the first research procedure is a semi-structured interview which refers to a prepared interview protocol that includes a number of questions. These questions are usually open ended. The present semi-structured interview serves to evince opinions about social identity for mention . Besides, the semi-structured interview is based upon the use of three types of questions:

- Core questions that address key themes of the research.

- Probe questions that seek to elicit additional information about the core questions.

At the other end of the spectrum is standardized semi-structured questionnaires that include structured questions such as closed, and pre-coded open questions. The former is popular with researchers. The respondents have to check the appropriate box and the data are automatically recorded and easy to administer. The latter requires the questionnaire writer to second-guess what the range of responses is going to be. It may be used to provide some accuracy by giving a limited number of answers. In addition, other questions that permit more flexible answers to convey ideas and comments in an open-ended manner are presented. A questionnaire is said to be standardized when each respondent is to be exposed to the same questions and the same system of coding responses. The aim here is to try to ensure that differences in responses to questions can be interpreted; and it is semi-structured, since its mixed-format makes it suitable in a diverse range of situations.

3.3 The target group

For mythological clarity and research accuracy in our attempt to address the issue of language in Algeria, we limited our sample to a micro level category. The respondents are 100 master two English students distributed over three university regions : West, East, and North besides the use of semi- structured interview that embrace 4 university teachers who are great multilingual; using at least three languages. Their opinion is seen remarkable on regard of their intellectual level.

3.4 Data Analysis of Interview

1. How has Arabization dealt with identity?

Teachers enhanced strong unanimity for the restrictive Arabization policy and the revisionist ideologist directed towards identity. They answered that since independence the Algerian leadership has claimed MSA as the main constituent of identity, one teacher states :

Since independence, the Algerian policy markers has considered MSA as the sole vector of identity. This assimilationist ideology has impacted the linguistic scenery in the country, and has considered other languages like mother tongues as a problem and a real barrier

2. Is identity a single entity

All teachers acknowledge that the principle features of identity are religion, culture and language. The latter reprints' a significant feature and vehicle of identity, according to them, identity is not a single entity is the mobilization of a whole repertoire of features.

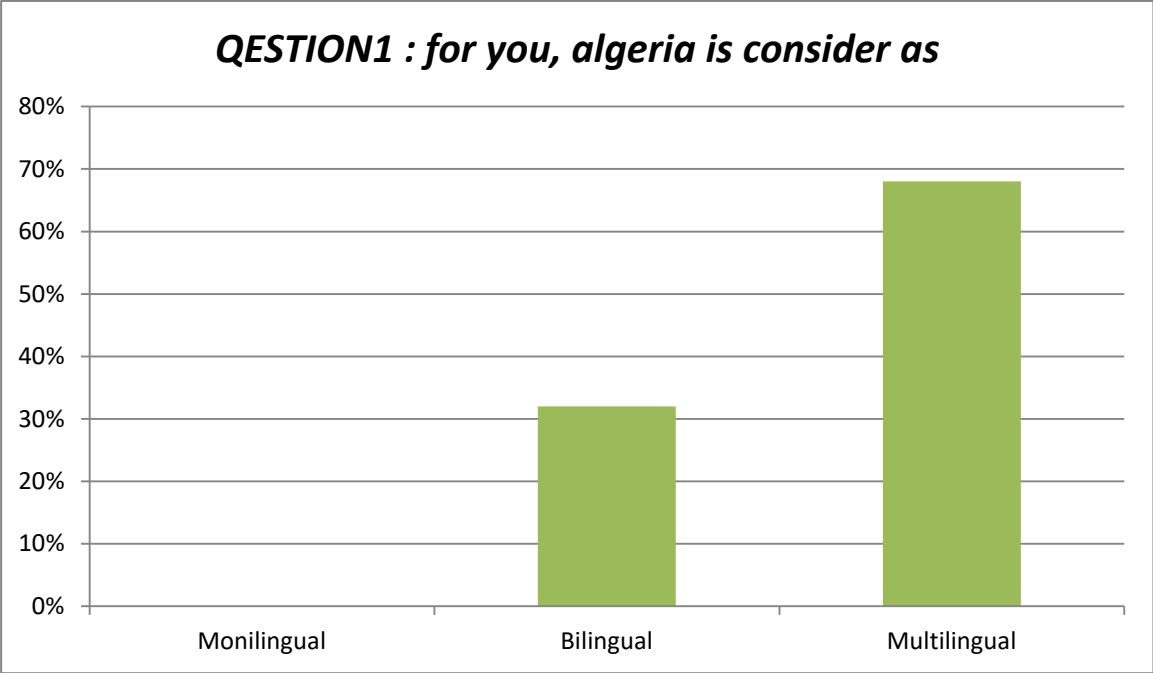
3. What is your vision about identity in Algeria ?

Teachers affirmed that identity is no longer a stragnantoring identity, it should be more resilient and flexible to cope with all alteration locally and globally, and not to be absorbed in a world enrolled in massive changes. By this way, teachers confirm, we can get rid of linguistic estrangement

3.5 Data Analysis of Questionnaire

Our questionnaire is divided to five sections. The results acquired for each section are given numerical value on the basis of graphs.

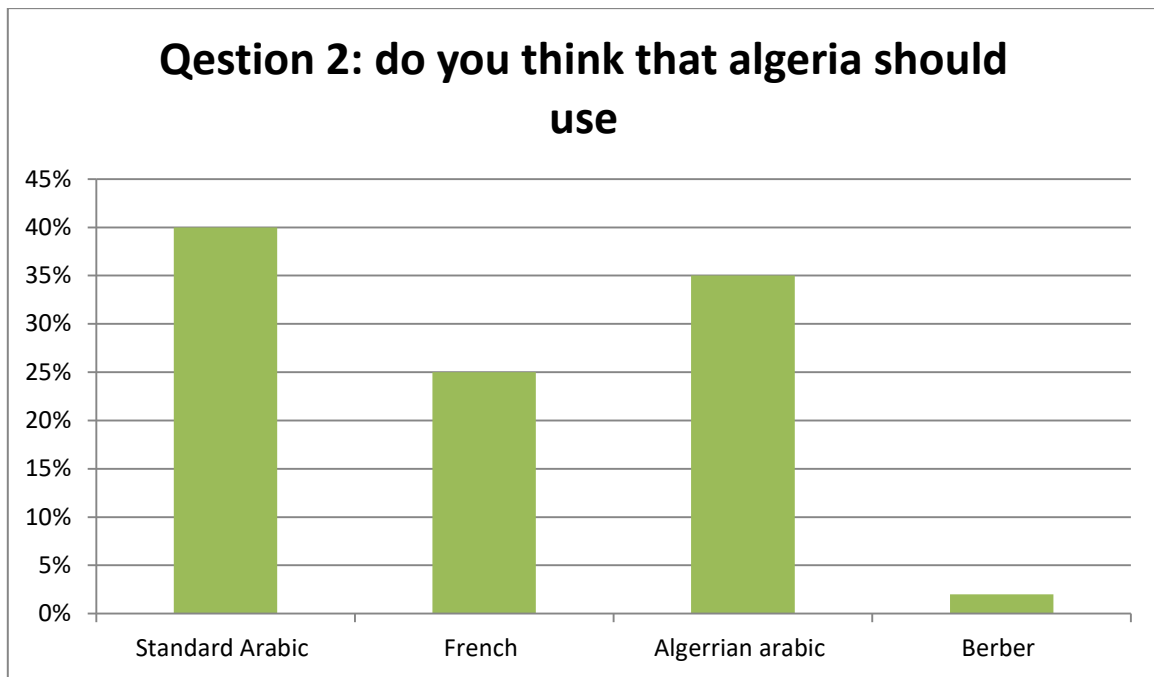
3.5.1 Section One: Language plurality and language use in Algeria



Bar-graph 3.1

Note. The bare-graph above illustrate language plurality in Algeria

The first question was asked in attempt to see the participants’ opinion on language plurality in Algeria, As not expected, a large number of participants 68% confirm that Algeria is multilingual country. Except for, 32% of the participants think that Algeria is a bilingual country, maybe because they consider Berber and Algerian Arabic to be languages on a par with French and Standard Arabic. An amazing fact here is that no one of the participants claimed that the country is monolingual as it is officially stated in the Algerian constitution (Act N°91-05 of 16 January 1991).

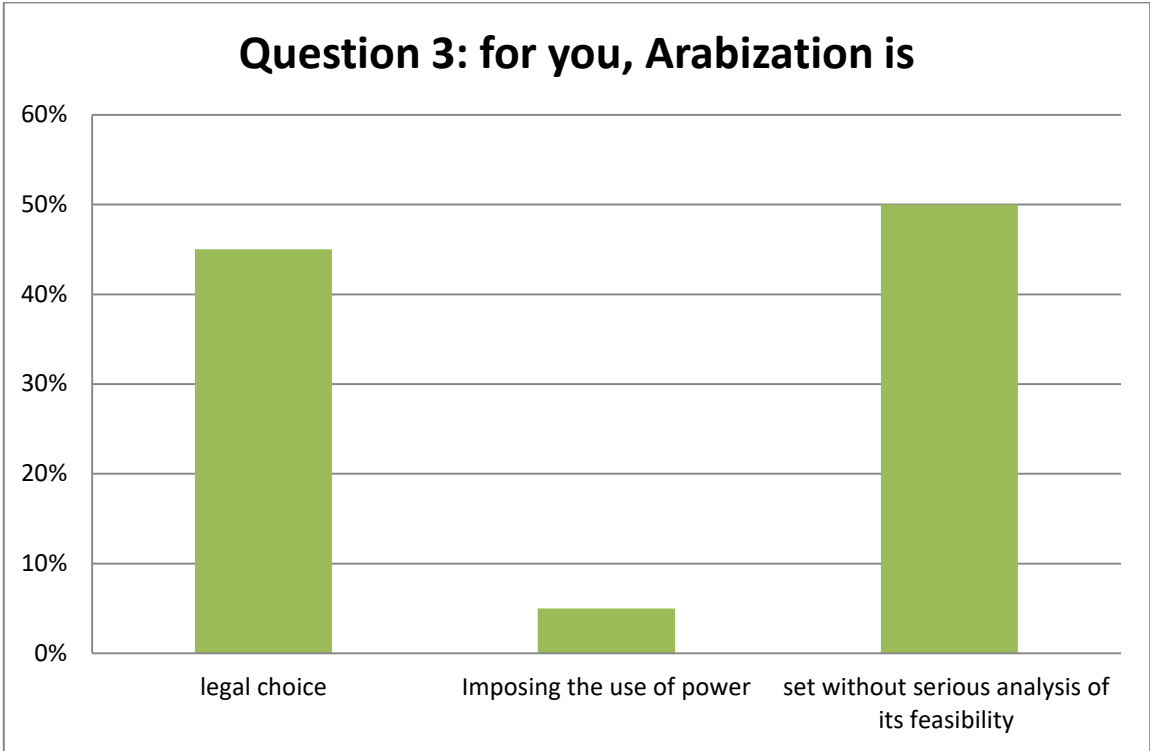


Bar-graph 3.2

Note. the bar-graph above illustrate the languages that Algeria should use

With regard to the second question the language that Algerians should use most, 40% of the participants chose Standard Arabic. This can be interpreted as favorable attitude towards Arabization and it elusive goal of unifying the country under one language (standard Arabic). Beside there are 35% of the responses for Algerian Arabic since it is mostly used in Algeria. As well as, a major number of participants 25% point that French is the language that Algerians should use most.

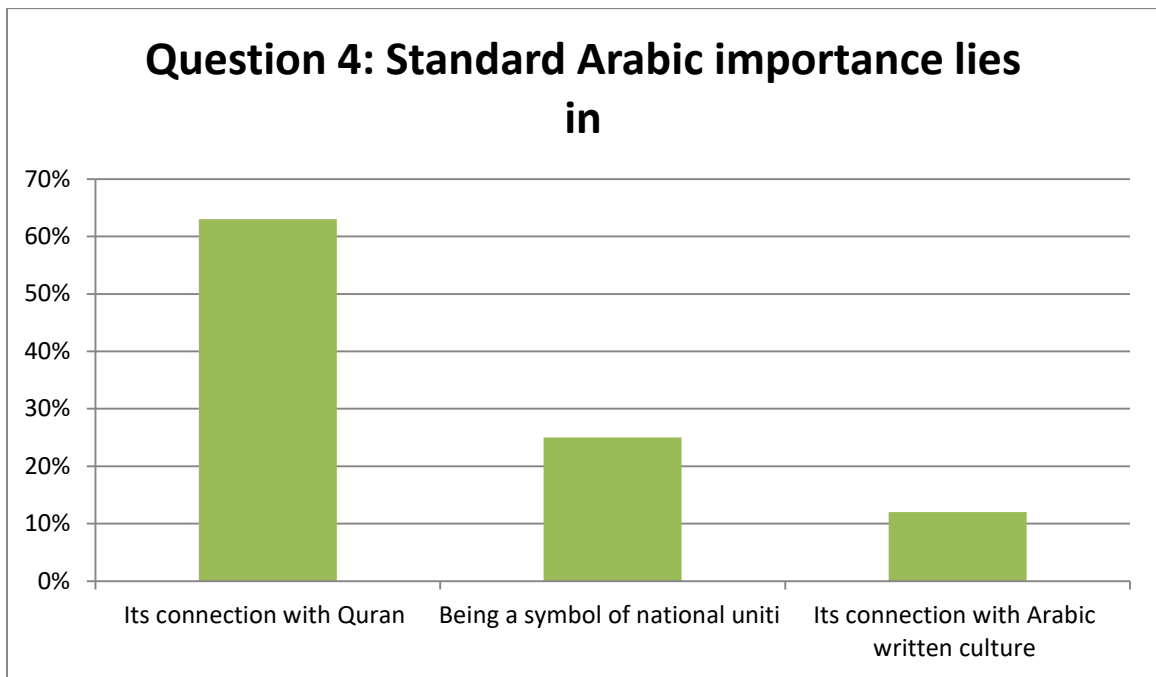
3.5.2 Section Two : Position Towards Arabization policy



Bar-graph 3.3

Note. The bar-graph above highlight the position towards the Arabization policy.

This section is particularly important in our questionnaire, since it attempts to consult the participants’ opinion on the Arabization policy. But, we notice that half of the participants 50% think that Arabization was set without serious analysis of its feasibility i.e. the established language policy was promoted only to the extent that it serves ideological interest without giving much importance to the sociolinguistic context or the target population. Furthermore, there are 45%who say that Arabization is legitimate choice since it is quite natural to replace FR, the colonial language, with SA which is symbol of the country’s Arab-Islamic identity. Only 5% of the participants claim that the present language policy is imposed and abuse of power because decisions related to language tended to come directly from the political leaders without any objective assessment of the situation and the implications of changing it.

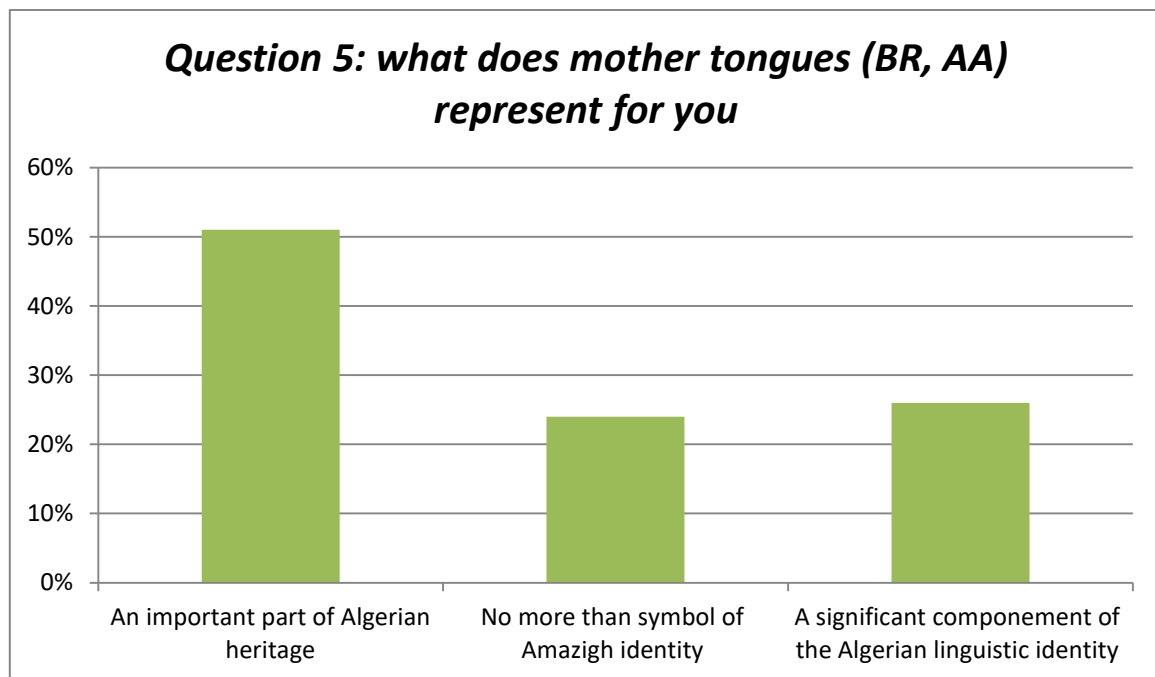


Bar-graph 3.4

Note. The bar-graph above illustrate the importance of Arabic

Question 4 relates to the representation that participants have of importance of SA. The results show that most of participants 63% attribute the importance of SA to its connection with Quran. Furthermore, since the colonial period, was a determination among Algerians to restore not only the linguistic but more importantly the religious aspect of the Algerian society. So, SA is highly esteemed by Algerians because as its nature: being the language associated with Islam and sacred book, the Quran even though this language lacks the natural use that the mother tongues (AA/BR) have, it is largely symbolic; 25% of the participants think that SA is important because it is a symbol of national unity, and 12% see that the importance of SA lies in its connection with Arabic written culture. It has always been the most potent symbol of Arab-Islamic culture and its transmission from one generation to another.

3.5.3 Section Three: Attitudes towards mother tongues



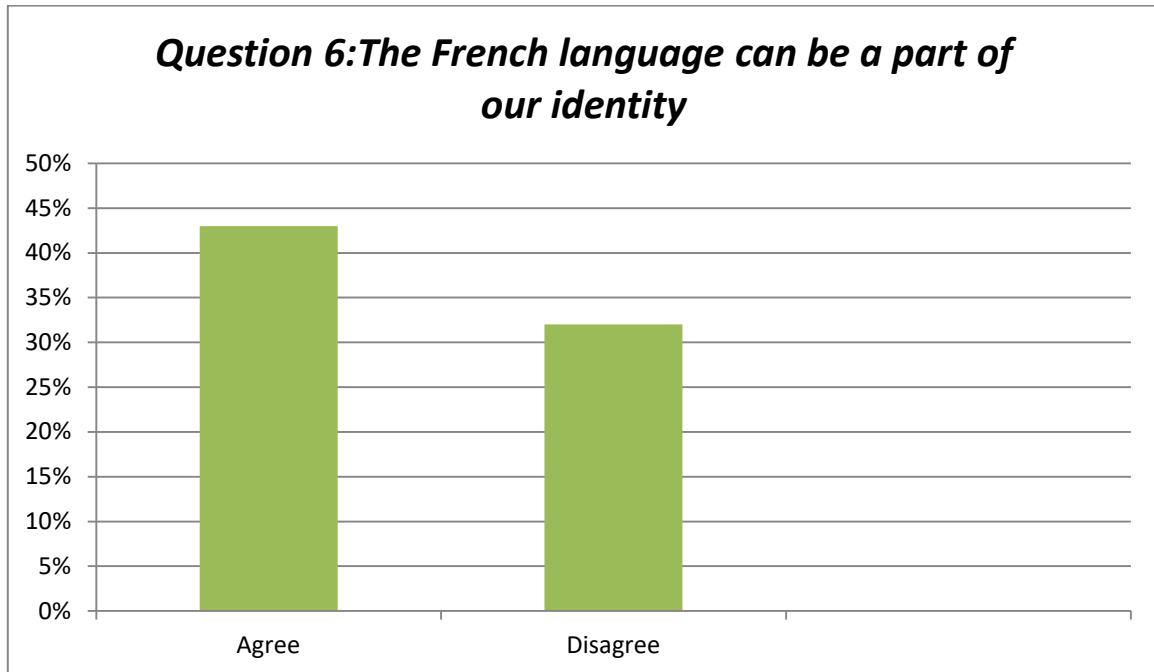
Bar-graph 3.5

Note. The bar-graph above illustrate what the mother tongues represent .

There are 29% of the participants who see that BR in teaching is essential, probably because they are aware that teaching this language would protect it and contribute to its maintenance. Yet, there are 13% of the participants who see that BR in teaching is useless and should be removed. They also think that BR should not have been give any formal status in the Constitution. This rejection is, to greater extent, the consequence of the marginalization of Algeria’s most authentic identity presented in the mother tongues: AA and BR.

According to the responses obtained for the question 5, BR is considered as an important part of the Algerian cultural heritage (51%). In fact, BR is a language with rich oral traditions (songs, proverbs, riddles also stories), which is now moving closer to literate – and possible post-literate culture transmitted through the modern mass media. Yet, there are 25% who see this language as identity.

3.5.4 Section four : Attitudes Towards French

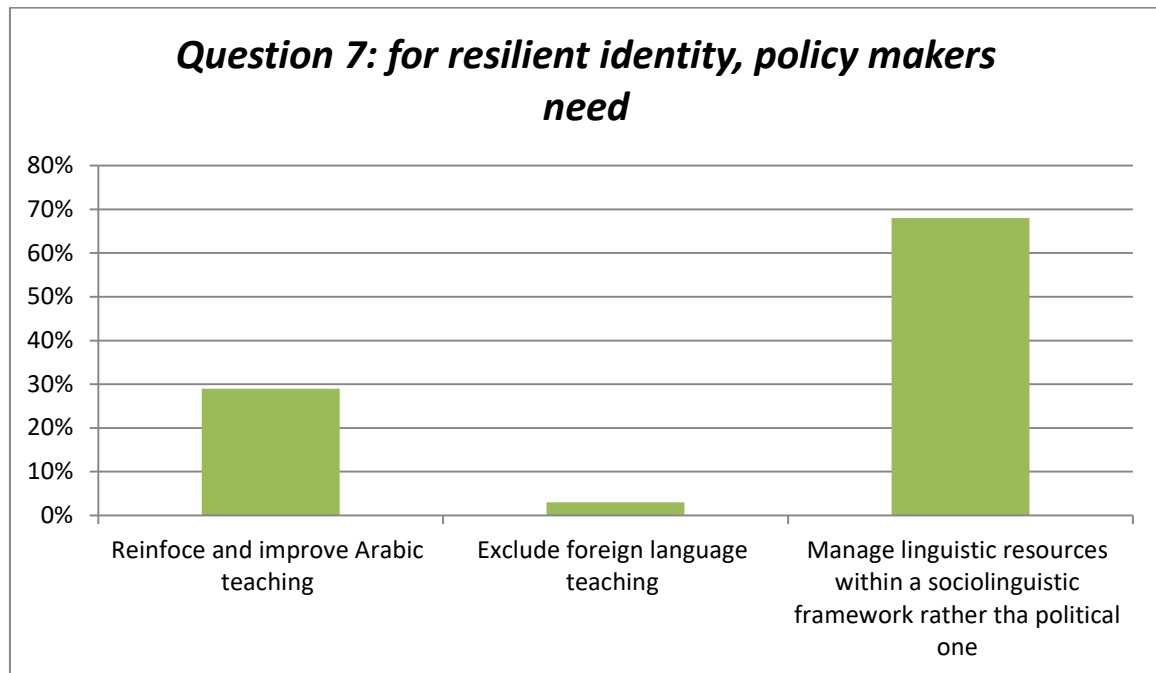


Bar-graph 3.6

Note. The bar-graph above illustrate the attitude towards French .

As for the use of FR in Algeria 43% of the participants see that FR still has a firm foothold at the level of individuals, groups and institutions because of the significant communicative role it plays, as Miliani argues that *'French is no longer the property of the old enemy. French as a world Language is a tool (linguistic, cultural, social, economic and technical) for humanity, beyond the political borders'* (Miliani, 2001) .

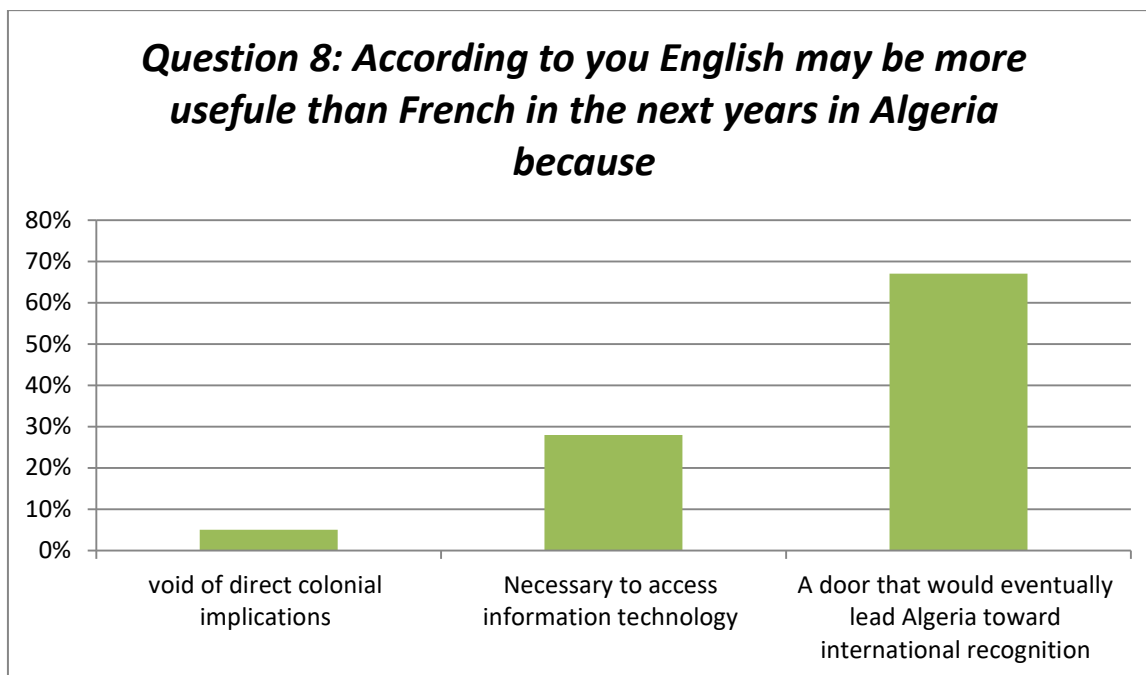
3.5.5 Section five : The Algerian future in the Sociolinguistic field



Bar-graph 3.7

Note. The bar-graph above illustrate the Algerian future in the sociolinguistic field .

For a resilient language identity, 68% of the participants see that Algeria needs to manage its linguistic resources within a linguistic framework rather than a political one. (29%) think that Algeria should reinforce and improve Arabic teaching. This means that language planning decisions must not be solely inspired by political and ideological motives, but more importantly such decisions have to take into consideration the sociolinguistic parameters, including the quality of teaching languages and particularly MSA.



Bar-graph 3.8

Note. The bar-graph above illustrate English future in Algeria .

With respect to question 8 ,67% of our participants agree that this is possible since English represents a gate that would eventually lead Algeria towards international recognition, 28% see that English is necessary to access information technology. 5% see that the use of English may be promoted .

3.6 Data Interpretation

Identity is in process rather than crisis MSA core cultural value :

Language as a resource in Algeria

Local languages are considered resources upon which the Algerian nation can make profits. The respondents were unanimous in their opinions that Algeria has to face the reality by including the different language groups under the motto 'heterogeneous¹ identity'. Furthermore, homogeneity identity is to foster minority groups from having an effervescent and vibrant actuality. Hence, it is within the ability of the Algerian leadership to acknowledge the multiplicity of languages that constitute a wealth and for different routes and avenues of interaction between members of the community.

Through the previous investigation of the participants attitudes towards languages in Algeria in different peripheral areas, the respondents enhance the impregnability of

linguistic diversity; that is, their strong approval to our cultural wealth that is not a social sickness or deformity but an important resource (i.e., MSA, MTs and FLs) upon which the Algerian nation can make many benefits; this means, socially, culturally and economically. Indeed, Ruiz introduced the concept of language as a resource in the language policy research. It is based on the belief that languages namely minority and ethnic languages are to be regarded as resources rather than deficits or problems (1984).

As such MSA, mother tongues (Algerian Arabic and Berber languages) and FLs such as French, English are valuable resources that stipulate systematic' organization, cogent protection, and coherent planning. In addition, other recent sociolinguistic studies have focused upon languages as 'natural resources' upon which nations can draw positively ' . (Kaplan& Baldauf, 2005, p.120). Hence, they deserve expedient and methodical scrutiny for their preservation, development and enrichment through clearly designed, well-structured and sound language policies.

All respondents showed a heightened awareness of language in relation with identity. The participants understood the association between languages and their categorization in the establishment of a coherent sense of identity. Hence, they ascribed MSA the trait of primordial language of a core cultural value coupled with mother tongues as constructivist languages of rooted linguistic richness and cultural wealth. Further, foreign languages were ready to take up the instrumentalist value that can be articulated and vibrated as devices to fulfill urgent needs. Therefore, it is an inhabited, rooted identity with the three multiple axes: primordialism that addresses MSA, constructivism that refers to mother tongues and instrumentalism that denotes foreign languages; in other words, a homogeneous identity that is in process instead of a monolingual one that falls in crisis

3.7 Conclusion

From the overall results, it can be guessed that the participants appreciate the principles underlying Arabization, they want the French to remain in use, meaning that an MSA carries the sacred and unifying character of the national identity while the French enjoy the universality. Prestige as an update and development language.

Obviously, participants are broadly divided in terms of their answers to identify the main language that form it, they appear to value their native languages due to their strong commitment to preserving their culture and identity. This is an area on which language policy

should focus because the current social and cultural weight of Algerian Arabs and Berbers is very important. Consequently, there is a need to develop a systematic policy aimed at promoting positive attitudes towards the first languages of Algerians.

It is interesting that participants expressed their positive attitudes towards multilingualism and the future use of the English language as an important asset in today's globalized world.

Notes to Chapter Three

1. Heterogeneous : composed of parts of different kinds; having widely dissimilar elements or constituents

General Conclusion

General Conclusion

This research paper presents that Algeria has important linguistic resources that can be equated with other national resources. MSA , French, Algerian Arabic, and Berber are all important components of the terrain of a very rich and vibrant Algerian identity. Hence, they deserve clever and methodical planning to maintain, develop and enrich them through well-designed, rational and coherent language policies. this research paper also shed light on important trends in language planning and theories of language policy. This shows that when designing language planning and language policy, particularly in post-independence countries, it is essential to understand the characteristics of the people for whom language decisions are made.

Language planning and language policy can be described as accurate decision-making processes that require careful analysis of people's linguistic needs. Moreover, the determination of needs must be guided by two main factors. First, local factors that require a sound understanding of the demographic structure of the population and inclusion in language planning and language policy design for all aspects of local cultures and languages, particularly in group planning, case planning and status planning stages. The purpose is to express local cultures and to promote and develop a sense of national belonging. The second factor, which is no less important than the first, is the observance of restrictions on international communications. In this, the teaching of international languages should be an essential part of language planning and language policy, particularly as it relates to acquisition planning. A balance between national language needs and limitations of international communication may lead to successful language planning and language policy that will promote harmonious economic and social identity.

Our results indicate that it is important to consider a significant enhancement of the status and role of the Algerian and Berber Arabic language. Essentially, efforts should be made to give the native languages of the speakers a greater place at the elementary levels of the education system. The linguistic policy in Algeria cannot be imagined without a role for the Algerian and Berber Arabic language. Through these two languages, Algerians derive their sense of national belonging, that is, through Algerian and Berber Arabic our identity is preserved and our culture is replicated and transmitted from generation to generation.

Therefore, the Algerians must realize that the death of the language is a great loss because it means the loss of the inherited knowledge.

This study explains that. Although language planning and language policy are country specific, there are more and more solid reasons to move away from single national language policy and language planning to address language issues according to the specific needs and aspirations of different speech societies based on their social language. An experiment while integrating the changing nature of human needs and the disguised changes of international communication. And therefore. Any clearly thought out language policy should seek to end the relationship of competition between Standard Arabic and other existing languages that are generally considered a threat to the former. The recommended policy combines the promotion of Arabization with a strong focus on foreign language acquisition. It should also enhance the prestige and image of the Algerian Arabic and Berber languages and try to change the real attitudes towards these languages. The result should be a robust multilingual experience in a more tolerant and harmonious nation.

In its analysis, this research paper focused on the identity, significance, status and future of the languages that Algerians often use. It is a modest contribution to understanding language issues in Algeria. Although it is based on a limited sample and specific aspects of the Algerian sociolinguistic situation, it can also help one understand the language issues in the country. The recommendations contained in the research paper can help improve strategic language planning and language policy decisions in Algeria and shape a form of identity that can encompass all the Algerian people.

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Appendices

Appendix A : Questionnaire
Students Attitude Towards Identity Formation

Questionnaire

Students attitude towards identity formation

Sex :

Age :

Would you please tick the appropriate answer for you :

1. For you, Algeria is consider as

- Monolingual country
- Bilingual country
- Multilingual country

2. Do you think that Algeria should use

- Standard Arabic
- French
- Algerian Arabic
- Berber

3. For you, Arabization is

- A legitimate choice
- Imposed and abuse of power
- Set without serious analysis of its feasibility

4. Standard Arabic importance lies in

- Its connection with Quran
- Being a symbol of national unity
- Its connection with Arabic written culture

5. What does mother tongues represent for you .

- An importance part if Algerian cultural heritage
- No more than symbol of Amazight identity
- A significant component of the Algerian linguistic identity
-

6. The French language can be a part of our identity

- Agree
- disagree
- Comments.....

7. For resilient identity, policy makers need:

- Reinforce and improve Arabic teaching
- Exclude foreign language teaching
- Manage linguistic resources within sociolinguistic framework rather than political one

8. According to you English may be more useful than French in the next years in Algeria because

- Void of direct colonial implications
- Necessary access information technology
- A gate that would eventually lead Algeria toward international recognition

Appendix B: Questionnaire
Translated in Arabic

الاستبيان مترجم الى اللغة العربية

موقف الطلاب من تكوين الهوية

الجنس:

عمر :

هل تسمح من فضلك بتحديد الإجابة المناسبة لك:

1. بالنسبة لك ، تعتبر الجزائر

بلد أحادي اللغة

بلد ثنائي اللغة

بلد متعدد اللغات

2. هل تعتقد أن الجزائر يجب أن تستخدم

العربية الفصحى

الفرنسية

جزائرية عربية

أمازيغية

3. بالنسبة لك ، التعريب هو

اختيار مشروع

فرض واستغلال السلطة

مجموعة دون تحليل جدي لجدواها

4. أهمية اللغة العربية الفصحى تكمن في

ارتباطها بالقرآن

أن تكون رمزا للوحدة الوطنية

ارتباطها بالثقافة العربية المكتوبة

5. ما الذي تمثله لك اللغات الأم.

جزء مهم إذا كان التراث الثقافي الجزائري

ليس أكثر من رمز للهوية الأمازيغية

مكون مهم للهوية اللغوية الجزائرية

6. يمكن أن تكون اللغة الفرنسية جزءاً من هويتنا

أوافق

لا أوافق

تعليقات.....

7. من أجل القدرة على الصمود ، يحتاج صانعو السياسات إلى:

تعزيز وتحسين تعليم اللغة العربية

استبعاد تدريس اللغة الأجنبية

إدارة الموارد اللغوية ضمن الإطار الاجتماعي اللغوي بدلاً من الإطار السياسي

8. حسب رأيك قد تكون اللغة الإنجليزية مفيدة أكثر من الفرنسية في السنوات القادمة في الجزائر لأنها

خالية من الآثار الاستعمارية المباشرة

الوصول الضروري لتكنولوجيا المعلومات

بوابة من شأنها أن تقود الجزائر في النهاية نحو الاعتراف الدولي

Appendix C: The Interview Protocol

The Interview Protocol

Questions :

1. How has Arabization dealt with identity in Ageria?
2. Is identity a single entity ?
3. Is it possible to restrict identity without the use of MSA only? Why ?
4. What is your future vision about identity in Algeria ?

Appendix D: The Interview Protocol

المقابلة مترجمة الى اللغة العربية

أسئلة:

1. كيف تعامل التعريب مع الهوية في الجزائر؟
2. هل الهوية كيان واحد؟
3. هل من الممكن تقييد الهوية دون استخدام العربية الفصحى فقط؟ لماذا ا ؟
4. ما هي رؤيتك المستقبلية عن الهوية في الجزائر؟

Appendix E

Year	Events, political developments and decisions/declarations
1962	<p>18 March, the Evian Agreement signed by the French government and the Algerian revolutionary leadership.</p> <p>June, the Tripoli Programme declares: ‘*The role of the Revolution] is above all [...] to restore to Arabic – the very expression of the cultural values of our country – its dignity and its efficacy as a language of civilisation.’</p> <p>21 August, the Ulemas demanded that Islam and the Arabic language be the major constituent parts of the Algerian people’s identity.</p> <p>5 October, Ben Bella declared that Arabic was to be introduced in the educational system (primary cycle) during the next school year.</p> <p>November–December, Arabisation gives rise to controversy in the press.</p> <p>15 December, the High Commission for Educational Reform met for the first time: one of its recommendations was gradual Arabisation.</p>
1963	<p>12 June, the National Assembly passed a motion in favour of Arabisation: Arabic introduced as the working language for the parliament (development of translation).</p> <p>20 June, the Minister of Education declared open literacy campaign in French. He was criticised by a Ulema member (Mohamed El Mili).</p> <p>August, the National Assembly called for ‘the use of Arabic in all administrations at the same level as French’.</p> <p>5–12 August, the Third Conference of Arab Teachers held in Algiers. Delegates approved of Algeria’s gradual approach to Arabising the educational system and declared that an overhasty Arabisation would lead to undesirable results.</p> <p>September, Arabic became obligatory in all school programmes and at all levels: 10 hours a week (of a total of 30 hours) in primary cycle.</p> <p>10 September, the first Constitution Adopted; Article 5 states: ‘Arabic is the national and official language of the state’; Article 73: ‘French can be used provisionally along with Arabic’.</p> <p>29 September, Hocine Ait Ahmed formed an opposition party, the Socialist Forces Front (FFS), and led fellow Kabylis into an armed struggle against the government.</p>
1964	<p>Arabic is introduced as a working language in Parliament.</p> <p>5 January, meeting in Algiers of the first Islamist association: the Association Al-Qiyam.</p> <p>January, controversy over the status of Arabic in the University of Algiers: creation of the Islamic Institute, and modification of the structure of the Bachelor’s degree in Arabic which had given rise to controversy.</p> <p>22 May, creation by decree of the High School of Interpreting and Translation.</p> <p>1 June, the first volume of the Official Journal published in Arabic.</p> <p>September, creation of the National Centre for Literacy.</p> <p>September, Arabisation of the First Grade in primary cycle and the volume of Arabic teaching rose to 10 hours in all other levels.</p> <p>September, implementation of the educational system of religious instruction.</p> <p>30 September, the Minister of Religious Affairs opened the first Islamic Institute in Kabylia.</p> <p>21 October, the Ministry of Education recruits 1000 Egyptian teachers.</p>
1965	<p>19 June, Military <i>coup d’état</i> led by Colonel Houari Boumediene: Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi (Ulema member) became Minister of National Education.</p>
1966	<p>February, the foundation of the national publishing house named SNED.</p> <p>8 June, Rulings N° 66-154 and N° 66-155 specified the role and place of the Arabic language in the judiciary.</p> <p>10 August, a group of Berberist militants living in Paris set up the statutes for the Berber Academy or the Berber Association for Cultural Exchange and Research (known by its French initials ABERC).</p>
1967	<p>11 August, the Minister of National Education denounced the teachers’ opposition to Arabisation.</p> <p>September, total arabisation of Grade Two in primary education.</p> <p>September, Mouloud Mammeri is informally allowed to restore the Chair of the Berber studies at Algiers University.</p> <p>October, newsreel in cinemas are Arabised.</p> <p>Ruling N° 67-191 introduced tax exemption for the edition and importation of books in</p>

	<p>Arabic.</p> <p>A survey carried out by the University of Berkeley under the auspices of the Department of Planning shows that 80% of the youth are against the Arabisation of university learning.</p>
1968	<p>26 April, Decree N° 68-95 required all civil servants to learn the national official language by the 1st January 1971.</p> <p>April, creation of the Circle for Berber Studies (CEB) in the University of Algiers.</p> <p>15 October, Decree N° 68-588 makes obligatory evaluation in Arabic for all exams in university Faculties of Letters and Human Sciences.</p>
1969	<p>2 May, a group of Berberist militants living in France form the Berber Academy (<i>Agraw Imazighen</i>).</p> <p>September, the University of Algiers opened an Arabised section in the Faculty of Law and an Arabised Bachelor's course in history.</p> <p>5 December, creation of the National Commission for the Reform of the educational system and a sub-commission for Arabisation.</p>
1970	<p>12 February, Ministerial decree 'setting the levels of competence in the national language needed by personnel in public administration, local authorities and various institutions'.</p> <p>11 April, a presidential circular reminding civil servants not to refuse circulars in Arabic.</p> <p>21 July, the Ministry of Education split into three ministries: the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education, the Ministry of Higher Education, and the Ministry of Islamic Education.</p>
1971	<p>7 January, meeting of the Council of Ministers: decree for the implementation of Arabisation was discussed. 1971 was declared as the 'year of Arabisation'.</p> <p>20 January, Ruling 71-2 extends the 26 April 1968 Decree (N° 68-95) for all personnel of public administrations to be Arabised.</p> <p>April, the yearly Colloquium of senior executives of the Ministry of Education on Arabisation; three decisions: (1) total Arabisation of Third and Fourth Grades in primary cycle; (2) total Arabisation of one-third of courses in the First year in Middle school; (3) total Arabisation of one-third of courses in scientific disciplines in secondary schools.</p> <p>27 June, the Ministry of Justice issued a decree making Arabic the unique language of the judicial system.</p> <p>25 August, Ministerial decree for the Arabisation of institutions of the Ministry of Higher Education.</p> <p>September, creation of the Permanent Committee for Higher Education. September, the Ministry of Islamic Education opened 20 Islamic High Schools and creates the degree (Baccalaureate) of original Islamic education.</p>
1972	<p>May-June, a group of Berber militants proposed the teaching of Tamazight in the University of Paris-Vincennes: birth of the Group of Berber Studies (known by its French initials GEB).</p> <p>29 January, the teaching of Tamazight began in the University of Paris-Vincennes.</p>
1973	<p>Year 1973: increasing popularity for the Berber militant song; most popular singer: Aït Menguellet.</p> <p>21 March, decision requiring competence in Arabic by civil servants in the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education, and the Ministry of the Interior.</p> <p>September, Mouloud Mammeri's teaching of Berber language and culture in the University of Algiers, tolerated since October 1965, was abolished by the Ministry of Higher Education.</p> <p>1 October, Ruling N° 73-55 turned all national seals in Arabic in the administration.</p> <p>6 November, the National Commission for Arabisation was created under the auspices of the FLN party.</p> <p>12-20 December, Algiers is the site for the 2nd Pan-Arab Congress for Arabisation.</p>
1974	<p>5 December, report of the National Commission for Arabisation on the state of Arabisation in Algeria.</p>
1975	<p>14-17 May, the government convened the First National Conference for Arabisation to accelerate the Arabisation process.</p> <p>May, total Arabisation of the judicial system was implemented.</p> <p>September, Arabisation of humanity subjects (geography, history and philosophy) in the secondary cycle.</p>
1976	<p>1 March, all public signs (streets, highways, stores, administrative buildings) and car licence plates were Arabised.</p> <p>16 April, private and religious schools banned by decree.</p> <p>23 April, Algeria's Official Journal published the re-organisation of the educational</p>

	<p>system based on 'Arabo-Islamic values and the socialist conscience'.</p> <p>June, the police affixed seal on the Berber publication known as the 'Fichier berbère' (created in 1946 and was mainly concerned with the study of the Kabyle language).</p> <p>27 June, the National Charter approved by referendum with 98.5% of the votes. On page 65, centralisation and monolingualism in Arabic are reaffirmed, Tamazight is totally ignored and French is referred to as a 'foreign language'.</p> <p>July, inauguration of the first promotion of completely Arabised magistrates. 27 August, Thursday-Friday becomes weekend, instead of Saturday-Sunday.</p> <p>September, reform of the educational system and implementation of an experimental schooling system ('Fundamental School').</p> <p>19 November, the second Constitution of Algeria was acclaimed by referendum (99.18%). Article 3 reads: 'Arabic is the national and official language. The state must see to generalise its use.'</p> <p>21 December, the Ministry of the Interior recruited 50 Arabised female police inspectors.</p>
1977	<p>January, total Arabisation of the regional daily (Oran) paper <i>El Djoumhouria</i>.</p> <p>25 February, election of the Popular National Assembly (parliament).</p> <p>21-27 April, cabinet reshuffle and Mostefa Lacheraf became Minister of Primary and Secondary Education: pause in the overhasty process of Arabisation.</p> <p>19 June, demonstration of Kabyle football supporters in Algiers stadium in the presence of President H. Boumediene; among slogans chanted: 'The Berber language will live', 'Down with dictatorship', 'Long live democracy'.</p>
1978	<p>March, the old opposition party, the FFS, reactivated in 1977, demanded in its 'Political Platform Pre-Project': 'The Berber language has the right of citizenship in the Berber polity, an inalienable right that neither internal colonialism nor foreign colonialism can ban. It must be institutionalised and developed as a national language[...]. Only obscurantist's apprentices and mercenary flunkies would like to oppose the Arabic language to the Berber language.'</p> <p>8 March, cabinet reshuffle: Mohamed Cherif Kharroubi replaced Mostefa Lacheraf as Minister of Primary and Secondary Education: implementation of total Arabisation, religious instruction and the Fundamental School.</p> <p>June, violent incidents among the Berber-speaking community.</p> <p>September, French was taught as the first obligatory foreign language in the Fourth Grade and English in the Eighth Grade.</p> <p>November, Arabised students at the University of Algiers go on strike: they demand immediate Arabisation of administration.</p>
1979	<p>3 January, the FLN Central Committee made public its decisions on education: it re-launched Arabisation.</p> <p>19 January, the Ministry of the Interior sent a circular to all government agencies and administrations concerned with employment urging them to consider Arabised candidates for job recruitments.</p> <p>9-22 February 1980, the Commission for Education and Culture of the FLN party announced its national plan for the Arabisation of the administration.</p> <p>10 March, the authorities banned Mouloud Mammeri's conference on ancient Berber poetry to be held in the university of Tizi Ouzou (the administrative centre of Kabylia). 16 April, general strike in Tizi Ouzou and Kabylia ('Berber Spring').</p> <p>1-31 August, many militants of democracy and the Berber cultural movement organised the first independent meeting on the issue of language and identity in Algeria (Seminar in Yakouren, Kabylia); the platform demanded, among other things, the 'institutionalisation of the people's languages (Algerian Arabic and Tamazight) as national languages'.</p> <p>14 September, Decree for the Arabisation of the first year in the following university disciplines: social sciences, law and administration, political sciences, and economic information;</p> <p>11 November, the Ministry of Higher Education created the Permanent Commission for Arabisation.</p> <p>December, creation of the High Council for the National Language following the recommendation of the Central Committee of the FLN Party (meeting of June 1980).</p>
1980	<p>7 March, Decree N° 81-28 relating to the transcription of proper names in Arabic. 14 March, the Arabisation of the milieu was decreed (Decree N° 81-36).</p> <p>May, the transcription of names of towns and localities in Latin letters based on Arabic pronunciation (Decree N° 81-27).</p>

	23 September, the Minister of Higher Education announced the creation of four university Departments for the study of popular cultures and dialects (Algiers, Oran, Constantine and Annaba).
1981	7 July, a Master's degree on popular culture was established in the Institutes of Arabic Language and Culture in the universities of Algiers, Oran, Constantine and Annaba.
1982	9 June, the National Assembly passed the Family Code based on Shari'a.
1983	
1984	
1985	
1986	1986, new National Charter was promulgated which read: 'the Arabic language is an essential constituent part of the cultural identity of the Algerian people' (p. 51); 'Algerians are Arab and Moslem people' (p. 109). 19 August, foundation of the Algerian Academy for the Arabic Language under the patronage of the President of the Republic (Law N° 86-10). September, 'minority foreign languages' (German, Italian, Russian, Spanish) were removed from Middle Schools.
1987	February, the Ministry of Higher Education opened the Higher National Institute for Popular Culture in Tlemcen. November, foundation of Bendali School (private institution) for the education of political military and educational elites' children.
1988	September, government's banning of Algerians' enrolment in educational institutions controlled by the <i>Office Universitaire et Culturel Français</i> . 4-10 October, riots in Algiers and other large cities (600 dead) followed by political liberalisation.
1989	23 February, new (third) Constitution passed by referendum; in Article 3, Arabic remained the single national official language.
1990	24 January, the Department of Amazigh language and culture was opened in the University of Tizi Ouzou. 20 April, 100,000 FIS members demonstrated in the streets of Algiers demanding the dismantlement of bilingualism and the implementation of Shari'a. 27 December, 400,000 people demonstrated in the streets of Algiers calling for democracy and against the law of total Arabisation scheduled to be passed by parliament.
1991	16 January, National Assembly voted 'Act N° 91-05 of 16 January 1991' for total Arabisation. October, a second Department of Amazigh Language and Culture was opened in the University of Bejaia. 4 November-23 December, the strike of university teachers against the implementation of 'Act N° 91-05 of 16 January 1991', and the government's recruitment of 1500 Iraqi professors.
1992	4 July, 'Act N° 91-05' aiming at total compulsory Arabisation is postponed ('Decree 92-02 of 4 July 1992').
1993	September, the Ministry of Education introduced English in the primary cycle to compete with French (Fourth grade).
1994	24 September, the Berber Cultural Movement (MCB) called for general strikes in the educational sector ('satchels' strike').
1995	28 May, the High Commission for Amazigh Affairs (known by its French initials HCA) was created by decree under the patronage of the President of the Republic.
1996	July, the new government cancelled 'Decree 92-02 of 4 July 1992': 'Act N° 91-05' was revived. 28 November, the third Constitution was passed by referendum with Article 3 unchanged. But in its preamble, it read: 'the fundamental constituent parts of [Algeria's] identity [...] are Islam, Arabism and Amazighism'. 17 December, 'Act N° 91-05' is revoked setting new deadlines for its nation-wide implementation: the administrative sectors were to be Arabised by 5 July 1998 and tertiary education by 5 July 2000.
1997	10 May, the two Departments of Amazigh Language and Culture in the Universities of Tizi Ouzou and Bejaia, became Institutes or Faculties (Ruling N° 97-40) starting from September 1997.
1998	25 June, the assassination of a popular Kabylia singer, Matoub Lounes, followed by riots in Kabylia (June-July). September, the High Council for Arabic Language was founded to oversee that total Arabisation was implemented gradually.
1999	15 April, election of Abdelaziz Bouteflika as President of the Republic. President Bouteflika declared: 'It is unthinkable... to spend ten years study in Arabic pure sciences when it would only take one year in English'. November, during a meeting with the Kabylia civil society in Tizi Ouzou, President Bouteflika declared: 'Tamazight would

	consecrated in law as an Algerian official language and if it were to be a national language, it is up to the entire Algerian people to decide by referendum?.
2000	y, President Bouteflika set up the National Commission for the Reform of the Educational System (known by its French initials CNRSE).
2001	March, the president of the CNRSE handed in the final report on educational reform. 21 shots in Kabylia after the assassination of a Secondary school student in a Kabyle village and the creation of a spontaneous movement called 'citizens' movement' (<i>Archs</i>). 1, Ali Ben Mohamed, former Minister of Education, founded the National Coordination for the Support of the Authentic and Open School. He was backed by persons of Islamist parties, some teachers' and parents' unions, religious groups and a number of politicians. The representatives of Kabylia's Citizens' movement drew up a list of 15 indications known as the El Kseur Platform. In September, the Ministry of the Interior announced the suspension of the implementation of the educational reform. 24 September, President Bouteflika declared that Tamazight was to become a national language.
2002	8 April, Article 3 of the Constitution was modified to include Tamazight as the second national language of the State of Algeria. Creation by decree of the National Centre for Tamazight Language Planning.
2003	March, creation of the National Association for the Defence of Francophonie in Algeria. 13 August, Article 6 of Ruling No. 03-09 legalised private schools which had existed in a legal vacuum. September, implementation of parts of the recommendations made by the CNRSE: French introduced as the 1st obligatory foreign language in 2nd year in primary cycle, English in 1st year in Middle School as the 2nd obligatory foreign language.
2004	26 December, Abderrazak Dourari became Head of the Institute for the Planning of Tamazight
2005	August, after the last round of talks between Kabylia's representatives and the Prime Minister: agreement on making Tamazight official without resorting to a referendum.

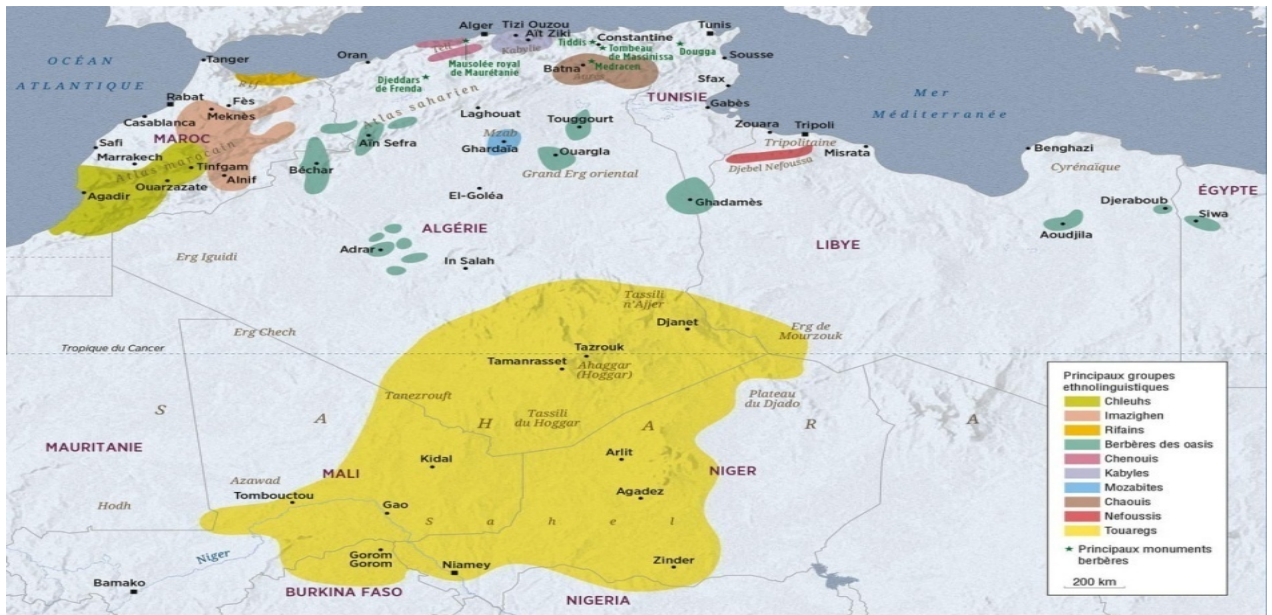
***Chronology of events, political developments and
decisions concerning language planning in Algeria (1962-
2005)***

Appendix F : Maps



Algeria Geographical Situation:

Source : <https://www.lonelyplanet.com/>



Geographical Dispersal of Berbers in North Africa

Source: <https://www.pinterest.com/>