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EDUCATIONAL REFORMS AND LANGUAGE PLANNING QUANDARY IN ALGERIA: AN ILLUSTRATION WITH ARABIZATION

Summary. The paper aims to present a critical review of language policy development in Algeria since its independence (1962) to present time. It takes the policy of Arabization, an important turning point in Algerian history that was troubled with serious problems, as an example of language planning in the country. Data was gathered from policy documents, laws, and newspaper articles. It was then coded into themes before it was analysed employing a documentary research method. To provide a methodical discussion, the first part of the paper explores language policy and planning in Algeria. The second part discusses the impact of Arabization on the country's current state of policy development in light of the debates over the national educational reforms of 2003. The third part highlights the quandary that language planners face during the processes of language planning and policy making. Lastly, the paper concludes with an evaluation of the process of language policy development in the country. The paper argues that in order to foster sustainable multilingualism and achieve effective educational reforms, a keener recognition of Algerian linguistic diversity by the government is imperative.

Keywords: Algeria; Arabization; educational reform; language planning; language policy; multilingualism.

Introduction

Algeria is a culturally-diverse and a linguistically-heterogeneous country. Four languages are distinctive in the country: Standard Arabic (SA), Algerian Arabic (AA), Tamazight, and French. SA, also called Koranic, Literacy or Classical Arabic is the mother tongue of no sector in the community. Children usually become aware of it until school age. It is the language of the holy book and the one used in pre-Islamic literature. Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), a new concept that is used growingly by native researchers represents a simplified and modernized version of SA. The main differences between SA and MSA relate to stylistics and vocabulary. MSA, for instance, includes ample examples of loan words. Still, Classical Arabic and MSA can be grouped under the designation SA which is reserved for official use and education.

Algerian Arabic, Colloquial Arabic, vernacular or Darja is the genuine mother tongue of most Algerians. AA is naturally acquired and used in daily

communication and entertainment. AA belongs to the Maghrebi Arabic language continuum and is partially mutually intelligible with Tunisian and Moroccan. AA combines many regional dialects with minor to significant differences at one or more levels of linguistic analysis. The vernacular contains numerous Berber and Arabic words and loan words from French.

Like AA, Tamazight is also the mother tongue of many Algerians. Tamazight was granted the status of a national language by constitutional amendment in 2002 and was promoted to a national language in 2016. Five major varieties of Tamazight can be distinguished in Algeria: Kabyle, Shawi, Shenwi, Mzabi, and Targui. These are divided by geographical and traditional differences. Kabyle is mainly spoken in the north of Algiers in four provinces (Tizi-Ouzou, Béjaïa, Bouira, and Boumerdès). Shawi is confined to the South-East of Constantine, particularly in Batna, Khenchla and Oum-El-Bouaghi. Shenwi is a minority variety spoken in the mountain of Chenwa (West of Algiers). Mzabi is spoken in the Sahara (Ghardaïa and its surrounding clusters). And Targui is the language of Touareg, spoken in some remote spots of the Sahara like Ahaggar.

The presence of a second foreign language, English, after French, has been dramatically increasing in Algeria. This language gained more prominence in 1990, when the then Minister of National Education *Ali Benmohamed* introduced it alongside French as a first foreign language in the fourth year of some primary schools. Parents had to choose one of the two languages for their children to study. The experience was then generalized throughout the national territory in 1995 (CNRSE, 2000). Nevertheless, according to *Benmohamed*, the reform was sabotaged by the Algerian Francophone lobby (Liberté, 2015).

Since 1995, Algeria witnessed lots of new developments regarding language policy and the possible role of English in the country. In 2008, the British Council partnered with the Ministry of National Education to develop English language teaching and learning in Algerian middle schools. In 2012, the British Council, in partnership with the Echorouk newspaper, started offering printed as well as electronic entertainment and educational articles and exercises for all citizens interested to learn English. In 2013, the US Embassy in Algeria and Berlitz Center launched a programme to offer free English

language classes for learners of different ages.

The current Minister of Higher Education and Scientific Research, *Tayeb Bouzid* ordered university rectors to ensure the success of the exploration process on promoting the generalized use of English at Algerian universities. *Bouzid* wrote to the university rectors: 'Within the framework of the policy to encourage and strengthen the use of English to give better visibility of education and scientific activities in higher education, I urge you to use both Arabic and English in official documents'. Even though *Bouzid's* initiative is warmly welcomed by many sides of the population, the minister is facing criticism by a lot of university researchers (Idir, 2019; L'expression, 2019; Meddi, 2019; Rafa, 2019).

French, the first foreign language in Algeria, is a language that is deeply rooted in the country and often claimed to be a lingua franca. French is part of school curricula and is widely understood by most Algerians. French appears, together with Arabic, on street names, direction signs, doctors' prescriptions, medicines, postage stamps, coins, and bank notes. French can be heard on radio and government channels. Publications (books, newspapers, etc.) in both Arabic and French are equally available in bookshops and kiosks. Besides, Algerian officials deliver most of the time speeches and press conferences in French.

Post independent Algeria's parliament adopted many constitutional reforms. The first Algerian constitution was adopted in 1963, and then promulgated in 1976. The third Algerian constitution was approved in 1989; and another one was embraced in 1996. The national charter of 1996 was subject to an amendment in 2002 when Tamazight was declared national language. The charter was then reamended in 2008. Currently, the national frame of the government is delineated by a revised version of the 2008 charter brought by Law N° 16-01 of March 6, 2016. Nevertheless, articles 1, 2, and 3 (chapter one) of all constitutions, emphasize the Arabic, Islamic and later Tamazight identity of Algeria.

Despite the constitutional recognition of Arabic as national and official language, it was until the 1991 that the Arabization law was implemented in the country (Ordinance N° 96-30 of December 21, 1996, amending and completing Law N° 91-05 of January 16, 1991). The law required governmental and educational functions to be conducted in Arabic. The aim behind

Arabization was, according to the government, to meet Algeria's Arabo-Islamic heritage and reinforce the nation's strategic position within the Arab world (Malley, 1996; Mize, 1978). In spite of opting for Arabization and closer identification with the Arab world, language planning and policy in the country has been in flux since its independence.

The present paper aims to present a brief historical account of language policy development in Algeria since its independence. Two main policies are distinguishable: the policy of Arabization (1962–1999) and educational reforms policy of 2003. The educational system, as the prime field of implementing language policies, is used in this paper to accentuate the conflicts and hitches created by language policy in the country. The first part of the paper explores language policy and planning in Algeria. The second part discusses the impact of Arabization on the country's current state of policy development in light of the debates over the 2003 national educational reforms. The third part highlights the quandary that language planners face during the processes of language planning and policy making. Lastly, the paper concludes with an evaluation of language policy development in the country. Before discussing the four main parts of the paper, the following conceptualizations will be adopted. Then, the methodology employed in this study is described.

Conceptualizations of Language Policy and Planning

Language Policy and Planning

Definitions and conceptions of *language policy* and *language planning* tend to vary considerably in scope and precision. Though closely related, language policy and language planning are dissimilar undertakings (Johnson, 2013). Some scholars contend that language planning incorporates language policy; however, others argue that language policy subsumes language planning (Johnson, 2013). According to Kaplan and Baldauf (1997): 'language policy is a body of ideas, laws, regulations, rules and practices intended to achieve the planned language change in the societies, group or system' (p. xi). Other activities can be considered language policy as well (Johnson, 2013). Apart from being enacted by an authoritative body, language policy can also be

ratified from a bottom-up movement or grassroots organization (Johnson, 2013). Besides, not all language policies are intentional or carefully planned (Johnson, 2013).

Unlike language policy, the process of language planning is deliberate (Cooper, 1989). Language planning aims and goals are interrelated with the political, economic and social aims of the community in question, which are in turn influenced by global events (Doğançay-Aktuna, 1997). Language planning attempts to bring about changes in the structure (corpus) and functions (status) of languages or language varieties, using sociolinguistic concepts and information to make and implement policy decisions, in order to deal with linguistic and/or extra-linguistic problems at the national, international or community level (Cooper, 1989, pp. 30–31). The key elements, in these definitions, point out to a process in which language planning is conscious with set goals and which aims at achieving desired changes in the sociolinguistic profile of a community.

Language policy and language planning are often used interchangeably with little or no theoretical distinction drawn between them. Although this is not problematic, as language planning is the principal expression of the language policy in question (Schiffman, 1996), for the general purpose of the present paper, it is more useful to regard language planning as a component or subdivision of a broader language policy.

Methodology

This study employed the documentary research method. This method refers to the analysis of documents that contain information about the phenomenon we want to study (Bailey, 1994). In this paper, the method involves a descriptive and analytical synthesis of primary and secondary data resources. Primary resources include governmental policy documents and Laws, and secondary resources comprise newspapers articles. Most primary and secondary data was originally in French or Arabic. For research purposes, rendering them in English relied on the multilingual capacity of the present writer. Data collection aimed to permit the present author to gain a more insightful understanding of the Algerian political and linguistic situation, which is the focus of the study.

Language Policy and Planning in Algeria

In Algeria, language policies have been predominantly concerned with the process of Arabization. Arabization is a linguistic policy adopted by Algeria to promote Arabic and strengthen its position as the sole 'national official language' through the introduction of more than thirty decrees, laws, and ordinances. The policy was endorsed few days before the official declaration of independence (July 5, 1962) in an attempt to eradicate French from public life and restore Arabic to its role as national language. Arabization was motivated by three essential elements: Arabic mirrors cultural independence; Arabic is the language of Islam; Arabic is the language of the Arab nation (McDougall, 2006).

On June 1962, the Algerian National Council held a session in Tripoli to discuss the major principles of the country. With the encouragement of Algeria's first president *Ahmed Ben Bella*, the product of the meeting was a 26-page programme (Tripoli Charter) which aimed to define an identity and direction for independent Algeria. The Tripoli Charter stressed that culture was to be 'national, revolutionary and scientific' (p.18) and Islam was to be a crucial constituent of the Algerian personality. After independence, the Tripoli Charter was updated by the Algiers Charter of April 1964, and later by the National Charters of 1976 and 1986.

The orientation towards Arabization has always been an impetuous response to French colonialism and hegemony. As early as January 1963, the Algerian government decreed the de-baptization of French named towns and cities. Names were replaced by Algerian Arabic, Berber, and revolution heroes' appellations. The first step towards Arabization in education was taken in October 1962, where Arabic was introduced as a subject of instruction in primary schools with seven teaching hours per week. This was increased to ten hours by 1964. The whole process of Arabizing primary education was done grade by grade and entirely completed by 1974.

Arabization proved difficult to implement, mostly due to teacher and material shortage. Arabization was hampered by further obstacles, such as the alarming high illiteracy rate among the population, and the general social and political situation of the country. Accordingly, the Ministry of Education, appointed 31.000 teachers to compensate for teachers' lack. The hired

teachers comprised both expatriates from Middle East and French speaking countries and Algerian teachers of Arabic and French (Law N° 64-230 of August 10, 1964). Still, the school year 1962-1963 was operated with the contribution of the French government within the transitional clauses of the Evian Agreements (Law N° 62-157 of December 31, 1962).

In an effort to supply the country with more local teachers and support provision of quality teaching, the Algerian government initiated a rapid quantitative process of recruitment and training for candidates. The first systematic measurement taken by the then president *Ben Bella* was the opening of 30 Normal Schools (*Ecoles Normales*). Teachers training took the form of internships, study days and distance learning courses. The admitted candidates, upon their graduation, were required and expected to teach in public schools for a period of ten years once they obtain their state qualification. Nevertheless, the schools limited capacity afforded training to merely 300 teachers per school (Law N° 64-230 of August 10, 1964).

In 1964, a High School for Translation in the Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences at Algiers University was created (Decree N° 64-145 of May 22). The intention was to accelerate Arabization through the training of a board of translators. An execution of laws and regulations (1964) imposing Arabic in the drafting of laws and regulations with a French version of the Algerian Gazette adopted only on a provisional basis followed (Decree N° 64-147). These provisions were a logical continuation of *Ben Bella's* earlier assertion at Tunis airport, on April 12, 1962, 'we are Arabs, Arabs, Arabs'. *Ben Bella* persistently stressed the principle of Arabization and related it to socialism. For him there would be no socialism without Arabization.

Primary school teachers (monitors), who were offered teaching positions on the basis of their primary school leaving certificate were referred to teach either Arabic or French. To the best knowledge of the present researcher, this fact depended basically on the type of establishment they pursued their education in. Teachers who studied in traditional institutions (*Zaouia* or *Koranic schools*) were sent to teach Arabic. Monitors, who studied in public colonial schools taught French.

During *Houari Boumedienne's* governance, Arabic was most strongly stressed and roots for its implementation were set. *Boumedienne*, who was

known for his anti-colonialist and anti-capitalist strands, always gave his speeches in Arabic, which was for him the basic element of national charisma. *Boumedienne* stated that 'without recovering that essential element which is our national language, our efforts would be useless, our personality incomplete, and our entity a body without a soul' (Souriau, 1976, p. 392). Under the supremacy of *Boumedienne*, the chief government instigated a thorough development policy in the form of three revolutions: agricultural, industrial, and cultural. Arabization lies at the heart of the Cultural Revolution.

The intensive implementation of Arabization under *Boumedienne's* governance was principally in the educational and administrative systems. In 1973, a National Commission of Arabization was set. It recommended four procedures to implement the policy. These are: 'horizontal Arabization' (Arabizing the first year of primary school and moving upward year by year); 'vertical Arabization' (subject by subject Arabization); 'regional Arabization' (the selection of specific geographic zones to be Arabized); and a 'punctual Arabization' (the implementation of Arabization on certain subjects and in a particular time). The four procedures were applied simultaneously during the period 1967–1968 (Souriau, 1976).

Indeed, *Boumedienne* concretized Arabization via his promulgation of four ordinances, five decrees, one order and one declaration. Ordinance N° 68–92 of April 26, to name but a few, resolves that compulsory knowledge of the national language is a criterion for employee selection. Yet, this provision is not opposable to candidates who are not formerly Algerian nationals. As to Ordinance N° 73–55 of October 1, 1973, this sets in law the Arabization of national postage stamps, office stamps and seals. Similarly, Decree N° 74–70 of April 3, 1974 ordered the Arabization of commercial advertising.

Disinclinations about Arabization were articulated more frequently in the later years of *Boumedienne's* presidency, primarily under *Mostefa Lachref*, the then Minister of National Education. *Lachref* assumed that the government has to favour Arabic-French bilingualism until Arabic could be enhanced to outfit modern times. *Lachref* accused Arabization of being ill-advised in its endeavors to create a synthetic personality for Algeria. He specified that 'as long as Arabization does not fulfill all these conditions (adaptation to science and modernity); in order to respond to the imperatives of a fruitful rationality ...

it will risk remaining vulnerable' (Dufour, 1980, p. 48). Nevertheless, with the exception of *Lachref*, it is difficult to find official statements questioning the adoption of the Arabization policy. *Lachref's* oppositional approach to language policy was never applied since.

With the presidency of *Chadli Bendjedid* (1979–1992), Arabization increased one more notch. On January 1991, a law stipulated the exclusive use of Arabic in public institutions (Law N° 91–05 of January 16, 1991). In case of violation of the provisions of that law, prohibitive fines (from 5000 to 10000 DZD) were imposed. Besides, Arabic became the main language of instruction for all curriculum subjects. French was considered and taught as a foreign language from year four at the primary level, and English was taught starting from the second year of middle school level.

The Arabization policy has been implemented so far in the literary subjects, social sciences, economics, management, and commerce; whereas French remained the prime medium of education in scientific branches and subjects. Arabization of education was followed by Arabization of the environment (Decree N° 81–36 of March 14, 1981), including the administration, mass media, shop names and road signs. Since 1989, Arabic has become the sole medium of instruction in primary, middle and secondary levels. French lost its function of 'language of instruction' and turned to be a 'subject of instruction' (a foreign language). By the year 1989, all baccalaureate branches were arabized while university was still resisting language policy as to scientific disciplines.

In 1992, the law on the generalized use of Arabic was frozen as a result of an unexpected civil war. The war broke out when the government cancelled its parliamentary elections. Islamists were set to win an absolute majority of the seats in the National Popular Assembly. The victory provoked the cancellation of the electoral process by the army, and forced the then President *Chadli Bendjedid* to resign (a new leadership was formed with *Mohammed Boudiaf*). The army backed the government and declared a state of emergency. Thus, Algeria jumped in a state of economic and political collapse. The law on the generalized use of Arabic was reinstated later on December 21, 1996 (Ordinance N° 96–30 of December 21, 1996) under the presidency of *Liamine Zeroual* (1994–1999).

Since the year 2000, the focal themes of educational reforms in Algeria concerned the low level of teachers and improvement of their socio-economic growth, the status of foreign languages, and revision of curricula contents. The proposed amendments circled around three elementary axes. The first axe encompassed *reorganization of educational structures*. This involved: a) an introduction of a pre-school level for five years old children, b) restructuration of the duration of primary and middle school levels by a reduction of the first to five years instead of six, and an extension of the second to four years instead of three, and c) a restructuration of teaching at secondary school level by introducing two streams: general, and technical/vocational education (Tawil, 2006).

The second axe incorporated *Teachers' training reform*. This involved: a) governmental efforts towards improvement of teachers' and inspectors' knowledge and skills, b) teacher training evaluation, and c) development of devices for the implementation of ICTs in schools. The third axe revolved around *Pedagogical reform* (contents and methods). This involved: a) the introduction of new curricula for all education levels, b) provision and evaluation of new teaching materials, and c) introduction of new teaching methods to meet the curricula's objectives (Tawil, 2006). Succeeding the agonizing events of September 11, 2001, and following pressure from the West, Algerian authorities were also forced to reform curricula as part of the global war on terror (Karmani, 2005, p. 262). Concerning foreign language teaching, French was reinstated as the first foreign language taught in the second year of primary schools. English, however, was cancelled from primary schools to be introduced in the first year of middle schools.

Properly speaking, Algeria has ever really had a language policy, determinedly planned and realized or civilian in character. The language policies have been ideological, politicized and based on assumptions that do not reflect the sociolinguistic practices in the country. As to Arabization, this has been marked by contradictions and discontinuity. Education, as aforesaid, was the first sector to be arabized. Even prior to independence, the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN) (National Liberation Front), the prime nationalist movement during the Algerian war, dedicated itself to the restoration of Arabic in the educational system in 1961. Arabic became the medium of primary education right after independence. French became a second language in 1964

and then a foreign language in 1976. In higher education, the Arabization policy has been implemented in the literary subjects and social sciences, whereas French has remained the predominant medium of instruction in scientific branches.

The contradictions can be recognized mainly from the gap between the official claim for the determination to use Arabic efficiently since 1961 and the preservation of French as the working language up to this day. As a matter of fact, both French and Arabic are less and less well mastered by the growing generations. Though it might appear as a logical language planning initiative, Arabization has had a low rate of success and a major effect on current language policy development.

Impact of Arabization on Language Policy Development

Having a language policy in place is not a guarantee to its implementation and its favored effects. The policy of Arabization in Algeria, though viewed as key to national unity and identity has unreservedly failed (Benrabah, 2002, 2004; Grandguillaume, 2002, 2004; Mostari, 2004). Arabic monolingualism has often been regarded undesirably, and its impact varied from one arena to another. Despite the governmental dedicated efforts and the huge financial means (about 20% of the government total core spending is on public education) to induce an enduring change in the educational system, education has been suffering from the implementation of a policy which has not considered the de facto multilingual composition of the society.

Arabization has served mainly the benefits of different political ruling classes to maintain power. Knowing that French would remain necessary to social and economic advancement; elites have promoted Arabization while they continued to teach their own children bilingually (Boukous, 1999, p. 53). Moreover, disregarding the law of 1996 that makes it punishable offence for politicians to use any other language than Arabic in their public speeches, the ex-President *Abdelaziz Bouteflika*, the ex-prime Minister *Ouyahia*, the minister of domestic affairs, the minister of culture, and the ex-minister of national education have always been addressing their national and international audiences in French. This indecision over the language issue

features the certainty that any language policies tend to be dictated by political, rather than pedagogical concerns.

Moreover, the Arabization policy has seriously affected the education system's capacity to acquire the scientific and technical knowledge that matters for any improvement. The development of a national economy required strong dependence on western support and thought; which inevitably required the maintenance of French. This fact has affected language policies and heightened their contradictions. In addition, the shift of the medium of instruction from Arabic (in basic education) to French (in higher education for scientific fields) hindered learners' achievement at the university level.

Arabization was supposed to bring about both qualitative and quantitative change. Yet, this has augmented only the number of users of Arabic. It is worthy to note that education deteriorated both during the so-called black decade of the vicious civil war, and when the noble goal of education for all has become one of entitlement, where the education system changed from being an elite institution to being an open gate to the masses. In one of his grievances about the intense Algerian national education situation, the ex-president *Bouteflika* stated:

'Le niveau a atteint un seuil intolérable, au point où le diplôme algérien qui était reconnu par la Sorbonne, Harvard et Oxford jusqu'aux années 80, n'est plus accepté pas même par les universités maghrébines. Les étudiants tunisiens et marocains venaient en Algérie pour étudier la médecine et la pharmacie. Aujourd'hui c'est l'inverse qui se produit' (Benrabah, 2004 in Rocheron & Rolfe, 2004, p. 52)

[The level has reached an intolerable threshold, to the point where the Algerian diploma, which was recognized by the Sorbonne, Harvard and Oxford universities until the 1980s, is no longer accepted even by the Maghrebi universities. Tunisian and Moroccan students came to Algeria to study medicine and pharmacy. Today the opposite is happening'] (present author's own translation).

Language Planning Quandary in Algeria

Following the previous discussion, one can notice the presence of an incoherent language policy situation in Algeria. This situation is summarized by the gap between the stated Arabization policy objectives and the actual language

practices. In spite of the thrust of the constitutional commitments regarding the Arabic, Islamic and Tamazight identity, there seems to be an increasing tendency towards the use of French in many sectors of Algerian public life. The impact of this language resulted in a variety of sociolinguistic phenomena such as bilingualism, code-switching, code-mixing and borrowing. Currently, Algeria is recognized as the second largest Francophone country in the world in terms of speakers. By the 2000s the percentage of French speakers in Algeria was much higher than on the day before its independence (Rocheron & Rolfe, 2004).

French remains a de facto working language in many sectors, such is the case for most administrations of the departments of different languages in Algerian universities, private schools and institutions, business, culture, education (from primary school) and press (newspapers). Yet, the use of Arabic in Algerian administrative bodies is most of the time the rule. Arabization was fairly complete in the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of Religious Affairs, whereas official documents of the other ministries are produced in both Arabic and French. Algerian banking, insurance, medical documents and laboratory reports, whether issued by public or private services are still delivered in French. Up to the day, Algeria has not joined the *Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie* (an international organization of French speaking countries). Still, French, with its unofficial status, continues to be the prevailing language.

The Algerian language planning quandary is also engendered by both the country's aspirations to achieve modernization in industry, which is associated with French, and to institute a genuine cultural identity. While the Algerian model for modernization stems from the West, the country's national identity is linked to the Arabo-Islamic culture. Hence, French remains an advantaged tool in the Algerian multifaceted sociolinguistic situation. In this respect, Caubet (1986) stated:

French as the language of the last colonizer has an ambiguous statute; in one hand it attracts the official contempt, in the other hand, it is the synonym of the social success and the access to the culture and modernization (p. 112).

Wardhaugh (1987) advocates a number of reasons for the perpetuation of the languages of colonizers in post-colonial societies, such as progress and modernization, and maintenance of power by a significant minority of elites to name few. It goes almost without saying that for a lot of non-native speakers of French in Algeria, attaining competence in French represents a means to an economic end. Besides, contradictory elite language attitudes have facilitated the continued dominance of French over Arabic in several domains. As stated earlier, members of the elite, who were active proponents to promote Arabization, were sending their children to French schools. As the foremost goal of elite is to stay in power and give their children the same chances, such an attitude is not astonishing.

Elite shaped and sustained inequalities in Algeria while they enforced monolingualism. This fact is referred to as *elite closure* by Myers-Scotton (1993), whereby the people in power establish and maintain their powers and privileges via linguistic choices. Rightly, issues of language in Algeria cannot be dissociated from issues of power. The concept of power can neither be dissociated from elite and their ruling ideas. Thus, impetuses for the acquisition and competent use of French in the country cannot be addressed efficiently without prior recognition of both the political and socio-economic significance of French for the Algerian people.

Another factor that accounts for the language planning quandary in Algeria is the limited use and expansion of Arabic, despite the declaration of its official status. Besides, the situation of Arabic diglossia, in which the official standard variety is significantly different from the spoken variety made it tough to learn Standard Arabic for school children. This gap is widened by the borrowing of a huge number of French words introduced in the spoken variety of Arabic.

Currently, Arabic meets some corpus planning problems adjusting to the terminology and neologisms incorporated in a number of sciences. Definitely, terms that generally gain ground are borrowed from foreign languages (French, English, and weak presence of Spanish and Turkish lexical items) with or without morpho-syntactic incorporation into Arabic. Besides, the lack of coordination and agreement between the various Arabic speaking countries in the field of terminology affects the process of making

an amalgamated modern lexicon. Also, the highly academic form of SA remains a form accessible only to the literate proportion of the population.

The multilingual situation of Algeria presented in the presence of two main dialects (AA and Tamazight) has also added to the language planning quandary. AA, which is mastered by almost all Algerians and primarily featured in day to day communication and entertainment, is supported neither by the people nor by the government. Moreover, the standardization of Tamazight could not be attained as this language is represented in four distinguishable varieties, and spoken by sizeable communities in different parts of Algeria. One cannot speak of one Tamazight community since speakers of this dialect are divided by geographical and traditional differences.

Evaluation of the Process of Algerian Language Policy Development

The Algerian language policies embraced so far have failed to offer configurations for the safeguarding and amalgamation of Algerian local languages: Colloquial Arabic and Tamazight. Undeniably, no Algerian government since independence took into account the native languages. The policy of Arabization, which even official discourse described as assimilationist, aimed to eradicate the local languages along with French. The ultimate goal of such policies was to foster national unity inside the country, based on the idea that a single official language will favour that end.

Nevertheless, it is truly bilingualism that has been endorsed in Algeria. Arabization per se was a veil stimulated by elite only to uphold their positions of authority over the grassroots and subsequently pass their political positions onto their children. In other words, Arabization was much more a political rather than a linguistic decision. This Jacobin linguistic policy was most typically expressed in the forceful imposition of the once prominent SA.

Public education is the sector that most reflected the failure of Arabization. In 2005, the then Minister of Higher Education declared that 80% first year university students failed their final exams because of linguistic insecurity (Benrabah, 2007, p. 226). In fact, it has been concluded elsewhere that the foremost reason behind high illiteracy rate in the Arab world is the discrepancy between SA and Colloquial Arabic as young learners are not

commonly exposed to SA and eventually are not able to relate to it at schools (Bassiouney, 2010). Currently, constant dispute over how the Algerian government should ever pursue the policy of Arabization leads to a unique interpretation: *the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria is a combat in which SA, CA, Tamazight, and French all strive for certified legitimacy.*

Conclusion

The Algerian social and educational contexts, with their definite characteristics and limitations, instituted themselves hitches to the success of Arabization. Certainly, the coexistence of AA, Tamazight and French in the Algerian society presents a total contradiction with Arabization. Moreover, 130 years of French colonization cannot be simply eliminated via ideological prerogatives. Additionally, the top-down nature of Algerian politics with the prevalence of ideology and their search for supremacy has not only conditioned but also obscured Algerian language policies. Consequently, the language issue has become merely an instrument of political leadership rather than an effective tool for national cultural development, unity and modernization. Finally, with the governmental process of economic development, which is based on the West, the scope and efficiency of the Arabization policy seems rather restricted.

In order to foster sustainable multilingualism and achieve effective educational reforms in Algeria, a keener recognition of Algerian linguistic diversity by the government is imperative. A global integration could be achieved through Arabic, the medium of interaction with the Arab and Islamic countries, and French, the door towards modernity. Thus, a stable and balanced distribution of the two languages in Algerian curricula is to be planned. Besides, a long-term language planning is required to ensure that even though the colonial language is accepted, its acceptance should not diminish the indigenous languages. As to English, the development of this language needs more than a ministerial order. It needs a rigorous language planning. Lastly, indigenous languages need to be willfully and consciously accepted. Finally, there will also be a need to move away from the predominance of ideology to pragmatism.

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**ŠVIETIMO REFORMŲ IR KALBŲ PLANAVIMO KEBLUMAI
ALŽYRE: ARABIZACIJOS ATVEJIS**

Santrauka. Šiuo darbu siekiama pristatyti kalbų politikos vystymo Alžyre nuo jo nepriklausomybės (1962 m.) iki dabar kritinę apžvalgą. Remiamasi arabizacijos politika, svarbiu lūžio tašku rimtų problemų kamuojamo Alžyro istorijoje, kaip kalbų planavimo šalyje pavyzdžiu. Duomenys buvo renkami iš politinių dokumentų, įstatymų ir laikraščių straipsnių. Po surinkimo jie buvo sukoduoti pagal tematiką, o po kodavimo – išanalizuoti pasitelkiant dokumentinį tyrimo metodą. Siekiant pateikti metodinę diskusiją, pirmoje darbo dalyje tyrinėjama kalbų politika ir jos planavimas Alžyre. Antroje dalyje aptariama arabizacijos įtaka dabartinei šalies padėčiai politikos vystymo srityje, atsižvelgiant į 2003 m. nacionalinių švietimo reformų diskusijas. Trečioje dalyje atskleidžiami keblumai, su kuriais susiduria kalbų planuotojai kalbų planavimo ir politikos formavimo procesų metu. Galiausiai, darbo pabaigoje įvertinamas kalbų politikos vystymo procesas šalyje. Darbe argumentuojama, jog, siekiant puoselėti darnią daugiakalbystę ir pasiekti efektyvių švietimo reformų, būtina, kad valdžia entuziastingiau pripažintų Alžyro lingvistinę įvairovę.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: Alžyras; arabizacija; švietimo reforma; kalbų planavimas; kalbų politika; daugiakalbystė.