Language Planning and Policy in Africa, Vol. 2

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Algeria, Côte d'Ivoire, Nigeria and Tunisia

Edited by

Robert B. Kaplan and Richard B. Baldauf Jr.

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Series Overview

Since 1998 when the first polity studies on Language Policy and Planning – addressing the language situation in a particular polity – were published in the *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 25* studies have been published there and, since 1999, in *Current Issues in Language Planning*. These studies have all addressed, to a greater or lesser extent, 22 common questions or issues (Appendix A), thus giving them some degree of consistency. However, we are keenly aware that these studies have been published in the order in which they were completed. While such an arrangement is reasonable for journal publication, the result does not serve the needs of area specialists nor are the various monographs easily accessible to the wider public. As the number of available polity studies has grown, we have planned to update (where necessary) and republish these studies in coherent areal volumes.

The first such volume was concerned with Africa, both because a significant number of studies has become available and because Africa constitutes an area that is significantly under-represented in the language planning literature and yet is marked by extremely interesting language policy and planning issues. In the first areal volume, we reprinted four polity studies – Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique and South Africa – as:

> **Language Planning and Policy in Africa, Vol. 1: Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique and South Africa (2004).**

We hope that the first areal volume has served the needs of specialists more effectively. It is our intent to continue to publish other areal volumes as sufficient studies are completed. This volume – Africa 2 – is one such volume:

> **Language Planning and Policy in Africa, Vol. 2: Algeria, Côte d'Ivoire, Nigeria and Tunisia (2007).**

We will continue to do so in the hope that such volumes will be of interest to areal scholars and others interested in language policies and language planning in geographically coherent regions. We have already been able to produce four areal volumes in addition to Africa 1:

> **Language Planning and Policy in Europe, Vol. 1: Finland, Hungary, Sweden (2005);**
> **Language Planning and Policy in Europe, Vol. 2: The Czech Republic, The European Union and Northern Ireland (2006);**
> **Language Planning and Policy in the Pacific, Vol. 1: Fiji, The Philippines and Vanuatu (2006);**
> **Language Planning and Policy in Latin America, Vol. 1: Ecuador, Mexico and Paraguay (2007).**

The areas in which we are planning to produce additional volumes, and some of the polities which may be included are:

> **Europe**, including The Baltic States, Cyprus, Ireland, Italy and Luxembourg.

Asia, including Bangladesh, Chinese Characters, Hong Kong, Japan, Nepal, Sri Lanka, and Taiwan.
Africa, including Cameroon, Senagal and Zimbabwe.

In the meantime, we will continue to bring out *Current Issues in Language Planning*, adding to the list of polities available for inclusion in areal volumes. At this point, we cannot predict the intervals over which such volumes will appear, since those intervals will be defined by the ability of contributors to complete work on already contracted polity studies.

Assumptions Relating to Polity Studies

We have made a number of assumptions about the nature of language policy and planning that have influenced the nature of the studies presented. First, we do not believe that there is, yet, a broader and more coherent paradigm to address the complex questions of language policy/planning development. On the other hand, we do believe that the collection of a large body of more or less comparable data and the careful analysis of that data will give rise to a more coherent paradigm. Therefore, in soliciting the polity studies, we have asked each of the contributors to address some two-dozen questions (to the extent that such questions were pertinent to each particular polity); the questions were offered as suggestions of topics that might be covered. (See Appendix A.) Some contributors have followed the questions rather closely; others have been more independent in approaching the task. It should be obvious that, in framing those questions, we were moving from a perhaps inchoate notion of an underlying theory. The reality that our notion was inchoate becomes clear in each of the polity studies.

Second, we have sought to find authors who had an intimate involvement with the language planning and policy decisions made in the polity they were writing about; i.e., we were looking for insider knowledge and perspectives about the polities. However, as insiders are part of the process, they may find it difficult to take the part of the 'other' – to be critical of that process. But it is not necessary or even appropriate that they should be – this can be left to others. As Pennycook (1998: 126) argues:

> One of the lessons we need to draw from this account of colonial language policy [i.e. Hong Kong] is that, in order to make sense of language policies we need to understand both their location historically and their location contextually. What I mean by this is that we cannot assume that the promotion of local languages instead of a dominant language, or the promotion of a dominant language at the expense of a local language, are in themselves good or bad. Too often we view these things through the lenses of liberalism, pluralism or anti-imperialism, without understanding the actual location of such policies.

While some authors do take a critical stance, or one based on a theoretical approach to the data, many of the studies are primarily descriptive, bringing together and revealing, we hope, the nature of the language development experience in the particular polity. We believe this is a valuable contribution to the theoretical/paradigmatic development of the field. As interesting and challenging as it may be to provide a priori descriptions of the nature of the field based

on specific paradigms (e.g., language management, language rights, linguistic imperialism) or to provide more general frameworks (e.g., Hornberger, 2006; Spolsky 2004) – nor have we been completely immune from the latter ourselves (e.g., Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003, Chapter 12) – we believe that our current state of knowledge about language planning and policy is still partial and the development of a sufficient database is an important prerequisite for adequate paradigm development.

Furthermore, we recognise that the paradigm, on the basis of which language policy and planning is conventionally undertaken, may be inadequate to the task. Much more is involved in developing successful language policy than is commonly recognised or acknowledged. Language policy development is a highly political activity. Given its political nature, traditional linguistic research is necessary, but not in itself sufficient, and the publication of scholarly studies in academic journals is really only the first step in the process. Indeed, scholarly research itself may need to be expanded, to consider not only the language at issue but also the social landscape in which that language exists – the ecology of language and its social system. A critical step in policy development involves making research evidence understandable to the lay public; research scholars are not generally the ideal messengers in this context (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2007). We hope this series also may contribute to that end.

An Invitation to Contribute

We welcome additional polity contributions. Our views on a number of the issues can be found in Kaplan and Baldauf (1997); sample polity monographs have appeared in the extant issues of *Current Issues in Language Planning* and in the volumes in this series. Interested authors should contact the editors, present a proposal for a monograph, and provide a sample list of references. It is also useful to provide a brief biographical note, indicating any personal involvement in language planning activities in the polity proposed for study as well as any relevant research/publication in LPP. All contributions should, of course, be original, unpublished works. We expect to work closely with contributors during the preparation of monographs. All monographs will, of course, be reviewed for quality, completeness, accuracy and style. Experience suggests that co-authored contributions may be very successful, but we want to stress that we are seeking a unified monograph on the polity, not an edited compilation of various authors' efforts. Questions may be addressed to either of us.

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Note

*Polities in print include: 1. Algeria, 2. Botswana, 3. Côte d'Ivoire, 4. Czech Republic, 5. Ecuador, 6. European Union, 7. Fiji, 8. Finland, 9. Hungary, 10. Ireland, 11. Italy, 12. Malawi, 13. Mexico, 14. Mozambique, 15. Nepal, 16. Nigeria, 17. North Ireland, 18. Paraguay, 19. Philippines, 20. South Africa, 21. Sweden, 22. Taiwan, 23. Tunisia, 24. Vanuatu, and 25. Zimbabwe. A 26th monograph on Chinese Characters is also available.

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APPENDIX A

Part I: The Language Profile of . . .

1. Name and briefly describe the national/official language(s) (*de jure* or *de facto*).
2. Name and describe the major minority language(s).
3. *Name and describe the lesser minority language(s) (include 'dialects', pidgins, creoles and other important aspects of language variation)*; the definition of minority language/dialect/pidgin will need to be discussed in terms of the sociolinguistic context.
4. *Name and describe the major religious language(s)*; In some polities religious languages and/or missionary policies have had a major impact on the language situation and provide *de facto* language planning. In some contexts religion has been a vehicle for introducing exogenous languages while in other cases it has served to promote indigenous languages.
5. Name and describe the major language(s) of literacy, assuming that it is/they are not one of those described above.
6. Provide a table indicating the number of speakers of each of the above languages, what percentage of the population they constitute and whether those speakers are largely urban or rural.
7. Where appropriate, provide a map(s) showing the distribution of speakers, key cities and other features referenced in the text.

Part II: Language Spread

8. Specify which languages are taught through the educational system, to whom they are taught, when they are taught and for how long they are taught.
9. Discuss the objectives of language education and the methods of assessment to determine whether the objectives are met.
10. To the extent possible, trace the historical development of the policies/practices identified in items 8 and 9 (may be integrated with 8/9).
11. Name and discuss the major media language(s) and the distribution of media by socio-economic class, ethnic group, urban/rural distinction (including the historical context where possible). For minority

languages, note the extent that any literature is (has been) available in the language.

12. How has immigration affected language distribution and what measures are in place to cater for learning the national language(s) and/or to support the use of immigrant languages.

Part III: Language Policy and Planning

13. Describe any language planning legislation, policy or implementation that is currently in place.
14. Describe any literacy planning legislation, policy or implementation that is currently in place.
15. To the extent possible, trace the historical development of the policies/practices identified in items 13 and 14 (may be integrated with these items).
16. Describe and discuss any language planning agencies/organisations operating in the polity (both formal and informal).
17. Describe and discuss any regional/international influences affecting language planning and policy in the polity (include any external language promotion efforts).
18. To the extent possible, trace the historical development of the policies/practices identified in items 16 and 17 (may be integrated with these items).

Part IV: Language Maintenance and Prospects

19. Describe and discuss intergenerational transmission of the major languages and whether this is changing over time.
20. Describe and discuss the probabilities of language death among any of the languages/language varieties in the polity, any language revival efforts as well as any emerging pidgins or creoles.
21. Add anything you wish to clarify about the language situation and its probable direction of change over the next generation or two.
22. Add pertinent references/bibliography and any necessary appendices (e.g., a general plan of the educational system to clarify the answers to questions 8, 9 and 14).

Language Policy and Planning in Algeria, Côte d'Ivoire, Nigeria and Tunisia: Some Common Issues

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Introduction

This volume brings together four language policy and planning studies related to Africa.[1] (See the 'Series Overview' for a more general discussion of the nature of the series, Appendix A for the 22 questions each study set out to address, and Kaplan *et al*. 2000 for a discussion of the underlying concepts for the studies themselves.) In this paper, in addition to providing an introductory summary of the material covered in these studies, we want to draw out and discuss some of the more general issues raised by them.

Although Algeria, Côte d'Ivoire, Nigeria and Tunisia do not represent a geographic cluster, they do have in common a number of factors:

- all four of the countries are participants in *francophonie*, the association of French speaking nations;
- following global trends, in the three francophone countries, there is evidence that language shift is occurring away from French as a lingua franca (Wright, 2006) to a greater use of English;
- Arabicisation is a national issue in Algeria and Tunisia (Sirles, 1999) and Arabic use is a regional and religious issue in the north of Côte d'Ivoire and Nigeria;
- geographically, they represent two distinct clusters: Algeria and Tunisia in the Maghreb in the northwest corner of the continent, and Côte d'Ivoire and Nigeria in Central West Africa. Thus, the group is not geographically coherent except in the sense that all the polities lie in western Africa;
- Algeria and Tunisia (see, Daoud, this volume) are in fact part of a coherent grouping – Morocco (see, Marley, 2000) is the remaining major member of this Magrhebian group, and all have French as a major exogenous language.
- Côte d'Ivoire is also a French-speaking polity, and Nigeria – where

> French has been made the second official language (Omoniyi, 2003) – has joined the *francophonie*.

French has been maintained as an important language in many of France's former colonies, especially in Africa. In post-independence Africa, there has developed a sharp rivalry between Arabic and French, and ongoing competition between these two languages and national/ethnic languages for the position of official language. The role of the French language in the Francophone world must be set in the context of the preoccupations that Francophones themselves have about the importance of their own languages, about their relationship to France and about post-independence governments not only from a postcolonial point of view but also from the standpoint of an understanding that national/ethnic languages are also an essential dimension of their development. Consequently, French has become a language of communication between cultures as well as a vehicle for transmitting French culture. (See, Salhi, 2002 for further discussion of French language in the Francophone world; Breton, 2003 for some discussion of sub-Saharan Africa).

Algeria

Algeria constitutes an interesting subject for the study of language policy and language planning thanks to its almost unique history in the Arabic-speaking world: it is the only Arab country which lived under French assimilationist colonial rule for 132 years. Less than four years after Algeria's independence (1962), Gordon (1966: 246) wrote: 'Algeria's future will remain a fascinating case-study for Orientalists and for those interested in "development" and "modernisation".' The language issue during both the pre-independence and post-independence eras further marks this uniqueness within Africa and the Maghreb, as Djité has pointed out: 'Nowhere else in Africa has the language issue been so central in the fight against colonialism [as in Algeria]' (1992: 16). In short, the most severe problem that Algeria has had to cope with since its independence lies in language.

After the three countries of the Maghreb achieved their independence – Morocco on 2 March 1956, Tunisia on 20 March 1956, and Algeria on 5 July 1962 – it was the Algerian leadership who demonstrated ideological intransigence in recovering both language and identity. Algeria has emerged as 'the most vociferous in proclaiming its Arab Muslim identity' (Gordon, 1978: 151). The language planning activities, more systematic and assertive in Algeria than in the other two Maghrebi countries, have been carried out with revolutionary zeal. A number of observers (Abu-Haidar, 2000: 161; Grandguillaume, 2004: 33–34) have identified in this zeal a major cause of the rise of Islamic fundamentalism in Algeria and of the civil war that has ravaged the country since the early 1990s. Ephraim Tabory and Mala Tabory (1987: 64) have summarised Algeria's interest in language planning and policy as follows:

> The Algerian situation is complex, as it is at a crossroad of tensions between French, the colonial language, and Arabic, the new national language; Classical Arabic versus colloquial Algerian Arabic; and the

various Berber dialects versus Arabic. The lessons from the Algerian situation may be usefully applied to analogous situations by states planning their linguistic, educational and cultural policies.

Through the decade of the 1990s, Algeria frequently made headlines because of its internal instability and the civil war. Recent developments have allowed the country to overcome this chaotic state; they have gradually put an end to the hostilities and, at the same time, have almost obliterated the language-in-education planning activities (Arabisation) current since independence.

On 8 April 2004, Abdelaziz Bouteflika, the outgoing President of Algeria, was re-elected in a 'landslide victory.' Although there were reports of irregularities, foreign journalists qualified this election, which was endorsed by some foreign monitors, as a 'proper contest' (*Guardian Weekly*, 2004: 12). According to *The Economist* (2004: 40), the election was 'the cleanest that Algeria, or, for that matter, any Arab country, has ever seen'; thus, the 'first legitimate election' since the country got its independence from France in 1962.

Abdelaziz Bouteflika, a former diplomat, was also a member of the hard-line clique that seized power in 1965, three years after the end of the Algerian war of independence. In 1999, handpicked by the military – who have, since liberation, always held the real power in Algeria – he was elected as the sole candidate after all his rivals withdrew from the competition as a protest against massive fraud. For five years, the lack of legitimacy in his administration prevented him from carrying out long-awaited social and economic reforms. However, despite his weak performance, President Bouteflika was returned to power in April 2004, probably because he had managed to reduce the violence that had plagued Algeria since the beginning of the 1990s.

After the success of the religious fundamentalists of the Islamic Salvation Army (FIS) in the 1991 parliamentary elections, the authorities cancelled the electoral process and the FIS's response took the form of an armed struggle against the secular state apparatus. In the ensuing decade, Algerians suffered from a bloody civil war in which the death toll has been estimated at between 120,000 and 200,000 victims. At the present time, displaced populations are estimated at between 1 and 1.5 million persons, and the Algerian security forces are believed to have arrested and 'disappeared' more than 7,000 persons. Furthermore, thousands of highly skilled and qualified mainly francophone Algerians were forced into exile, with the majority settling in France.

During his first term in office, President Bouteflika promoted national reconciliation; he brokered an amnesty programme in the form of the 'Law on Civil Harmony' as the result of which 25,000 Islamists agreed to stop their armed struggle. Since then, violence has fallen off, and the presumably outgoing presidential candidate reaped the benefit of that strategy in the election of April 2004. Part of the electorate may well have chosen to retain Bouteflika in office for the stability that he had managed to bring to the country and that he promised to maintain if he were re-elected. Exhausted by a decade of indescribable violence and also probably tired of constant changes of governments and leaders – Algeria had had five presidents between 1991

and 1999 – the population may have preferred Bouteflika to continue the programme of reforms to which he had committed his country during his first term in office. According to *The Economist* (2004: 41) 'Algeria has become a far gentler place. [. . .] The country's economic fortunes have also brightened. [. . .] [But] Mr Bouteflika has plenty of work on his hands.'

Between 1999 and 2004, President Bouteflika initiated a number of reforms most of which were not implemented because of the lack of legitimacy in his administration: opposition from within the power circles (conservatives) and without (Islamic Fundamentalists) prevented the initiation of major educational reforms that might have undermined the official language policy in place since the independence of the country. However, Bouteflika did succeed in launching a national debate over a number of sensitive issues that had previously been considered anathema. While none of his predecessors had had the courage to tackle such issues, he had, in his frequent speeches, dared to break a number of taboos. He raised such sensitive issues as those related to Algerian history, religious practices and the linguistic reality of the country. This new political discourse on language has to be seen in the light of the language policies implemented after 1962. Algerian experience with language-in-education planning can roughly be considered in two major periods: the first from 1962 to the 1970s, characterised by bilingualism in French and Standard/Literary Arabic, and the second from the 1970s to the present, characterised by monolingualism in Standard Arabic for the majority of the population and French-Arabic bilingualism for a small minority, mainly for the children of those in power.

Soon after he was elected in April 1999, Bouteflika took everyone by surprise when he suddenly started dealing with the language issue in public. In May 1999, he declared: 'It is unthinkable . . . to spend ten years study in Arabic pure sciences when it would only take one year in English' (*Le Matin*, 1999). The President thus appeared to have tacitly acknowledged the failure of Arabisation, at least in science and technology teaching, and to envisage a return to bilingualism in these fields. For him 'There has never been a language problem in Algeria, but simply rivalry and fights for French-trained executives' positions' (*El Watan*, 1999a). Not only did Bouteflika make such comments, but at the same time he constantly spoke in French in his public speeches, and he also demonstrated his skill in Literary Arabic. He adopted the bilingual fluency in French and Arabic in imitation of the Moroccan leadership as exemplified by the late king, Hasan II; he wanted to project a role model for bilingual Algerian citizen.

Bouteflika's public use of language was clearly opposed to the practice of his predecessors; indeed, he purposefully violated the law known as 'Act N° 91–05' (implemented on 5 July 1998) which prohibited any and all official public use of any language other than Arabic. Bouteflika did not hide his own awareness that he was infringing the law. In an interview with a French magazine, he said: 'When I speak French, some people write in the press that I am in breach of the Constitution.' (*Paris Match*, 1999: 35) Furthermore, Bouteflika admitted publicly that 'our [Algerian] culture is plural,' in sharp contrast to his predecessors' insistence on Algerians being solely 'Arabs and Moslems'. Bouteflika even went so far as to claim a French contribution to

Algeria's cultural heritage. In a press conference that he gave at the Crans Montana Summit in Switzerland in autumn 1999, he said: 'We attended French school and we are thus heavily influenced by Descartes' (Benrabah, 2004: 96). In addition, Bouteflika attended the *Francophonie* Summit in Beirut in October 2002, even though Algerian authorities had rejected the whole idea of an institutionalised *Francophonie*, considering it to be potentially 'neo-colonialist'. In the summer of 1999, Bouteflika declared:

> Algeria does not belong to *Francophonie,* but there is no reason for us to have a frozen attitude towards the French language which taught us so many things and which, at any rate, opened [for us] the window of French culture (Cherrad-Benchefra & Derradji, 2004: 168).

Bouteflika's constant use of French created an uproar among those of the elite who were in favour of total Arabisation and of total eradication of French. In the autumn of 1999, the President of the Committee for Foreign Affairs at the People's National Assembly (the Algerian Parliament) wrote privately to Bouteflika, then the newly elected president, reproaching him for his use of French in public; in answer, Bouteflika made the criticism public, and the deputy was forced to resign from the Assembly. Bouteflika also received a letter signed by several members of the High Council for the Arabic Language, warning him against his public use of French and taking strong exception to 'the francophone lobby in the presidency.' In a televised speech, Bouteflika reminded the authors of that message that it was not the mission of the High Council for the Arabic Language to choose the president's entourage for him (*El Watan*, 2000: 23); further, he declared: 'For Algeria, I will speak French, Spanish and English, and, if necessary, Hebrew.' In August, 1999, he declared on live television:

> Let it be known that Algeria is part of the world and must adapt to it and that Arabic is the national and official language. This being said, let it be known that an uninhibited opening up to other international languages – at least to those used in the United Nations – does not constitute perjury. In this domain, we are neither more Arab nor more intelligent than our brothers in Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, or Palestine or anywhere else. To move forward, one must break taboos. This is the price we have to pay to modernise our identity. Chauvinism and withdrawal are over. They are sterile. They are destructive (*El Watan*, 1999b: 3).

Thus, the language situation in Algeria continues to be confused, though there seems to be evidence of a reasonable resolution to the arguments and the arrival of a more rational language (and language-in-education) policy. The Algerian situation provides a good example of individual agency in language planning (Abdelaziz Bouteflika), illustrating yet again the impact that an individual can have on language choice in a particular polity.

Côte d'Ivoire

Côte d'Ivoire is a multilingual polity, encompassing some 60 African languages, but it has retained the French language as the sole official language

of education and administration, as per Article 2 of its constitution. Many inaccurate descriptions of the language situation were disseminated during the colonial period, and these inaccuracies have perpetuated the notion that the language situation there may involve literally hundreds of languages. As a consequence, it is widely believed that, in such a complex linguistic situation, the selection of any African language as the official national language would trigger tribal warfare. Thus, the complex language situation cannot lend itself to the development of a workable language (or language-in-education) plan. It is argued that the only hope for peace and national unity, and the only way to provide access to science and technology (i.e., to modernisation) lies in maintaining French as the sole official language. Such a position commits the government to inaction – that is, to maintain the linguistic status quo. On the other hand, there is evidence that the traditional descriptions of the language situation exaggerate the degree of linguistic diversity and give the false impression of divisiveness within the population. In part, this difficulty stems from the fact that national boundaries in Africa were not drawn up on the basis of linguistic and cultural criteria, but rather reflect European colonialist ambitions. Thus, the languages spoken in Côte d'Ivoire are shared with other neighbouring polities; e.g.:

- the Kwa languages are shared with Ghana;
- the Kru languages are shared with Liberia;
- the Mandè languages are shared with Guinea, Mali and Burkina Faso, and
- the Gur languages are shared with Burkino Faso.

An analysis of day-to-day communication suggests two ideas: (1) from the perspective of their functions, it is possible to distinguish four language types, and (2) an examination of individual and group patterns of communication shows a language repertoire that makes language demarcation an essentially irrelevant exercise. The four language types are:

- languages of interethnic communication (e.g., Anyi, Dida, Gouro, Lobi),
- regionally dominant languages (e.g., Baulé, Bété, Dyula),
- national linguas franca (e.g., Dyula),
- the official language (French).

As a result, the typical Ivorian will have a language repertoire consisting of at least the first language (for intra-ethnic communication), the regionally dominant language, and one of the national lingua francas. An educated Ivorian will have standard French in addition while young Ivorians in the major cities may speak 'Popular French' or Nouchi, local pidgins providing a local identity.

When the colonial administrators decided to impose Standard French on the population, they assumed that it would spread quickly and, having spread, would unify the different ethnic groups. However, the initial élitist educational system, the desire of the administrators to keep the number of literate

locals to a minimum and the selective system of education in place since independence created a communication crisis by producing graduates whose talents did not fit the economic and social needs of the country and at the same time by disempowering women, farmers, labourers and other relevant sectors of the population who constituted the workers who produced the polity's goods and services. Educational statistics demonstrate high drop-out rates and an inability to absorb even educated individuals into employment. It is now clear that mastery of Standard French alone is not sufficient to repair the dysfunctional aspects of the educational system. When the population concentrated in large cities like Abidjan has becomes aware that it cannot communicate adequately in Standard French for reasons beyond its control, the population resorts to the use of two dominant lingua francas – Dyula and Popular French (a local, simplified, non-élite variety of Standard French). Dyula has not enjoyed prestige until relatively recently. It is perceived as an easy language to learn and an overt symbol of group membership. The frequent use of Dyula by the political élite and by advertising agencies on radio and television has accelerated its spread. Popular French has spread rapidly through the population, well beyond urban centres, and its use is not necessarily characterised by illiteracy. The resulting condition – language development contrary to the intent of government sponsored language planning – has resulted in a situation promoting the spread of Dyula and Popular French, an example of unplanned language planning.

The language situation in Côte d'Ivoire has, however, changed somewhat since 2000. While the pidginisation and nativisation of French has further deepened through a variety known as Nouchi, the socio-political strife that has gripped the country since the coup d'état of 1999 may have significant effects on the potential of Dyula as a national lingua franca.

The situation in Côte d'Ivoire demonstrates the significance of cross-border languages and the need for approaches based on ecology of language rather than limited by the political boundaries of individual polities. Further, this situation demonstrates the ways in which language planning may become self-contradictory and may result in unplanned language planning producing results quite different from what the original planners actually had in mind. Unlike the important role of Abdelaziz Bouteflika in Algeria, no charismatic leader has emerged in Côte d'Ivoire; on the contrary, the linguistic history is marked by the absence of such a leader. It is also marked by the absence of the political will to act in the language environment.

Nigeria

Nigeria is not French speaking (although there has been some attempt to bring it into the French-speaking world in the past several years). Nigeria has used English as the *de jure* national official language, but it is a vastly heterogeneous community linguistically, with over 400 languages, making it the most multilingual country in Africa. Three of the multitude of languages – Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo, all Nigerian indigenous languages – are constitutionally expected to be co-official with English, but they serve largely regional functions de facto. In addition, Nigerian Pidgin English plays a major role, though it

receives no official recognition. Religious worship – Christian, Moslem and African traditional – in many Nigerian churches and mosques, especially in urban centres, functions in several different linguistic modes – i.e., fully in English, or fully in indigenous language, or bilingually (or multilingually). There is, in addition, diversity in the language of literacy from one State to another with an inequality in languages in basic literacy and post-literacy education.

The predominant role of English in the Nigerian educational system reflects both policy stipulation and the dichotomy between reality and policy in the educational sector, especially at the pre-primary and primary school levels. From the secondary school level of education onwards, English dominates, especially in formal and official interactions. In informal and unofficial interactions, however, the indigenous languages are very much in evidence from the primary school to the university level, except in interethnic interactions where a common language is not available to participants. The objectives of language education as they relate to each level of education illustrate the supremacy of English. English is the language of the media; most of the indigenous languages are relegated to the background. On radio and TV and in the print media as well as in local level publications, pamphlets and religious publications, Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo (as well as other indigenous languages) are almost totally neglected. Although statistics are not easily available, immigration has had an important impact on language distribution.

The planning and management of Nigeria's languages and the problems of language policy-making are characterised by:

- the negative attitudes to, and ideologies about, the Nigerian indigenous languages, historically;
- the existing official overwhelming bias in favour of English – because of its prestige, its ego-boosting potential, its susceptibility to upward social mobility and its official functions;
- the reliance on sentiment rather than on objective data (e.g., statistics of language use);
- the elite-domination of language policy-making and the equation of elite-interest with public interest, and
- the public's general ignorance about language.

The complex and intriguing context of language policy in Nigeria has resulted in the challenges deriving from language policy, the resulting missed opportunities and constraints, including:

- the failure to accord priority to language policy-making,
- the absence of implementation strategies,
- the instability in politics and administration,
- the frequent changes among policy-makers and the consequent changes in policy,
- the failure to seek out and consult language experts, and
- the lack of political will.

As a result of these several shortcomings, no single document can be found that might be construed as a statement of language policy in Nigeria. The nearest pertinent document one can locate lies in the language provisions of the National Policy on Education (1977, 1981). Aspects of the National Policy on Education relating to language policy-making or related legislation with respect to language planning, literacy planning and education planning may be identified, but as Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) point out, relegating the entire responsibility for national language planning to the education sector is an invitation to policy failure. The activities of the National Language Development Centre, the indigenous language-training institute, and numerous other language promotion agencies for major and minority languages all have a role to play, though sometimes they contradict each other. Note the absence of a charismatic leader.

Tunisia

Tunisian linguistic history has developed over three millennia; the oldest language spoken by the indigenous people was designated *Berber* (barbarous) by the Romans. With the arrival of the Phoenicians from Tyre (Lebanon) and the eventual founding of the Carthaginian Empire (814–146 BCE), Libyc-Punic bilingualism began to develop evolving into Libyc-Latin during the Roman domination of the area (146 BCE–349 CE). (Punic survived for 600 years after the destruction of Carthage.)

The Vandals dominated from 438 to 533 CE followed by the Byzantine Empire (533–647 CE) which revived Roman culture and thus permitted Greek to take hold. Arabic was introduced in 647 CE, and Arabic-speaking Muslims took about 50 years to gain control of the area. Linguistically, the region became multilingual with substrates of Berber, Greek, Latin and Punic still preserved in the dialectal vocabulary and in place names throughout contemporary Tunisia. To complicate the situation further, Arabic-Berber bilingualism developed in the period 1050–1052, partly resulting from the near total conversion of the Berbers to Islam. At present Berber is considered a dying language, spoken by less than 0.5% of the population. From the 11th century, Arabic became the dominant, and eventually the official, language of Tunisia. In the period from the 11th to the 14th centuries, Spain reclaimed its territory from the Arab-Berber Moors. For the three ensuing centuries, Christians (i.e., Spanish) and Muslims (i.e., Turks) competed for control of the Mediterranean basin. In the 19th century yet another linguistic conflict developed, this time between French and Italian, with significant interference from Arabic and Maltese. Intense trade competition across the basin with Tunis as the southern hub helped to consolidate a pidgin called *Lingua Franca*, in development since the 14th century. French became embedded in Tunisia when France took advantage of a protectorate in 1881 and turned it into a colonial structure that endured until 1956 when Tunisia gained its independence. French has (after 50 years of independence) unquestionably importantly influenced Tunisian Arabic, particularly in its written mode. Thus, the current situation in Tunisia may be described as diglossic and bilingual:

- diglossic in the uses of various forms of Arabic along a written/spoken continuum ([HIGH/WRITTEN] classical Arabic/Literary Arabic/Modern Standard Arabic/Educated Arabic/Tunisian Arabic [LOW/SPOKEN]);
- bilingual in the uses of French (Metropolitan French/North African. French/Other European languages [i.e., English]). French and Arabic are commonly mixed, ranging from simply code switching to extensive code mixing.

When Arab Muslims first came to the North Africa in the 7th century, they established the *Zaituna Mosque* in Tunis; it constituted the first university in the Muslim world, offering Qur'anic studies, Islamic law, reading and writing of classical Arabic and some science. The *Zaituna Mosque* supported the development of a statewide network of *kuttab* – classes held in mosques – designed to teach young boys the *Qur'an* as well as basic literacy skills in Arabic. This system has persisted into the present. On the other hand, secular bilingual education dates from 1875, the founding of *al-Madrassa al-Sadiqiyya*, an Arabic-French bilingual school providing a European (i.e., 'modern') curriculum to the children of the social élite. A system of French-medium schools was established during the colonial period (1881–1956), implanting the French curriculum surviving into the 1970s. Following independence, educational reform began with the Educational Reform Law of 1958, laying out a ten-year plan intended to:

- unify the several school systems (*kattab*, French, bilingual schools) into a bilingual system administered and controlled by the Ministry of Education;
- establish a new organisational structure – 6-year primary cycle, 6-year secondary cycle (like the French baccalaureate), and a 3- to 5-year university cycle;
- nationalise the curriculum and restore the primacy of Arabic as the medium of instruction;
- establish education as public and free at all levels, and
- increase enrolment at all areas, especially of girls and in rural areas.

Further reform of primary and secondary education occurred in the period from 1987 to 1997 under the influence of the World Bank and the European Union intended to correct the problems in the system stemming from the irrelevancy of the curriculum, the inadequacy of the learning materials, poor teacher preparation and questionable assessment tools collectively resulting in high drop-out rates and dubious literacy skills. Arabisation of all language use has continued unbroken since independence, but increasingly after the National Pact 1988 (which stressed the national character of Arabic), and even more so after the 1999 Prime Minister's circular (which, in eight specific regulations, banned any foreign language in all correspondence addressed to Tunisians and in all internal documents of the government, and established deadlines – by December 2000 – for the Arabisation of all software and all administrative forms – and by December 2001 – for work on dictionar-

ies to provide Arabic lexicon in all areas of knowledge). Only three of the specific requirements were reiterated in a follow-up circular from the Prime Minister's office in November 2000. Many people felt that the deadlines were unrealistic, and indeed the dictionary work has fallen far behind the timetable. Additionally, no training programme was implemented to prepare people to use the new lexicon. It seems unrealistic to assume that the only thing necessary to Arabise academic disciplines is an appropriate lexicon. The French government did not take a favourable view of Arabisation and the consequent threat to French, nor did it react well to the closing down of the TV channel *France 2* nor to the closing down of several French newspapers and magazines; tension developed in relations between Tunisia and France. The French government devotes vast resources as well as economic pressure to the promotion of French while US and British promotion of English pales by comparison.

While Arabic/French rivalry continues, English has begun to spread – in education, business, and those areas where Arabic is not likely to spread in the foreseeable future.

Thus, Berber is unlikely to survive. Despite enormous efforts at Arabisation, the rivalry between Arabic and French continues; it is, perhaps, unrealistic to predict the successful development of lexicon, texts, academic materials, and teaching skills to support Arabisation across all areas of knowledge. An increasing rivalry between French and English is developing. Other foreign languages are perceived to have a role to play in Tunisia in the context of globalisation.

Conclusions

Of these four African polities, three use French – Algeria, Côte d'Ivoire and Tunisia; two are located in the Maghreb, and all are linguistically highly diverse. Algeria and Tunisia have declared Arabic to be their national languages, while Côte d'Ivoire has opted for French. Nigeria has used English as the *de jure* national official language, but in light of the fact that it is surrounded by French-speaking polities it has considered adding French, especially because of the Cameroonian sectors with which it shares borders (see, e.g., Kouega, 2007). All four polities have avoided promoting the use of African languages. To varying degrees, all four polities have been influenced by the global spread of English, particularly in such areas as science and technology. Tunisia in particular has struggled with the need to develop the capacity of indigenous languages (i.e., Arabic) to open access to science and technology; although Arabic has been designated the only language through which education may be disseminated, to some significant extent French is being used to teach a variety of technical subjects.

In Algeria, the influence of one popular charismatic individual is clearly a significant factor; in the other polities, where the initial élitist educational system, the desire of the administrators to keep the number of literate locals to a minimum and the selective system of education in place since independence, have created the communication crisis by producing graduates whose talents do not fit the economic and social needs of the country and at the same time

by disempowering women, farmers, labourers and other relevant sectors of the population who constitute the workers who produced the polity's goods and services. Somewhat traditional arguments against language planning have been advanced: i.e., in such complex linguistic situations, the selection of any African language as the official national language would trigger tribal warfare. Thus, the complex language situation cannot lend itself to the development of a workable language (or language-in-education) plan. The only hope for peace and national unity, and the only way to provide access to science and technology (i.e., to modernisation) lies in maintaining French as the sole official language. In some cases, the Constitution (or other seminal document) specifies that all (or some) indigenous languages are equal to the Official (foreign) language, in fact, despite the rhetoric, it is very clear that indigenous languages do not share such status with the official language. It is equally clear that, in this group of polities, serious language planning has not occurred, despite the fact that government has, at least to some extent, mustered the will to focus on the chaotic situation. In short, the language situation remains complex, governments remain paralysed and unable to act, and 'popular' and new varieties (e.g., Nouchi) emerge and spread, producing unplanned language planning and a set of unexpected developments at variance from the official language plan (whatever it may be).

Note

1. The studies in this volume were previously published as follows: Benrabah, M. (2005) Language planning in Algeria. *Current Issues in Language Planning* 6 (4), 379–502; Djité, P.G. (2000) Language planning in Côte d'Ivoire. *Current Issues in Language Planning* 1 (1), 11–50; Adegbija, E. (2004) Language policy and planning in Nigeria. *Current Issues in Language Planning* 5 (3), 181–246; Daoud, M. (2001) The language planning situation in Tunisia. *Current Issues in Language Planning* 2 (1), 1–52.

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The Language Planning Situation in Algeria

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This monograph describes the language planning situation in Algeria. It uses a historical perspective to understand the processes involved in language change, language policies and language-in-education practices of the polity. The monograph is divided into six parts. The first one presents a background on the country and the people to show its geographical and ethnic diversity on which linguistic plurality is grounded. The second part deals with the evolution of the economic situation – from centralised economic nationalism to market economy – and its repercussion on the issues mentioned above. The third part examines the language profile of Algeria and the diachronic evolution that led to it. Language policy and planning, described in the fourth part, considers, first, the unilingual demand of the nationalist period (in favour of Arabisation), then, the new language policy which promotes multilingualism within a democratising structure. The fifth part examines planned language spread and use via language-in-education, the milieu and the media in its first section, and unplanned developments in its second section. The final part of the monograph focuses on future prospects against the background of past practices and Algeria's new language policy. It argues that Arabisation led to crises and that recent policy decisions may produce changes that are more in tune with the country's linguistic situation.

Keywords: Algeria, Arabic, Arabisation, bilingualism, diglossia, French, multilingualism, Tamazight

Introduction

Algeria makes an interesting object for study on language policy and language planning (LPLP) thanks to its almost unique history in the Arabic-speaking world: it is the only country which lived under French assimilationist colonial rule for 132 years.[1] Less than four years after Algeria's independence, Gordon (1966: 246) wrote: 'Algeria's future will remain a fascinating case-study for Orientalists and for those interested in "development" and "modernization"'. The language issue during both the pre-independence and post-independence eras further marks this uniqueness within Africa and the Maghreb, as Djité (1992: 16) has pointed out: 'Nowhere else in Africa has the language issue been so central in the fight against colonialism [as in Algeria].' As Berger (2002: 8) puts it, the language issue represents 'the most severe problem of Algeria in its present and troubled state.'

After the three countries of the Maghreb got their independence – Morocco on 2 March 1956, Tunisia on 20 March 1956, and Algeria on 5 July 1962 – it was the Algerian leadership that showed ideological intransigence in recovering both language and identity. Algeria has come out as 'the most vociferous in proclaiming its Arab Muslim identity' (Gordon, 1978: 151). The language planning activities, more systematic and assertive in Algeria than in the other two Maghrebi countries,[2] have been carried out with some kind of 'revolutionary zeal' (Sirles, 1999: 122–3). A number of observers have seen in this fervour a major cause of the

rise of Islamic fundamentalism in Algeria (Abu-Haidar, 2000: 161; Grandguillaume, 2004a: 33–4) and of the civil war ravaging the country since the early 1990s (Miliani, 2000: 16; Thomas, 1999: 32). Like many other cases around the world, the language situation in Algeria is quite complex and lessons could be learnt from it. In 1987, Ephraim and Mala Tabory presented Algeria's interest for LPLP as follows:

> [t]he Algerian situation is complex, as it is at a crossroad of tensions between French, the colonial language, and Arabic, the new national language; Classical Arabic versus colloquial Algerian Arabic; and the various Berber dialects versus Arabic. The lessons from the Algerian situation may be usefully applied to analogous situations by states planning their linguistic, educational and cultural policies. (Tabory & Tabory, 1987: 64)

Until the early 2000s, Algeria made headline news because of its internal instability and civil war (Martinez, 1998). The recent developments have allowed the country to overcome this unstable state. They are gradually putting an end to the hostilities and, at the same time, almost making obsolete the language (-in-education) planning activities (Arabicisation) current since the independence of the country. It would be interesting, first, to focus on these recent developments, particularly the 2004 presidential election.

Recent developments

On 8 April 2004, Abdelaziz Bouteflika, the outgoing President of Algeria, secured re-election with a 'landslide victory' (*Guardian Weekly*, 2004: 12). Although there were reports of irregularities, foreign journalists qualified this election, which was endorsed by some foreign monitors, as a 'proper contest' (*Guardian Weekly*, 2004: 12). According to *The Economist* (2004a: 40), the poll was 'the cleanest that Algeria, or, for that matter, any Arab country, has ever seen': this makes it the 'first legitimate election' since the country got its independence from France in 1962.

Abdelaziz Bouteflika, a former diplomat, was also a member of the hardline clique that seized power three years after the end of the Algerian war of independence. In 1999, handpicked by the military – who have always held real power in Algeria since the liberation of the country – he was elected as the sole candidate after all his rivals withdrew from the poll to protest against massive fraud. For five years, his lack of legitimacy prevented him from carrying out long-awaited social and economic reforms. However, despite his weak performance, President Bouteflika was returned to power in April 2004 probably because he had somehow managed to reduce the violence that had substantially plagued Algeria since the beginning of the 1990s.

After the success of the religious fundamentalists of the Islamic Salvation Army (FIS) in the 1991 parliamentary polls, the authorities cancelled the electoral process and the FIS's response was an armed struggle against the secular state apparatus. In the ensuing decade, Algerians suffered a bloody civil war with a death toll estimated between 120,000 and 200,000 victims (Aggoun & Rivoire, 2004: 17; *Guardian Weekly*, 2004: 7). At the present time, displaced populations are estimated at between 1 and 1.5 million (Garçon, 2004: 9) and the