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A framework for the study of the spread of English in Algeria : a peaceful transition to a better linguistic environment

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A Thesis

entitled

A Framework for the Study of the Spread of English in Algeria: A Peaceful Transition to
a Better Linguistic Environment

by

Kamal Belmihoub

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
Master of Arts Degree in English as a Second Language

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May 2012

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An Abstract of

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The first chapter of this thesis provides an overview of Algeria's history of linguistic diversity. The same chapter describes the language policy of Arabization, which has dominated Algeria's linguistic situation since independence from France in 1962. In the second chapter, this thesis presents a theoretical framework for the study of the spread of English in Algeria, where this language has been making inroads. It is argued that English should play a positive role in promoting a peaceful linguistic environment in the North African country. In the third and final chapter, the above-mentioned framework is applied to Algeria's context, analyzing this environment through the lenses of the theoretical considerations suggested by the framework.

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Preface

In 1993 in Algeria, fourth graders in and around the capital city Algiers had, for the first time, the option of choosing English, the other option being French, to fulfill their foreign language requirement (Benrabah, 2007c, p. 76). The government argued that English was an international language, a language that allowed access to science and technology and, thus, it needed to be offered as early as fourth grade. Opponents of the government's move to promote English argued that the move was just another step toward the complete Arabization of Algeria, reinforcing ties with English-speaking Middle Eastern countries, eradicating French and alienating Algerians. Contrary to the government's intent, the majority of parents chose French, probably because they felt that their children would find it easier to acquire this language which has been in use in Algeria since 1830. The English option in fourth grade did, therefore, not become a national requirement.

Since 1995, Algeria has known many new developments that raise questions about possible new roles that English might play in Algeria's already complex linguistic landscape. These developments include the end of a civil war that killed between 150,000 to 200,000 people, a significant exile of Francophone intellectuals, the rise of oil prices which improved the economy on the macroeconomic level, and a shift from a socialist economy that supported Modern Standard Arabic to a market economy that requires the learning of foreign languages. In addition, Algeria has also resurfaced on the international scene and acquired closer ties with many countries including the European Union and the United States. For example, since the 09/11 attacks in New York and Washington DC, Algeria and the U.S. have cooperated in the fight against terrorism,

while working on attempting to diversify economic cooperation beyond hydrocarbons. Since English and globalization are closely intertwined, Algeria's opening to the world is thus interesting for scholars who are interested in environments where the presence of English increases.

In light of these new developments, one wonders what role(s), if any, the English language can play in Algeria's complex linguistic landscape in order to potentially reinforce the relative peace of the country, help improve the economy at the micro-level, and facilitate the efforts to attract Arab and Western investors to diversify economic cooperation. The goal of this thesis then is to look at the potential of a deethnicized English language to promote long-term peace in Algeria, including political, economic and social stabilities. A deethnicised English is an 'open' variety, a variety that is, according to Benrabah (2009b), not associated with Britain's colonial past or any of the cultures of the communities whose native language is English (e.g. the UK, the US, Australia); thus, anyone, including Algerians, can appropriate this variety as if it were their own (p. 257).

In this chapter, I will present background information that overviews the chronological history of Algeria's linguistic situation, largely focusing on independent-Algeria (1962 onwards), put forth three research questions that this thesis will attempt to answer and provide a methodology indicating how to go about answering these questions. It is worth mentioning at this point that I will be using the word bilingualism to refer to two languages and the word multilingualism to refer to more than two. There has been a much larger focus on language-related issues from 1962 until now than any earlier period because this is the time when Algeria was independent from any foreign invasion and this

period is the most relevant to this thesis. In the second chapter, I will explore the potential of the English language to foster positive peace in Algeria, using Friedrich's attempt to establish a framework for peace sociolinguistics. An explanation of the concept of positive peace and Friedrich's framework on peace sociolinguistics will be provided at the beginning of this chapter. Then, in order to help assess this potential, a discussion of attitudes toward and roles of each language will be provided, focusing on English. In the third and final chapter of this thesis, I will put forward various exemplary contexts where English plays a positive role, comparing them to Algeria's context. In the same chapter, I will analyze various programs offered by the U.S. Embassy and the British Council in Algeria in order to investigate their potential to foster peace, as Friedrich (2007) would put it, with and through English (p. 73).

Chapter One

A History of Linguistic Diversity and the Policy of Arabization: Ancient History-

The Present

Ancient History

The indigenous people of Algeria are the Berbers. The Romans called them Numidians and they call themselves Imazighen, which means free men. Their language is called Berber, also known as Tamazight. In 860 B.C., the Phoenicians, whose official language was Punic, founded Carthage where the Berbers were clients and/or soldiers (Benrabah, 1999, p. 28). Contact between the Berbers and the Phoenicians, originally from Lebanon, gave rise to Libyco-Berber, which Tifinagh drew from to establish its alphabet (Benrabah, 1999, p. 29). While Tifinagh is the alphabet of the modern Touareg, a Berber ethnic group, Libyco-Berber developed between the sixth and fourth/fifth centuries B.C. (Benrabah, 1999, p. 29). Moreover, as a result of the Roman invasion of North Africa, Latin became part of Algeria's diverse linguistic landscape, which already comprised Libyco-Berber.

The Medieval Period

Classical Arabic was first introduced to Algeria after the first successful Arab-Islamic conquest of the country around the seventh century, when the Berber queen Dihya was finally defeated. Since then, it has been gaining influence thanks to Islam, a religion that was adopted by most Berbers because of, according to Benrabah (1999), its potential for, among other things, peace and protection from persecution (32). In

addition, mosques and missionaries were converting Berbers to Islam, using Classical Arabic (Benrabah, 1999, p. 33). The latter acquired its divine status because it was used to write the Koran and convert the natives to Islam (Benrabah, 1999, p. 33). Because it is, thus, understood by many that Classical Arabic is the miraculous language of the holy book of Islam (The Koran), it is thought that to be a Muslim (e.g. to pray), one needs to identify with and use this language. It seems that this idea helped Classical Arabic maintain its influence in North Africa to such a point that most natives who converted to Islam became 'Arabs'. In addition, local Muslims, considered fanatic under French rule, were called 'Arabs'. Specifically, the 'divide to rule' policy created the Arab Vs Berber division among the natives, though even in present-day Algeria, 99% of Algerians are ethnically Berber (CIA-The World Factbook: Algeria, 2011); the majority still identify themselves as 'Arabs'.

15th Century-1830

This period is characterized by the settlement of the Portuguese, the Spaniards and the Turks in Algeria. According to Benrabah (1999), the majority of the population during this period spoke Algerian Arabic and/or Berber; it is estimated by Valensi (1969) that, in 1830, more than 50% spoke Berber as their L1 (as cited in Benrabah, 2007c, p. 40). The Jews spoke Judeo-Arabic, the Turks spoke Ottoman Turkish, the Spaniards spoke Spanish in Western Algeria, and the Italians spoke Italian in Eastern Algeria (p. 42-43). Due to this linguistic diversity, a lingua franca emerged during this time, and it was used in Mediterranean ports and coastal towns (Benrabah, 1999, p. 43). Algerian Arabic, also known as Derja, was the L1 of the Arabic-speaking population (Benrabah,

1999, p. 43). The latter language naturally evolved, but has largely been different from the Arabic varieties spoken in the Middle East; this difference is mainly due to the influence of indigenous Berber varieties on local Algerian Arabic (Benrabah, 1999, p. 43). Algerian Arabic has become even more diverse since the arrival of the French who stayed in Algeria from 1830-1962.

1830-1962

Before 1830, Algerians attended religious schools (also known as Madrassas) where the Koran was used to provide literacy; subjects such as Geography, Astronomy, Medicine and Math were also offered for some (Benrabah, 1999, p. 47-48). Al-Azhar University in Egypt and El-Zaytouna University in Tunisia provided higher education for some others (Benrabah, 1999, p. 48).

When the French settled in Algeria starting from 1830, they progressively introduced their educational system and the French language as a way to establish their domination, suppressing Madrassas which were accused of fanaticism (Benrabah, 1999, p. 47). However, even though the goal was to eradicate local languages (Berber and Algerian Arabic), the colonial language policy inadvertently favored Arabization, leaving only 18.6% of the population able to speak Berber as their native language by 1966 (Benrabah, 2007c, p. 40). As this was happening, Algerians grew skeptical of the French mission in Algeria, fearing that French schools would be used to strip Algerians of their religious identity; skepticism grew to a point that Algerians who decided to send their children to French schools were considered traitors (Benrabah, 1999, p. 48). As a result, the local Muslim population became increasingly isolated and illiterate. In the meantime,

according to Benrabah (1999), some literates used Classical Arabic, which is replete with taboos and admonitions, to produce religious poetry that was used as a ‘weapon’ against French, described as the language of the colonizer, the language of the enemy (50).

World War I, however, brought about a shift in many Algerians’ attitudes towards the use of French. After fighting alongside the French in WWI, 119,000 Algerians who survived the war became immigrant workers in French factories. In the 1920s, these Algerian immigrants learned the French language and, as they were exposed to the solidarity and activism techniques of French labor unions, they developed an Algerian nationalist movement in France (Benrabah, 1999, p. 55). The Algerian immigrants’ willingness to learn French while protesting the French presence in Algeria provided motivation for an Algerian nationalist movement in Algeria. The start of the Algerian nationalist movement in France and then Algeria was addressed with great depth and encouraged by some important Algerian Francophone writers.

In the 1950s many Algerian writers appropriated French and used it as a tool against colonialism. Francophone nationalist writers such as Mohammed Dib, Mouloud Feraoun, Mouloud Mammeri, and Kateb Yacine published novels in French in the early 1950s, contributing to the advent of the seven-year-long violent Algerian Revolution that culminated in independence from France in 1962. Commenting on his use of French to combat colonialism, Kateb Yacine once said, ‘I write in French to tell the French that I am not French; the French language is our spoil of war.’ The Algerian nationalist mentality of appropriating the French language to fight French colonialism was a crucial element for winning independence in 1962, following the Evian Accords. French is, therefore, another language that is an integral part of Algeria’s diverse linguistic scenery.

1962-The Present

While Algeria's linguistic situation has always been a complex one, it is a fascinating and instructive example. In this linguistic situation, five languages have been involved in one way or another since 1962: Algerian Arabic, Berber, Modern Standard Arabic, French and later (1980s-1990s) English. In addition to English, other foreign languages such as German, Spanish, and Russian of course existed during this period, but their involvement has not been as significant as English's. As noted before, each language has a unique history. Each language plays various roles in society, and Algerians have different attitudes toward each one of them.

In present-day Algeria, as mentioned above, 99% of the people are ethnically Berber and 1% or less are European (CIA-The World Factbook: Algeria, 2011). Language is thus what mostly determines group identity, not physical features for example. Berber-speakers and Algerian Arabic-speakers are the two linguistically distinct groups.

Kabyle-speaking Algerians are the most politically active (claiming linguistic and cultural specificity) Berber group, speaking Tamazight (L1) and calling themselves Imazighen (or Berbers). Their ideology is usually characterized by demands of secularism, multiculturalism, and federalism. The ideology of Algerian Arabic-speakers is usually similar to the government's ideology; they usually believe that Algeria should be officially a Muslim country, and that Modern Standard Arabic allows Algerians to, spiritually, feel connected to God and, politically, be connected to Arabic-speaking countries. It is important to note here that, although many Algerians speak French, not everyone who speaks French adheres to the Francophone ideology that defends the

maintenance of the French language, secularism and federalism. Francophones are thus Algerians who are, among other things, against the eradication of French. Kabyles are usually Francophone (but not all Francophones are Kabyle and not all Kabyles are Francophone).

Algerian Arabic, also known as Derja, dialectal or spoken Arabic, is the native language of the majority of Algerians, except some Berbers. As they grow up, most Berbers learn it either by interacting with native speakers or by acquiring it at home if their parents are fluent and are willing to use it with their children. Some of the older Berber generations who live in rural areas and/or are illiterate are not fluent in Algerian and/or Classical Arabic. Educated Algerians can read and write in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), which is also known as Koranic, Literary or Classical Arabic. Although MSA is also spoken in some formal settings, it is not as widely used in speech as its local variety, namely Algerian Arabic. The political elite, religious leaders, some education sectors, Arabic-speaking media outlets use MSA to communicate. This situation, in which MSA is the high variety that is used in formal settings (H) and Algerian Arabic is the low variety that is used in informal settings (L), forms diglossia.

Berber is spoken by various groups throughout North Africa, the Sahara, and part of the West African Sahel (Chaker, p. 2). While efforts to standardize Berber have been continuous, its dialects are spoken by various groups that are primarily found in Algeria and Morocco. About 40% of Morocco's total population, a population of nearly 32 million, is Berber speaking. In Algeria, 20-25% of the country's population, which is 35 million, uses a dialect of Berber (Chaker, p. 2); Kabyles represent two-thirds of all Berber speakers (Chaker, p. 2). According to some estimates, one million and a half Berbers are

in France; the Kabyle Berber group first emigrated there starting from the beginning of the twentieth century (Chaker, p. 5). Other Berber communities in Algeria include the Chaouias, with about a million speakers, and the Mزاب, with about 150,000-200,000 speakers (Chaker, p. 2). The Touareg have about a million people, but they are scattered around Algeria, Niger, Libya, Burkina-Faso and Nigeria (Chaker, p. 2).

French is also important in Algeria's linguistic landscape. According to Rossillon, in 1993, 49% of Algerians were fluent in French, a number that was projected to rise to 67% in 2003 (as cited in Benrabah, p. 194, 2007). In fact, from a quantitative point of view, Algeria is home to the largest number of French speakers in the world, only after France. English, considered as the second foreign language after French, is not widely spoken in Algeria today, despite recent growing interest in it. It is however the most likely to replace French as the latter language is in an insecure position, partly because of government efforts to drop it in favor of English. Indeed, according to Grandguillaume (2004), English gained some more importance in the 1990s, when it was introduced to replace French, even though only 10% of parents who had the option of choosing English for their children in fourth grade did end up choosing English (p. 6).

Language Policy and Planning: Arabization

Several scholars have explored Algeria's linguistic situation since the country's independence from France in 1962. Specifically, scholars have addressed the policy of Arabization, which has dominated Algeria's linguistic policies for decades. Thus, many have written about the motivations and consequences of this policy.

Arabization is the process by which the Algerian government introduced various decrees, laws, and ordinances to reinvent Algeria's Arab identity by forcefully imposing the once prestigious Classical Arabic, which artificially became Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). This process, which even official discourse has been describing as assimilationist, involves the eradication of local languages (Algerian Arabic and Berber) and French, the colonial language. Various authors have written about the objectives of Arabization. For example, Benrabah's (2007c) work suggests that, just like colonial linguistic policies that promoted French at the expense of local languages, Arabization has aimed at imposing MSA at the detriment of Algeria's linguistic diversity (p. 46).

There seems to be a large consensus that Arabization utterly failed in Algeria (Benchehida, 2001; Benrabah, 2002, 2004; Djite, 1992; Grandguillaume, 2002, 2004; Mostari, 2004; Sirles, 1999; Zoulikha, 2002). In fact, even though a colonial linguist predicted the disappearance of Algerian Arabic and Berber because, he claimed, these languages were replete with French words, both of these languages are very much alive today. This colonial linguistic legacy, embraced by the pro-Arabization camp after independence, is illustrated by Mouhadjer (2002), who characterized the mixture of French and Algerian Arabic as 'bizarre [and] unintelligent (Mouhadjer, 2002, p. 991)!' This attitude is typical of pro-Arabization Algerians who believe that only Modern Standard Arabic should be the language of the people for many reasons, including the idea that Muslims should use Classical Arabic, the language in which the Koran was written.

According to Benrabah (2004), Arabization is more of a political than a linguistic policy. It was introduced to legitimize an undemocratic regime. Because most Algerians

are Muslims, and because Classical Arabic is closely linked to Islam, the regime chose to promote it to legitimize its autocracy. Furthermore, elites used Arabization for their social advancement, at the expense of lower social classes. For instance, while the children of the people were obliged to attend Arabized public schools, the children of Algeria's political elite go to bilingual (MSA-French) schools (Benrabah, 2002, p. 73-74).

The consequences of a forceful, hasty and hegemonic Arabization policy are multiple. Public education is the sector that most reflects the failure of this policy. In mid-November 2005, the Minister of Higher Education declared that 80% of university-level first-year students fail their final exams because *of linguistic incompetence* (Benrabah, 2007b, p. 226). It is not exactly clear which language the minister was referring to, but he probably meant French which is the main language of instruction in STEM fields. Because Arabization targeted the elimination of the colonial language (French) by deemphasizing the language in education, students are neither well-prepared for college-level work in medical, scientific and technical fields nor are they ready for employment in a French-dominated private sector.

In addition, the fact is that many students are incompetent in Modern Standard Arabic. According to Benrabah (2009b), students in Arabic-speaking countries suffer from linguistic insecurity. This is particularly true in North African countries, where the linguistic distance between the H (MSA) and the L (e.g. Algerian Arabic) is important, making it tough to learn MSA as a child. The author argues that, in order to be creative, innovative and linguistically secure, Arabophone students should have a chance to use the language that their mother teaches them: Algerian Arabic for example. To ensure

students' linguistic confidence, Algerian Arabic, and other Arabic varieties for that matter, needs to be promoted to the status of a national and official language. Such a status will lead to the standardization of the varieties and their use in schools. When students can use their native tongues in schools, they become more secure and competent language users.

Besides the consequences of Arabization discussed above, Egyptian and other Middle Eastern educators, who were recruited to help implement the policy, were responsible for introducing political Islamism to Algeria's public sphere (Abu-Haidar, 2000, p. 161; Benrabah, 2007, p. 230; Mostari, 2004, p. 38). Introducing such an ideology to a country where most students drop out is fatal; Algeria suffered a decade of violence in the 1990s, violence against those who did not adhere to the values of political Islamists.

The Kabyles have claimed, sometimes violently, Berber cultural and linguistic rights since the 1970s. In 1980 for instance, Mouloud Mammeri's presentation on old Berber poetry was banned by authorities, leading to unrest in the Kabylie region in north-eastern Algeria. In 1994-1995, Kabylie boycotted schools for an entire academic year, culminating in the government's commitment to generalize Berber in education and the media (Benrabah, 2002, p. 76).

The English language thrived in Algeria prior to the 1980s, when Algeria was heading toward socio-economic prosperity thanks to its massive gas and oil revenues (Bouhadiba, 2006, p. 6). Bouhadiba (2006) wrote that English learners had access to American and English folksongs, films, the British Council, the Afro-American Institute, which helped people master English. Because the learners' motivations at that time were

not only vocational but also to learn the culture, they were successful learners (Bouhadiba, 2006, p. 6). Plus, besides Algerian teachers of English, there were other educators from inner and outer circle countries such as Pakistan, India, the U.K. and the U.S. (Bouhadiba, 2006, p. 6). Face-to-face contact with these natives, which lacks today, helped increase motivation and cross-cultural understanding between Algerians and native speakers of English. Bouhadiba decries the lack of the environment that characterized English learning/teaching in Algeria prior to the 1980s. However, despite the fact that many decry the state of education across the board in Algeria today, including the lack of the above-mentioned resources and qualified teachers, there are some English teachers and students whose competence in this language is acceptable, if not excellent.

It is important to note that Bouhadiba's claims are based on the assumption that one cannot teach a language without teaching culture. He backs this assumption up by McLeod's claim that, "by teaching a language... one is inevitably teaching culture" (Bouhadiba, 2006, p.6). Although he did not specify which culture, it seems clear that Bouhadiba refers to the cultures of inner circle countries. This assumption would be disputed by those who could argue that a deethnicized variety of English can be successfully taught in association with the native culture (Algeria's in this case) instead of America's or the U.K.'s. Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (2009), for example, believe that linguistic diversity should be promoted instead of mono-cultural and hegemonic policies of English in various international contexts. Thus, they would rather argue that Algeria's linguistic and cultural diversity should be protected from hegemonic English teaching that promotes cultures of inner circle countries.

Despite efforts to promote English, various problems hampered its spread. The Algerian government created a program, whose name is not available, in the early 1980s to train Algerian teachers of English, mainly in the U.K. (Bouhadiba, 2006, p. 6). The goal was to provide qualified English teachers; a goal that crashed along with oil prices in 1986. During this time, the ministry that was in charge of public education instructed all English teachers to use the Communicative Approach (Bouhadiba, 2006, p. 6). Because most educators were not trained to use such an approach, English teaching took a wrong turn (Bouhadiba, 2006, p. 6). Thus, according to Bouhadiba, the situation of English in Algeria has been mediocre since the 1980s as a result of the lack of teacher training in the Communicative Approach, and students' motivation remains limited to getting passing grades (2006, p. 6). Most students lack language skills by the time they get to college and they lack the cultural knowledge which is supposed to help them develop cross-cultural understanding between themselves and the English-speaking world. Now that Algeria has lately been seeing oil revenues increase, one wonders what strategy will be adopted toward English.

Research Questions and Objectives

The above chronological review of Algeria's history with languages offers a good understanding of language-related issues in this country. However, it seems that scholars have not deeply explored the situation of English in Algeria. This language is discussed in the literature in the sense that it is used by Algeria's pro-Arabization camp to displace French, but exploring the questions below will improve our understanding of English in Algeria and suggest a new direction for the discussion of Algeria's language policy.

1. In her attempt to establish a framework for research in Peace Sociolinguistics, Friedrich (2007a) calls for an investigation of the potential of achieving linguistic peace with and through language, particularly English (p. 73). In her book *The English Teacher in a Global Society*, Birch also emphasizes the role that worldly English can play in promoting human rights, peaceful conflict resolution, and peace in general. Does deethnicized English have that potential in Algeria? If it does, how? If it does not, why?
2. In the light of recent mutual interest in diversifying economic cooperation beyond hydrocarbons between the U.S. and Algeria, and recent efforts to promote tourism and attract Western and Arab investors to address Algeria's microeconomic concerns, how can the promotion of English in Algeria help or hinder these efforts?
3. Are the growing academic/cultural programs offered by the U.S. Embassy and the British Council in Algeria effective tools for advancing the learning/teaching of English and, thus, advancing economic cooperation, mutual understanding and peace? If so, how?

To answer the first question, I will refer to Friedrich's framework of peace sociolinguistics. Friedrich (2007a) defines Peace Sociolinguistics as, "a discipline engaged in investigating the place of peace through language in society, with the main charge of looking into peace (within and among languages), violence, education, activism, and the sociopolitical impact of language use on comprehensive peace and vice versa." (p. 76). Friedrich indicates that the first role of Peace Sociolinguistics as a discipline is to look at the potential of achieving linguistic peace through language. To

do this, I will investigate the potential of achieving linguistic peace in Algeria through English. Attitudes towards each language (Algerian Arabic, Berber, Classical Arabic, French and English) and the roles of these languages will be presented, to then be able to assess the potential of English in playing a positive role in this context.

To answer the second question, I will explore various contexts, including Europe in general and the Basque Country and Turkey in particular, to look at how English is used to facilitate communication among countries with the same economic interests. As Europe is a linguistically diverse region, they use English to communicate on matters that concern their continent, and to communicate with outside major economic players such as the United States.

To answer the third question, I will look at activities of the British Council and the US Embassy in Algeria. I will investigate their programs in order to see how they apply to the promotion of English and peace. Most of these programs have various goals, advancing the interests of the UK, the United States and Algeria; participation criteria and objectives will be scrutinized in order to see if these programs contribute to English and peace promotion.

Chapter Two

Theoretical Considerations for a Framework for the Study of the Spread of English in Algeria

Introduction

In order to help answer the research question, this thesis is intended to contribute to the creation of a framework for educators and researchers interested in the Algerian context, particularly English teachers, to study the spread of English and strive for a peaceful transition to a better linguistic environment. After describing Algeria's linguistic situation in the first chapter, this second chapter will outline some theoretical considerations to keep in mind while designing curricula, teaching, making language policies, or analyzing the spread of English in Algeria.

In this chapter, I will first discuss the status of language and human linguistic rights in Algeria. I will look at a few important rights proclaimed in various articles of the UNESCO's 1996 Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights in Barcelona, Spain and indicate the status of these rights in Algeria. I will cover the rights of both groups and individuals.

Next, attitudes people seem to have toward various languages will be considered in order to gauge the potential for meeting language and linguistic human rights, fostering peace with and through English. To address the negative attitudes toward any language(s), I will introduce the concept of negative peace and a few peace-promoting pedagogical considerations such as critical pedagogy and global citizenship for EFL professionals. Another concept that I would like to introduce is positive peace. Positive peace builds on already-existing positive attitudes toward various languages, pursuing language and linguistic human rights, promoting linguistic ecology and additive

multilingualism, and using English to empower future generations (Friedrich 2007b).

The perspective that this concept provides is an integral element of a framework for the analysis of the spread of English in Algeria; the insight it provides allows policy makers, researchers, and educators to make peace-fostering decisions based on a bottom-up approach that aims at addressing linguistic power inequalities.

In light of Friedrich's (2007a) attempt to put forth a framework for Peace Sociolinguistics, I will explore a few elements that she believes should be investigated.

1. Research whether a language is likely to promote positive and negative peace or not.
2. To achieve linguistic diversity and peace in a world where there has to be at least one dominant language, scholars should propose "linguistic education" and "linguistic activism" as alternatives to the English-is-evil discourse (p. 73).

Critical world Englishes scholars such as Phillipson have been too focused on describing English as an imperialist language, neglecting the fact that deethnicized English can actually be used to foster peace, if the two elements above are embraced.

Next, roles each language plays in education, business and the media will be presented. And then potential roles of a deethnicised English will be discussed. In her book, *The English Language Teacher in a Global Civil Society*, Barbara Birch uses the phrase, Worldly English, a phrase borrowed from Pennycook, to refer to a deethnicised form of English (2009, p. 17). Along these lines, English as such, I'd argue, could also be referred to as what I'd call Civil English, a language that rises from contact among

civil societies locally and globally when working together to eradicate poverty, improve education and literacy, protect human rights, protect the environment and other causes of civil societies. The discussion on language roles will be followed by a look at the roles that could be played by Algeria's civil society and the global civil society in shaping the use and functions of English in Algeria and the world, giving rise to Civil English.

Various practical steps will be put forward for English teachers in Algeria in order to promote the principles, outlined in the Earth Charter, some of which I will present later, transitioning to, using Birch's words, a 'preferred future' and contributing to a 'Cultura Franca' of peace. This can solidify Algeria's civil society, connecting it with a larger global civil society and contributing to it. This cooperation has potential to yield many benefits to Algeria and the world, including various resources, such as human capital, for the promotion of peace, fostering social and political stabilities and sustainable development.

The Status of Linguistic Rights in Algeria

Algeria has made some progress in regards to human linguistic rights, but there is still a great deal of work to be done in order to ensure the protection of such rights. In article 3 of UNESCO's Declaration of Linguistic Rights, several personal and group rights are outlined. One of them states that individuals have 'the right to maintain and develop one's own culture'. Groups have 'the right to an equitable presence of their language and culture in the media, [and] ...to receive attention in their own language from government bodies and in socioeconomic relations' (as cited in Friedrich, 2007b, p. 68-69). In articles 13 and 26, the declaration defends the right to be multilingual. In article 13, it is stated that 'everyone has the right to be a polyglot' (as cited in Friedrich,

2007b, p. 73). And the latter points that, ‘all language communities are entitled to an education which will enable their members to acquire a full command of their own language... as well as the most extensive possible command of any other language they may wish to know’ (as cited in Friedrich, 2007b, p. 73). The aforementioned rights, among others, are important to linguistic ecology and peace in any country and Algeria is no exception.

There is work to be done to make sure that Algerians have enough resources and opportunities to maintain and develop their language/culture and have access to adequate resources for the learning of foreign languages they wish to know. Thanks to Berber activism since the 1960s, Algerians have had more opportunities to maintain and develop their culture. For example, these opportunities include the creation of the High Commission for Amazighity, two departments of Tamazight language and linguistics in Bejaia and Tizi-Ouzou (two Berber-speaking provinces), and cultural centers that organize events on Berber language and culture. The latest achievement of Berber activists is the proclamation of Tamazight as a national language following the Dark Spring riots in 2001. In fact, in April 2002, Article 3 of the Constitution was amended, adding Berber as the second national (but not official) language, MSA being the first. Despite its resilience in the face of Arabization, Algerian Arabic is largely neglected by authorities and, for historic and political reasons, most of its own native speakers consider it inferior to MSA. Although some progress has been made regarding article 3, the pace is sluggish. The maintenance and development of Berber and Algerian Arabic and the latter local languages’ prominence in the media vis-à-vis MSA, for reasons beyond the scope of this thesis, needs faster and urgent but responsible progress.

Articles 13 and 26 proclaim the right of individuals to learn languages they may wish to know. However, in Algeria, there is a lack of awareness, activism, adequate policy making, and resources to protect such a proclamation. As noted in chapter one, Algeria is a linguistically diverse place, where people can be multilingual; however, many do not get a chance to. Competence in French and even English could be much stronger had positive attitudes toward multilingualism been reflected in official language policy. French is a de facto official language, considered colonial, while English is used to displace French. The result is negative language attitudes illustrated by a comment I once heard an Algerian young man make, saying that he learns English because he hates French. Also, as noted in chapter one, the Minister of Higher Education declared in 2005 that 80% of freshmen fail their final exams because *of linguistic incompetence* (Benrabah, 2007b). That is, Arabization seems to step on articles 13 and 26, leaving the majority of Algerians with little opportunities to become multilingual. Increasingly positive attitudes toward English, however, no matter whether their nature is to displace French or access more knowledge, could be used to instill the values of linguistic ecology and language rights while teaching English.

One major recent potential game-changing event might affect language attitudes and roles. Given the very recent post-Arab Spring pressure from the street on the Algerian government, a law was passed allowing private TV and radio stations to be created, which is an important step toward achieving language and human linguistic rights. It is too soon to clarify how free and democratic this privatization process will be, but it is a step in the right direction. For instance, it is not clear whether there will be

restrictions on which languages can be used. Private TV and radio could give voice to citizens who were long excluded from participation in public life.

Positive Peace: Building on Positive Attitudes Toward MSA, Algerian Arabic, English, French and Tamazight in Algeria

There are already many positive attitudes toward the various languages that are in competition in Algeria. The concept of positive peace aids us to understand how to build on these attitudes. Positive peace refers to the promotion of just social institutions (as cited in Friedrich, 2007b, p. 5). As far as positive peace, Friedrich cites Gay, who in turn used De Saussure, to argue that unfair structures of linguistic power should be dealt with by fostering linguistic emancipation by pursuing linguistic ecology, linguistic empowerment and linguistic peace education (as cited in Friedrich, 2007b, p. 7). First I will introduce some of these positive attitudes and then I will suggest ways to build on them.

Positive Language Attitudes in Algeria. The majority of Berbers view their language very positively. They argue that it should be promoted to the status of an official language, which so far has been denied by the authorities. They demand resources and opportunities to maintain and develop their language. It is also considered, alongside Algerian Arabic and MSA, as a means for covert prestige in order to show group solidarity (Benrabah, 2007b, p. 240).

Algerians have many positive attitudes toward each of the five languages that this thesis is concerned with. During one summer in Algeria, about five of my friends and acquaintances sat around and asked me several questions about the U.S. culture. Then, they asked me to speak in English for a few minutes because they were curious to see

how fluent I was. I spoke about some of my experiences in the U.S. When I was done, they made comments such as, “wow, you tore English up”. That illustrates some of Algerians’ attitudes toward the English language.

In Algeria, the word “el-kharej” (literally translated as, foreign) is associated with “better future.” A lot of people are fed up with the widespread corruption, red tape, and nepotism in the country. Therefore, they aspire for a better future in Europe, Canada, the United States, or they hope to work for foreign companies in Algeria. That is why *foreign* languages (mostly French and English) are perceived to be necessary for a better life. I should point out here that although French is very present in Algeria, English has recently been gaining ground because of its international status and improved relations between Algeria and the U.S. Benrabah (2007b) says that starting from 2004, Algerian students had to start studying French from *second* grade and English from *seventh* grade instead of, respectively, *fourth* and *eighth* grades, which shows how the country is somewhat stepping away from complete Arabization. In fact, Benrabah (2009b), criticizes the lack of tolerance of diversity among some in the French-speaking world, particularly Metropolitan France, arguing that one of the major reasons why English has spread so much faster than French in the post-colonial world is because English is more deethnicised, more tolerant of diversity. It is thus predicted in Benrabah’s forthcoming book (2012) that English is likely to displace French in Algeria, since English is among other things more tolerant of varieties other than those of the U.K. and the U.S., for example.

MSA however is at this point also considered important for social participation, even though it is not sufficient by itself. According to Benrabah (2007b), the results of

the above-mentioned questionnaire show that 40.2% (423) of the respondents completely agree and 41.6% (437) agree that MSA-French bilingualism is an advantage when living in Algeria; 184 respondents were either neutral, disagreed or completely disagreed. Moreover, 58.6% of 1036 respondents believe that MSA, English and French are the best languages choices for social advancement, while the rest believed that one or another combination of the four languages (MSA, English, French, and Tamazight) is the optimal option (p. 241-245). Respondents chose the combination of MSA, English, and French, instead of monolingualism or MSA-English bilingualism, to be the most advantageous for upward mobility. This demonstrates Algerians' positive attitudes toward multilingualism (p. 241-242).

Some Theoretical Considerations to Build on Algerians' Positive Attitudes. Positive attitudes should be reinforced, encouraging additive multilingualism and linguistic ecology. As noted earlier, Benrabah (2007b) maintains that a questionnaire that was administered to Algerian high school students on their language attitudes showed that the majority favor additive multilingualism. The latter is something that can be fostered through the teaching of English. English teachers could use materials that foster Algerians' positive attitudes toward various languages, including Tamazight, the language to which the majority of Algerians are hostile (p. 244). A less realistic solution for the present time, but worth mentioning is that of policy makers incorporating linguistic ecology into the curriculum. According to Crystal, peace linguistics that promotes linguistic diversity should be taught just like any other ecosystem is taught (as cited in Friedrich, 2007b, p. 51). It would be ideal for peace fostering if Algerian policy makers foster additive multilingualism and linguistic diversity, which has traditionally

been out of the question because of Arabization. In a post-Arabization Algeria, classrooms would avoid ideological indoctrination and value multilingualism and critical thinking. But the fact that there are no quick fixes to overcome the consequences of Arabization in education does not mean that the civil society should sit back and blame the government. It is the responsibility of every civilian to do what they can to instill the kind of attitudes that solidify social and political stabilities in students' minds.

Negative Peace: Addressing Negative Attitudes Toward MSA, Algerian Arabic, English, French and Tamazight in Algeria

In the first part of this section, negative language attitudes toward languages in Algeria will be presented. In the second part, I present some theoretical considerations to help teachers, policy makers, curriculum designers, and researchers ensure a responsible peace-promoting prominent presence of English. Clearly, education and policy-making, for example, are two aspects that can contribute to such change. Crystal argued in 2002 that these two aspects are, among others, important when dealing with negative views of languages (as cited in Friedrich, 2007b, p. 90-91). In addition, addressing negative attitudes toward the languages that are most relevant to Algeria's sociolinguistic profile is no easy task, but the power of activism by the local civil society, including English teachers, can initiate bottom-up positive change in attitudes. Before discussing these aspects, an account of attitudes Algerians seem to have toward the above languages will be provided.

Negative Language Attitudes in Algeria. There are many negative views toward Algerian Arabic and Tamazight. Algerian Arabic is seen by its speakers as inferior to MSA. According to Benrabah (2007b), they consider it to be impure (p. 244). This

attitude is illustrated by an article Mouhadjer wrote in which he asserts, ‘the linguistic situation is so intricate that the Algerians speak two minutes in French, thirty seconds in Arabic then one minute in French and so on. Sometimes the two languages are mixed to such a point that the result is a bizarre unintelligent language.’ (p. 991). This attitude is typical of the pro-Arabization camp which denigrates local Algerian languages and prizes MSA instead.

Many speakers of Algerian Arabic and its regional varieties hold some negative attitudes toward Tamazight (or Berber). Although many Berbers believe that their language should be maintained, developed and promoted to the status of, not only national, but also official language, many reject its official recognition. In fact, in a questionnaire administered to high school students in western Algeria 792 out of 1032 rejected the recognition of Tamazight (Benrabah 2007b, p. 244). A Likert scale was used to try to understand Algerians’ attitudes toward bilingualism and multilingualism (Benrabah, 2007b, p. 236). These students, who are Algerian Arabic native speakers also consider Berber to be the most impure and most difficult of all the languages that are in competition in Algeria (Benrabah 2007b, p. 244). Negative attitudes toward the Berbers and their language in Algerian Arabic-speaking (L1) regions, such as western Algeria where this questionnaire was administered, are mainly due to the fact that they are portrayed by mainstream ideology and government institutions as divisive and separatists (Benrabah, 2007b, p.243).

Benrabah (2007b) summarizes his findings on attitudes toward MSA and French as follows: “French for action, Arabic [MSA] for prayer and poetry.” Basically, the majority of the 1031 participants in the questionnaire believe that French is the practical

language that allows them to prosper socio-economically, while MSA is good for art and necessary for spirituality. MSA is not usually seen as a practical language in the job market, and the Berbers usually see it as a threat to their linguistic rights. However, because the government has been pushing for MSA to be the language of high functions, bilingualism in French and MSA is needed to ensure social mobility (p. 243).

Some Theoretical Considerations to Address Algerians' Negative Attitudes.

A concept that aids us to understand how to deal with some of the above-mentioned negative attitudes is negative peace. The concepts of negative and positive peace were introduced by Galtung in 1994. Negative peace means the cessation of war through diplomacy and negotiation. In 2001 Gomes De Matos applied the concept of negative peace to language, arguing that diplomatic language fosters peace. For example, some of the strategies that De Matos (2001) discusses include, 'avoiding the use of pompous language', 'being particularly careful when communicating national values', 'developing the ability to see both (or more) sides of an issue', and 'avoiding destructive uses of language' (as cited in Friedrich, 2007, p. 6). De Matos does not refer to a specific language, but I argue that his ideas should be accounted for in any discussion of English in the Algerian context. Because of the fast spread of English in the world, and Algeria is no exception, it is important to keep in mind De Matos's suggestions to make sure that Algerians benefit from the phenomenon of the spread of English. Because this language spread entails more students sitting in classrooms to learn English, I argue that it is important for educators, researchers, policy makers, and curriculum designers to consider some of the theoretical ideas presented in this thesis. Therefore, by considering these

ideas while working with an increasing number of students who want to learn English, the impact of such ideas becomes larger.

There are other elements for a framework for the study of the spread of English in Algeria, making sure that the country gets the most out of such a phenomenon. Barbara Birch (2009) puts forth a few suggestions for English teachers in order to help develop appropriate pedagogical goals (2009, p. 162). Students will be exposed to respectful communication, avoiding teasing, bullying, and yelling. Students will understand that everyone is entitled to their opinion, discarding the use of words such as, 'shut up'. Students can say, 'I pass' to avoid expressing an opinion they may not wish to share. Students will learn to listen and think before talking/interrupting. Students will learn anger-management strategies (counting to ten/leaving the room for a few moments) and be able not to take certain reactions personally (Birch, 2009, p. 163). The use of I-statements is another strategy that can be promoted when teaching English, thereby contributing to the efforts of appeasing linguistic conflicts among languages in Algeria. These communication strategies and others will enrich Civil English and transition to a 'preferred future' and 'cultura franca of peace', in Birch's own words.

EFL teachers can use the increasing demand for English to empower learners in the classroom. Freire's (n.d.) concept of "banking" in education applies to the Algerian context and his pedagogical solution would empower learners. Algeria's educational system still heavily relies on rote learning, where the teacher is the source of knowledge and the students learn by heart and repeat the knowledge in exams, just like an ATM which receives money (the teacher asking students to learn by heart), stores it (the student learns by heart) and gives it back during exams. This system does not educate students to

challenge the status quo (Freire, n.d.). A better system would encourage students to pose problems and try to solve them, which is the pedagogy advocated by Freire (n.d.).

Friedrich (2007b) agrees with Freire when he argues that any system should rely on the students' environment, instead of, for instance, using materials that talk about rain even though the latter is not something students often experience in their environment (p. 51).

In a democratic classroom, students are challenged and empowered to solve problems peacefully.

In his book *Resisting Linguistic Imperialism in English Teaching*, Suresh Canagarajah argues that code-switching should not be repressed in the classroom by those who would possibly portray it as 'unintelligent.' The code-switching Algerians engage in should be viewed positively, as a strategy students engage in to negotiate values and content (1999, p. 185-186). When code-switching is viewed positively and used by the teacher to help implement a critical pedagogy, students become better equipped to resist possible nationalist, fundamentalist and Western corporations' propagandas reflected in the curriculum and/or in the real world. A critical pedagogy that encourages students when they use various language varieties is useful.

English teaching in Algeria should reflect a critical pedagogy of English as a global language (EGL). Guilherme (2007) defines critical pedagogy as follows, 'a critical pedagogy of foreign languages/cultures includes a Human Rights and Citizenship Education framework, adopts a multiple and interdisciplinary perspective and is based upon critical reflection and critical dialogue mainly about the power relations between and within different cultures (88).' The use of English as such by both teachers and learners can offer opportunities for individuals to become active and responsible

cosmopolitan citizens. According to Guilherme (2007), this pedagogy would encourage intercultural understanding and critical thinking about aspects of local and world cultures. It will facilitate the dissemination and the critical acquisition of linguistic and cultural knowledge through English. Critical pedagogy for EGL deserves to be investigated in order to educate responsible cosmopolitan citizens who play a positive role in a world where English is a powerful linguistic tool, a tool manipulated by affluent powerful individuals every day.

Of course, as Friedrich also adds, most experts will agree that inequalities among various groups need to be addressed somehow (as cited in Friedrich, 2007, p. 6-7). The Berbers have resorted to violent protests in order to extract linguistic and cultural rights from the government, but is that the only way to gain linguistic human rights or are there other forms of action?

Leaving aside top-down political action, I believe that some of the most important ways through which these attitudes can be dealt with is education and the media. Although these important sectors are mainly controlled by supporters of Arabization in one way or another, bottom up activism through civil society should help change negative attitudes. If inequalities persist and worsen to become wider and wider, a Gandhi or MLK-like civil disobedience, if not violent protests or a Libya-like revolution, might happen to change things. Civil society can contribute to changing negative attitudes one at a time until linguistic peace is achieved.

In the third and final chapter of this thesis, an in-depth analysis of English in diverse European contexts will be presented, focusing mainly on English and drawing connections between Europe's and Algeria's environments. The final chapter will also

give an overview of some of the activity related to the English language in Algeria, including academic and cultural exchange programs, private schooling, magazines, the social media, and radio.

Chapter Three

Applying the Framework to Algeria's Linguistic Environment

Introduction

This chapter is an example that illustrates how a theoretical framework, which intends to foster linguistic peace and analyze the spread of English, is applied to Algeria's context. In order to use this framework in Algeria's situation, I first present the Vai's schooling system as an exemplary model that could benefit Algeria. I will write about the Vai people in Liberia and their schooling system and present it as a model that could work in Algeria. The Vai study their native language to communicate their culture and identity. They study English in English language schools to communicate with the outside world. And they study Classical Arabic in religious schools to meet their religious duties. In Algeria, the equivalent, in terms of language roles, of the above languages is either taught in K-12 (MSA, Berber, English and French) or not taught at all (Algerian Arabic), but the Vai model may work better, breaking down the schooling system into three types.

Then, I analyze language roles in Algeria and draw connections between Algeria's linguistic landscape and Europe's. I also analyze activities related to the spread of English, such as U.S. Embassy and British Council programs, for their potential to promote a deethnicized, peace-promoting, form English in Algeria.

The Vai Model

In this section, I will briefly present the schooling system of the Vai people in Liberia, offering insights and ideas that might prove useful to promote sociolinguistic peace among languages in the Algerian context. While looking into the literacy practices of the Vai people in Liberia, Scribner and Cole (1981) distinguish between three different forms of schooling among the Vai, each form being associated with a language (p. 31). The first form of schooling allows Vai children to learn traditional socialization skills using their native language, the language they learned at home (p. 31). They learn how to take up various roles in their society, fulfilling traditional economic and social activities (p. 31). The second form of schooling allows children to learn the English language in order to participate in the modern economic and government sector (p. 31). The third form of schooling, offered by religious leaders (Imams), gives students who go there a chance to learn the Koran by heart, study commentaries on the Koran, and/or learn Classical Arabic (p. 31). The Vai people themselves sum it all up very well, “There are three books in this world---the European book, the Arabic book, and the Vai book...” (as cited in Scribner and Cole, p. 31).

I believe that the above model offers insightful points as far as increasing social participation and language-in-education planning in Algeria’s complex multilingual situation. The ministry in charge of religious affairs and/or some K-12 private colleges and schools could assume the role of teaching Classical Arabic, Islamic education and other forms of Arab-Islamic education, while public schools smoothly transition to using Algerian Arabic and/or Berber depending on the region. The details of such moves should be open to a democratic discussion among experts, policy-makers and the people.

If possible, Imams and their assistants could receive more resources to assume the responsibility of providing instruction in Classical Arabic and religious education in mosques. In addition, a national debate, among other things, would need to take place to establish the details of a public educational system that dedicates some of its resources to embracing the people's local languages (Algerian Arabic and Berber) and cultural traits, thereby enhancing students' creativity and participation in the public sphere. This inclusive democratic debate would also address foreign language education, reflecting the facts that French is by now ingrained in Algeria's linguistic landscape and that English is an indispensable linguistic tool to appropriate for more access to knowledge, cultural, academic and economic opportunities, to mention a few.

Clearly, several decades may be needed before a situation such as the one described above would happen. The transition to an inclusive policy of language-in-education planning needs to be smooth and responsible. The recent move by the government to allow private TV stations to be created is a move in the right direction; it is a good news for the civil society, but more needs to be done and the local civil society should play a major role in the transition.

Language Roles in Algeria Today

While Algerian Arabic and Berber play important roles in the private lives of citizens, MSA and French are important in various high function areas such as business, the media and education. The progressive incursion of English however calls for a framework of discussion to be established on the potential roles of this language. This section presents the current roles that MSA, Berber, French and English play, and then it projects into the

future to suggest possible positive roles that English could play in addition to the ones presented in the previous section.

Roles of Arabic, English, French and Tamazight in Education (K-12 and Higher Education). Algeria's recent reforms of its educational system (K-12 and higher education) highlight recent progressive orientations such as introducing free-market policies and welcoming linguistic diversity. These reforms are intended to help build Algeria's intellectual base, improve social and political stabilities, socio-economic conditions, and become more competitive internationally. The reforms are also intended to close the economic gap between Europe and North Africa and, therefore, among other things, reduce African illegal emigration to Europe.

K-12. MSA has been the language of instruction starting from kindergarten through the third year of high school (last year before college) in Algeria's public school system. Before the late 1960s, French dominated all public schools; however, MSA has quickly gained prominence in the system through a hasty policy of Arabization led by the Algerian government (Benrabah, 2007b: 1). This policy has resulted in the current K-12 situation in which every subject is taught in MSA except foreign languages and Tamazight (Berber). Since the early 1990s, Tamazight has been introduced into public education progressively; it is now taught in many more schools. As part of a major education overhaul in the early 2000s, some measures were introduced to reform Algeria's traditional K-12 system. For example, in addition to increasingly widespread private schools which teach English, public schools start teaching this language from seventh instead of eighth grade in order to try to improve students' proficiency.

Higher Education. Despite the strong Arabization policy that has been imposed on Algeria's public sphere, French has remained a prominent language in important fields of higher education (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Medicine). According to Benrabah, "in universities, 95% of post-graduate courses in sciences and 95% of undergraduate courses in medicine and technical disciplines are taught in *French*" (2007a, p. 233). This explains why most students who are affected by the sweeping policy of Arabization (i.e. they hardly know French) struggle at the college level, unless they have a major in which the main language of instruction is MSA (e.g. philosophy, history or Arabic language and literature). The policy of Arabization is thus not successful in higher education. It seems that many of Algeria's cadres and some politicians were well aware of the consequences had MSA completely replaced French in all public institutions; the country could have plunged into massive long-term social, economic and political crises.

Instead of complete Arabization, however, a new higher education system that favors multilingualism has been implemented since the early 2000s. This system is based on Europe's Bologna Agreement. This agreement was initially intended to increase economic and research cooperation between European nations, and was later extended to include a few North African countries through programs such as ERASMUS (European Commission Education and Culture DG 2010). It seems that Algeria has reformed its higher education by following the Bologna Agreement as a model in the hope of facilitating students' and scholars' exchange and the recognition of Algerian degrees internationally. Given the linguistic and cultural diversity of all of the countries involved in the European Union (EU) and North Africa, English has become the common language

that facilitates the mission of the Bologna Agreement. The reform of education in Algeria has thus involved encouraging multilingualism, including English and French.

Roles of Arabic, English, French and Tamazight in Business. French and to a lesser extent Arabic are the dominant languages in the business world in Algeria; however, English has recently been used more than ever before. Because American, British and French companies heavily invest in hydrocarbons (Algeria's main source of income), the languages of these countries play a major role in Algerian business dealings. Depending on which academic institution a student is assigned to (assignments depend on high school grades and geographical location), economics, business and management are taught in either French or MSA. From personal experience, talking to students who are in these fields, those who study management in French believe that they have a better chance to get a job than if they had to study in MSA. It is a general perception in Algeria that MSA is not the most useful language in order to function in the business world. The role of Tamazight is mostly limited to its use by small businesses for interpersonal communication with customers in Berber-speaking regions.

It is interesting to note that Algerian businesses have been taking advantage of the fact that people perceive English as a prestigious language, even though they have little knowledge of it. For example, one can read on some blankets "honey time." I did not investigate how the marketers came up with that phrase and what they meant by it, but it seems to be a clear appeal to many Algerians' positive perceptions (and possibly ignorance) of English. On some pencil cases, one can read "my secret stuff," which would sound odd if the product were going to be sold in a predominantly English-

speaking country. However, Algerian marketers are aware that consumers in Algeria would feel that the product conveys prestige when they see English written on its label, even if they do not know what the phrase means. One possible explanation for this marketing practice could be the influence of French and/or Middle Eastern satellite TV, which uses English in their commercials because of its prestige among some of the French audience. Algerian marketers may have copied the practice from French TV. Those are only two examples that reflect how businesses in Algeria attempt to take advantage of positive attitudes towards English in order to sell their products to those who associate the language with prestige but do not understand it.

Roles of Arabic, English, French and Tamazight in the Media. Because of the policy of Arabization and restrictions on privately-owned media, MSA has traditionally dominated this sector. The Algerian government owns l'Entreprise Nationale de Télévision (ENTV) as well as a few stations that air on satellite. In recent years, the Algerian authorities launched one Berber-speaking and another French-speaking satellite channel. Given the very recent post-Arab Spring pressure from the street on the Algerian government, a law was passed allowing *private* TV and radio stations to be created. Privately-owned newspapers have existed since the 1990s, though the majority of newspapers and radio stations still use MSA.

English-speaking television programs such as *Follow Me* and *On We Go* disappeared from national television as a result of Algeria's language policy (Bouhadiba, 2006, p. 7). English is far from being a dominant language in Algerian television. However, a few years ago, there was a program on national television entitled, *Arabic*

Roots of English Words. The program seemed to be intended to help introduce English (in a way that promotes Arabization) as a way to displace French. Indeed, the pro-Arabization lobby has argued in the past that English should replace French because the latter language has a colonial baggage, as if English doesn't!

BRTV is a private Berber station based in France. It airs on satellite and targets mostly the Tamazight-speaking audience in Algeria. There are many foreign channels that can be accessed in Algeria via satellite, on which most Algerians rely for entertainment, information, and world news. Satellite offers different perspectives from the ones offered by national TV, and people use it to learn about the rest of the world. I myself watched a great deal of satellite TV, which helped me learn English and French.

There are plenty of newspapers in MSA (e.g. *El Khabar and El Chorouk*) and French (e.g. *Liberté and El Watan*), some of which are owned by the government and some of which are owned privately. *La Dépêche de Kabylie*, published in French, addresses issues related to the Kabylie (Berber) region. The use of English in the Algerian print and online media is limited. However, some newspapers such as *Ennahar* publish articles in English online. There are also a few magazines in English, such as *Inelectronics' Magazine* and *50/Fifty Magazine*, which are sponsored by Schlumberger and Hopeland Institute respectively. Currently, radio belongs to the government. Chaîne 2 and Chaîne 3 air in Tamazight and French respectively, but most other radio stations air in MSA and/or Algerian Arabic.

Future Roles Deethnicised English Should Play in Algeria

While Algerian Arabic, MSA, and French already play undisputable roles in one way or another in Algeria's linguistic scenery, English as I argue in this thesis should play a role in creating bonds between Algeria's civil society and the world's civil society. It should play a role in the process of knowledge democratization, acquiring knowledge that is not accessible in other languages. It should play a role in fostering linguistic peace and, thus, contribute to social and political stabilities. It should play a role in increasing access to economic opportunities in order to improve the socioeconomic condition of Algerians, helping foster economic and political stabilities. It should play a role in introducing a critical pedagogy that helps educate cosmopolitan citizens who successfully identify with various communities, embracing the best of the local and the global. It should play a role in promoting mutual understanding and friendship between Algeria and the rest of the world.

English cannot play such roles if it is used to Arabize and alienate. Some in Algeria might argue that Arab-Islamic values should be reflected in English teaching, an argument that supporters of Arabization are likely to make. And they might cite Ahmar Mahboob who analyzed Islamic English in Pakistan as a way to resist imperialist discourses. However, English in Algeria should not be used to portray an identity that is at odds with Algeria's history of linguistic and cultural diversity, an identity that ignores the fact that 99% of Algerians are ethnically Berber. Civil English, I argue, is sort of a free linguistic market where the civil society shapes the language in a bottom-up manner. And if the majority are Muslims and their values are reflected, so be it. But it should not be a top-down oppressive process where the values of a few are imposed on the majority.

It should be a bottom-up call for the kind of peace-promoting English that reflects the values of Algeria's local civil society and the global civil society, the kind of English that can be used as a tool to promote cosmopolitan citizenship.

In order for English to play such roles as the ones described above, it needs to be sensitive to the needs and aspirations of the local civil society, promoting Civil English. The latter would not only be deethnicised and stripped of its colonial past, or worldly and open to the world, but it would be shaped by the people and used for the interest of the people without exclusion. Some might disregard such a framework for English in Algeria by arguing that English carries imperialist and colonial elements with it, but Kateb Yacine, an Algerian writer, is against such a view of colonial languages. As mentioned earlier, he said about his French writings, 'I write in French to tell the French I am not French; French is a spoil of war.' This view of colonial languages is embraced by Kachruvian linguists who highlight diversity within the English language. Like Kateb, these linguists maintain that English can be appropriated to reflect one's own cultural values.

The global civil society can enrich Algeria's local civil society, Algeria's educators, health care workers, businessmen, writers, administrators, parents, students, and so on. And Algerians can in turn contribute the knowledge they gathered throughout the centuries to the global civil society. The global civil society is made of organizations such as Human Rights Watch, Oxfam, Doctors without Borders, Greenpeace, and so on. There are events such as the World Social forum that can bring civilians from around the world to communicate on issues they all care about. Trying to communicate in such a multicultural environment can help foster a civil cosmopolitan identity symbolized by

Civil English. Users of such a language variety adhere to the Earth Charter's philosophy illustrated in its preamble:

We must join together to bring forth a sustainable global society founded on respect for nature, universal human rights, economic justice, and a culture of peace. Toward this end, it is imperative that we, the people of Earth, declare our responsibility to one another, to the greater community of life, and to future generation (as cited in Birch, 2009, Appendix).

A critical use of English will help, among other things, democratize knowledge and enrich the ongoing discussion on the application of human rights in various contexts by bringing civilians together on a global scale.

Assisting With the Spread of Deethnicised, Peace-Promoting, Form of English U.S. Embassy and British Council Programs

The U.S. Embassy in Algeria offers a wide range of academic exchange programs for Algerian citizens, which I argue contribute to the spread of deethnicised English. One of these programs, the most internationally recognized, is the Fulbright program. Algerians are offered through this program the possibility of doing graduate work in a U.S. university, usually an MA, if they have a BA and meet a few other criteria such as good scores on standardized tests (the TOEFL and the GRE). In the website of the U.S. Embassy in Algeria, it is explicitly indicated at the center top of a PDF providing information on the program, "*Fostering mutual understanding between the people of Algeria and the United States through educational and cultural exchange*" (U.S. Department of State). This statement provides a rationale behind such programs, and supports the spread of deethnicised, peace-promoting, English in Algeria.

Another program that the U.S. Department of State offers through the Bureau of Academic and Cultural Affairs and the U.S. Embassy in Algeria is the Youth Leadership Program (YLP). As states in the Embassy website, these are the goals of the program:

To promote *mutual understanding* between the American and Algerian youth; to develop a sense of leadership potential, *civic responsibility*, and *commitment to community development* among youth; to *strengthen English speaking skills*; to foster relationships between Americans and Algerians with a focus on respect for diversity of ethnic, socioeconomic, and religious backgrounds (U.S. Department of State, n.d.).

This program is an excellent example of a program whose mission is in line with the framework that this thesis puts forward, a framework that is intended to argue for the potential of deethnicised English to spread responsibly and play a positive role in strengthening of the Algerian civil society and promoting peace. Future research could investigate the impact of such programs and whether their goals are achieved.

The British Council also puts efforts into building bridges between the U.K. and Algeria, promoting a deethnicised variety of English that Algerians can appropriate and use. One of their programs is called Active Citizens. It was launched in 2010 in partnership with Algerian Muslim Scouts.

Active Citizens is a community empowerment and social action programme that seeks to create a global network of socially-responsible citizens, collectively acting to create a more peaceful and prosperous society. The vision is a world in which people recognise their potential and exercise their responsibility to engage

with others in the development of their communities at local and international level, i.e. a world of ‘Global Citizens’ (British Council, n.d.).

This program seems to be in line with a critical pedagogy of English for global citizenship, discussed in chapter two. It promotes a strong commitment to the local community, “a strong sense of local culture and identity,” while developing “a sense of responsibility toward global sustainable development” (British Council, n.d.).

It is worth mentioning that the above information is accessible only in English or word-of-mouth, which makes it inaccessible to the majority of Algerians who are not proficient in this language. However, bottom-up initiatives in Algeria provide increased opportunities to learn English, and more awareness about opportunities English, in addition to Algeria’s other languages, offers in terms of socioeconomic development.

Algerians’ Bottom-up Initiatives

Algerians have made amazing use of media such as Facebook, contributing to the spread of English. Managed by the Hopeland Institute Algeria, *50/Fifty Magazine* used Facebook to recruit volunteer writers, publishing its first issue in October 2011. This magazine publishes about a wide range of topics written by individuals from around the world. In fact, its name (50/Fifty) means that half of the magazine is devoted to Algeria and the other half to the rest of the world, building bridges among a community of English users. In addition, *Inelectronics’ Magazine*, sponsored by Schlumberger (an oil company), is a student magazine written in English. These students are in the only university program (in electronics) in Algeria in which the main language of instruction is English.

There are many Facebook groups that suggest an increasing presence of English in Algeria, and the larger Maghreb region. Some of these groups include 50/Fifty Magazine, Algerian English Speakers, Maghreb United English Speakers, and I am DZ [i.e. Algerian] And I Speak English. These groups have over a combined 60,000 members. The latter group recently attempted the first Algerian Radio in English. Indeed, I have listened to a program in which the host was discussing tourism in Algeria with Skype callers. These observations and anecdotes point at a fast evolving sociolinguistic reality that includes the rise of English among an already complex multilingual environment. These languages, which include Algerian Arabic, Berber, English, French, and Modern Standard Arabic, will have to co-exist. Europe's sociolinguistic profile of English provides insights on how English brings people from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds together, and provides an example of how a framework that analyzes the spread of English could work.

Analyses of Cases of the Spread of English in Europe: A Model for Algeria's Investigators of the Presence of English

In this section, I am going to draw parallels between Algeria and various European countries that were largely studied by English as a Lingua Franca and world Englishes scholars. This is hoped to provide the reader insights into how the spread of English can be analyzed in Algeria through the lenses of a linguistic peace-fostering framework provided. First, I address the situation of linguistic human rights in Europe. Second, I present the situation of English in the multilingual Basque Country in Spain. Third, I analyze the sociolinguistic situation of Turkey, drawing connections with

Algeria. Finally, I present a sociolinguistic overview of Europe in general, comparing it to the Algerian context as well.

Linguistic Human Rights in Europe: A Model of Analysis of the Status of These Rights in Algeria. In this section, I will describe Phillipson's and Skutnabb-Kangas's analysis of linguistic human rights in Europe, serving as a model for a discussion of these rights in Algeria, and the larger Maghreb region for that matter. Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas argue that linguistic human rights in Europe are not protected well enough by the array of international and regional instruments. These instruments include for example the UN's article 27 of the *Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* and article 14.2 in the 1994 *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities* by the Ad Hoc Committee for the Protection of National Minorities. Article 14.2 is more binding than the UN's article 27, even though some argue that the *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities* is not enough since states can find ways around it. The authors want the framework convention to be binding and more explicit (p. 29-34).

They also maintain that English is a threat to minority languages and plays the role of an imperial language, mostly serving the interests of Britain, which is the largest exporter of what Routh (1941, 12) would call an 'army of linguistic missionaries'. They also accuse Britain of exporting certain types of teaching materials that they need to propagate the British variety of English and its cultural baggage (as cited in Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009, p. 36).

The authors consider English as a hegemonic tool that serves the interests of a few, threatening many of the European minority languages. They present Tsuda's (1994,

p. 49-61) two English paradigms, one of which is imperialist and the other respectful of linguistic and cultural rights. They defend the latter paradigm and reject the former (as cited in Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009, p. 39).

While Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas decry the uncritical and hegemonic nature of the English and inner circle countries, they ignore the idea that the fact that English is so widespread could be taken advantage of, teaching the language critically in order to prevent the very imperialist language policies they abhor. They claim that using English as a tool to try to solve linguistic conflicts in other countries is a 'pure fantasy', but they forget that English in India, with the many stratified languages they have and the cast system, functions as the cement that holds the structure of social and political stabilities (2009, p. 40).

Spain's Basque Country: A Model for the Analysis of Language Attitudes in a Multilingual Algeria. Lasagabaster (2003) reports that native speakers of Spanish have the most favorable attitudes toward English, native speakers of both Basque and Spanish came second, and native speakers of Basque had the least favorable attitudes. The author introduces his topic, offering some demographic and geographic background information. He describes how Basque came to experience reverse language shift and how English has been gaining ground in the Basque Autonomous Country (BAC) (p. 585-587).

Next, the author reviews the literature by presenting the sociolinguistic profile of English in Europe, pointing at differences between the BAC and the rest of the continent. Then, he explains the ascendance of English there since World War II and its strong presence throughout the continent. Lasagabaster moves on to point the gap in the literature, claiming that his study is one of the very few that looks at attitudes toward

English as an L3. He then presents his theoretical framework. He explains that the study contributes to understanding language use by examining learners' attitudes from the perspective of world Englishes (p. 585-587).

The author used Baker's questionnaire, which he tweaked with the help of Baker himself to fit the context, in order to gather data at the University of the Basque Country, an institution of about 60,000 graduate students. 1,097 undergraduates, aged between 18 and 50 years old, participated. 21.2% spoke Basque, 57.4% Spanish, and 21.5% spoke both as their L1. 50.2% were male and 49.8 were female. 20 minutes were allowed for students to complete the questionnaire in class (p. 588-589).

Results showed that attitudes of Basque native speakers toward English, with the lowest score (mean score = 33.26), were least favorable. Spanish native speakers had the highest (mean score = 36.24), while native speakers of both came in the middle (mean score = 25.05). The author believes that the attitude of the Basque native speakers might be due to the fact that these speakers have a strong ethnolinguistic identity and, thus, want to protect their minority language from powerful languages such as English which already has a very high degree of ethnolinguistic vitality (p. 589-592).

Toward the end, the author offers some implications, suggesting that policy makers should take his results into consideration by implementing policies that take into consideration citizens' attitudes. One limitation of the study is the fact that older generations, who might be more fearful for their ethnolinguistic identity because of English, were not an important part of the sample. This means that the favorable attitudes, though they were classified least among the three groups (native speakers of Basque only, native speakers of Spanish only, and native speakers of both), apply only to

the Basque youth. A larger sample that would include older participants might show skeptical attitudes toward English. Finally the author calls for more attitudinal research in multilingual contexts where English is present (p. 592-595).

English in the BAC, according to Lasagabaster, belongs to The Expanding Circle. In this circle, English is mostly taught as a subject and used for international communication only. It is considered a foreign language and it does not serve intranational roles. In the future, some sociolinguistic developments might include Basque being firmly established and English roles being expanded, thus raising questions about whether English in that region should be considered belonging to the Outer Circle. If internationalization was to grow and the Basque country was to notice the same developments as in some other European countries, it would not be surprising to see a Basque, English, and Castilian Spanish coexist.

There are many similarities with the Algerian context. Specifically, Basque seems to be equivalent to Kabyle (a Berber variety), whose speakers have strong ethnolinguistic identity as well but still have a long way to go before achieving the same gains. Spanish would be equivalent to Modern Standard Arabic and French. It is worth noting at this point that only MSA is recognized in the Algerian Constitution as an official language, French being used as an official language alongside MSA, but is not recognized in the Constitution to be official. Both the Spanish and Algerian contexts would fit under Kachru's expanding circle of English, which seems to have so far made a bit more inroads into BAC than Algeria.

Turkey: A Language Policy Model for Algeria. I think that Algeria and Turkey present two interesting cases for comparison. After independence from France, Algeria engaged in the promotion of Modern Standard Arabic and Islam as the pillars of Algerian identity at the expense of local languages, French and true freedom of religion. I think that, while Turkey is certainly not the perfect example when it comes to language policy making (e.g. marginalizing Kurdish), this country could be a model for Algeria in some ways. After the archaic times of the sick man of Europe, Atatürk propelled a secular and modern Turkey to a better state, partly thanks to having engaged in successful language planning to promote Turkish and Western languages for practical purposes. After having learned about English in Turkey, it would be interesting to see how the development of English in Algeria unfolds. First impressions and anecdotal evidence show many signs of similarities between the sociolinguistic profile of English in Europe, Turkey and the Maghreb.

Selvi details the sociolinguistic profile of English in Turkey from a world Englishes perspective. The Ottoman Empire first introduced Western languages, but it was not until the rise of a secular nation-state Turkey that there was a push to learn these languages to help modernize the country. After WW II, the rise of the US was accompanied with increased presence of English in the Turkish context (p. 183-186).

This presence manifested itself mostly in the business/commerce world, but also in professional life, the media, and all levels of education. Businesses exploited the high market value of English, creating as Selvi (2011) puts it ‘English-looking, Turkish-sounding business names.’ Primary and secondary schools offer English as a foreign language, building basic communication skills and positive attitudes toward the language.

In higher education, English is used as a medium of instruction, which is an official policy defended by the government in the cadre of efforts to join the EU (p. 186-193).

English in Turkey is also surrounded by controversy. The use of English as a medium of instruction in schools is looked down upon by some as they consider it to be a threat to Turkish identity. What is more, criticism against the government for allowing Englishization in business is prevalent. The Turkish Language Association, whose famous equivalent would be The French Academy, was replaced by the Language Society. This move was criticized since the latter had no enforcement powers. But some professional associations, non-governmental and non-profit organizations have strong agendas against English and some of its cultural baggage (p. 193-196).

I find the use of English in business and commerce in Turkey to be similar in some ways to how the language is used in the Algerian context. Algerian businesses also capitalize on the idea that English conveys prestige to consumers. They use English on signs and products' labels hoping that consumers will buy the product or service. They expect the consumer to think that products/services must be good since English, associated with modernity and progress, is used, even though many times it would sound odd to native speakers. For example, in a sign, one could read 'Fast Food Las Vegas.' And in a student's pencil box, it is written 'my secret stuff.'

A General Sociolinguistic Profile of English in Europe: The Ultimate Goal for a Comprehensive Analysis of the Spread of English in Algeria. In a book chapter, Berns et al. give an overview of the sociolinguistic profile of English in Europe, focusing on Belgium, France, Germany, and the Netherlands. It looks at the various roles of and attitudes toward this language in the European context. Berns et al. (2007) first describe

Europe's linguistic diversity. They indicate that there are 33 official state languages and 17 officially recognized regional ones. In addition to major languages such as French and German and their spoken varieties, there are many 'smaller' languages. These include languages of immigrant populations (e.g. Arabic and Creole) and those of minority groups such as Basque and Corsican (p. 15-16).

The authors then describe the historical context of English in Europe. They explain that it was not until the 20th century that the presence of English strongly manifested itself, in part due to the United States' role in the two World Wars. The abundance of American and British music and scientific publications in English in the 1960s and 70s solidified its presence. In the 21st century, English extended its reach to cover more domains and serve more purposes, including diplomacy, business, higher education, entertainment, and tourism (p. 17-19).

Berns et al. address English in the workplace, explaining that European business, commerce, science, and technology strongly favor the language. Business and commerce use English when they advertise for example, appealing to consumers' attitude that English conveys prestige in order to sell their products. And most scientific communication takes place in English. Because more than 80% of the important science journals are published in English, the European scientific communities, represented by the French community, publish in English in order to reach the largest possible audience worldwide (p. 19-23).

English in education is the next aspect that the authors address. English has been increasingly important in primary and secondary schools across Europe, some schools having introduced it at a younger age following the Barcelona Council (2002)

recommendations (as cited in Berns et al., 2007, p.25). Many private and public schools also offer bilingual education using English and the local standard language, while it is noted that there are for example some English medium schools for children of expatriates in Belgium. Many higher education institutions offer English as a subject and some teach even content courses in it, facilitating internationalization efforts as indicated in the Bologna Declaration. The latter is a higher education reform aimed at increasing Europe's competitiveness. In addition to K-12 and higher education, English is offered as part of workplace education and training (p. 23-30).

The chapter also suggests that television, film, internet, radio, and print media expose Europeans to English every day, contributing to the fast spread of the language. Such vast and varied exposure, combined with positive learners' attitudes, facilitate proficiency which is useful for the job market. Indeed, Eurobarometer self-assessment reports show that survey participants think that their English proficiency level is higher than any other European foreign language (p. 30-40). The authors end by predicting that English might very well gain more ground and wondering how this will affect the interplay between English and other European languages in the light of internationalization (p. 41).

This chapter provided a detailed overview of the uses, functions, roles of and attitudes toward English in Europe. I find similarities between the use of English in European and Algerian media. As the chapter points out, as far as film is concerned, countries like France and Germany prefer to invest in dubbing, while the Netherlands prefer subtitling in order to help develop foreign language skills (p. 33). Recently, an Algerian national TV station that airs on satellite (A3) started broadcasting subtitled

American action movies, which falls in line with the Netherlands's subtitling approach. This move by the Algerian government is part of an English-promoting policy, which started by the introduction of English as an option for fourth graders in certain public schools in 1993-1994.

Conclusion

The first chapter of this thesis provided background on Algeria's linguistic landscape, and posed three questions related to the spread of English in Algeria and the potential of a deethnicised form of this language to promote sociolinguistic peace. The second and third chapters provided a theoretical framework for analyzing the presence of English in Algeria and proposed a few theoretical considerations to ensure a responsible spread of this language. While the second chapter focused on the theoretical considerations, the third one proposed practical examples for the application of these considerations. It is hoped that this thesis provides some insights to those interested in investigating the spread of English from a world Englishes perspective and its competition with French. In Algeria, it is hoped that more attention from policy makers, researchers, educators, and curriculum designers will be devoted to this situation in order to make the most out of a powerful language: English.

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