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**Globalisation and Language Policy in Tunisia:
Shifts in Domains of Use and Linguistic Attitudes**

A Dissertation
By
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Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

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March, 2013

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I must express my gratitude to my outstanding director of studies, Kate Beeching, for her help, patience, and support. Her comprehensive feedback, insights and suggestions were tremendously illuminating. I am as well thankful to my supervisor, Nicolas Startin whose comments were invaluable. I also thank all my friends and colleagues who helped me administer the questionnaire; on top of them Mohamed Chouria, Ahlam Keffala, Hela Bessaadi, Mohamed Limame, Khaled Lahbib and Larbi Lahbib. Thanks also go to the senior inspectors who took the time and sometimes the 'risk' to answer my interview questions; to all the teachers and students who responded to the surveys. I finally have to thank my wife, Raoudha, without whose support and encouragement I could not have gone anywhere.

ABSTRACT

This thesis builds on previous studies on the linguistic situation, attitudes and domains of language use in the Maghreb countries undertaken by Marley (2000, 2004, 2005, 2008) in Morocco, Benrabah (2007a, 2007b), in Algeria, and by Jabeur (1999) Daoud (2001, 2011a, 2011b) and Bahloul (2001) in Tunisia. It explores the shifts in the domains of language use, the differences in linguistic attitudes between generations in Tunisia and the role played by globalisation in this process.

In order to investigate the ways in which domains of use and attitudes to English and French are shifting, a questionnaire was administered to a group of 100 teachers aged 40 to 60 and a group of 200 students aged 17 to 19. SPSS data analyses showed some statistically significant differences between the two groups. With respect to domains of use, the younger group uses significantly more English as a lingua franca, in chatting online, reading for pleasure, watching TV programmes and listening to songs. Teachers, by contrast, use significantly more French in activities such as reading and watching TV programmes. French remains the preferred foreign language of the older generation, but they believe it is threatened by English in Tunisia, whereas the younger generation preferred English. One main reason for these differences could be what the older generation consider to be the negative impact of globalisation on French and its positive impact on English.

Interesting qualitative data were also extracted from the responses to a vox pop questionnaire submitted to 100 lay people in the street and from essays written by two groups of 25 students. These confirmed that the majority of Tunisians consider English to be the most useful foreign language in Tunisia and that it should be given more importance in academic settings due to its world status as an international lingua franca.

This thesis also investigates language policy in Tunisia by analysing all relevant extracts from the speeches of Ben Ali, Tunisia's ex-president, and interviews conducted with the three senior inspectors of the three main languages. Policy has promoted English over French in two ways: first, Arabic rather than French is now the vehicle for the teaching of the human and natural sciences in the Basic Education¹ and, second, new measures in favour of English have simultaneously been taken in and outside academia.

¹ From year 1 to year 9 of public education

To conclude, the findings of this study contribute to knowledge in three ways: Firstly, by identifying differences in domains of language use and attitudes between generations in contemporary Tunisia, secondly, by scrutinizing the way students, teachers and lay people feel about French and English, the two main rival foreign languages in the country and, thirdly, by exploring the political discourse which influences the language situation both directly, through language policy, and indirectly, through hearts and minds.

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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Theoretical Frameworks

Investigating the role of globalisation in shaping Tunisian language policy whether directly or indirectly along with political and public attitudes and discourses surrounding them, this research stands at the intersection of three interconnected fields of research. This multidisciplinary approach is one of the innovatory aspects of the thesis. The first field is critical linguistics which “focuses on the study of language within its social, political, and historical context” Tollefson (2002: 1). In this research study, language is partly investigated in its social and academic contexts as students and teachers will inform us through responding to a questionnaire about how and when they use the three main languages.

The second is language policy which is interested in examining “the role of governments and other powerful institutions in shaping language use and language acquisition” Tollefson (2002: 1) and in this paper the political and academic rationale for Tunisian Language Policy (LP) is investigated, as stated above, through analysing relevant extracts from the Tunisian ex-president’s speeches and by interviewing the official stakeholders of language policy in Tunisia.

The third and probably the most relevant field pertains to sociolinguistics which has recently addressed “central questions related to both the impact of globalization on language practices and their standardization” Duchene (2009: 27). Indeed, similar questions are addressed in this research through investigating, for instance, the status of English as the main language of globalisation in Tunisia and whether it has gained any ground previously occupied by Arabic or French. Macro-sociolinguistics, according to Coulmas (1997), “studies what societies do with their languages, that is, attitudes and attachments that account for the functional distribution of speech forms in society, language shift, maintenance, and replacement, the delimitation and interaction of speech communities” (in Wardhaugh, 2006: 13).

Finally, Jabeur’s (1999:189) investigation of “attitudes towards English, French, and Arabic among Tunisian teenagers,” should, according to him, be considered as a “contribution to the sociolinguistics of the Tunisian speech community”. This is because such a research is “motivated by the need to produce adequate descriptive and explanatory

models to explicate the complexities of the prevailing linguistic situation in Tunisia” (Jabeur, 1999:189). In this research study, attitudes are investigated in order to compare two age groups which will hopefully further explicate “the complexities of the prevailing linguistic situation in Tunisia” approximately fifteen years after Jabeur’s work.

The first two fields of interest have recently been brought together to form what Tollefson (2002: 1) labels as “language policy in education” although the questions I will address are different in nature from the questions that Tollefson raises which essentially revolve around inequality issues between languages.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

"The new electronic interdependence recreates the world in the image of a global village," Marshall McLuhan, 1962, *The Gutenberg Galaxy*.

2.1 Overview of Globalisation

2.1.1 What Is Globalisation?

Defining the word globalisation is not an easy task (Sifakis and Sougari, 2003: 60). The word is now very widely used in an array of domains and contexts. According to Block and Cameron (2002: 1), the term has spread through "political rhetoric and is a keyword of both academic and popular discourse on economy, society, technology and culture". For this reason, academics who study globalisation, in the words of Eriksen (2007: ix), belong to such different domains as "cultural studies, sociology, economics, international relations, political theory, art and linguistics" and globalisation, according to him, is "a buzzword of the moment" (Eriksen, 2007: ix). Eriksen agrees with Block and Cameron (2002), then, who confirm that, "globalisation is nothing if not a fashionable term" (p.1). In addition, globalisation means different things to different people depending on their fields of interest. Economists, for example, focus their definition on the economic side in looking, for example, at the integration and interconnectedness of the world economy. Politicians, on the other hand, focus on its political facets, for instance, the weakening or even erosion (Lapayese, 2005: 389) of the nation-state, and ecologists put a special focus on global warming and other environment-based issues (Ojeili and Hayden, 2006: 12).

For the purpose of the current study, I will present the definitions of globalisation that are used in the major fields of economy, politics, and culture, with a special focus on the ones that will contribute to a clearer view of the relationship between globalisation and languages and language policies.

In spite of its inter-disciplinary nature, the main field of origin for globalisation is the economic world and as a notion, according to Sifakis and Sougari (2003: 60), it mainly derives from the science of economics. Even respondents who were laymen, when asked

about the word globalisation and its associations for them, mentioned such issues as “capitalism, money, big business, and the expansion of large corporations” (Eriksen, 2007, p. ix).

Along with Eriksen’s definition, economic conceptions of globalisation are also developing in everyday and commercial contexts. One of the most popular business websites, The Investment Dictionary, for example defines it as, “tendency of investment funds and businesses to move beyond domestic and national markets to other markets around the globe, thereby increasing the interconnectedness of different markets.” (Investopedia website). The importance of such a definition lies in its publication on the internet which can be a good source of information concerning popular contemporary discourses. Although this definition concentrates exclusively on investment and business, i.e. economy, it includes such significant phrases as “move beyond”, “around the globe” and, most importantly, “increasing interconnectedness.”

These phrases introduce the main features that define globalisation regardless of the field it is used in. For example, the word interconnectedness and the notion of connectedness, in general, for Ojeily and Hayden (2006: 13), point to the following seven issues that are indeed at the heart of globalisation:

1. Communication networks and new technology
2. The speed at which it is now possible to move around the world
3. The emergence of contemporary prominence of the multinational corporation
4. What Lechte calls ‘Decontextualization’
5. Place is not as relevant as it once was
6. Awareness of the finiteness of the global resources
7. The threat of the homogenisation of cultural life

The Penguin Dictionary of Sociolinguistics attributes the spread of financial globalisation to the growth of information technology, “which makes possible global markets that operate in real time and the electronic transmission of funds.” Besides, world financial institutions, along with multinational corporations decrease “the capacity of national governments to control activities within the borders of the state, because companies can move business elsewhere should they dislike the policies of a government.” (The Penguin Dictionary of Sociolinguistics, 2006). These institutions and corporations can, therefore, influence a country’s language policy, for example to promote one language or weaken another. Governments, too, can prevent companies from investing in their countries should they fail to comply with its rules and regulations. This situation develops more interdependence among countries and economies.

Interdependence is a new dimension of economic relationships that globalisation has fostered among nations. This new notion has made any limited economic event likely to take a global dimension, and so the myth of the “butterfly effect” according to which the flapping of the butterfly’s wing in Brazil might “set off a tornado in Texas” (Davies, 2008: 296) has come true metaphorically in the economic field; as sometimes tiny financial problems in one country might be at the origin of a worldwide financial crisis.

As a matter of fact, if an economic crisis, nowadays, takes place, say, in Latin America, it will lead to a chain of events that is likely to go all the way to South Africa in no time. The recent economic recession that the world is still suffering from, stands as a good example of how interdependent and interconnected the world economy has become.

This economic recession which started in the United States of America as a common mortgage problem, is now claimed to have reached, although in different degrees, almost every corner of the world including the most economically protectionist countries of this time like China and Iran. Amos (2007) confirms that, “what goes on in the American households can have negative impacts on businesses and financial institutions on foreign shores”. One of the reasons for this strong world interdependence and interconnectedness is often said to be the United States of America’s domination of the world economy through some world organisations. Mudde (2007: 85) believes that economic globalisation is “ruled by US-based multinational corporations and US-controlled/dominated institutions like the World Bank.”

America’s domination of the world economy through these corporations and institutions is likely to pave the way to a linguistic domination through different ways such as investment in developing countries in return for promoting English. Phillipson (2012) argues that the demand for English is politically and economically driven, as pointed out in the following quote

Maintaining the value of western investments and influence in the decolonisation period led to the mushrooming of departments of TESOL and applied linguistics from the 1950s. The demand for English has been orchestrated by western governments and their allies worldwide, and key bodies such as the World Bank. (The Guardian, 2012)

Phillipson states a recent example, in November 2011, where the US government is involved in a partnership with TESOL International Association to "Work in co-ordination with US companies, universities, publishers, and other ELT stakeholders to enhance their international outreach and operations". (The Guardian, 2012)

Finally, the Small Business Encyclopaedia, also a prominent popular business website, provides a more elaborate definition of globalisation along with some different conceptions:

Globalization is the process by which the economies of countries around the world become increasingly integrated over time. This integration occurs as technological advances expedite the trade of goods and services, the flow of capital, and the migration of people across international borders.

Here again, the phrases “around the world,” “across international borders” and “expand their operations” reflect the main features of globalisation. In addition, the new important key concept in this definition is the word “integration” which will also be frequently used in most of the papers and debates about globalisation, reviewed below. “Economic integration” necessarily entails communication and interaction and this is one of the cross-roads where globalisation and language meet up. Besides, it defines globalisation as a process rather than a done deal, and this point is one of the controversial issues that I shall tackle in more detail later.

From a sociological point of view, Hayden and el-Ojeily (2005: 1-2) offer a concise conceptualisation of globalisation as, “the extension of social relations over the globe”. It is clear that this definition deals with the social side of globalisation; nevertheless, some of the words it includes, like ‘extension’ and ‘globe,’ are also present in many economy-based definitions, which shows that in globalisation, it is the worldwide value of activities that counts. That means, regardless of the field we are referring to, if an activity, an event, or a phenomenon jumps over geopolitical borders, it becomes part of the process of globalisation. Giddens (1990) elaborates on this idea by stressing the issue of distance and localities to describe the social dimension of globalisation. In his terms, (Giddens, 1990: 64), globalisation is “the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa”. This social side of globalisation has had an impact on languages by widening the scope of communication between people.

On the cultural level, globalisation has been critically used as a semantic variation of “westernisation,” “Americanisation,” “Macdonaldisation,” and “worldwide standardisation of lifestyles” (Block and Cameron, 2002: 3). Although these terms are mostly used by parties who are rather critical of globalisation, they reflect the “creeping uniformity” that is, according to Block and Cameron (2002: 4) characterizing “all aspects of our lives, from how we dress to how we eat, from our entertainment preferences to our work habits and from the design of our buildings to our attitudes to our personal freedom”. As ‘how we

speak' is one of the aspects of life as well, language is accordingly prone to be influenced by this "creeping uniformity" that is reportedly caused by globalisation.

Globalisation is even accused of the propagation and "proliferation of Western styles, products, and tastes," (Jay, 2001: 39) which, according to Jay, may lead to the wiping out of differences between cultures. From this stand point, globalisation symbolizes "homogenization of formerly disparate cultures and identities" (Jay, 2001: 39). For example, everywhere in the world, people wear jeans, consume Kentucky Fried Chicken and Macdonald's products and drink Coke and Pepsi, which are typically Western. "Cultural globalisation has," in the terms of Mudde (2007: 85) "led to the alleged dominance of 'the American way of life' of Coca-Cola, McDonald's, etc." In Tunisia, for instance, jeans jackets and trousers have superseded the Jebba, the Tunisian traditional mode of dress, and some women would even boast about making a light pizza for lunch instead of cooking a 'heavy' couscous, the most popular Tunisian traditional food.

In addition, the spread of such cultural features has accelerated thanks to rapid means of communication such as the mass media, internet, and mobile phone. This rapid circulation of what Jay (2001) calls "cultural commodities" has overcome local cultures and overwhelmed the nation states' abilities to preserve their countries' distinctive cultural features (p: 32). Jay (2001: 32) points out that,

The emergence of what we have come to call global culture, characterized by the rapid circulation of cultural commodities such as books, films, works in electronic media, clothing and food in a way that overwhelms the local cultural forms and practices, has come at the expense of the nation-state's ability to control the formation of national subjectivities and ideologies.

Appadurai, on the other hand, refuses to accept the idea that globalisation means westernisation or homogenisation (Jay, 2001). He insists that western cultural forms shown and propagated in media are faced by confrontation, selectivity, and change. He argues that, "the local appropriation and transformation of Western cultural forms and behaviours works against globalisation" (Jay, 2001: 39).

This controversy clearly underlines the fact that globalisation is not all about economy, business, and trade but that it also has a clear cultural impact. This idea is echoed in the popular Investment Dictionary definition which states that globalization has had the effect not only of increasing worldwide trade, but also of "cultural exchange" (Investopedia Website).

The cultural dimension of globalisation raises linguistic issues, as the language that increasingly dominates the world cultural scene is English and more specifically American English. This situation risks undermining such languages as French, whose cultural role started to diminish dramatically worldwide giving ground to this rapidly rising giant. Indeed, French people and Francophiles developed a feeling of dismay as a result of what they perceived as a threat to the language. The result was a deep belief that, if English was not resisted, American English was likely to dominate the whole of Europe (Pennycook, 2010: 62). Hagège (2006: 37) called for support for the French language based on the tenet that “to defend a culture is also to defend the language in which it is expressed.” (In Pennycook, 2010: 62)

On the political level, Mudde (2007: 185) suggests that, “political globalisation is linked to a monopolar world system under American dominance.” This association led many people to consider the word globalisation as a mere variation of the word Americanisation. This consideration is further confirmed by the widespread American lifestyle and culture on one hand and, even more significantly, on the American dominance of world politics on another.

Held (2006: 304) looks at the relationship between globalisation and politics from a slightly different point of view. He points out that, “a clear scenario exists suggesting the progressive concentration of power in the hands of multinational capital (productive and financial), and the weakening role of states faced with global market processes and forces” and warns against the risk that “democratic politics will increasingly be reduced to adapting to global markets.” (p. 304). This idea is becoming more and more obvious with the ever-increasing interventionist role of world institutions in the domestic affairs of different countries. The World Bank, for one, today intervenes in many developing countries’ financial, educational, and even, straightforwardly, political programmes.

2.1.2 Conclusion

The widespread use of the word globalisation and the large number of fields in which it has been used made it hard to define in a few incisive words that cover all its meanings, uses and specifications. In my view, among the rare definitions that include more or less all these components in a clear and succinct way is the one offered by Held (2006: 293-294):

Globalisation today implies two distinct phenomena. First, it suggests that there are many chains of political, economic and social activity which are becoming worldwide in scope, and second, it suggests that there has been an intensification of

levels of interaction and interconnectedness within and between states and societies.

The point that intersects globalisation and language in this definition is Held's reference to interaction and interconnectedness between societies which is made possible thanks to such modern online social networks as Facebook, twitter, Skype, etc. along with the satellite channels and huge communication networks.

2.1.3 Controversies over Globalisation

Globalisation has been the centre of a wide and often heated debate. Indeed, in discussions involving globalisation, apart from the common belief that we are living in a rather globalised era, rare are the areas of consensus. As noticed earlier, differences and controversies start from the very definition of the word. Another area of debate is that concerned with the history of globalisation. Here, it is important to make two distinctions: first between the history of globalisation as a word and its history as a phenomenon or a process and, second, between those who consider globalisation as a new phenomenon i.e. chiefly a phenomenon of the last two decades or so and those who believe that it has appeared before. The opinions of those who maintain that globalisation is by no means a new phenomenon differ widely about the date of its appearance.

With respect to the history of globalisation as a word, there are two major views: The first one states that the first appearance of the word globalisation was in the Merriam Webster Dictionary; however there is a difference on when it appeared; for Block and Cameron (2002) this was in 1961 (p: 2). Not far away from this date, the global envision library website states that this word first appeared in 1962 (Globalenvision Website); whereas according to the Pennsylvania University website, it appeared in Merriam Webster Dictionary as early as 1944; roughly two decades earlier, which casts some doubt on both dates. The second view, held by many academics, maintains that the originator of the term is the sociologist Roland Robertson (Block 2002: 2), a lecturer at the university of Aberdeen, Scotland.

The proponents of the view that globalisation is a new phenomenon maintain that the new look of the world and the world's new system of relationships has been with us for no more than a couple of decades. Ojeily and Hayden (2006: 17), for instance, maintain that it is often considered to be "a feature of the last thirty years" or even a more recent one as, according to Friedman (1999), it appeared with the collapse of communism in the early nineties (in Ojeily and Hayden, 2006: 17) because this event marked the fall of the last

protectionist regimes and so the opening up of doors which had previously been closed economically, politically and culturally. Moreover, the recent boom in technology that has reached virtually all parts of the world has enabled people anywhere to connect, communicate thoughts, exchange views and even transact commercially and financially at any time and in any place.

It is important to note here that the concept of globalisation referred to in this study is not the one referring to the old phenomenon that appeared a long time ago. It is specifically the phenomenon of interaction and interconnectedness that appeared with the internet and satellite channels, and flourished with the spread of mobile phones and social networks. This view of globalisation makes the creation of such a social network as Facebook a turning point in the history of linguistic globalisation, as this network has lately reached a billion users per month, all of them communicating in one way or another and using one language or another. Building on this concept, it might be stated that the involvement of a country in the processes of globalisation depends to a large extent on its technological development and, more specifically, to the availability of the tools which allow interaction with the rest of the world. In Tunisia, for example, it is hard to talk about globalisation before the 1990s, as until the year 2000 only 1% of Tunisians had mobile-phone subscriptions and less than 3% were using the net. (The World Bank).

2.1.4 Attitudes towards Globalisation:

According to Ojeily and Hayden (2006), there are three major points of view about globalisation. The first looks at globalisation as a very important and unavoidable modern social process; the proponents of this view are called “the globalists” (Ojeily and Hayden, 2006: 14). For them, globalisation can be good and therefore brings to poor people higher standards of living and to oppressed populations some hope of freedom and democracy. However, it can be bad and destructive, threatening and serving the interests of only wealthy countries (Ojeily and Hayden, 2006: 14).

The second attitude is that of “traditionalists” some of whom even question the very existence of globalisation on the basis that the world today is witnessing more and more connectedness and alliances between regional interests and geographically adjacent states (Ojeily and Hayden, 2006:15), to achieve a more competitive economy or a stronger military force. A good example to confirm this view is the European Union which was mainly built on the idea of favouring the European countries over other non-European ones in economic transactions and commercial deals.

Traditionalists go even further confirming that the kind of globalisation being described now has been prevalent for a long time and so it is by no means a new phenomenon. Finally, “they tend to deny,” in the terms of Ojeily and Hayden (2006: 15), “that culture is, or could be, global in any pertinent sense.” Culture always reflects the traditions, behaviour, and the way of thinking of a specific group of people and, as such, it cannot be a global phenomenon.

The third attitude is adhered to by “transformationalists” who take a middle position between globalists and traditionalists. They believe that we are going through a transformational phase and so they do not deny the existence of globalisation and neither do they consider it to be a *fait accompli*. Instead, they confirm the existence of “new forms of intense interdependence and integration” (Ojeily and Hayden, 2006: 16). This view seems to best capture the world’s current situation. Although the world is witnessing high and advanced levels of interconnectedness, a far greater deal of integration and interdependence would have to take place before we could say that we are in a totally globalised world.

For Kellner (2005) there are two major contradictory attitudes towards globalisation. Its advocates believe that it “marks the triumph of capitalism and its market economy” and an ongoing process of modernization and progress; whereas its critics see it as a negative phenomenon increasing “global fragmentation” and leading to conflicts between civilisations (Kellner, 2005: 172). For its opponents, globalisation is even “a cover concept for global capitalism and imperialism” (Kellner, 2005: 172). This attitude is very widespread especially among anti-American trends and movements who maintain that, in general, the relationship between developed and developing countries is that of exploitation and domination rather than that of complementarity and mutual help.

The importance of such a stance with regard to Americanisation is that it is often reflected in the linguistic position i.e. Americanisation means domination; English is the linguistic vehicle for Americanisation, so, by logical extension, English means domination. Put in simpler words, as America tries to dominate other countries so English tries to dominate other languages. Phillipson (2001: 191) considers Americanisation as the reason for the expansion of English as a language,

The expansion of English is partly a result of Americanisation in the media, commerce, youth culture *et al.*, and is assisted by its status as the dominant foreign language in continental European education systems.

Muhleisen (2003: 108) even goes farther considering that, “today’s unrivalled status of English as the academic language is closely connected with the emergence of the USA as *the* political and economic super-power in the twentieth century”.

Block (2004) makes distinctions between three different attitudes towards globalisation: The hyperglobalist, the sceptic, and the transformationalist; hyperglobalists believe that people live in a new world in which global institutions like the international Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank (WB) and United Nations’ Education Sciences and Culture Organisation (UNESCO) have replaced local ones in such domains as finance, business, education and culture. The sceptics who are, according to Block (2004), mainly made up of neo-Marxists, on the other hand, maintain that we are living in a new era of capitalism that is strongly backed by an information technology boom. This boom has enabled capitalist ideology to spread out under the cover of globalisation. Finally, the common point between Ojeily and Hayden (2006) and Block (2002) is the transformationalists who according to Block focus on the fact that many changes are taking place in our modern world; again thanks to technological progress. Block points out that,

...we are living in an age of greater upheaval and change, with unprecedented levels of interconnectedness among nation states and local economies and cultures, which are thanks in part—though not exclusively—to technological developments (Block, 2004: 76).

2.1.5 Agents of Globalisation

This section describes the ways that globalisation comes about through official organisations including the World Trade Organisation, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, which are often referred to as, “agents of globalisation” (Punchi, 2001: 365) and which have a huge international outreach and an influence that extends from fields such as, “finance, banking, communication and production” to fields such as education and languages. The reason is that when these organisations support the developing countries financially, they make “conditionalities” for them and end up coming with them to financial, labour, and educational terms that often have a major impact on education (Punchi, 2001: 365).

2.1.5.1 The World Trade Organisation (WTO)

The World Trade Organisation (WTO) was founded in 1995 following the Uruguay negotiations that were held between 1986 and 1994 to deal with the international

regulations of trade between countries (WTO site). “Its main function is to ensure that trade flows as smoothly, predictably and freely as possible” World Trade Organization (2012). In 1999, the number of countries that were members in it was 134. The objectives of the WTO make it an important agency of globalisation. Punchi (2001: 363) summarises these objectives in “making business more efficient, more discreet and more profitable” and this is done, according to him, through “opening capital markets for transnational enterprises to operate freely in any country in the world.”

Tunisia joined the WTO on March 29, 1995 very soon after its foundation and from that date, under the conditions of its agreement, Tunisia was compelled to lighten restrictions on “foreign participation in its information, telecommunications, and financial services industries by 2003.” (Nations’ Encyclopaedia) This condition was decisive in shaping the globalised Tunisia; as numbers and percentages of subscriptions divulged by the world Bank speak to the high progress achieved by Tunisia in telecommunications and information technology in the last years, as will be proven in section 2.4 about Tunisia and globalisation.

2.1.5.2 The World Bank (WB)

The World Bank is an international organisation that is connected with the United Nations (UN). It was founded in 1944 following a conference known as the Bretton Woods Conference held by the UN to set up “a new, post-world war II international economic system” (World Bank Site). The WB has reached its current international status by representing more than 180 member states and having offices in about 70 countries around the world. In many of these countries, as mentioned in the WB official website,

staff members serve directly as policy advisers to the ministry of finance and other ministries. The bank has consultative as well as informal ties with the world’s financial markets and institutions and maintains links with non-governmental organisations in both developed and developing countries.

Punchi stresses the importance of understanding “the role of the international financing agencies such as the IMF and the World Bank in the process of globalisation” (Punchi, 2001: 365). Their major role is to boost developing countries’ integration into the world economy by opening up their markets to foreign products. In this respect, The World Bank, considers Tunisia for instance as a “prime example of rapid integration into the global economy” due to the significant progress Tunisia has already made toward “economic liberalisation” (Judy, 1999: 6).

The WB, as its very name suggests, provides important worldwide scale figures and percentages pertaining to different domains ranging from economy and temperature to information technology and communication. The following are some examples of information provided by the WB:

- Global income is more than \$31 trillion a year, but 1.2 billion people of the world's population earn less than \$ 1 a day. 80% of the global population earns only 20% of global incomes and within many countries there is a large gap between rich and poor.
- The digital and information revolution has changed the way the world learns, communicates, does business and treats illnesses. In 2002 there were 364 people per 1000 using the internet in high income countries, while there were only 10 per 1000 in low income countries. (Source: The World Bank Site)

The importance of the World Bank (WB) in this research lies in the important role it plays in the field of education to the extent that Brock-Utne (2003: 26) considers, for example, that,

it is not possible to discuss higher education policies in Africa without discussing the important role of the donors and international agencies, the first and foremost being the World Bank.

The role of the WB in Tunisia's language policies and education is not as discernible as in other countries in sub-Saharan Africa where some universities, for instance, are not "guided by national policies," but by "advice from the World Bank and the neo-liberal agenda it adheres to. This agenda makes it difficult for any country to govern according to national policies" Brock-Utne (2003:51).

2.1.5.3 International Monetary Fund

Founded in 1944, The International Monetary Fund is introduced in its own website as "a voluntary financial institution with a membership of 184 countries" (IMF Website). Its aims are summarised in the following six points which are included in its constitution (IMF Website)

1. To promote international monetary cooperation through a permanent institution which provides the machinery for consultation and collaboration on international monetary problems.
2. To facilitate the expansion and balanced growth of international trade, and to contribute thereby to the promotion and maintenance of high levels of employment and real income and to the development of the productive resources of all members as primary objectives of economic policy.
3. To promote exchange stability, to maintain orderly exchange arrangements among members, and to avoid competitive exchange depreciation.

4. To assist in the establishment of a multilateral system of payments in respect of current transactions between members and in the elimination of foreign exchange restrictions which hamper the growth of world trade.
5. To give confidence to members by making the general resources of the Fund temporarily available to them under adequate safeguards, thus providing them with opportunity to correct maladjustments in their balance of payments without resorting to measures destructive of national or international prosperity.
6. In accordance with the above, to shorten the duration and lessen the degree of disequilibrium in the international balances of payments of members. (IMF Website: About the IMF page)

The philosophy of the IMF is reportedly based on the tenet that “cooperation brings prosperity” (IMF Website) and this principle fostered interconnectedness between states and countries of the world and paved the way to globalisation although, according to Phillipson (2001: 192), not a balanced one, but,

a western-dominated globalisation agenda set by the transnational corporations and the IMF, and the US military intervening, with or without a mandate from the United Nations, whenever 'vital interests' are at risk.

As for its relationship with the world countries, “under Article IV of the IMF’s Articles of Agreement, the IMF holds bilateral discussions with members” (IMF Website) on a yearly basis. The last discussion with Tunisia, for instance, was completely reported on July 25, 2012 and it is noticed in this report which is published in the IMF website that it is essentially a financial and economic one, but it includes as well education and educational reforms as parts of its 55 sections (see for example the section 37, 45 and 54). The word education was mentioned roughly ten times in the report, which gives an idea about the IMF interests.

2.1.5.4 Internet

Although not a concrete organisation like the WB and the IMF, the internet is one of the most influential agents of globalisation. The deep impacts of the internet on the universal communication led McLuhan to refer to the world metaphorically as a “global village”.

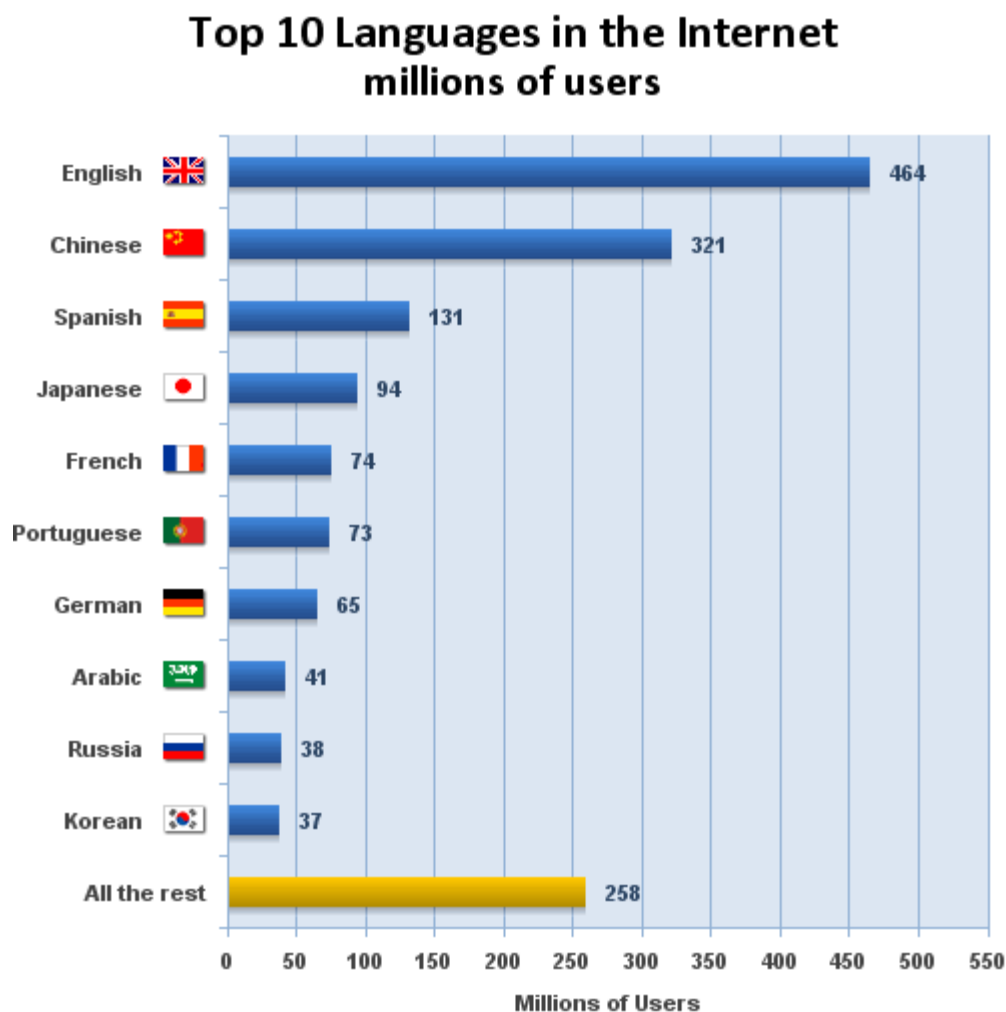
In 1960, McLuhan introduced into the analysis of culture and the mass media the phrase ‘the global village’, in order to describe how, in his view, the world was shrinking as a result of new technologies of communication. (The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology, 2006)

In the last two years, the number of World Wide Web pages has fluctuated between 20 and 50 billion pages (Worldwidewebsite). These pages include all conceivable kinds of topics.

They convey people's unlimited interests and concerns. The spread of the internet along with mass media caused a kind of "time-space compression" (Tsui, Tollefson, 2007: 1) by making intercommunication, interconnectivity, interaction and interdependence a reality and, therefore contributed a great deal to the world becoming a real, not metaphorical, global village which was first stressed by MacLuhan as early as the 1960s, as the previous quote indicates.

As a widespread means of interaction and communication, the internet has promoted the English language at the expense of all the other languages of the world, as it is the most widely used language for browsing the World Wide Web (WWW). According to the Internet World Stats, English was the top of the ten top languages of the internet in 2009, as indicated in the following graph:

Figure 2.1: Top 10 Languages on the Internet



Source: Internet World Stats - www.internetworldstats.com/stats7.htm
Estimated Internet users are 1,596,270,108 for 2009Q1
Copyright © 2009, Miniwatts Marketing Group

The internet is one of the battle fields of the multinational languages of the world. Indeed, the number of internet users of one language will have a deep impact on the value of that language worldwide whether economically, socially, culturally or even politically. If we compare English and French, my languages of interest in this research study, a quick glance at the number of users in the figure above reveals a huge difference between the numbers of users of English and French in internet communication. To be more specific, the number of internet users who write in English is more than six times as large as those who use French. So, by being the most frequently used internet language, English might be considered the most important language in the world, as, in the terms of Graddol (2006: 44), “It is often claimed that English dominates computers and the internet and that those wishing to use either must first learn English.”

Some offspring of the internet are the social networks such as Twitter and Facebook, which have recently grabbed the attention of millions of people around the world. “It has been a great year for making the world more open and connected. Thanks to your help, more than 350 million people around the world are using Facebook to share their lives online.” (Zuckerberg: 2009). These two sentences were the introduction to a letter by Mark Zuckerberg, Facebook founder, to all Facebook users on December 2nd, 2009 evaluating the year 2009. Although 350 million people make up only 5% of the world total population, it is still considered a huge number of people using one single site among hundreds of other similar ones. Such a number, among others, shows how interconnected people from the four corners of the world have become. In 2012 the number of users was estimated to one billion users.

2. 2 English and Globalisation

There are two major views regarding the relationship between English and globalisation. One view regards the spread of English as one of the outcomes of globalisation based on the prevalent idea that in order for people from different linguistic backgrounds to interact, there must be a language to function as a lingua franca and solve the problem of communication; and as English was the language of the economic superpower and leader of world globalisation, the USA, English was expected to play that role. Another view maintains that English promoted globalisation and made economic, social and political interaction possible and so English paved the way to the globalisation era not the opposite. According to Tsui and Tollefson (2007: 1), globalisation is “effected by two inseparable mediational tools, technology and English; proficiencies in these tools, have been referred to as global literacy skills,” which implies that nowadays people who do not use the internet, for example, and do not speak English can be classified as globally illiterate.

Based on case studies conducted in five countries representing the four corners of the globe: Nepal and India from Asia; the United States of America (from America); South Africa (from Africa), and France from Europe, Sonntag (2003: 113) made two important generalisations with respect to linguistic globalisation. The first pertains to the “correlation between globalization and local language politics regarding global English,” which means, in the terms of Sonntag, “the more globalization, the more the issue of global English is politicized locally.” The second conclusion is that, “global English is a defining characteristic of linguistic globalisation and, furthermore, linguistic globalization is an

important dimension of globalization” Sonntag (2003: 113). Thus, the issue of English as a global language and globalisation in general have become intertwined.

Tsui and Tollefson (2007) define globalisation as an extremely intricate process that has made a huge impact on different aspects of people’s lives. According to them, globalisation has made a deep impact on politics, economy, culture and so on (Tsui and Tollefson, 2007: 1). However, Tsui and Tollefson’s focus is specifically on “the impact of globalization on language policies in Asian countries” and in their view, there are two reasons for this. First, that globalisation has introduced an “unprecedented spread of English” to the extent that the expansion of English has become “an integral dimension of ongoing globalization processes,” to put it in the words of Pennycook (2003: 24) and second, that this spread of English “has posed a serious challenge to non-English-speaking countries.” (Tsui and Tollefson, 2007: vii).

Graddol (2006: 13) believes that, “the current enthusiasm for English is closely tied to the complex processes of globalisation.” However, according to him this tie is a complex dialectical one. That means globalisation “encouraged the spread of English,” but English “encouraged globalisation” as well (Graddol, 2006: 9).

This view seems to be a fair one because the world interaction that we can see today is to a large extent attributable to the spread of English that was in its own right pushed forward by the fast-going processes of globalisation. English is now global and globalisation is English.

What makes English a global language? Generally speaking, human, linguistic, and functional criteria have been suggested to identify the criteria of a global language. First, in the human criteria, the number of native speakers of a certain language has been presented as a definer of the global status of a language. This criterion makes Chinese, being spoken by over one billion native speakers, the first global language. However, this criterion has proved inadequate due to the very limited use of this language outside the borders of China. Chinese is reputed to be a very difficult language to understand and learn. In Tunisia, for instance, when someone cannot get a simple idea through to the listener, they wonder scornfully: “Am I speaking Chinese?” This question implies that although this language is spoken by such a large number of native speakers, it is still looked at as a strange and difficult language outside China.

The second suggested criterion is the linguistic one and it pertains to a language's structure, vocabulary or literary history (Crystal, 2003). These criteria, according to Crystal could be more of a motivation to learn a language than the global status of a language.

However, he concludes that,

A language does not become a global language because of its intrinsic structural properties, or because of the size of its vocabulary, or because it has been a vehicle of a great literature in the past, or because it was once associated with a great culture or religion (Crystal, 2003: 9)

Judy even goes further confirming that English is even losing perfection due to universality:

English as a global language is, in fact, not a consequence of a project for linguistic perfection. It achieves no perfection in terms of function or structure, but it approaches perfection in terms of universality and practicality. And the closer it gets to such perfection, the further removed it is from the perfection of form and structure. (Judy,1999: 7)

This loss of perfection pointed out by Judy (1999) is simply because the speakers of English as a second or a foreign language cannot attain a native speaker level of accuracy. Many new rules pertaining to structure, pronunciation, and vocabulary pave the way for the recent appearance of Indian and Nigerian Englishes, among others.

Still on the human level; in the past, it was the power of the people speaking one language and more accurately their "political and military power" (Crystal, 2003: 9) that made of it a global language. To substantiate this claim, Crystal gives examples of languages that were once promulgated by power such as Greek, Latin, Arabic, Spanish, Portuguese, and French that found their ways to Latin America, North Africa and elsewhere in the world thanks to the power of nations who spoke those languages at particular points in history.

On the functional level, according to Crystal (2003: 3) "a language achieves a genuinely global status when it develops a special role that is recognized in every country." Based on this criterion, English is the first global language. Indeed, it has now become "integral to the globalisation processes" (Phillipson, 2001: 187). On the international level, for instance, English has become the main language of most international institutions and bodies as indicated in the following list developed by Graddol (1997: 8) and quoted in Zoughoul (2003: 116-117)

1. English is the working language of international organizations and conferences. Crystal (1997) reports that about 85% of the international organizations now use English as one of their working languages, 49% use French and fewer than 10%

use Arabic, Spanish or German. English is also a major language of financial institution.

2. English is now the "the international currency of science and technology".
3. English is the language of international banking, economic affairs and trade.
4. It is the language of advertising for global brands.
5. It is the language of audio-visual/cultural-products (e.g. film, TV, popular music).
6. It is the language of international tourism.
7. It is the language of tertiary education.
8. It is the language of international safety (e.g. "airspeak", "seaspeak").
9. It is the language of international law.
10. It is a "relay language" in interpretation and translation.
11. It is the language of technology transfer.
12. It is the language of Internet communication.

This new world status of English contributed to the development of a general consensus that "the current rush on the part of communities the world over to embrace the English language is bound with the pressures of globalization" (Lysandrou and Lysandrou, 2003: 97). This has led to the recognition of English as the international language of the sciences (EILS) and as an "international communication and information access" (Tardy, 2004: 248) However, this current race to embrace English as a second language (L2) or a foreign language (FL) has raised a heated discussion on whether English is a neutral means of communication or a "non-neutral language of domination" Lysandrou and Lysandrou (2003: 97).

2. 3 Francophony and Globalisation:

Historically speaking, French was the "major European lingua franca in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries" (Wright, 2004: 118) and it developed as a lingua franca, in Wright's view for four main reasons:

1. France was an aggressive military power.
2. France was an economic force with the most extensive territory and the largest population of Western Europe.
3. Paris was the major European cultural centre for several centuries.
4. The French were innovators in the political and natural sciences. (Wright, 2004: 118-120).

Now, with the globalisation era, English seems to have taken over this role of a lingua franca in Europe and in the whole world. And even among French people now there is "an acceptance to the move to English as a lingua franca" (Wright, 2004: 120) although English for them is rather a means of networking and taking part in world society. As a former French Education minister Claude Alègre summarized it in a speech in 1997:

“English had become a commodity, similar in kind to computers or the internet...The French have got to stop thinking of English as a foreign language” (in Wright, 2004: 125). This quote stresses the instrumental importance of English, however, it also betrays the French political warning tone implying that English should not be considered as “the purveyor of Anglo-Saxon culture” (Wright, 2004: 125).

One of the aims of the Organization Internationale de la Francophonie (OIF) is to spread this idea among French speaking countries. French should remain the language of literature and culture and English should assume the role of a means of communication with the world. The OIF includes 55 states and governments and 13 observers from all five continents united by French as their common first or second language. French is spoken by 200 million people around the world and is an official language in 29 states (International Organization of la Francophonie and Francophone Institutions). From a linguistic point of view, the Francophone reaction to globalisation is manifest in its reaction to the spread of English that is going on in tandem with the processes of globalisation. Therefore, this section will be devoted to francophone attempts to preserve the chances of French being an international language equal in prestige and usability to English especially in Francophone countries. This reaction often betrays the French fear of the spread and dominance of English.

As the mother country of Francophony, France now spends huge amounts of money on a yearly basis to sustain French language and culture outside France (Fishman, 2000). In Vietnam, the country that fell under French rule for seven decades, for example, France accelerated its rate of investment very rapidly between 1995 and 2000 although “the interest of most foreign investors in Vietnam decreased” (Wright, 2002, 239) during that specific period. The French target was to “challenge Anglophone dominated globalization” in that country (Wright, 2002, p. 240). However, in spite of the huge effort invested by France, French has been faced with resistance in the last couple of decades from people from different countries calling for it to be replaced by English. For instance, in Cambodia in the mid 1990s, university students protested aggressively against “the wide use of French in higher education” and “demanded English medium instruction” (Clayton: 2002:

3). Their demand for English was due to their fear of the risk of being forever jobless (Clayton: 2002: 4).

In Tunisia, the case is a little different as the bilateral relationship between Tunisia and France is politically, economically and culturally stronger than that between France and Vietnam on one hand and between Tunisia and any other country in the world on another. Diplomatic representations of Tunisia in the other countries via embassies and consulates reveal that Tunisia has more consulates in France than in any other of the 57 countries where it is diplomatically represented. (Source: Tunisian Embassy in France). Although this is essentially an indication of the large number of Tunisians working in France which is larger than the number of Tunisians working in any other country in the world, it is also an indication of the strong diplomatic links between the two countries.

On the level of foreign investments in Tunisia, France has the biggest share among the investing European countries as confirmed by almost all media dealing with Tunisian economic affairs. The 'Arabic News' website for example, which is well thought of in the Arab world, points out that when it comes to foreign investment sources "Tunisia's first partners are the countries of the European Union member states especially France, Italy, Germany, representing 85% of total establishments of foreign contributions working in Tunisia." (Arabic News).

Based on information from the same source, the three countries mentioned above with France at their head have more than 40 times the number of investing establishments of the United States of America and more than a hundred times the number of Asian ones in Tunisia as the following quotation implies: "The American presence [in Tunisia] is still 41 establishments (a rate of 2%) and the Asian presence of 16 establishments (a rate of 0.75%)" (Arabic News). In the vital field of telecommunications, for example, "France is the largest investor with 38% of the total investment, followed by Italy, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom." (Nations' Encyclopaedia)

This dominant presence of French in Tunisia, both economically and technologically, and the Tunisian working force's presence in France, along with historical and cultural considerations, gave the French language educational and linguistic privileges in Tunisia. Currently, there are ten French educational establishments that use French as the main, if not the exclusive, language of instruction and follow the French mainstream educational system and regulations. These establishments are dispersed in such Tunisian important cities as Tunis, La Marsa, Sousse, Bizerta, and Nabeul. One of the striking features of these

institutions is that they are named after prominent French historical figures as the following table indicates:

Table 2.1 : French schools in Tunisia

Establishment	City
Lycée Gustave Flaubert	La Marsa
College Charles-Nicolle	Sousse
Ecole Paul-Verlaine	La Marsa
Ecole Jean-Giono	Bizerte
Ecole George-Sand	Nabeul
Ecole Guy-de-Maupassant	Sousse
Lycee Pierre-Mendes-France	Tunis
Ecole Robert-Desnos	Tunis
Annexe de l'Ecole Robert-Desnos	La Soukra (Tunis)
Ecole George-Brassens	Megrine (Tunis)

(Source : The French Embassy in Tunisia website)

The existence of all these purely French educational institutions shows the strong commitment to serve and preserve the French language. In addition, their very names imply their Francophone culture; and all this will probably be on the French side in its 'fight' for the French language case against globalisation and English in Tunisia. The Lycée Gustave Flaubert de la Marsa for example is part of a network of French-teaching institutions called l'Agence pour l'Enseignement Français à l'Etranger (AEFE) that consisted in 2008 of 170,000 students worldwide among them 5,500 students in Tunisia. (Source: Lycée Flaubert Website).

In addition to these educational institutions, there is a very active cultural institution that reinforces cooperation between France and Tunisia especially with respect to cultural matters. It is l'Institut Français de Coopération (IFC). Its activities range from theatre, dance and cinematography to architectural design and education (IFC Site). Every year, the IFC organizes "La semaine de la langue française" in which several linguistic and cultural activities take place. Among these activities is a dictation competition organized on a national scale in collaboration with the Tunisian Ministry of Education and Training (IFC).

2.3.1 Conclusion

The above mentioned institutions and activities aim to preserve the status of French in a typically francophone country. Indeed, alarmed by the spread of English and the Tunisians' stronger motivation and commitment to learn English, Francophone institutions in Tunisia seem to be doubling their efforts to cope with a more challenging linguistic era.

2.4 Tunisia and Globalisation

It is worth noticing that many factors have come together to make Tunisia more and more receptive to the processes of globalisation. Indeed, many geographical, historical, linguistic, political and technological reasons have promoted Tunisia's interaction and interconnectedness with the rest of world.

On the geographical level, Tunisia's situation in the extreme north of Africa and on the southern coast of the Mediterranean Sea, opposite such European countries as France and Italy, made it a meeting point of features of European cultures on the one hand and other Arab-Muslim features, on the other. Although a relatively small country, as it covers roughly 164,000 km², it is often considered to be a crossroad of many civilisations throughout history". Lawson and Sachdev (2000: 3) explain that,

Tunisia's strategic situation at the crossroads between Africa, the Arab world, the Mediterranean and Europe, and its long history of invasion and re-invasion, have meant that modern Tunisia has inherited a rich ethnolinguistic heritage

The Oxford Business Group in a report about Tunisia in 2009 described it in the following words:

At the crossroads of Europe, the Mediterranean and Africa, Tunisia's strategic location has, over two millennia, attracted wave after wave of Phoenicians, Romans, Carthaginians, Arabs, Ottomans and French; that trend continues today, as the republic pulls in investors from all four corners of the globe." (Oxford Business Group, 2009).

From a historical and political point of view, Tunisia is an ex-French colony and this makes it essentially a francophone country. As early as it got its independence in 1956, a process of bilingual education was launched. It was based on early literacy in Arabic followed by early introduction of French. In the secondary school, education has always been trilingual with English as the most common foreign language added to the two languages already taught, Arabic and French.

This multilingual profile shows an early political tendency from the very first Tunisian government led by the late Habib Bourguiba, to open up to the rest of the world. After the 1987 political transfer that was led by the ex-president Zine El-Abidine Ben Ali, this multilingual language policy has been carried on and even further reinforced. So, after all the changes and reforms that have been implemented continuously in the field of education and language teaching, Tunisia still preserves a multilingual profile that has made its communication with the world easier and more effective.

On the educational level, recent statistics collected in October 2009, indicate that Tunisia has 193 institutions of higher education and research, 163 of which are supervised by the Ministry of Higher Education, Scientific Research and Technology (MHESRT) alone and 30 are supervised in cooperation with such other ministries as Communication Technologies, Social Affairs, and Health. (Source: Ministry of Higher Education). That means all higher education establishments are under governmental supervision in one way or another and, therefore, their programmes and plans are usually considered as an implementation of the government views of education and development. For example, the allocation of 24 higher institutes for technological studies (Source: Ministry of Higher Education) shows the government's aspiration to cope with and benefit from global scientific and technological developments. The ex-president, Ben Ali, points this out in a speech delivered in 2008 on the occasion of Knowledge Day that is celebrated in the month of July every year in Tunisia.

We have considered scientific research and technological innovation as a major element of support for development, thanks to the competent human resources and the financial incentives we have provided for this sector, which have helped it achieve numerous positive results (Ben Ali, July 11, 2008).

Regardless of whether Ben Ali was honest in his consideration or not, this concentration on technology to cope with world progress resulted in immediate significant changes. One of these is the boom in the use of the internet between 2000 and 2008 as the percentage of users soared from 2.7% to 27.1% (Source: World Bank). This technological boom made it possible for more than a quarter of the Tunisian population that was estimated at 10.33 million in 2008 (Source: World Bank) to communicate with the rest of the world. Another significant change pertains to mobile phone subscriptions that jumped very dramatically from 1% in 2000 to 83% in 2008 (Source: World Bank). Another factor that has contributed to the globalisation and openness of Tunisia is the relatively large, and ever-increasing, number of tourists that visit Tunisia every year. In the first six months of 2008,

for example, 2.7 million tourists visited Tunisia (Oxford Business Group, 2009). Being visited by people from all parts of the world makes Tunisian people familiar with different languages and civilisations. Indeed, the existence of such a relatively huge number of tourists makes it possible for Tunisian culture to interact with other guest cultures predominantly from Europe and America; the majority of Tunisian tourists are from these two continents.

On the linguistic level, the flourishing of tourism has drawn attention to the importance of learning foreign languages to make communication with tourists coming from a variety of linguistic backgrounds possible and effective. Few language teaching courses, however, have been offered in Institut Bourguiba des Langues Vivantes (IBLV) in Tunis to achieve this aim. However, it was impossible to learn all the languages the tourists speak in order to make communication with them effective or at least possible. Therefore, a lingua franca was felt to be necessary to bridge the possible communication gaps that resulted from the existence of tourists whose languages are not taught in Tunisian schools and colleges and English appeared to be the language the more capable of accomplishing this task. In this respect, Daoud points out that in the last two decades English has been more used in “the tourist trade to address foreigners, whereas in the 1970’s and 1980’s French was used exclusively for this purpose” (Daoud, 2001: 23).

2.5 Language Policy: A Brief Overview

One of the most famous definitions of language is that provided by Edward Sapir (1921:7) when he depicted it as a “purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions and desires by means of a system of voluntarily produced symbols” (in Wright, 2004: 3). In this definition, two important features of language are highlighted; first, the human nature of language which implies that it is part of the human activities and, second, its communicative nature.

Language is also used to refer to a system of signs that is “open, dynamic, energetic, constantly evolving and personal... creative, expressive, interactive contact-and dialogue-based, debated, mediated and negotiated” (Shohamy, 2006: 5). Having all these characteristics makes it receptive to human organisation and control. Hence, for different ideological, political, social and economic reasons language can often be used as a tool to claim certain cultural, economic or political affiliations with a certain group or organization. Many Tunisians’ interest in French, for instance, could fall into this category, which is to confirm their belonging to the Francophone world and culture.

Shohamy confirms the prevalence of this way a language may be used when she states that it is employed “to create group membership (“us/them”), to demonstrate inclusion or exclusion, to determine loyalty, or patriotism, to show economic status (“haves, have nots”) and classification of people and personal identities.” That means language, according to Shohamy, may be used “as a form of control, by imposing the use of certain languages in certain ways” (Shohamy, 2006: xv).

This could take place, for instance, within educational institutions where students could be encouraged to learn one language rather than another or a language more than another. The term “language policy,” in this context, is used to refer not only to the “declared and conscious statements” (Shohamy, 2006: 3) usually made by a party in power to organize how a language is to function in a certain society, but also to a course of action that works through a range of overt and covert means (Shohamy, 2006; Leppanen and Piirainen-Marsh, 2009).

Shohamy (2006: 45) states that,

Language policy (LP) is the primary mechanism for organizing, managing and manipulating language as it consists of decisions made about languages and their uses in society. It is through LP that decisions are made with regard to the preferred languages that should be legitimized, used, learned and taught in terms of where, when and in which context.”

This last quote highlights the need to make a distinction between language policy and language planning. Indeed, the difference between them is so small that both of these fields are often mixed up and taken to broadly refer to the same phenomenon as can be inferred from the following definitions:

Language Policy is, according to Shohamy, a “set of principles regarding language behaviour” (Shohamy, 2006: 49) although this, according to her, is likely to change depending on the circumstances, in numerous situations, “there are policy attempts to influence and manipulate language behaviours via different mechanisms...” (Shohamy, 2006: 49). So, for Shohamy, LP is an instrument in the hands of those in power to ‘manipulate’ people into adapting a certain linguistic behaviour.

Ager’s definition of LP is not much different from Shohamy’s as he states that it is the “official planning, carried out by those in political authority, and has clear similarities with all other forms of public policy. As such, LP represents the exercise of political power, and like any other policy, may be successful or not in achieving its aims.” (Ager, 2001: 5-6) Both Ager and Shohamy consider that LP is designed and conducted by politicians, but

Ager adds an important point that LP can, for some reason, fail, just like any other policy in other fields. An example of the failure of LP could be the Arabisation policies in Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia which ended up abandoned in favour of bilingual education (Marley, 2004, Benrabah, 2007, Daoud, 2001). Success and failure of LP proves its dynamism as a phenomenon that is “made and remade in social activities” (Leppanen and Piirainen-Marsh, 2009: 262) and that can be “influenced by public perceptions” (Fitzsimmons-Doolan, 2009: 377).

This approach to LP makes it close in meaning to language planning, which was initially used, according to Shohamy (2006: 49), “to refer to sweeping intervention and control of language behaviour.” This means that both LP and language planning are designed by a party in power and both of their aims are to control people’s linguistic behaviour.

Cooper elaborates further on this definition by specifying the domains of ‘influence’ of language planning when he refers to it as the “deliberate efforts to influence the behavior of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of language codes” (Cooper, 1989: 45). However, these domains of intervention of language planning give it an intralingual dimension. That is, it functions within the scope of one language. On this point, Cooper differs from Ager (2001) who presents language planning in such a way that it is possible to use more than one language, as indicated in the following quote:

Language planning has thus come to mean the ways which organised communities, united by religious, ethnic or political ties, consciously attempt to influence the language(s) their members’ use, the languages used in education, or the ways in which Academies, publishers or journalists make the language change. (Ager, 2001: 5)

Although Shohamy (2006) believes that LP is essentially designed by those in power she insists that the study of language policy, “should not be limited to formal, declared and official policies but rather to the study of the powerful mechanisms that are used to create and perpetuate “de facto” language policies and practices.” (Shohamy, 2006: xvi). Therefore, the study of language policy, for example in Tunisia, should not refer exclusively to speeches and documents of policy makers, but it should scrutinise how people behave linguistically and their motives.

Historically speaking, according to Tollefson (2002), the study of language policy started roughly half a century ago with the research conducted by such figures as Charles A. Ferguson and Joshua Fishman. Tollefson divides the history of language policy research into three phases. The first phase starts from the emergence of this new field of interest in

the 60s through the late 70s. It lasted roughly two decades. This relatively long phase was marked by “linking language policies with fundamental social, political and economic issues.” (Tollefson, 2002: ix).

The second phase was described by Tollefson (2002) as a period of “reflection.” This phase which extended over the 80s was disappointing to language policy specialists because it was hardly prolific and the researchers of the era questioned the very bases of the field (Tollefson, 2002). The 90s witnessed the flourishing of language policy research, and was, according to Tollefson, the third phase or generation. Indeed, during this decade, the focus of language policy research extended more and more to cover such critical issues as “the role of language policies in establishing and maintaining socioeconomic inequality” (Tollefson, 2002: ix).

However, language policy is not a one-size-fits-all policy. Indeed, it includes many different types that make us speak of language policies rather than language policy. The following are a few of them:

2.5.1 Policies of assimilation:

This policy is based on the tenet that one language is better, as it contributes to the unity of a nation, which infers that many languages in one country is believed, in this respect, to be a danger and might constitute a source of difference and disorder. In this situation, the languages of the dominated groups are, according to Wright (2004: 111), “likely to be assimilated” like, for instance, the “ligurian, Iberian, and Gallic” languages, which have been assimilated consecutively by French, Italian and Spanish (Wright, 2004) . Benrabah (2007: 25) describes the French language policy in Algeria as “assimilationist,” because it attempted promote French at the expense of the Algerian mother tongue.

2.5.2 Policies of non-intervention

As its very name indicates, a policy of non-intervention maintains the already existing relationship between linguistic groups and non-intervention policies are often based on the convention that, “a number of languages, dialects, and codes are able to coexist harmoniously” (Shohamy, 2006: 21). Policy makers in this case do not interfere to favour or promote one language or a variety over another.

2.5.3 Policies of promotion of the official language

These policies favour the national language and launch rules and regulations in order to promote it at the expense of second or foreign languages. They are usually adopted in response to a linguistic risk to mother tongues. For instance, the Arabisation experience in the Maghreb countries was an attempt to apply these policies.

2.6 Language Policy Responses to Globalization in the World

Generally speaking, the deep impacts of globalisation on language policies have become a matter of consensus as Kirkgoz suggests here,

It is widely acknowledged that globalization has made a considerable impact on multidimensional aspects of human life including the language policies of many countries. (Kirkgoz, 2009: 663)

However, language policies all over the world have responded in different ways and on different levels to globalisation and to the spread of English as the main language recognised to be the language of globalisation. Tsui and Tollefson (2007: 4) summarise LP responses to globalisation in the following three points:

1. Language planning or management: A form of intervention that could be at any of the three international, national or local levels to decide on linguistic preferences, referred to in this investigation as language policy.
2. Language ideology: refers to the underlying cultural beliefs about language varieties and communicative practices, referred to in this research as language attitudes.
3. Language practices: refers to the everyday uses of language varieties, referred to as language uses.

These three points will be investigated in this research. The question is whether all these levels have been influenced by globalisation. That means, if language preferences, domains of language use and linguistic attitudes have been influenced by globalisation.

2.7 The Multilingual Profile in Tunisia: A Brief Account

Tunisia's first constitutional article declaring that, "Tunisia is a free, independent and sovereign state, its religion is Islam; its language is Arabic and its type of government is the Republic" does not seem to give a particularly clear image of its complex linguistic situation which is, in the terms of Bahloul (2001: 4), "extremely colourful;" a mosaic of languages (Bahloul, 2001; Kammoun, 2006) that is made up of a "significant number of language varieties." This multiplicity and the complexity of the linguistic profile of Tunisia

is, according to Daoud (2001: 6), due to the “long history stretching over three millennia that shows both its complexity and dynamism.” By contrast, according to Kammoun (2006: 2), it is due to a number of reasons of “historical, geographical, civilisational, identity, ideological, and political nature.”

The first language of the Berbers, the indigenous people, was Lybic (Daoud, 2001); also called Amazighe (Bahloul, 2001). Later the Lybic language was mixed with the Punic language of the Phoenicians during the Carthaginian Empire that reigned from 814 to 146 BCE then with Latin in the era of the Roman rule in the region (146 BC-349 CE). Subsequently, the Greek language brought in during the reign of the Byzantine Empire took its position in the linguistic profile between 439 and 547 CE (Daoud, 2001).

The Arabic language came to Tunisia with Muslim preachers who came from the Arabian Peninsula in the middle of the sixth century. Teaching the Arabic language and working on spreading it in North Africa and, indeed, anywhere Islam was promulgated, was at the core of the Islamic teaching because the Quran, the holy book of Muslims, was in Arabic and its miracle was, and still is, considered to be in its very language. According to Crystal, Arabic came “to be spoken so widely across northern Africa and the Middle East...” following “the spread of Islam, carried along by the force of the Moorish armies from the eighth century.” (Crystal, 2003: 8).

The linguistic scene was therefore a rather multilingual one made up of Berber, Punic, Latin, Greek and Arabic (Daoud, 2001: 5) and all these are still reflected to different degrees in the Tunisian dialect. For example, words such as “fekroon,” and “Bebboush” in the Tunisian dialect meaning respectively turtle and snail are said to be of Berber origins and one can easily understand that in no way do they relate to their standard Arabic counterparts i.e. “sulahfet” and “halazoon”. Some city names, such as “Tanghza” and “Tataouin” in the south of Tunisia are of the same origin. Indeed, even the name of Tunisia itself, Tounis, is said to be of Berber origin meaning “Key” and it was originally the name of a small town overlooking the Lake of Tunis, to state only a few.

After its first appearance with Islam in North Africa around 647 AD, the Arabic Language eventually became the main and even the “official language” only four centuries later i.e. by the 11th century (Daoud: 2003: 6).

Three centuries later, Tunisia came under Turkish rule until the 19th century and this situation according to Daoud (2001: 6) enabled the Turkish language to predominate in

“administration and army, leaving a substantial number of words that are still used in literary and spoken Arabic in these sectors as well as in the musical, clothing and culinary lexicons.” For example, till recently, words such as “Kahia,” “Khaznadar” and “bash Hamba,” respectively pointed to ranks in the administrative and military scales; the first meaning assistant or vice of a certain manager or a secretary, the second was the title of the chancellor of the exchequer of the Bey, the Tunisian ruler’s title before Tunisia’s Independence, and the third meaning a sergeant, a rank in the army. The Turkish language made a deep influence on Tunisian Arabic (henceforth TA) by affecting even the very structure of words. Indeed, the suffix “ji” /dzi/ which is used to indicate occupations; the equivalent of the suffix “er” in English, is still very widely used in TA as in the words “Kahwaji” “Kawarji” “bankeji” which respectively mean waiter, soccer player and banker.

The 19th century was marked by the settlement of some European immigrants coming from Italy, France and Malta and all these left their marks on many different aspects of language use like “industry and crafts, building, agriculture, marine activity and the arts” (Daoud, 2001: 6). Indeed, right up to the present day a number of tools used in building still carry their Italian and French names. “Bala,” “bourwita,” “gaffa,” and “Labatsa,” to name but a few, are all names of building tools frequently used in TA.

The impact of the French language became more pronounced with the French colonization of Tunisia in 1881. Indeed, French was introduced, in Daoud’s terms as, “the official language of administration and in the public schools” (2001: 6) and this choice proved to have a long term effect on these two sections of administration and education. In fact, until Tunisia got its independence from France on March 20th, 1956 and even till the present day, French has been widely used both in schools and in administration.

2.7.1 The Arabic Language:

Arabic is one of the most widely spoken languages of the world. The number of its native speakers is approximately 350 million (Miller and Caubet: 2010). However, being spoken in more than 20 countries has fragmented it into a myriad of dialects so different that some dialects of Arabic are often virtually mutually unintelligible. For example, it is hard for the citizen of a Gulf country to understand an Algerian or a Moroccan citizen when each of them uses their own dialect; and the opposite is also true. That is essentially due to the different linguistic historical driving forces. Indeed, the Anglophone and Francophone colonial histories of these countries meant that speakers code-switched in different degrees

to different languages and this contributed a great deal to the differences between the Arabic dialects.

In Tunisia, Bahloul (2001) divides the languages into two types: national and foreign languages. Arabic is, for him, one of the national languages which are made up of: Standard Arabic (SA); the official language, a group of Arabic dialects (AD) and the Berber regional varieties, although they exist in only “a small part of Tunisia” (Marley, 2002: 336) . Daoud (2001) further elaborates on this division of the Arabic language. He draws a whole continuum with High Classical Arabic (HCA), the language used in the Quran, on one extreme and Low Tunisian Arabic (LTA) which is made up of the spoken regional varieties, on another.

Daoud uses the terms “high” and “low” to classify the existing types of Arabic advisedly. On the one hand, the Tunisian dialect is completely ignored or even downgraded in schools and in academic settings in general. Bahloul (2001: 5) describes the situation of an Arabic dialect speaker in Tunisia in the following terms: “His/her native tongue is to be stigmatised on the first day at school as linguistically inferior to classical Arabic, the language of the Holy Quran.” On the other hand, the paramount importance attributed to classical Arabic in Tunisia and in the Arab and Muslim worlds in general emanates from its strong relationship with the Quran. Indeed, the ability to read and understand the Quran was and still is considered to be dependent on the in-depth study of classical Arabic.

Along Daoud’s continuum lie three levels of Arabic. First, literary Arabic which is the closest to the HCA and, as its very name indicates, is the main language of literary works, then, modern standard Arabic (MSA) that is “taught as a subject and used as the medium of instruction in elementary education” (Daoud: 1996: 599). Finally, close to LTA is what Daoud calls “Educated Arabic,” that is a spoken form of Arabic that is close to written Arabic or MSA. It is, in Daoud’s terms, “characterised by less formality, more syntactic and morphological flexibility and lexical borrowing from TA” (2001: 8).

2.7.1.1 The Arabisation Era

Generally speaking, Arabisation can be traced back to the dawn of independence, in 1958, when French was abandoned as a language of instruction and replaced by Arabic to teach all subjects in the first and second year of elementary school. Eleven years later, French was reintroduced during these two years but only as a subject. However, the real push for Arabisation, to my knowledge, started in 1970 with the Tunisian minister of Education Mohamed Mzali; an ex-philosophy teacher known for his Arabization tendencies. Indeed,

a chain of decisions were taken in favour of the Arabic language culminating in 1997 in French taught almost only as a subject in all nine years of elementary school three hours a week for the first six years and five hours a week for the three years that follow till year nine elementary. Meanwhile, Arabic has continued to be the main language of instruction even of such scientific subjects as Mathematics, Natural Sciences, and Physics that were once taught exclusively in the French language. Information Technology makes the only exception to this rule as it is still taught in French.

It was not only schools and the educational system which were affected by the wave of Arabisation. Far-reaching changes occurred in fields such as the media and administration. For example, in the media, it was not unusual to see the reporters of the Tunisian national channel, TV7, in live programmes struggling to either translate what their interviewees said into MSA or what Daoud labels as “Educated Arabic” (EA), which is very close to the Tunisian dialect, or to straightforwardly urge them to speak in Arabic. Some films, plays and serial producers even tended to avoid code switching to French for which they were criticized for not reflecting the daily life of ordinary Tunisians. The implementation of Arabisation in the field of administration is best summarised in the following eight points conveyed in a circular issued by the Prime Minister in 1999 and translated into English in Daoud (2001: 215):

1. It is forbidden to use any foreign language in correspondence addressed to Tunisians;
2. It is forbidden to use any foreign language in all internal documents that regulate the work of the administration or other public agencies, including circulars, decrees, notices, reports, and correspondence between these parties as of 1 January 2000; however, file may include attachments in other languages;
3. The Arabisation of all administrative forms must be completed before 31 December 2000, but, if necessary, such forms may be in one or more foreign languages in addition to Arabic;
4. French forms may be used until stock is used up, provided that this does not extend beyond 31 December 2000. It is forbidden to reproduce such forms except for use with foreign parties;
5. The Arabisation of software and databases in the administration and public agencies must be completed before 31 December 2000;
6. Work on the dictionaries necessary for providing an Arabic lexicon in all areas of knowledge must be completed before the end of December 2001;
7. It is not permitted to use any forms and software that are not in Arabic after 31 December 2000, except by permission from the Prime Minister;
8. A report on the implementation of this circular must be submitted to the prime minister; mentioning the problems, if any, and making recommendations to overcome them, before 31 December 2000.

Arabic is the language which the majority of Tunisians identify with as their native language and for this reason Arabisation has been widely supported especially, as Bahloul

puts it, by “Arab nationalists and Islamic fundamentalists” (2001: 5) whose concern was that French might supersede Arabic in Tunisia and in North Africa in general. The result, according to Bahloul (2001: 5), is that Arabic is now “spreading and taking over many of the functions formerly served by French.” In the field of education, for instance, some subjects that were formerly taught exclusively in French are now taught in Arabic. At primary school, I studied maths in French and now my son at the same level studies it in Arabic.

2.7.1.2 Conclusion

The Arabisation process has covered many important areas; however, it has had two shortcomings. First, it was rather pushed by government decisions, rather than by social or public will and that is why people have still remained strongly connected to the French language in their daily use of language due to the absence of what Dhaouadi (2008) calls “psychological Arabisation.” Dhaouadi states many examples in which people still find it easier to use the French term rather than its Arabic equivalent. For example, when speaking about buses, metros, and some areas of Tunis people would pronounce the numbers in French along the lines of: bus cinq (bus in Arabic and the number in French), metro quatre (four), and El Menzah sept (seven) (Dhaouadi, 2008). Second, as Daoud (2001: 38) points out, Arabisation has not penetrated vital domains where French itself is being superseded by English:

It is clear that Arabisation has had a boost thanks to government intervention; however, it has yet to penetrate the seemingly inaccessible scientific, technological and business domains where French is beginning to be challenged by English.

2.7.2 The French Language

After the setting up of the French protectorate in 1881, the education system in Tunisia underwent some changes. Indeed, “in addition to the hundreds of Qur’anic schools, Tunisia had roughly twenty-three private institutions offering primary education, essentially in French or Italian, even if Arabic was occasionally used” (Akkari, 2010: 44-45). French was then one of two main media of instruction. After independence, as Akkari (2010) puts it, the French language carried on its important function as a second language of teaching although there were many voices and speeches stressing the importance of the Arabic language (Akkari, 2010).

Despite the Arabisation program and the new influence of English, the second most important language in Tunisia is French and Tunisians have often been considered to be deeply Frenchified people (Daoud, 2001) by virtue of their large-scale use of French in

everyday conversation. Indeed, “Mixing TA and French ranges from simple code-switching involving the use of French words in Arabic discourse to extensive code-mixing where speech may become predominantly French” (Daoud, 2001: 8). For instance, in some live sports’ TV programmes, it is not unusual to hear Tunisian soccer coaches or football players respond to reporters’ questions exclusively in French or with scarce code-switching to TA. Such respondents opt for French to claim a certain level of education and social prestige. According to Daoud (2001: 22), “in everyday conversation, French is used extensively by the middle and upper classes in urban areas, and by women in particular, as it still confers upon its users a high degree of sophistication and prestige.”

In addition, French has long been considered the main language of scientific subjects at schools and universities and in general “the principal language of modernity, as well as the dominant economic language” Judy (1999: 6). French is also used by Tunisian academics and professionals in conferences especially those involving participants coming from other countries. Indeed, most of the time, when TV7, Tunisia’s official channel, reports on conferences about medicine, economic issues and so forth. As viewers, we notice that PowerPoint presentations are almost exclusively in French. Daoud (2001: 22) confirms this remark by noticing that the use of French in Tunisia is “not only in the scientific and economic domains, but in the social sciences and humanities, particularly when the latter involve international participation”. French also dominated the administrative scene to the extent that most documents were issued exclusively in French.

In spite of its popularity in Tunisia, there is ongoing discussion relating to the status of French vis-à-vis other languages. Some scholars and academicians consider the French language as Tunisia’s second language (L2), whereas others argue that it is its third (L3). The first party argue that Tunisia’s native language is Arabic without entering into the details of the different varieties of Arabic, whereas the second party argue that the Tunisians’ mother tongue is a totally different language from the one they study at school, which makes the MSA that they study at school the real second language and therefore French become a third language. For Daoud (1996), in Tunisia, French is approached as a foreign language; nevertheless, “it enjoys (next to MSA) the status of an L2 used in secondary and higher education....”

At school, approaches to the study of French have undergone a number of changes particularly with respect to the age at which school pupils are introduced to it. Throughout the period from 1958 to the present day, the stage at which French is introduced in school has varied. In some years, it was introduced during year one of elementary school whereas

in other years it was delayed to year 4 (see Table 2.2). Kammoun (2006) attributes some of these changes to the relationship between Tunisia and the Arab world. For example, following the speech of Bourguiba, Tunisia's first president, in March 1965 calling for negotiations between Israel and the Arab world, Bourguiba was the subject of a huge wave of criticism on the part of the Arab leaders. As a reaction to this criticism, he took the decision of introducing French as early as year 1 in 1968 (see table 2.2).

Table 2.2 : Year of Introduction of French in the Tunisian Schools across History

School year	Year of first introduction of French
1. 1958-1968	elementary school: Year 3
2. 1968-1971	elementary school: Year 1
3. 1971-1976	elementary school: year 2
4. 1976-1977	elementary school: Year 3
5. 1977- 1986	elementary school: Year 4
6. 1986-1988	elementary school: Year2
7. 1988-1989	elementary school: Year 3
8. 1989-1993	elementary school: Year2
9. 1993- present time	elementary school: Year 3

Adapted from Kammoun (2006: 10)

Nevertheless, French, according to Daoud, (2002: 220) “will remain the medium of instruction for science, technology, and business subjects in secondary and tertiary education in the foreseeable future” and the main reason is that:

French has such a firm foothold in the country's administrative and educational systems, as well as in everyday use, that is often referred to as a second language. It is so rooted in the socio-economic fabric that it is considered necessary for succeeding at the simplest office job or running a grocery. (Daoud, 2002: 207)

2.7.3 The English Language

English started to be taught in Tunisian schools shortly after Tunisia's independence in 1956 and ever since, “English Language Teaching (ELT) has steadily improved” (Daoud, 1996: 599). In its early stages, English was studied exclusively as a subject at secondary school. After that level, i.e. at university or later at work, some students majored in English

in order to become an English teacher while for the overwhelming majority, English is relegated to a school experience in a long forgotten dim and distant past. Indeed, one hardly heard a word of English in Tunisia outside school till the arrival and spread of satellite channels, the internet and other global media.

Bahloul (2001: 7) explains the purpose of studying English during the first three decades after the Independence in the following terms: “Formerly, English in Tunisia was studied for no particular purpose other than that of being part of an educated person’s intellectual and cultural baggage.” I would go even further, confirming that English was for the majority of students just an obligatory subject in Tunisian schools and therefore was studied and learned just to have better scores. Outside school, one could scarcely, if ever, come across a situation where one could use English at all. In a small town like El Alia, my hometown, for instance, one could spend years and years without hearing or uttering a word of English. It is a memorable event for me when I heard my elder brother for the first time proudly uttering a question in English asking about the time.

Now, English has noticeably jumped over the school fences to start invading streets and people’s daily life. Judy (1999: 9) gives a clear example of this relatively new situation in the following terms:

English-language graffiti proclaiming "Wu Tang Clan forever" is scrawled all over Tunis, the capital city. English-language brand-naming has become a function of group identification. Grade-school girls walk down the street singing spice girl lyrics in clearly enunciated English.

Besides, people’s attitudes seem to be changing as the role of English on the world scene has grown. Indeed, “its role as an important tool for global outreach is,” in the terms of Bahloul (2001: 7), “being reflected all over the country.”

The story of this attitude, in my view, started officially with a rather political event. In April, 1995, Zine Abidine ben Ali, visited South Africa and there he found out that, due to “inadequate English” Daoud (2001: 33), economic and political negotiations were not as efficient as he expected them to be. This event revealed the need to take some measures in favour of English language teaching in Tunisia.

In 1996, more evening classes were open in almost all the major cities in Tunisia and they accommodated people of different ages, occupations and educational backgrounds. English teachers in El-Kef Pioneering School (Lycée Pilote du Kef) remember very well how this school was open during the evenings and how classes were full of officials and employees

including doctors, pharmacists, administrators and teachers. Their ages ranged from the early twenties to the late fifties. When some of them were asked about the reasons for their enrolment in the programme and their motivation to learn English, their answer was most of the time the governmental decision to encourage all employees to study English.

Now, a quick comparison between English and the other foreign languages studied in IBLV, the biggest institute offering evening language classes in Tunisia, shows that far more people have lately been enrolled to learn English than any other language offered in this institute as the following table indicates:

Table 2.3 : English and the Other Foreign Languages in IBLV

	2005	2006	2007	2008
English	3354	2830	3163	3084
French	1454	1543	1644	1752
German	451	393	377	361
Italian	205	223	280	361
Spanish	135	152	186	202
Japanese	97	109	127	121
Hebrew	32	25	40	48
Portuguese	14	22	12	16
Russian	Not taught	Not taught	12	17
Chinese	Not taught	Not taught	68	104

Source: Institut Bourguiba des Langues Vivantes (IBLV) Web site.

2.7.4 Code-switching

Code-switching is defined by Van Herk (2012: 199) as,

A common occurrence in bilingual and multilingual communities, codeswitching refers to instances in which people alternate between at least two languages or language varieties in a single conversation (Across sentences or clause boundaries). Sometimes called code-mixing.

In Tunisia and indeed in all the countries of the Maghreb, this phenomenon is very common; as people tend to code-switch to French (Daoud, 2001, 2011b; Lawson, 2000; Marley, 2004; Benrabah, 2007) due to a long history of “assimilationist colonial rule” (Benrabah, 2007: 25). Code-switching not only reflects a knowledge of a certain language or a certain level of fluency in speaking it, but also reveals emotional ties with the language code-switched to. However, English seems to be a new variable that is entering into play in code-switching. It is still at its first steps, that is why it has not yet received enough attention from researchers. Indeed, only Daoud (2011a) has recently hinted to it as a means used essentially by teenagers.

Overall, the language situation in Tunisia seems to be dynamic and diversified and a lot of areas have already been investigated and scrutinised by linguists from inside and outside Tunisia. However, some areas seem to be looked at in more depth or from a different angle as the following section will show.

2.8 Past Research and the Gap

The closest work to the subject of this research in Tunisia is probably that done by Jabeur (1999). Jabeur suggests that his article “should be regarded as a contribution to the sociolinguistics of the Tunisian speech community” Jabeur (1999: 189), as it investigates teenagers’ attitudes towards the three main languages, Arabic, French and English in Tunisia on the premise that teenagers represent a speech community that has its own particular characteristics.

Jabeur describes his respondents as, “a population segment which is highly permeable to social change and new cultural modes” (1999: 191) and indeed, it is for this very reason that the population of 18 year old students have been targeted in the current thesis. However, the difference is that Jabeur’s informants were not intended to be compared to any other social group, as is the case for this research. In addition, Jabeur targeted analysing and evaluating the teenagers’ attitudes from the three different perspectives of “affection, identity and status” (Jabeur, 1999: 192) i.e. he wanted to investigate which language was associated in his respondents’ attitudes with each of these dimensions. He administered a questionnaire to 128 school children and came up with the following findings:

1. Arabic: rated number one as the main language of identity
2. French: rated number one as the language of high status
3. English: “The highest rated on affection” (Jabeur, 2001: 199)

Unlike Jabeur, attitudes in this research were compared with the aim of exploring the attitudes of two different age groups for the sake of tracking the differences in both domains of language uses and attitudes between a new generation born and raised in a globalisation era and an older one that lived through two different periods; a period before globalisation and another in the midst of it. In addition, attitudes were tested to check shifts in people’s linguistic preferences, perceptions of usefulness of the main languages and of their linguistic identity and linguistic threats, if any. The scope of research is, thus, wider and has rather different objectives.

Outside Tunisia, in Morocco, Marley (2004, 2005) investigated both students' and teachers' linguistic uses of and attitudes to Arabic and French. For the students, they were asked through a questionnaire how frequently they used MSA and French in such domains as watching television, reading newspapers and writing letters. Marley's (2004) focus on MSA and French in Morocco distinguishes it from the current research where the focus is on French and English – and in Tunisia. Another set of questions in Marley's work tackled language attitudes with a special focus on MSA and Arabic. English was indeed mentioned but only once in statement 9 of Marley's questionnaire where she asks if students agreed that, "English is more useful than French in the world" (Marley, 2004: 37). The teachers' questionnaire was different from the students', as they had "a more open-ended questionnaire" with the aim of exploring their opinions about some "aspects of the 2000 charter" (Marley, 2004: 33). Indeed they were invited to express their thoughts on four topics:

The return to the use of French (or possibly English) in teaching science and technology in secondary schools; the introduction of more foreign language teaching at primary school level; the use of Tamazight as a medium of instruction; the validity of Arabization as a language policy, and the linguistic future of Morocco (Marley, 2004: 39).

Administering two different questionnaires to the students and the teachers shows that Marley's aim was not exactly to compare these two groups as is the case for this research. In addition, the linguistic situation in Tunisia seems to be a little different from that in Morocco although they have many points in common. The Tamazight language speakers who represent an important linguistic minority in Morocco hardly exist in Tunisia and their language is totally ignored in academic settings, which explains the different points of focus between Marley's work and this research in spite of the similarities.

In Tunisia again, Daoud (2001) is a monograph that represents one of the most important works about the language situation in Tunisia. It describes in detail the historical background of essentially the main languages in Tunisia with a special concentration on Arabic and French. This essay was reinforced with what Daoud (2001: 9) described as a 'small-scale survey' which was made up of two parts. The first part was "a small case study of local grocery shops in the region of Nabeul, involving the consultation of invoices and oral interview questions addressed to the grocers themselves and some delivery personnel working for the wholesalers who happened to be there at the time of the interview about the languages used in the invoices and their impact on the business.

The second part is "an informal survey" (Daoud, 2011: 19), one single question addressed orally to groups of students of different levels and teachers. The question was about "the importance of languages for one to live and prosper in Tunisia" (Daoud, 2001: 47). This research is important especially as it is a longitudinal one that lasted 12 years starting from 1998. Its results were first reported in Daoud 2001 and then reported again in Daoud (2011a). Daoud (2011a: 19) confirmed that it, "has consistently produced the same answers" which led the author to consider that its results could be considered as 'reliable.' (Daoud, 2011a: 19). However, two remarks can be made about this research. First, by looking at the options that the respondents were asked to choose from, it can easily be noticed that there was an important option missing. As indicated in the following quote from Daoud (2011), there was no option putting together 'Arabic and English,' as is indicated in the following set of options.

- (1) Arabic only? Maybe (several saying: no)
- (2) French only? Yes
- (3) Arabic and French? *Yes* (emphasis in original)
- (4) English only? No
- (5) Arabic, French and English? Yes (most adding: the best) (Daoud, 2011: 19)

Another option, ‘Arabic and English,’ could have made the comparison between attitudes towards French and attitudes towards English clearer, but this may not have been Daoud’s objective or focus.

No one denies the importance of French in Tunisia and suggesting French alone and English alone as options in a survey checking how people could live and prosper in Tunisia would most probably go in favour of French, but suggesting the two languages separately, each with Arabic, might have resulted in totally different data, at least with a certain age or culture group.

The second remark is that the analysis in both articles in Daoud (2001, 2011) was based on general remarks and no quantitative data were provided. Expressions such as “several saying: no” and “most adding: the best” could have been clearer had they been replaced by exact numbers or statistically tested. Overall, Daoud (2001 and 2011) remain very important references despite these weaknesses.

In addition, in his 2001 monograph Daoud did not investigate the domains of language use in Tunisia and did not check people’s attitudes towards languages, especially in terms of usefulness, preferences and, so, did not really intend to compare English and French in the language situation in Tunisia, as is the case for this research.

Daoud (2011a) is an important recent article entitled, ‘The sociolinguistic situation in Tunisia: Language rivalry or accommodation’. It was not far in content from the article, ‘The language situation in Tunisia’; they both included a historical background of the current language profile of Tunisia and they both partly relied on the same research study. However, one decade between them seems to have made some change in Daoud’s attitudes towards the value of English, which he considered to be a ‘vener’ in the first article, in agreement with Walter’s (1999:58) description. Daoud (2011a) has now a different attitude, as he states that English is, “spreading so fast and so broadly that it can no longer be considered a ‘vener’... it is quickly replacing French in its ancillary function.” (Daoud,

2011a:16). This conclusion was further confirmed in Daoud (2011b: 54) when Daoud confirms competition between French and English.

The current sociolinguistic situation—characterized by, on the one hand, a continuing rivalry between Arabic and French and an increasing rivalry between French and English as a global language.

This research contribution is to explore the ways that confirm, or otherwise, Daoud's conclusions through quantitative data which are missing in Daoud's articles describing the sociolinguistic situation in Tunisia where he relied mostly on observation and interviews and on qualitative data analysis. In addition, Daoud and indeed most of the sociolinguists in Tunisia, have not made it their business to analyse the political discourse underlying the linguistic situation, which thus constitutes a gap in the Tunisian linguistic literature.

Bahloul (2001) is an unpublished article that was meant to investigate “the relationship that exists between globalisation and English from a sociolinguistic perspective.” (Bahloul, 2001:1). He analysed the globalisation phenomenon in Tunisia in relation to four aspects (1) the growth of what he calls “the tourist trade” (Bahloul, 2001:1); (2) “the market-oriented economy; and (3) “the virus of the information technology” (Bahloul, 2001:3). However, Bahloul (2001) lacks hard data confirming his conclusions. Again, the method adopted was rather observation.

Benrabah (2007b) attempted to describe the language situation in Algeria. His findings are similar to those of Daoud (2001). Both works have been published in the same book. Benrabah (2007b) has adopted a historical/political approach to describe the linguistic dynamics in Algeria, starting from the French colonialism and going through the different language policies that followed the change of the Algerian presidents and ending up with Bouteflika, the current president. He also conducted a “large survey among secondary school students,” and came up with the conclusion that literary Arabic and French were the “the most valued languages” (Benrabah, 2007b: 55). When combined together; i.e. Arabic-French bilingualism, they become a good asset and allow one “to live and prosper in Algeria” (Benrabah, 2007b: 55). Benrabah also compared the results of his study to those of Marley (2004) and noticed that Algerians and Moroccans were “quite similar” (Benrabah, 2007b: 118) when it comes to their attitudes to the languages of their identities. However, the gap in Benrabah's research seems to be “English”, which was hardly

included in his study. More specifically, English was included in two items. The first asking respondents about the best languages to live well in Algeria in which, unlike Daoud (2001), he included “Arabic and English” (Benrabah, 2007: 121) as one of the options; and the second comparing attitudes towards English and French through the item, “When I choose English, this does not mean that I reject French” (Benrabah, 2007: 122). Another gap is the domains of language uses in Algeria, which were hardly investigated by Benrabah (2007).

2.9 Research questions and approaches

Given the rate of change with respect to globalisation and the spread of internet technology, a study of the status of English, the main language of globalisation and French the second language in Tunisia is timely.

This thesis investigates how the three main languages, i.e. Arabic, French and English are used and valued in the Tunisian multilingual profile, with a special focus on students’ and teachers’ language uses in their everyday activities such as watching programmes, listening to music and reading for pleasure.

The thesis addresses the following questions:

1. How are the three main languages: Arabic, French and English currently used?
2. What role has language policy played in the multilingual profile of contemporary Tunisia?
3. As the main language of globalisation, has English gained any ground previously occupied by other languages in Tunisia?
4. What are the political and public attitudes and discourses surrounding language policy in Tunisia?

A sample of 200 baccalaureate² students and 100 teachers responded to a questionnaire made up of two main sections; one asking them about their domains of language use and another one about their language attitudes. An introductory section included questions aimed at evaluating how respondents conceived of globalisation and an open-ended section giving the respondents some free space to express their thoughts on the one hand on the domains where they think English is gaining ground and on the other hand on which language should be used to teach scientific subjects in Tunisia. Overall, the aim of this combination of open-ended and closed questions was to come up with both

² Tunisian students follow the French baccalaureate system which is equivalent to A-levels in the UK.

qualitative and quantitative data. Another questionnaire was administered to a random sample of 100 people to find out how laymen use and perceive of the main languages. It was hoped that the results of these questionnaires would help us explore not only how Tunisians use the three main languages and their linguistic attitudes and preferences, but also if there are significant differences between the older generation aged 40 and above and the younger one, aged 17 to 18; this is especially interesting as the younger generation does not know what the linguistic situation was like before globalisation unlike the older generation. The comparison might illuminate us on the linguistic repercussions of the forces of globalisation such as the internet, social networks, sky channels, and so on.

The thesis also investigates the political rationale underlying Tunisian language policy (LP) first by reviewing some of the speeches of Zine El Abidine ben Ali, the Tunisian ex-president, in which he tackled the issue of languages or language policy in Tunisia. Ben Ali's references to this issue in his speeches could be considered as the basis for a national strategy for Tunisian LP up to his departure from Tunisia in 2011.

The second approach to investigating LP in Tunisia was to interview the three senior supervisors of Arabic, French and English, who are directly responsible for LP in Tunisia. Finally, public, academic and political attitudes were analysed and compared. It is finally hoped that the results of this survey will clarify whether English, as the main language of globalisation, is gaining any ground at the expense of the other languages in Tunisia.

Chapter Three: Methodology

3.1 Introduction: The Mixed Method Approach

For the sake of triangulation, a mixed method was opted for in this research study because it is an effective way to “combine quantitative and qualitative methods” (Dörnyei, 2007: 42). The choice of this method aims to profit from the advantages and avoid the weaknesses of both methods so that, as Dörnyei (2007:45) puts it, “one method can be utilized to overcome the weaknesses of another method used in the study.”

Two types of questionnaires including both open-ended and closed questions, interviews, students’ essays, and presidential speeches were used to make words “add meaning to numbers” and numbers “add precision to words” (Dörnyei, 2007:45), in other words, to understand why informants responded in some particular way about language use or why they held a particular attitude towards one or other of the languages. For example, two of the qualitative tools, the interviews with the senior inspectors and students’ essays, aimed to explore whether ‘English is gaining ground in Tunisia,’ in a qualitative way while the statistical quantitative data revealed by the questionnaire could test this in a statistically significant way. Meanwhile, the analysis of the measures embedded in Ben Ali’s presidential speeches can serve to make the historical and political context clearer.

3.2 Quantitative Tools

3.2.1 Questionnaires

The main quantitative data-collection tool in this investigation is the questionnaire which Wray and Bloomer define as “a document that is filled out in writing (or electronically) by the informant” (Wray and Bloomer, 2006: 152). Wilson and Sapsford (2006: 102) describe questionnaires as, “highly structured methods of data collection”.

There were two reasons for choosing the questionnaire: first its popularity in the field of research due to the relative ease with which one can collect relevant information in a highly focused way. Dörnyei (2007: 101) says, “The essence of scientific research is trying to find answers to questions in a systematic and disciplined manner and it is therefore no

wonder that the questionnaire has become one of the most popular research instruments in social sciences.” Second, because it is the optimal tool when we want to know what people “think or believe about something, or what they do in situations” that cannot be observed (Wray and Bloomer, 2006: 152). So, “one way to find out what people think about a language variety, of course, is to ask them” as, Van Herk (2012: 149) put it. If questions are devised in a suitable way, the questionnaire should enable us to find out what people think about a certain language and how they use it at home and in their different daily activities.

The questionnaire part of the study was tested in a pilot. 50 participants were asked to complete the pilot questionnaire - several adjustments were made to the questionnaire in the light of the pilot and these are discussed, as they arise, in the description of the instruments below.

A questionnaire with four sections (see Appendix I) was administered to a group of teachers and a group of students. The teachers’ and the students’ questionnaires were almost identical. The differences pertain only to the rare areas where personal pieces of information are required of the informants such as subject taught/major studied/years of experience and so on. By issuing similar questionnaires to both groups, the responses of the two targeted generations could be compared wherever applicable.

The questionnaire included a preliminary question relating to the informants’ perceptions of globalisation. Each questionnaire was divided into 4 major sections; each section was meant to explore different aspects of the issue under investigation.

The first main section was about domains of language use. It included 18 items asking about students’ and teachers’ uses of the three main languages in Tunisia; the mother tongue, Arabic; the second language, French and the third language, English. The aim of these items was to investigate how respondents use language in their daily communication, leisure activities and their use of modern technology.

The second was about language attitudes. It was made up of 14 items asking the subjects for information about their attitudes towards the three languages. Reactions were sought to the statements such as:

“Arabic is the most important language in Tunisia,”
“French is my preferred foreign language,” and
“For Tunisians, English is more useful than French”.

Respondents were asked to indicate their response by using a 5-point scale, ranging from 1=Strongly Agree; 2=Partially Agree; 3= I Don’t Know; 4=Partially Disagree; to 5= Strongly Disagree

The questionnaire also included two open-ended questions; the first asked informants whether they thought English had gained new ground in Tunisia, to what extent and in what way. The second asked respondents whether they thought scientific subjects should be taught in Arabic, English or French.

3.2.1.1 Introductory Section: Concepts of Globalisation

Among the objectives of the questionnaire was to find out the impacts of globalisation on languages in Tunisia. Therefore, globalisation was used in the questionnaire either directly, as in the following two statements, 8- “Globalisation has had a positive impact on English in Tunisia” and 9- “Globalisation has weakened people’s interest in French in Tunisia” or indirectly when words and phrases like ‘internet chat,’ ‘communication,’ ‘browse the net,’ ‘and technology’ were used.

As the word globalisation has been widely used in innumerable fields and domains, the term has lately come to have many definitions and to be used in different ways to the extent that it has become, in Eriksen’s terms (2007: ix), the “buzzword of the moment”. Using this term in a questionnaire without identifying what it meant to respondents was likely to make responses vague and conclusions unreliable. In addition, although I assumed that teachers and students have, more or less, the same conceptions of globalisation, their responses with regard to this issue might just not confirm my assumption. In this case, their possible different concepts of globalisation will have a particular impact on their understanding of how this phenomenon relates to the linguistic field. Therefore, identifying what this term meant to the 292 respondents in general and what it meant to teachers, on the one hand, and to students on the other, was of major importance.

Three definitions of globalisation were advisedly suggested among five options at the beginning of the questionnaires to see to what extent students agreed with each definition.

- A- The world has become a small village thanks to modern means of communication
- B- The world economy has become interconnected
- C- The world has become Americanized and Westernized.
- D- All the above
- E- None of the above

Definition A was included in the questionnaires for at least three main reasons: First, it includes a clear hint to the first metaphor referring to the globalisation phenomenon by the expression, “global village” which was used by Marshall McLuhan in 1960 to describe the contraction of distances and disappearance of borders. Second, it attributes globalisation to the development of modern means of communication which have progressed enormously and contributed a great deal to globalisation. Third, and probably most importantly, informal discussions with Tunisians about what globalisation meant to them revealed that many, including both academics and laypeople, based their definitions on the fact that the world has shrunk to become just a small village, as “from one’s home,” they would argue, “one can watch what is going on anywhere in the world and communicate with anyone anywhere in the world.”

People who prefer this definition over others would most probably look at language primarily as a means of communication. Therefore, the absence of a common language between online communicators can be a real barrier that cuts off interaction between people of different linguistic backgrounds. Hence, one language has to assume the role of lingua franca in order to solve this linguistic problem and achieve global interconnectedness.

Definition B was suggested to cover a whole economic-oriented trend adhered to by many scholars looking at globalisation essentially as a synonym of economic integration and interconnectedness. This definition is fostered by the widespread reputation of such institutions as the World Bank (WB), the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) which make up the institutional facet of economic globalisation. Language in this respect could be related in one way or another to economic power. Therefore, the spread of English could be attributed to the economic power of English speaking countries, such as the United States, or the UK and Australia.

The third and last definition was meant to appeal to those who look at globalisation as a process of homogenisation of cultures with a clear domination of the Western and, more specifically, the American lifestyle. Adherents of this view believe that globalisation is characterised by the spread of American products and references are made to Macdonaldisation, KFC, Coca cola, and Levi's and so forth. This group might be expected to view language as a tool of domination and linguistic hegemony or a source of homogenisation that undermines the richness and variety of world cultures. All in all, the three definitions suggested in the questionnaires were aimed at identifying not only concepts of what globalisation was, but also, in an indirect way, the informants' linguistic views and attitudes.

As concepts of globalisation may vary to a larger extent than can be contained in three short definitions, two more options were suggested: the first is "all the above" to cover views that look at globalisation as an all-inclusive phenomenon that cannot be limited to one concept. And, the second is "none of the above" and in this case respondents were asked to provide their own conception of globalisation. This latter choice aimed to give respondents freedom to express their own thoughts and to use their own words about this issue should they fail to find their own concept of globalisation in the definition provided.

3.2.1.2 Teachers'/Students' Language Uses:

This is the topic of the first questionnaire which includes statements about the language that students and teachers use more in the following activities and to what extent each language is used: Reading for pleasure, watching their favourite TV programmes, browsing the net, conducting both their daily and computer-mediated communication and listening to songs. Respondents were asked specifically about these activities because these are the areas where they have the choice to use whichever language they want. In this questionnaire, I avoided asking about activities whose answers were self-evident to all informants along the lines of "which language do you speak at home?", as all the responses to this question in the pilot study were 'Arabic'.

In this questionnaire, the three verbs mainly used were: 'use' 'read' and 'listen'; 'use' replaced the verbs 'speak' and 'write' because some activities like online 'chatting', for example, can be conducted in either skill. The combination of all these skills together is meant to explore all possible activities that make use of language. In addition, both

students and teachers are familiar with the activities introduced through these verbs, as they are the skills used at school in teaching all languages.

Closed-format responses on a graduated scale were used: Informants were invited to respond to this questionnaire by ticking one of the following categories: A=Always; O=often; S=Sometimes; R=Rarely; N=Never. The introduction of this scale was the main change in this questionnaire compared to the pilot study questionnaire where students had to respond by choosing among languages: i.e. 1-Arabic; 2-French; 3-English; 4-Another language. Due to this scale, the pilot questionnaire was not all-encompassing and there were situations which were vague and did not reflect accurately the respondents' position and this was the reason for the change. For example, the first statement of the pilot questionnaire was "the language I mostly use at home is" and students had to tick one of the three languages, or another language should there be one. However, when students responded to it two questions arose: what about the other languages; are they not used at all at home? And "to what extent was the language chosen used at home?" The likert scale, opted for in the main-study questionnaire could solve this issue by allowing for more fine-grained distinctions with respect to frequency of use.

3.2.1.3 Teachers'/Students' Language Attitudes

The second section of the questionnaire aimed at investigating teachers' and students' attitudes to the different languages. It included 14 items investigating four major issues: (1) first, the respondents' attitudes towards Arabic, being their first language; (2) second, a comparison between their attitudes towards the two main foreign languages i.e. French and English, in terms of usefulness; (3) third which language the informants look at as the main language of science and technology; (4) fourth, and finally, how the subjects of the study perceive globalisation with regards to its impacts on the two main foreign languages in Tunisia. Added to these, a (5) fifth separate section aimed at finding out which language respondents thought was the most useful one for Tunisians to learn.

Unlike the first section of the questionnaire, in this one, respondents were required to tick different categories. These categories were intended to gauge their degree of agreement or disagreement with the given statements through ticking: 1=Strongly Agree; 2=Partially Agree; 3= I Don't Know; 4=Partially Disagree; 5= Strongly Disagree.

The choice of the likert scale in both questionnaires is based on five advantages that Kothari (2008) summarised in the following five points:

1. It is easy to construct the likert type scale.
2. Reliable because under it respondents answer each statement included in the instrument.
3. The likert scale permits the use of statements that are not manifestly related (to have a direct relationship) to the attitude being studied.
4. Through it we can study how responses differ between people and how responses differ between stimuli.
5. It is frequently used by the students of opinion research. (Kothari, 2008: 86).

On the wording level, both questionnaires were written in standard Tunisian Arabic, the language that is used in academic settings and that is very close to the Tunisian variety of Arabic. It is also the language of the press and, in general, of all Tunisian types of media. That is why it is very common even in the daily use of language. Dörnyei, in his “rules about the item wording” states that, “We should try to speak the ‘common language’ - the best items are the ones that sound like being taken from an actual interview” (Dörnyei, 2007: 108). This linguistic choice is to enable both groups to perfectly understand all the items.

For the responses to the final open-ended questions, I made it clear that respondents were free to express their thoughts in any of the three main languages and that was part of the investigation. I wanted to know which language they were comfortable with when expressing their thoughts freely.

3.2.1.4 Originality of the questionnaire

A related questionnaire was put together by Marley (2003) to investigate domains of language use and attitudes to languages in Morocco. However, in her survey, Marley concentrated more on the comparison between MSA and French. That’s why English, for instance, was mentioned only once to compare attitudes towards English and French in the world, not in Morocco, as indicated in her questionnaire statement 9, “English is more useful than French in the world” (Marley, 2003).

Another questionnaire was administered by Benrabah (2007) to compare attitudes towards Arabic, both literary and Algerian, French and Tamazight. English was not mentioned in any of his questionnaires. In Tunisia, Daoud conducted what he described as a “small-scale survey” (2001: 9) in which he asked a number of students the following question: ‘Can you live and prosper in Tunisia being literate in the following languages?’ Students had to respond by yes or no to the following categories:

- (1) Arabic only?
- (2) French only?
- (3) Arabic and French?
- (4) English only?
- (5) Arabic, French and English? (Daoud, 2001: 9)

The questionnaire of this investigation is original in the sense that it straightforwardly compares the three main languages with a special focus on English, as is clear in the following list of frequencies of the times that the different languages are mentioned in the questionnaire:

Arabic 10 times

French 11 times

English 15 times

The questionnaire sought to scrutinize how languages are used in daily life again with a special focus on modern aspects of communication to track the impacts of globalisation on the new linguistic situation.

3.1.1.5 Subjects

The questionnaire was administered to a sample of 100 teachers and 192 students. My sampling was based on “convenience or opportunity sampling,” in which, according to Dörnyei (2006: 98), “the target populations are selected for the purpose of the study if they meet certain practical criteria such as geographical proximity, availability at a certain time, easy accessibility, or the willingness to volunteer.” Indeed, I chose my sample of teachers from my list of email addresses and the students’ sample from schools where either friends or relatives were working.

The teachers’ sample includes teachers of IT, Philosophy, History, Geography, Arabic, French, and English. Besides, it encompasses teachers from roughly all geographical areas

in Tunisia. This was intended to guarantee more reliability to the responses, especially when it comes to the items targeting language use. This group was divided into two categories of responses depending on the number of years of experience they have. The first group's experience ranges from 1 to 15 years and the second's from 16 to 30 years. My hypothesis here was that there might be some kind of change on the level of language uses or attitudes between the older generation of teachers and the younger one or at least between them and students.

The students' sample was also taken from different schools and cities. It includes students majoring in both Sciences and Arts. Their majors were labelled in the SPSS file as Scientific Majors and Arts Majors. This division was set to investigate whether there are significant differences in language uses and attitudes between these two major categories of students. The aim of this categorisation was to find out whether language policy measures can have an impact on attitudes or not. For example, Arts students might have a more positive attitude towards English than Science students because English as a school subject is of more interest to them than to Science students. In terms of hours of study per week, for instance, Arts' students take 5 hours of English whereas their science counterparts take only 3. Furthermore, English is weighted more heavily for Arts' students than for students majoring in science i.e. it is more decisive for them when it comes to success or failure in the mid and final exams.

The age range of these students is 18 to 20. The choice of this specific age range was aimed at fulfilling two conditions necessary for an objective and reliable study. First, at this age, students are usually in the last secondary school year i.e. right before joining their higher studies, and this means they are still exposed to the three languages at the same time and consequently, their attitudes were hypothesised to be more objective and unbiased than those of the university students who can major in only one of the three main languages under investigation: Arabic, French, or English or, if they are science students, French, as scientific courses are mainly delivered in French.

Second, to investigate the linguistic use and attitudes of a generation that was born and raised during the globalisation era, as this era according to Friedman (1999), for instance, started in the early nineties and this makes it roughly two decades old (in Ojeily and Hayden, 2006: 17). This means that these students were born and brought up with the internet in a highly sophisticated technological age and have no experience of a situation before it. Therefore, their linguistic attitudes could compare to those of the older

generation's and the results could be very revealing in terms of the impacts of globalisation on language uses and attitudes. The researcher assumes that differences in linguistic attitudes and perceptions could be attributed to the impacts of globalisation. Thus, the aim of addressing these two populations was to explore how two different generations use languages in a multilingual country in which Arabic is the mother tongue of the overwhelming majority of people but which has a strong francophone influence.

3.1.1.6 Data Analysis

To analyse the data, the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) was used for many reasons, some of which are: (1) First, it is the software package which is "the most commonly used in applied linguistic and educational research" (Dörnyei, 2007: 198), (2) second, it is able to perform the statistical operations I need for my research and (3) third, because, as Dörnyei (2007: 198) suggests, it is "highly refined" and "easy to install and start."

The data collected from this research is ordinal because the responses "can be placed on a 'frequency continuum'" (Dörnyei, 2007: 207-208). For example, in the case of this study, the respondents' attitudes were: 'strongly agree' which was coded 1, 'partially Agree' 2; 'uncertain' 3; 'partially Disagree' 4; and 'Strongly Disagree' 5.

As the study involves two groups that are independent, the suitable procedure that was used to analyse the data was the Independent Samples t- test of significance that is used for research designs that compare "the results of groups that are independent of each other (for example class I and class II)" (Dörnyei, 2007: 215). The t-test informs us "whether we have got a generalizable result or whether the score is likely to be merely an artefact of random variation." (Dörnyei, 2007: 215). It is "used to compare the values of the means from two samples and test whether it is likely that the samples are from populations having different mean values" (UWE Website). The t-test is very widely used in a variety of domains such as second language research "when comparing mean scores for two groups" (Brown & Rodgers, 2002: 205).

SPSS crosstab operations were also conducted to find out the differences essentially between the younger and older generations' language uses and attitudes in percentages.

3.2.1 “Man on the Street” Questionnaire (vox pop)

This was a questionnaire made up of two questions: a ‘which?’ followed up by a ‘why?’ The question is: “Which foreign language is now, according to you, more useful for Tunisians to learn?” 100 Respondents were asked this question and were required to give a reason for their choice. Being a question on the street, it was not possible to ask people to analyse their views and give many reasons for their attitude.

The subjects of this questionnaire were people of different educational levels, jobs, ages and genders. The researcher asked people on the street randomly. The aim of this questionnaire was to see how people in general assess languages in terms of usefulness to Tunisians, in other words to extend the survey from students and teachers to the wider population. It is noteworthy that this data collection tool is made up of two parts A quantitative part and a qualitative one. The first includes the number of respondents who specified which language they thought was the most useful to Tunisians, as this will reveal percentage scores and will position the main languages in Tunisia on an accurate scale of importance. The second part includes the responses to the question why people thought a language was more useful for them than another. These reasons were grouped, categorised and classified based on their frequency in the responses i.e. from the most to the least frequent.

3.2 Qualitative Method

The qualitative part of the investigation is made up of three parts:

3.2.1 The Interviews:

These interviews were of the semi-standardised type which involves “the implementation of a number of pre-determined questions and special topics” (Berg, 2009: 107). This type of interview was chosen because it allows some “flexibility and responsiveness to emerging issues for both respondents and interviewees” (Schwandt, 2001: 135). Dörnyei clarifies that, “although there’s a set of pre-prepared guiding questions and prompts, the format is open-ended and the interviewee is encouraged to elaborate on the issues raised in an exploratory manner” (Dörnyei, 2007: 136).

My interviewees were three senior inspectors working in the ministry of education. They play the role of mediator between the Ministry of Education and school inspectors and teachers. They were chosen according to two criteria: first, due to their wide knowledge of the details of all the programs, curricula, problems and plans pertaining to the three languages i.e. Arabic, French and English. Indeed, they are the first people in charge of the teaching of these three languages in Tunisia. Second, they play very active roles in language policy making in Tunisia.

The aim of the interviews was to see how these three officials look at the linguistic situation in Tunisia and to partly answer three out of the four research questions:

1. What role has language policy played in the current Tunisian multilingual profile?
2. As the main language of globalisation, has English gained any ground previously occupied by other languages in Tunisia?
3. What are the political and public attitudes and discourses surrounding language policy in Tunisia?

The three interviews were recorded, transcribed and analysed to tease out pieces information that can help us gain a deeper understanding of the language situation in Tunisia.

3.2.2 Open-ended question:

The second qualitative data collection tool is the open-ended questions which were one of the changes I made compared to the pilot study. I learnt from the first one that complicated questions would not encourage informants to respond; and this was the case of the pilot open-ended question. Due to its complexity hardly any students responded and there were many responses such as “I don’t know.” In the main study, the open-ended question was broken up into two simple questions to make the respondents’ task clearer. They figured in both the questionnaires distributed to teachers and students and were posed as part of the interview with policy makers.

Is English gaining ground in Tunisia? Yes –No

1. If yes, please, state some examples in which English is now being used more
2. In your opinion, should scientific subjects in Tunisia be taught in Arabic, French or English? Specify why you think so.

The aim of these questions was to give free space to respondents to express their thoughts in their own ways. It enabled them to decide on three things:

- a. The wording of the answer.
- b. The length of the answer.
- c. The kind of matters to be raised in the answers. (Denscombe, 2007: 165)

This type of question was included in the questionnaire in order to have data that reflects “the richness and complexity of the views held by the respondent” (Denscombe: 2007 166). The first question has two parts. The first is a direct one to be responded to with a ‘yes’ or a ‘no’ and if respondents choose the first option they are required to give some examples briefly. The aim of this question was first to explore the percentage of those who think that English is gaining ground in Tunisia and second to find out the fields and domains in which the informants think English is now being used to a greater extent.

The second question aimed to explore the respondents’ viewpoints on a current debate that we can summarise from three academic perspectives:

1. Scientific subjects should be taught in Arabic, as Arabic is the mother tongue and it is no less able than the other languages that are being used to complete the same task.
2. French should be the language of science, as Tunisia is a francophone country and as such, it is the second language of the country.
3. English should be the language of science at schools, as it is worldwide and recognised to be the language of the largest number of scientific books whether online or in print.

The answers to these open-ended questions were analysed and quantitative data were extracted such as the percentage of those who think that ‘yes’ English is gaining ground. In addition, the new domains of English use were categorised based on the number of their frequencies in respondents’ answers.

3.2.3 Essays:

This is a qualitative tool that is part of a qualitative method often named “documents”

(Denscombe, 2007: 229). Essays are a kind of personal interpretation, which is in Denscombe's (2007: 229) terms, "a personal reflection and interpretation of happenings, plus an account of the personal feelings and emotions surrounding the events described."

The following two topics were suggested as writing prompts to IT students in an IT class:

a. Some people think that French is the language of science, modernity and technology and, therefore it has to be given more importance at school by introducing it earlier, allocating it more hours of study per week and giving it a higher coefficient, whereas others think that English is the language of science, modernity and technology and therefore it has to be given more weighting in schools. Which of these two languages, in your opinion, deserves more attention? Justify your answer by clear reasons.

b. Some people think that French is the language of science, modernity and technology, therefore it has to be given more importance at schools by introducing it earlier, allocating it more hours of study per week and giving it a higher coefficient; whereas others think that English is the language of globalisation and technology and therefore it has to be given more attention in our schools. Which of these two languages, in your opinion, deserves more attention? Justify your answer by clear reasons.

Prompt a. was meant to investigate the students' opinions on which language they thought was the language of science, modernity and technology. Students gave their opinions about two conflicting views; on the one hand, an old francophone view maintaining that French is the language of science and technology and, therefore all the attention should be given to it and, on the other hand, a relatively new view stating that it is now blatantly conspicuous that English is the language of science, modernity and technology.

Prompt b. was meant to investigate students' opinions about a common idea among many Tunisians; that French is the language of science and English is the language of globalisation. That means French is the language to be used for scientific subjects and English is to be used for communication and interaction with the international community i.e. for globalisation. As such, which language did students think should be given priority? This is the question I sought to investigate by suggesting this topic.

To avoid the Hawthorne effect, which Roethlisberger described as "the phenomenon in which subjects in behavioural studies change their performance in response to being observed" (in Harvard Business School Website), the teacher who invigilated the writing class was a neutral IT instructor i.e. not the researcher and not an Arabic, French or

English teacher because this may have prompted students to write in favour of one of these three languages “to please the researcher” (Dörnyei, 2007: 83) or their language teachers.

Also, so that students could express their attitudes without any linguistic concerns, these prompts were translated into the students’ first language, Arabic, and students were also asked to write in Arabic. In the analysis, quotes from these essays were translated by the researcher into English.

This sample was made up of two groups of 25 students each. They were informed that this was a free writing exercise and their opinions formed part of a research study. They were also informed that their essays would not be graded, to avoid them being more concerned about the form than the content. They were finally asked to write their names on their papers to make them more responsible they wrote, though any opinions reported here were anonymised.

These essays were read and analysed. The answers to the straightforward question included in the prompt: “Which of these two languages, in your opinion, deserves more attention?” were quantitatively counted and the reasons that students mentioned for opting for one of these answers were classified, analysed and discussed.

3.2.4 Ben Ali Speeches

Ben Ali had been Tunisia’s President for over 23 years, when he fled the country in 2011. He held all the powers in his hands. Among his powers were decisions about new language policy. Therefore, his speeches although they have been deleted along with his Carthage Website, still make an important historical contribution to understanding language policy in relation to politics in Tunisia.

All Ben Ali’s extracts related to language policy were analysed in order to understand his views of the language situation in Tunisia along with the motivations behind the new measures he took. The analysis of Ben Ali speeches involves the study of both “the text and the context” (Alba-Juez, 2009:8).

3.3 Research Questions

The aim of these data collection tools was to try to answer the following four research questions through answering the subsequent sub-questions:

1. How are the three main languages: Arabic, French and English currently used?

This section was devoted to answer the following sub-questions:

- A. Do people still use only Arabic and French in their normal daily communication?
- B. Which language do people use more in internet and computer-mediated communication? Are they using French, the language that's used for teaching science and technology more than Arabic and English?
- C. What is the language they mostly use for their leisure activities such as listening to songs and reading for pleasure?
- D. Do students have the same linguistic behaviour and preferences as their teachers?
- E. Does English assume any role other than a subject to study at school?

2. What role has language policy played in the current Tunisian multilingual profile?

This question aimed to address the following sub-questions:

- A. Have measures taken in the last couple of decades favoured any of the three languages?
- B. To what extent can language policy promote English in Tunisia?
- C. Are the measures taken in favour of English, if there are any, at the expense of French or Arabic?
- D. Do people feel contented with French being their second language and English their third?

3. As the main language of globalisation, has English gained any ground previously occupied by other languages in Tunisia? This is a central question in my study and it includes the following sub-questions:

- A. Is English now more widespread than it was two decades ago? In other words, does the new generation use more English than the older one due to globalisation?
- B. Has the internet, as a main aspect of globalisation, changed people's linguistic habits?
- C. Is English competing with French in some aspects of daily language use? Or, is Tunisia still deeply Frenchified (Daoud: 2001)?

D. Can English supersede French as Tunisia's second language?

4. What are the political and academic attitudes and discourses surrounding language policy in Tunisia? To answer this question we need to answer the following sub-questions:

A. What is the policy makers' rationale for taking new linguistic measures?

B. Do policy makers and people hold the same views regarding the most useful language for Tunisians to learn?

C. What was behind Ben Ali's new measures in favour of English?

3.4 My Hypotheses:

The overall Hypothesis: My hypothesis is that in spite of the French language stronghold in Francophone Tunisia, both the uses of and attitudes towards English have significantly changed and that globalisation has pushed Tunisian language policy to promote English at the expense of French.

The hypotheses to be tested are:

- a. English is now significantly more widely used by students (the younger generation) than by teachers (the older generation).
- b. English has become significantly the preferred language for the younger generation i.e. the students.
- c. Students hold a significantly different attitude from teachers about which language they think should be Tunisia's second language.
- d. Teachers use significantly more Arabic for daily communication than students.
- e. Students use significantly more English than teachers in dealing with technology.
- f. Teachers use more French than students when using technology.
- g. Teachers code-switch to French significantly more than students.
- h. Students use significantly more English than teachers when doing leisure activities.
- i. Students hold significantly a more positive attitude towards English than teachers.
- j. Teachers hold significantly a more positive attitude towards French than students.
- k. The older generation watch more French programs than the younger one.
- l. The older generation agree to a significantly stronger degree than the younger generation that French is the language of science.

- m. The younger generation chat on the net more than the older one, and so students use significantly more Roman Arabic than teachers.
- n. Due to language policy measures, Arts' students read in English more than Science students.
- o. Language policy is promoting English at the expense of French.

3.5 Conclusion:

Globalisation and language issues are two complex phenomena and they are even more complex when brought together in one research study. Neither the qualitative methods nor the quantitative ones can alone account for the multi-faceted aspects of the dynamics of language uses' and attitudes to language. That is why a variety of data collection techniques has been opted for in this research study.

Chapter Four: Globalisation and Domains of Language Use in Tunisia

4.1. Introduction:

The main research question addressed in this chapter is, ‘how are the three main languages: Arabic, French and English currently used?’ The objective is to explore through a questionnaire to what extent Tunisians thought they used these languages in such activities as online chatting, talking to foreigners, listening to songs, watching programmes and reading for pleasure and if globalisation had any kind of direct or indirect impact on people’s linguistic activities.

The results are built on the respondents’ judgement of their own language uses and not on observation of how or to what extent they actually used languages. Although the respondents’ evaluation of their own language uses may not be very accurate, it reflects the way they perceive their own linguistic behaviour. So, both groups may be using languages in more or less the same way, but perceive their own linguistic behaviour differently due to their belonging to two different generations.

The participants are made up of an older generation ranging from 35 to 60 years of age, the majority is above 45, and a younger one aged 17 to 18. One of the main differences between these two generations is their linguistic experience. The younger generation can be considered as the issue of the current globalisation era which is mainly characterised by opening access to the languages of the world, particularly English, through computer-mediated communication, the internet, mobile phones, the ever-increasing number of tourists and so on. The older generation, on the other hand, have lived through two different eras: The pre-globalisation epoch which is estimated to have existed until two decades ago (Ojeily and Hayden, 2006) and which was characterised by the scarcity or sometimes non-existence of the previously-mentioned worldwide means of communication and the current era which is characterised by the large-scale global interaction, communication and cultures. It is hypothesised that this difference would bring about differences pertaining to domains of language use, as the younger generation is expected to make more use of technology and global interaction and therefore more English and the older generation is expected to be more attached to Arabic and French.

4.2 Aspects of Daily Linguistic Behaviour

4.2.1 Tunisian Arabic as the Main Language of Communication

Tunisian Arabic (TA) is the variety of Arabic spoken in Tunisia. Historically, it has developed from its basis in Arabic to include elements from French, Berber, Turkish and Italian, and the language has never had any official status in Tunisia. TA is very close to Libyan Arabic, except that TA includes code-switching to French. Apart from Libya, and some areas lying on the Tunisian borders in Algeria, TA is difficult to understand by Arabic speakers in other countries, such as Egypt, Syria, Lebanon and all the Gulf countries who stereotypically think that ‘Tunisians speak more French than Arabic’. In the interior, although there are many regional varieties, Tunisians in all parts of Tunisia understand one another’s variety perfectly well. That is why TA is often considered to be the main language of communication in Tunisia.

In the questionnaire submitted to both students and teachers, a statement was included in the first section to see to what extent the respondents used TA as their main language of communication, “The Tunisian Arabic is my main language of communication”. The first striking result is that no more than 64.4% of the total number of informants said they used TA frequently i.e. always or often (See Table 4.1). Around 17.5% said they used it occasionally and the same percentage rarely or never used it at all. This result is striking because TA is supposedly the variety of Arabic that is used for everyday communication. It is therefore supposed to accomplish the great majority of communicative tasks needed by Tunisians.

Table 4.1 The Use of the Tunisian Dialect * ID Crosstabulation

		ID		Total
		Teachers	Students	
The Use of the Tunisian Dialect	Always	27.1%	33.5%	31.3%
	often	42.7%	28.2%	33.1%
	sometimes	17.7%	17.6%	17.6%
	rarely	9.4%	6.9%	7.7%
	Never	3.1%	13.8%	10.2%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Hence, the relatively unexpected low general use of TA as the Tunisians’ main language of communication is complex and requires several explanations. First, it seems to emanate

from the ever-increasing domains of language use in Tunisia that TA cannot occupy efficiently. These new domains are possibly the result of such recently-emerging technologies as mobile phones and even more recent computer-mediated communication through social networks. Among the weaknesses of TA is, for instance, that it is not easily understood across the Arab world and this makes its use online a great deal less frequent when chatting involves people from different Arab countries, let alone when non-Arabs take part in the chat. With Arabs from other countries, Tunisians ‘code-switch’ to EA or MSA which are often regarded as the “pan-Arab language varieties” (Daoud, 2001: 19). Therefore, it can be noticed that the first language or variety globalisation had an impact on seems to be TA as it expanded the language uses into areas where TA cannot fit, such as internet forms of communication that require a more refined variety of Arabic.

Furthermore, for language policy reasons, TA is not regarded as a professional language to discuss highly academic, scientific, or religious subjects. That is why when such issues are tackled, even informally, people usually tend to shift to what Daoud (2001) categorises as ‘educated Arabic’ (EA) or even to Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) which are the varieties that are essentially used at school to teach humanities like History, Geography, and Religious Education from primary school level one, to secondary school level four; and scientific subjects from level one to level nine of the basic education. As a consequence of this language policy, when one of these subjects is under discussion the language variety automatically changes from TA to EA or MSA.

This very point explains the responses of more than 17% of the informants who said they rarely or never use TA. This response indicates that this specific group of respondents referred to the word ‘communication’ as exclusively the one that takes place in class i.e. teacher/student communication, where both parties are required to use MSA rather than TA. Daoud (2001: 15) points out that, “Overall, teacher talk in the humanities is predominantly in MSA during lectures” although some of both groups would not abide by this class regulation, which leads the discussion to a second round of explanations as to why students seem to use less TA than teachers.

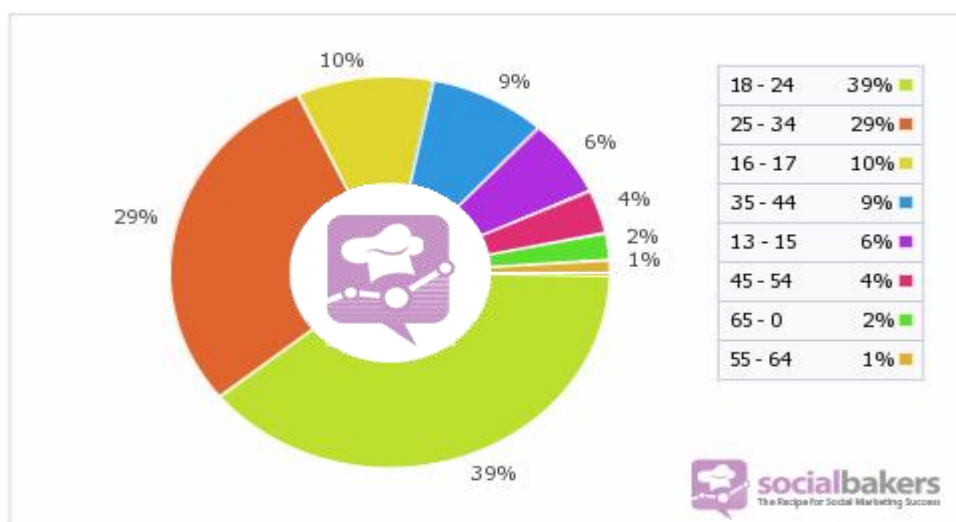
Within the academic setting, i.e. at school, Bahloul (2001: 5) describes the situation of an Arabic dialect speaker in Tunisia in the following terms: “His/her native tongue is to be stigmatised on the first day at school as linguistically inferior to classical Arabic, the language of the Holy Quran.” Although Bahloul here seems to exaggerate and dramatise the situation, his assertion reveals the indisputable truth that students are, as mentioned

before, absolutely not encouraged to use TA in class. The teachers, on the other hand, may permit themselves to use this dialect once in a while to give some instructions or to discuss a point that turns out to be too hard for students to understand in MSA. Daoud (2001: 15) points out that sometimes communication “shifts towards EA and TA during question and answer and discussion periods.”

Second, TA, as defined by Daoud (2001: 7), is “the language of communication in everyday life, particularly in the family.” The teacher, taking in most cases the role of the father or mother as well, takes the lead in communication at home in Tunisia. In fact he/she is the one who performs such communication activities as giving instructions, discussing family plans, giving advice, blaming, arguing and so on. As a result, the space of communication occupied by the father in the family is most of the time larger than that occupied by the sons. In addition, a good part of TA is based on proverbs that students are much less expected to use than teachers. Proverbs are supposed to be the final wisdom resulting from life experience and, unsurprisingly, the students’ tender age does not permit them to claim this wisdom.

The final and probably most important reason for the decline in TA usage among the younger generation is that computer-mediated communication occupies an important amount of the younger generation’s time, and here the impact of globalisation appears again. Indeed, a quick look at such social networks as Facebook, for example, reveals that communication is mostly done through different languages and TA is hardly present in the Facebook comments compared to EA, MSA, or the two main foreign languages. Facebook is currently taking the lion’s share of the networking time of Tunisian educated people, particularly students. One of the most respected websites which specialises in statistics relating to social network users all over the world reports that Facebook is used by almost three million people in Tunisia and, as indicated in chart 4.1 below, about 40% of them belong to a similar age range as that of the students who responded to this questionnaire i.e. between 18 and 24 (see Chart 4.1).

Chart 4.1 User age distribution on Facebook in Tunisia



Source: Socialbakers Website on March 12, 2012

Nevertheless, in the view of the senior inspector of Arabic, not only has TA declined due to computer-mediated communication but it seems the use of Arabic in general has. When answering the question “Do you think Arabic is at risk due to globalisation? He immediately answered, “Yes it is. Its role in society is ever shrinking. Students are no longer using it in their daily activities, especially when it comes to internet activities.” (Interview: 07/06/2010)

All in all, the data have revealed that although TA is the Tunisians’ first language, it is apparently becoming less frequently used especially by the younger generation and that is partly the result of globalisation which has created new fields of language use where TA may not be the appropriate variety to utilise. The slight difference between the two generations show that the two groups’ fields of language use seem to be different. For most teachers, the main domains of language use are either at home with family or in public places to socialize with friends, so to fill such domains TA is the appropriate variety; whereas, for students, one of the main domains of language use is networking and TA alone is not enough. This difference in domains of language use between an older generation, the teachers, and a younger generation, the students, is one of the clear impacts of globalisation, as online social networking is one of the global activities that has been modifying people’s uses of languages.

4.2.2 Code-switching to French

Lawson and Sachdev (2000:1346) defines code-switching as, “Any use of a second language in a single utterance or conversation”. Both code-switching and code-mixing are referred to as phenomena that are very widespread and very common as “means of interaction among bilingual speakers.” (Redouane, 2005: 1921). That is why, as bilinguals, Tunisians are expected to code-switch to French so often. The question is whether the degree of code-switching to French has remained the same in Tunisia across generations in spite of the spread of globalisation which has recently promoted English across the world. A comparison between code-switching to French and codeswitching to English among both teachers and students could shed light on this issue and give hint about if there is any kind of change taking shape.

With reference to item 3 in language use section, “I codeswitch to French in my daily communication,” results of this study indicate that almost 50% of the respondents said they frequently code-switched to French and almost 40% said they did sometimes, which means that, expectedly enough, a great majority of respondents code-switch to some degree to French.

Table 4.2 Codeswitching to French * ID Crosstabulation

		ID		Total
		Teachers	Students	
Codeswitching to French	Always	14.7%	35.1%	28.3%
	often	14.7%	24.6%	21.3%
	sometimes	51.6%	33.0%	39.2%
	rarely	15.8%	6.3%	9.4%
	Never	3.2%	1.0%	1.7%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

However, in terms of the content and extent of code-switching, there lies a significant difference between code-switchers. As Daoud (2001) points out, “Mixing TA and French ranges from simple code-switching involving the use of French words in Arabic discourse to extensive code-mixing where speech may become predominantly French” (Daoud, 2001: 8).

This very difference between the contents of code-switching leads us to focus on two types of code-switching, one that involves a word or at most a phrase, historical code-switching, and another that involves sentences and full expressions, cultural code-switching.

Code-switching is described here as historical because it is an inexorable result of two languages that went through a long period of proximity. It is inevitable that Tunisian Arabic has integrated words from French as French has formed an integral part of Tunisian life for over seven decades. In the mid-nineties Baccouch explained that French had an expected “leading position among the languages that have influenced Tunisian [i.e. spoken] Arabic with several hundred more or less integrated borrowings in all domains. Its influence continues at present to mark the linguistic situation in Tunisia after forty years of independence.” (Translated by Daoud, 2001: 7). This kind of code-switching is undertaken by the overwhelming majority of Tunisians.

Cultural code-switching on the other hand refers to a type of code-switching in which the speaker, due to their culture or political adherence, does not express their ideas in TA. This type of code-switching reflects the image of a francophone component of Tunisian society including all those who feel more comfortable expressing themselves in French, as opposed to people who adhere to their Arabic identity, as pointed out by Judy (1999: 6-7) :

Collective cultural identity is so identified with language that it is commonplace to refer to those Tunisians for whom French is the principal language of public intellectual exchange and business as the partisans of French (Francisants) and to those for whom such is Arabic as the partisans of Arabic (Arabisants).

As is clear in this quote, cultural code-switching has developed in Tunisian society to create an identity that is distinguished not only culturally but also politically and this identity has lately been used as a unifying background for many people who originally held different political views, especially after the Tunisian Revolution that made it possible for all political views to emerge. For electoral reasons, parties would not declare their francophone tendencies, but this could be inferred from the fact that many parties' programmes were written and published exclusively in French.

A recent example of this kind of code-switching was reported to be at the origin of a heated debate at the Constituent Assembly (CA), currently the highest legislative body in Tunisia, where one of the members, Karima Ben Souid, from the Ettakatol party which is widely reputed for being francophone, code-switched to French and wanted to express a complete thought in it. This caused another member, Omar Chtioui, from the Congress for the Republic (CPR) party to show “offensively” his discontent. “I was trying to ask for a clarification but was not able to find the right words to speak my mind in Arabic. So I used French but it upset Omar Chtioui, from the centrist Congress for the Republic (CPR) party.

His reaction was extremely offensive and provoking,' Souid explained.' (Tunisialive, January 17, 2012).

This event divided Tunisians between people who found it normal that this lady expressed herself in French even in such a high supreme institution and those who considered that this incident betrayed some politicians' dependence and subordination to France. Many Francophones in Tunisia are currently often referred to as the "orphans of France" because, not only do they code-switch to French very often, but also they tend to adopt "the French living style and are more fluent in French than in Arabic." (Tunisialive, March 20, 2012) Finally, it is noteworthy that this kind of code-switching is rare and the majority of people still look on it as a kind of cultural alienation and a reminder of the colonial powers of France. That, to some extent, explains why the francophone parties got a very small number of seats in the CA.

More than 11% of respondents said they rarely or never code-switched to French. This percentage, although low, requires some explanation. It may be that at least some of such respondents take a political and ideological stance with respect to code-switching. There are people in Tunisia who not only do not code-switch to French, but also are very critical of those who do. These are mainly conservative Islamists and language purists.

On the one hand, conservative Islamists in their ongoing effort to preserve Arabic, the language of the Quran, try to use a pure Arabic and urge people to do the same in order to try to preserve their identity. In a recent newspaper article in Tunisialive, entitled, 'Tunisians debate the role of Arabic in language in national politics', Rached Ghannouchi, leader of Ennahdha, the majority party in the Constituent Board, was reported as saying, 'We are Arabs and our language is Arabic, we have become Franco-Arabs. It's a linguistic pollution' (Radio France Internationale -RFI October, 28, 2011). This declaration unleashed a heated debate in Tunisia because the word pollution "struck a deep chord among Tunisians" and "elicited the predictable howls of horreur from the country's Francophonic elite." (Financial Times, January 26, 2012). Indeed, the argument was predominantly between Islamists and Francophones; the former defend the use of Arabic in the name of defending identity and the latter defend the use of French in the name of openness and modernity.

On the other hand, we have the purists, the term which lexically refers to people who insist on "absolute adherence to traditional rules or structures, especially in language or style" (The New Oxford Dictionary of English, 2001: 1506). In Tunisia, these are usually made

up of some Arabic and Islamic Education teachers who are fond of Arabic and insist that their students and even, informally, their acquaintances speak what they describe as ‘pure Arabic,’ the Arabic that does not include borrowed terms from any other language. These people do not usually serve a specific political agenda and their commitment to Arabic is purely linguistic, but they represent quite a tiny minority of people who try to ignore world changes and prove that they have not been influenced by such phenomena as globalisation.

Another striking result in the questionnaire is the significant difference³ between teachers’ and students’ positions on code-switching to French as indicated in the Independent T-Test in Appendix IV. My hypothesis was that teachers would say they code-switched to French more than students. The result was just the opposite, a majority of about 60% of students said they frequently code-switched to French against less than 29% of teachers. The reason is, according to a student, “we are science students and most of our discussions are about our main subjects, Maths, Science, IT or Physics which are all in French.” By looking back on students’ distribution by major, a majority of about 80% of respondents were Science students, which then explains the high level of code-switching among this group. In their case, the code-switching pertains essentially to scientific and technical terms like *théoreme, est égale a; supérieure ou égale; soluble dans l’eau* and so on.

4.2.3. Code-switching to English

More than 17% of informants said they frequently code-switched to English. Generally speaking this percentage is considered to refer to a minority compared to the total; yet, when it refers to English in Tunisia, it becomes very revealing because it indicates that English has started to enter into the unconscious use of language in spite of existing within a linguistic profile that is characterised by two older and more widespread languages in Tunisia; Arabic, the mother tongue, with all its varieties and French, the second language with its long history of linguistic dominance. According to Lawson and Sachdev (2000) the ‘social psychological aspects’ of code-switching in Tunisia were observable as follows:

Though Arabic is the official language of Tunisia, French (F), a strong legacy of Tunisia's recent colonial past, is another superposed variety that continues to be widely used. Over the last decade, English (E) has also been appearing increasingly on the Tunisian linguistic landscape. Lawson and Sachdev (2000: 1346)

³ P<.001

Almost 29% of the informants stated that they ‘sometimes’ code-switched to English (see Table 4.3). Indeed, based on general observation of language use in Tunisia, this result could be regarded as a very reliable one. Tunisians now occasionally code-switch to English and the areas of code-switching are ever increasing; especially following the growth of satellite channels that have been broadcasting English language films and covering the English football Premier League regularly. As a result, it has been noted that some English words are clearly replacing the French ones. A good example of this is technical terms related to football. Now, many Tunisian youngsters would use ‘offside’ instead of the French ‘hors jeu’ and ‘foul’ instead of ‘coup franc’. Indeed, in an African Champions’ League match between EST, the oldest Tunisian football club and the African team Sunshine played on September 2, 2012, in Tunisia, the Tunisian commentator, Issam Shawali used the English phrase ‘first half,’ instead of the very famous -in Tunisia- ‘mi-temps’ and a group of youngsters supporting the Tunisian team were spotted by the camera carrying a huge slogan in English that read, “Hand in Hand we will keep fighting to the end.”

During the period of the Tunisian Revolution this phenomenon of code-switching to English has increased. As a matter of fact, aware of the presence of international channels like the BBC and CNN to broadcast the demonstrations against the ex-regime, many demonstrators carried posters with such phrases as ‘Get Out’, ‘Game Over’, ‘Tunisia Free’ and so on side by side with the most famous French word in Tunisia ‘Dégage’. It was reported in the Financial Times “‘Dégage!’ became one of the main slogans against Mr Ben Ali, but so were “Yes, we can” and “Game over”” (Financial Times, January 26, 2012). It is important to note here that satellite channels are considered as very important aspects of globalisation because they contribute a great deal in bringing the world together and promoting communication between the different languages and cultures of the world, which means that code-switching to English in Tunisia may be regarded as an offspring of globalisation.

As a result of this belief, during the period of the Tunisian revolution between December 17, 2010 and January 14, 2011 people were very willing to talk to reporters and to politicians in English to transmit their voice to the wider world, especially the fact that many Tunisians were angry with the French government who backed the ex-president until the last moment of his rule. The Financial Times newspaper reported on a western diplomat who “recently toured the poor towns and cities of the Tunisian interior where the

revolution started noticing for the first time that many of the young elite in those areas preferred to speak to him in English.” (Financial Times, January 26, 2012).

Thus, it can be concluded that code-switching to English and more broadly speaking, the Tunisians’ attempt to express themselves in English is seemingly driven by their belief that English is the language of the world and the one that could lead their cause to be raised to such world organisations as the United Nations (UN), Human Rights Watch (HRW) and World Organisation for Human Rights (WOHR), which are examples of the main agents of globalisation. This is one of the examples of the impacts of globalisation on English in Tunisia; it has promulgated the belief that English rather than French is the right linguistic path that enables people to communicate across the world.

Table 4.3 Codeswitching to English * ID Crosstabulation

		ID		Total
		Teachers	Students	
Codeswitching to English	Always	3.1%	9.0%	7.0%
	often	5.2%	13.3%	10.6%
	sometimes	31.3%	27.7%	28.9%
	rarely	37.5%	32.4%	34.2%
	Never	22.9%	17.6%	19.4%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

However, the results of the survey also reveal that almost 1/5 of respondents, the majority of them teachers, said they ‘never’ codeswitched to English. Those respondents seemingly include three categories of people. The first consists of old teachers who have studied English a long time ago and can hardly remember any English words. These are usually people who stick to their traditional way of life and are not willing to cope with any kind of global change. Many of these are still resistant to using mobile phones, let alone the internet and English, which means that there are people who still resist the winds of change brought about by globalisation.

The second category is made up of students whose weakness in English as a school subject has prompted them to adopt a position that expresses a kind of refusal of the language; ‘from the very beginning, I wasn’t good at English,’ complained one of the students desperately. For such a category, code-switching to English could be perceived as a risky linguistic venture that could lead to mistakes of pronunciation or misuse of words that may

prompt embarrassing comments from the audience, so avoiding it would be a safer alternative.

The third category represents those who are unaware of their own language use. They would definitely use French and English words when they speak; nevertheless, they think that it is Tunisian Arabic. The respondents' unawareness of their own linguistic behaviour seems to be one of the inescapable limitations of the questionnaires which ask the informants to assess their own linguistic behaviour rather than observing how they actually use the language.

Overall, the importance of code-switching lies in the fact that it reveals a certain degree of emotional propinquity between the speaker and the language code-switched to. Until recently, French was the exclusive language code-switched to; now, it is admitted that some code-switching to English has started as well partly due to mass media and to computer-mediated communication that has promulgated several English terms and partly due to the extensive use of English as a lingua franca, especially with tourists who visit Tunisia by millions every year. However, qualitatively speaking, code-switching to English is still at the one or two-word level, as it was typified in Daoud (2011a),

Teenagers and college students tend to sprinkle their talk with expressions like “Sorry”, “Thanks”, “No problem” and “No comment”, but do not seem ready yet to go beyond the two-word stage. (Daoud, 2011: 22)

Whether English is code-switched to as a result of the influence of mass media or due to its frequent use as a lingua franca, English in Tunisia seems to be benefitting from globalisation by gaining some socio-cultural ground which may in the future jeopardise the status of French. That is because code-switching to English not only reveals knowledge of this language, but also unveils some degree of emotional relationship that is starting to take shape with the English language.

4.3 Aspects of Linguistic Behaviour in Internet Chats

One of the characteristics of the globalisation era is global communication. For instance, a quick look at the bottom left side of the Skype window at any point in time reveals that tens of millions of people are chatting online. This demonstrates how the internet has provided a huge ground for global communication and therefore language use.

Investigating the extent to which Arabic, English and French are used in online chatting

can shed light on the linguistic behaviour of Tunisians in one important aspect of globalisation and may be one of the areas in which English is gaining ground in Tunisia.

Lexically speaking, the word chat has lately gained a new meaning that is related to online communication. Indeed, when looked up in The New Oxford Dictionary of English (TNODE) that was published about a decade ago (around 2001), it was noticed that the word 'chat' as a noun was not associated with computer-based communication in any way. Indeed it is just defined as, "an informal conversation" (TNODE: 309) Whereas in The Free Online Dictionary (TFOD) because it is updated on a regular basis it is specified that the word 'chat' has two meanings: First, "1. An informal, light conversation" and, second "2. *Computer Science* A synchronous exchange of remarks over a computer network" (TFOD). This linguistic dynamism shows the impact of globalisation on English even at the lexical level.

'Chat' is referred to in this research study as a form of online, computer- based communication. To be more accurate, online chatting is referred to in this investigation as the conversation that takes place between people while in different and usually distant places. These chats can take place audio-visually by means of internet software programmes such as Skype or MSN or in writing as on Facebook, although now it has also developed its audio-visual software as well. As with any other kind of interaction, online chatting needs a language that is common between the speaker and the interlocutor. In this respect, the questionnaire asked respondents to what extent they used Roman Arabic, French, and English to see if chatting as a modern form of communication and a prominent aspect of globalisation is different across the two generations addressed and therefore has promoted a language or a variety of a language at the expense of another.

4.3.1 Roman Arabic Use In Tunisia:

The use of Roman Arabic (RA), as it is referred to in this research, is typically an offspring of globalisation. Its appearance was originally concurrent with the first uses of mobile phones for communication in Tunisia i.e. not long before the year 2000, as in this very year only 1% of the Tunisian population had mobile phone subscriptions (Source: World Bank). When Tunisians started using their phones to send texts, most of them were faced with a linguistic problem; the majority of keypads on mobile phones included exclusively the Roman letters of the alphabet. The solutions were obviously either to text in French or in English for educated or highly educated people or to use the Roman letters to make up words very close in pronunciation to the original Arabic ones. However, the Roman letters alone were not enough to cover all the Arabic phonemes, so they were merged with a few Arabic numbers to form words that could be read in Arabic. The number 7, for example, which looks close in shape to the Arabic letter /ح/ became by convention read and pronounced exactly like it. This number for Tunisians and probably all other Arabs reflects the initial Arabic sound more accurately than the Roman letter /h/ as in the word /n7ibbek/ which means ‘I love you’ and which is easier to recognise in terms of pronunciation than /nhibbek/ that had occasionally been used before the advent of this idea of mixing Roman letters with Arabic numbers.

RA is a written language only and used almost exclusively for chatting or texting messages. Students use it while chatting online more than teachers to a statistically highly significant level⁴ (see Appendix IV). The percentages are respectively 78.8% against 15.6% (see Table 4). This is a strong indication that this means of communication is a recent one and that many teachers, being from an older generation either have not yet adopted it or have just refused it as for them it is ‘a language corruption,’ as one of the teachers who responded to the questionnaire pointed out.

⁴ P<.001

Table 4.4 The Use of Roman Arabic * ID Crosstabulation

		ID		Total
		Teachers	Students	
The Use of the Roman Arabic	Always	5.6%	47.6%	34.1%
	often	10.0%	31.2%	24.4%
	sometimes	18.9%	9.5%	12.5%
	rarely	12.2%	4.2%	6.8%
	Never	53.3%	7.4%	22.2%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

In addition, the older generation are in general more fluent in French so they are linguistically more capable of communicating their thoughts and ideas in their second language should there be no Arabic letters on the keyboard. Chatting in French would most probably be easier for them than seeking to learn a new method of communication essentially devised by ‘youngsters’. This is further confirmed, as will be discussed later, by the data revealing that the teachers’ group is significantly different⁵ from the students’ group in choosing French as their preferred language. More than 65% of the teachers said they rarely or never used RA. Some of the sample of teachers interviewed by the researcher stated that they did not even know what Arabic letters the numbers used referred to.

4.3.2 The Use of French in Internet Chat

It is worth reminding ourselves that Tunisia is a francophone country. This situation partly explains why more than 45% of the informants, as shown in Table 4.6, confirmed that they frequently used the French language to chat online. Tunisians’ relations with the French are the strongest among all Tunisia’s external relations ever since independence, as Moore (2010: 6) points out in the following extract:

After Habib Bourguiba became the first president of independent Tunisia in 1956, lingual and cultural ties to France persisted. Initially, Bourguiba favored Arabization—or the elevation of Arabic to the sole language of the government and education. Soon, however, he publicly favored French language and culture.

This quote partly explains as well why teachers, representatives of the older generation, use more French for chat than students, here representatives of the younger generation. The older generation studied French as early as level two or three, depending on their current

⁵ P<.001

ages, and more importantly, they studied all their scientific subjects in French, which developed in them the ability to speak about and discuss any subject very fluently in this language. Kammoun describes this generation as, “a generation of perfect bilinguals” (2006: 4).

One good example of this generation, although not very typical, is Yasmine, a Tunisian lady in her sixties, cited by Moore (2010) who explained her attitude towards speaking French. She stressed that it is due to her education not to Tunisia’s colonial history:

I do not really associate French with colonization. I associate it with school and education. It is a question of generation. In my generation we used French a lot because our schools were French schools...If I did associate French with colonization, I would stop speaking so much French because I do not like that idea. (Moore, 2010: 6)

It is noteworthy that within the teachers’ group itself there are two different categories. Indeed, a comparison was made between the group of teachers that includes those who have over 15 years of experience and the group that includes teachers who have been working for 15 years or less. Data suggest that the older teachers said they used more French in chatting online than the younger ones; consecutively more than 58% and 49% (See table 4.5), which seems to indicate some kind of positive correlation between age and use of French.

However, there is a considerably higher percentage of old teachers compared to the young ones who said they never used French for chatting, about 20% against 4% (see Table 4.5). This is arguably for one of two essential reasons. One reason may be that the majority of those who responded this way may not have had an experience of online chatting at all, as those between 45 and 54 years of age, for instance, who use Facebook, make only 4% of the total number of users (see Chart 4.1 above). A second reason may be that they are fundamentalists or language purists who would mind using a language other than Arabic for any linguistic activity they would do.

Table 4.5 French Use in Networking * Experience Crosstabulation

		Experience		Total
		1-15 years	16-30 years	
French Use in Networking	Always	18.4%	25.6%	21.7%
	often	30.6%	32.6%	31.5%
	sometimes	30.6%	16.3%	23.9%
	rarely	16.3%	4.7%	10.9%
	Never	4.1%	20.9%	12.0%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Another reason for chatting in French could well be that the Tunisian second generation in France can hardly speak and understand Arabic. According to official statistics published by l'Office des Tunisiens à l'Etranger (OTE), a governmental office for Tunisians living abroad, 700 thousand Tunisians currently reside in France; that is more than 63% of all Tunisians living abroad (OTE, 2012). The majority of second and third generation Tunisians oblige their families to communicate with them in French because that is their first language along with very poor TA.

Table 4.6 French Use in Networking * ID Crosstabulation

		ID		Total
		Teachers	Students	
French Use in Networking	Always	21.5%	19.9%	20.4%
	often	32.3%	23.0%	26.1%
	sometimes	23.7%	37.7%	33.1%
	rarely	10.8%	10.5%	10.6%
	Never	11.8%	8.9%	9.9%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Students, on the other hand, currently study French only as a school subject till the age of 15 when they start studying scientific subjects in French. This LP measure has to some extent weakened their ability to communicate in French and led students to a kind of 'double semi-lingualism,' which Marley (2005: 1491) defines as, "both their French and Arabic are deficient on a number of levels"; this partly explains why their use of French in chatting is less than that of teachers, although not to a statistically significant extent.

A final technical or logistic issue comes up: The computer keypads are all built to fit French characters and letters. This logistic problem makes chatting in French easier and smoother, as it will be explained later in the chapter.

All in all, browsing the net is another area of linguistic behaviour differences between the younger generation and the older one. Although not statistically significant, the difference between teachers and students in the sample studied reveals different degrees of commitment to French use in dealing with technology. While almost 54% of teachers frequently use French to browse the net, less than 43% of students do so. This difference in linguistic preference can be seen as a prelude to a change in linguistic behaviours in fields such as science and technology.

4.3.3 The Use of English in the Internet Chats

By contrast with French, English is only taking its first steps towards becoming a language of chat for Tunisians, as almost 15% of the responding students against 10% of teachers stated that they frequently used English when chatting online (See Table 4.7).

Table 4.7 English Use in Networking * ID Crosstabulation

		ID		Total
		Teachers	Students	
English Use in Networking	Always	2.2%	7.0%	5.4%
	often	7.8%	7.5%	7.6%
	sometimes	17.8%	27.8%	24.5%
	rarely	34.4%	29.9%	31.4%
	Never	37.8%	27.8%	31.0%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

This relatively low use of English in internet chat, as reported by the respondents here, is due to many reasons, the first of which is the respondents' poor command of this language. The late introduction of English at school makes it difficult for students and, worse still, for teachers who had been introduced at a later stage, to express their feelings, emotions and desires fluently in English and some respondents even expressed their fear of making mistakes if they ventured to use English in chat. A teacher humorously expressed this

concern by saying: “I’m afraid I would make a million mistakes and I’m sure I would be completely misunderstood.”

So, the need for communication in English became more urgent by globalisation while many Tunisians had a poor command of English. This situation seems to have been behind a number of measures to promote English in the form of projects aiming at enhancing people’s mastery of English. Two examples of these projects are the opening of English clubs in primary schools in the year 2001 and the opening of educational institutions to teach English in summer in response to public pressure, as admitted to by Tunisia’s ex-president Ben Ali, although these responses might not have been adequate and appropriate enough to promote English.

In response to an insistent wish expressed by both students and parents concerning opening schools and other educational institutions during the summer vacations to teach English and the other languages, we hereby give instructions to start implementing this decision as of this summer in collaboration between the Ministry of Education and the Tunisian Education and Family Organization (Ben Ali, July 16th, 2001)

Another issue was also pointed out by one of the young students who responded to the questionnaire. It is that quite an important amount of chat takes place among Tunisians. During the last couple of years before the Tunisian Revolution and, especially, the period of the revolution itself, i.e. starting from December 17, 2010 till January 14, 2011 and even long after that, Tunisians have been very active in online chatting because this activity was perceived to be the safest way of struggling against dictatorship. Facebook, for example, in spite of all the rumours that spread in many of its pages, became more reliable as a source of information for people in Tunisia than all local Tunisian media.

People had chats online to discuss issues that essentially relate to the Tunisian status quo and to provide one another with the latest news from the different regions of the country. In this respect Tunisians would rely on varieties of Arabic. However, there were also some cases where Tunisians used English as a lingua Franca to speak to the world about what was going on in Tunisia and this seems to explain the total of 13% of informants who said they frequently used English when they had chats online. Tunisian facebookers, for instance, find it compulsory to chat in English when they have in their lists of friends people from a variety of African, European, Asian and presumably American and Australian countries and it is now very common that a Tunisian has friend from the four corners of the globe.

The bottom of Table 4.7 above confirms a difference between the two groups. It is indeed remarkable that more than 2/3 of teachers said they rarely or never used English for chatting as opposed to almost half of the students rarely or never did. This indicates that English is spreading more noticeably among the younger generation.

And the cases of ‘sometimes’ in the table further confirm the difference, as almost 18% of teachers and 28% of students said they sometimes had chats in English. The difference between these two generations is statistically significant⁶ (See Appendix IV), which shows that it is not by chance that the younger generation use more English while chatting online than the older one. The difference between these groups may be due to globalisation which, expectedly enough, has a deeper impact on the younger generation because they were born and raised during of the last couple of decades i.e. when globalisation appeared and developed.

Finally, the relatively low use of English in networking can be attributed to several underlying causes. One of them has already been mentioned: students study Information technology in French and this makes it hard for some of them to use English as a browsing or chatting language. Another reason is the relatively low level of proficiency due to the late introduction of English. The solutions suggested by the Tunisian language policy makers have led to immense human resources and logistical problems. When it was decided that English should be introduced early on, Tunisia had, according to the senior supervisors’ records, 6,000 unqualified teachers teaching English, which according to the same source gave many students a “wrong start.” Nevertheless, regardless of whether the solutions were the right or the wrong ones, the ongoing attempts to introduce English at earlier stages seem to be in response to the pressures of globalisation be it referred to as global communication, international organisations, or overseas opportunities for employment.

4.3.4 English Vs French in Networking

A straightforward statement has been included in the questionnaire asking all respondents to say if they used English more than French when they browsed the net. The majority of informants stated that they did not use English more than French. This result is unsurprising in a Francophone country like Tunisia. However, to begin, the fact that 18% of respondents said they frequently used English more than French is very revealing with

⁶ P<.021

regards to the extent to which French has till recently been dominant in all fields of science and technology. Moreover, the statistical significance of the difference between the two age groups is also very telling, especially that the percentage of students who said they used English more than French is considerably more than that of teachers. However, the percentage of those who said they rarely or never used English more than French in networking is also very significant and must have many reasons behind it.

Although English, according to the latest estimates, is the top internet language in the world in terms of the number of users (Source: Internet World Stats, 2010) and French is eighth according to the same source, a majority of more than 65% of respondents said that they rarely or never used English more than French when browsing the net. This could be explained by historical, political, linguistic, and technical reasons.

The historical reason refers to the colonial period that ended up by giving French the status of the language of science and technology, which is not the case for the English ex-colonies where English is indisputably completing this function. This status made French until recently privileged over all other foreign languages.

The political level here refers to language policy set by Ben Ali ex-government in Tunisia which stipulated that Information Technology (IT) be taught in French. As a result, in almost all the IT labs in public schools all over Tunisia, the default language set for computers is French. Consequently, many students and very many teachers cannot deal with any computer programmes unless they are set in French.

Exceptions to this are currently the 'Pilot Schools', which are high schools reserved for students who are academically high-performers, and some private academies. In these institutions, IT is introduced and taught in English, as the following extract from an interview with the Arabic senior inspector confirms, "Actually, there is now an experiment going on in the Pilot Schools. Information Technology is offered in English, there."

The teachers, on the other hand, particularly those who are 40 and above, did not study IT at school; as IT was not a school subject in their days as students; so, they had to resort to private courses offered by IT teachers who themselves studied IT at university in French. That means both groups studied IT in French and this situation made it quite common to see French as a default language on an English teacher's computer; browsing the net becomes easier when the computer default language is the one you understand better.

A linguistic problem which arises out of language policy as well could also explain why respondents said they did not use more English than French for browsing; it is the language proficiency of the informants. Indeed, the students who responded to this questionnaire, had studied English for 7 years at an average of 2 hours per week for the first three years, for example, whereas they had studied French for 11 years at a rate of introduction of 10 hours a week on average during the first three years. This huge difference in the frequency of introduction to the two languages definitely contributed a great deal to a difference in language proficiency, which in its turn seems to have affected the online linguistic behaviour of respondents.

On the technical level, the 'publinets' or 'internet cafés' where people can browse the net if they do not have access to it at home are very common in Tunisia. By visiting several of these places, the researcher observed that all computers' default language was French and by asking an attendant in one of these cafés about the reason behind it, he replied that it was due to the fact that most of the keypads available in Tunisia are AZERTY keyboards which have special characters to fit the French language and by asking him if they have received any official measures or regulations from government to make French the default language on computers he replied : 'no, it's just the issue of keyboards added to it that most people understand computers in French better due to their studies.'

An interesting point which has to be mentioned here is that, in spite of the relatively low percentage of those who use English more than French in browsing the net, there seems to be a clear difference between the two groups of respondents. On the one hand, for example, less than 10% of teachers stated that they frequently used English more than French for browsing the Internet and, on the other hand, more than double this percentage, almost 22% of students (see table 4.8 below) stated that they used English more than French.

**Table 4.8 English More than French in Networking * ID
Crosstabulation**

		ID		Total
		Teachers	Students	
English More than French in Networking	Always	6.6%	13.8%	11.5%
	often	3.3%	8.0%	6.5%
	sometimes	19.8%	13.8%	15.8%
	rarely	33.0%	18.1%	22.9%
	Never	37.4%	46.3%	43.4%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4.8 seems to indicate that a significant proportion of the younger generation are willing to break out of their francophone confines to open up on a broader world. As a result, the UK newspaper, The Financial Times, in an article entitled ‘Revolution leads Tunisians to speak less French’ describes the new language dynamics in Tunisia by stating that, “Enrolment at English-language schools is up considerably, educators say. English-language blogs and news websites, such as Tunisia-live.net, have proliferated.” (Financial Times, January 26, 2012). In addition, some online newspapers have created their own sites in English. Tunis Afrique Presse (TAP), the most widely reputed news agency, for instance, has created its own English version and so become trilingual. Such sites seem to be encouraging many Tunisians to start to browse the net in English, which reflects the importance of the internet as an aspect of globalisation in gearing language uses in Tunisia.

On Facebook, for instance, one can easily observe tens of pages in English for both academic purposes like those designed by groups of English teachers or students in Tunisia or even just for the sake of discussion; football club pages are created by football fans and are becoming very popular. The fans of EST, the oldest football club in Tunisia, have recently designed a Facebook page entitled, Espérance Sportive de Tunis (English Page) to discuss the last club issues. This page has to date over 5,000 fans and the number is ever-increasing.

In addition, the recent political situation seems to be paving the way for more English use. Indeed, the first elected government in Tunisia after the revolution of January 14, 2012 is predominantly from the Ennahdha party which had a majority in these elections. Cheikh Rached Ghannouchi, the leader of this party, along with many influential members, was a refugee in the UK for about two decades. He sought asylum there when his party was under the oppression of Ben Ali’s government. This period enabled all the party members who were there to get more fluent at English and probably to see that English could be

more useful for Tunisians. A clear example, Rafik Abdesslem, one of the party members who took refuge in the UK, was reported as Minister of Foreign Affairs to have plainly shown his English preferences to the public “The new foreign minister insists on speaking English or Arabic, not French, in public.” (Financial Times, January 26, 2012).

To conclude, even in networking more people still seem to use more French than English and that is unsurprising for the above-mentioned reasons. However, the fact that the younger generation is making use of more English than the older generation in this modern activity seems to indicate that English is gaining new ground with the advent of such an important aspect of globalisation as internet communication.

4.4 Audio-visual Use of Language

One of the most prominent aspects of globalisation is the widespread use of audiovisuals, which has had a deep impact on cultures and habits. Now, it is quite possible for everyone to listen to songs and watch different programmes in Arabic, French, English, Chinese, and Spanish, to mention a few, anywhere and at any time. A couple of decades ago or so, there was in Tunisia one single governmental TV channel called Radio Television Tunisienne (RTT) and Tunisians were limited to the programmes it presented. Whereas, in the last decade, Tunisians have become easily capable of getting connected to the world by means of the widespread satellite dishes or more efficiently through the internet. Indeed, now more than ever before, people can cross borders and go beyond restrictions in their audiovisual activities.

Currently, Tunisians are exposed to hundreds of TV channels and millions of websites that display all kinds of musical, documentary, dramatic, historical, scientific and literary programmes in different languages. The question is how the two generations behave when doing such activities as watching programmes and listening to songs. In other words, which of the three main languages do they think they use more when doing these activities. Addressing such an issue could lead us to explore if there are any significant differences between the two generations in a field that has participated a great deal in the globalisation of ideas, trends and cultures in general.

4.4.1. Listening to Songs by Languages

Three statements were included in the questionnaire asking respondents to what extent they listened to songs in Arabic, French and English. These questions were grouped and analysed together in this section in order to compare the different responses and come out with a clear idea of the respondents' linguistic behaviour in this respect. Listening to songs is taken here to be an important aspect of language use and the informants' responses are important indications of their linguistic preferences in one interesting domain.

The first striking evidence revealed by the data is that the differences between teachers' and students' responses are statistically highly significant when it comes to listening to French⁷ and English⁸, but insignificant with regards to listening to Arabic songs (See Appendix IV). To begin, this seems to be strongly indicative of the difference between the two generations in Tunisia which seem to lie in their perception of both of the two main foreign languages, as Arabic seems to be a unifying language to both of them.

Broadly speaking, both teachers and students said they listened to songs in Arabic more than any other language. More specifically, more than 62% stated that they frequently listened to Arabic songs against 42% and 33% who said they listened to songs respectively in French and English. (See Table 4.8)

Table 4.7 Listening to Arabic Songs * ID Crosstabulation

		ID		Total
		Teachers	Students	
Listening to Arabic Songs	Always	24.5%	43.9%	37.3%
	often	37.8%	22.2%	27.5%
	sometimes	29.6%	21.2%	24.0%
	rarely	5.1%	5.8%	5.6%
	Never	3.1%	6.9%	5.6%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The respondents' frequent listening to Arabic songs may be explained by one of three reasons. Firstly, Arabic is their mother tongue and they can understand it better than any other language in all its forms; as a poem, a speech or a song. Indeed, it is much easier for

⁷ P<.001

⁸ P<.001

them to capture the meanings hidden behind the songs' similes, metaphors and alliterations when they are in Arabic; especially as the majority of songs are in TA.

Second, many informants would listen to Arabic songs for identity reasons, especially those who identify themselves above all as Arab citizens. Listening to Arabic songs may revive in them their sense of belonging to the Arabic world and culture in this era of cultural 'imperialism and hegemony'.

Third and finally, Arabic songs are very popular in Tunisia due to the innumerable festivals which are held every year in virtually every single city in Tunisia. For instance, prominent festivals such as Carthage, Hammamet and Sfax Festivals, among many others, attract hundreds of Arab singers and tens of thousands of people yearly, which constantly increases the popularity of Arab songs and singers, to the extent that Ben Ali's regime was often criticised for using these festivals to draw people's attention away from their real problems.

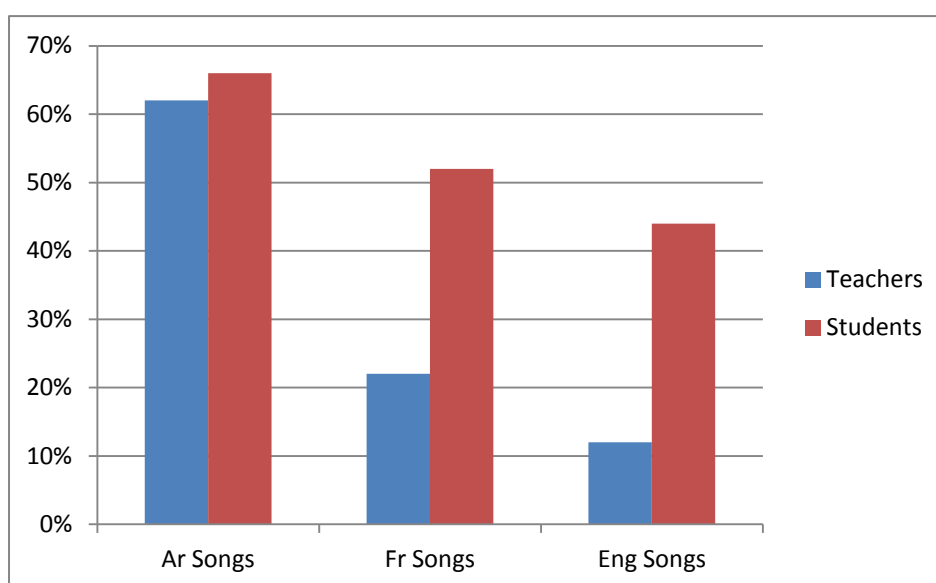
As far as teachers are concerned, the results of the study show that they said they listened to Arabic songs significantly more frequently than the French and the English ones; respectively, 62%, 22% and 12% (See table 4.8 below). Arabic songs appeal essentially to the teachers' nostalgic side, as they remind them of the days when listening to songs to them was the only means of distraction and when Arabic was the only language in whose songs they could see their deep feelings expressed. That's why most teachers prefer old songs in particular and many of them still love and listen to the legendary Egyptian singer, Om Kalthoum, who was for them their exclusive favourite singer, "I haven't been able to listen to this new generation of singers, their songs just make me sick" said a 55 year-old teacher. It is worth noting here that Arabic songs have undergone a dramatic change in the last couple of decades, as they grew shorter and musically closer to Western songs due to the introduction of European musical instruments. For example, one song by the above-mentioned Om Kalthoum would last one hour or more; this period of time is now enough to listen to twenty Arabic songs or even more.

Table 4.8 Frequency of Listening to songs across languages:

Frequency	Arabic Songs		French Songs		English	
	Teachers	Students	Teachers	Students	Teachers	Students
Always or often	62%	66%	23%	52%	12%	43%
Rarely or Never	8%	13%	36%	18%	52%	28%

Just like teachers on this particular point, data indicate that students stated that they listened to Arabic songs more frequently than all other songs in all other languages. More accurately, about 66%, 52% and 44% (See Table 4.8 below) said they listened to songs respectively in Arabic, French and English. This common point between both groups is essentially due to their belonging to the same Arabic linguistic and cultural background. Nevertheless, the difference in frequency of listening to songs across languages is widely different between the two groups, as it shows in Figure 4.2 below.

Figure 4.2 Listening to Songs Across Languages



As is clear in Figure 4.2, for teachers, there is a huge difference between the frequency with which they listen to Arabic songs by comparison with French and English songs, which is not the case for students. This difference between the two groups seems to be due to two main reasons. First, the younger generation's will to be citizens of the world and second the easy access they have to all languages and cultures of the world thanks to their interaction with this globalised world. Roughly a decade ago, Daoud (2001: 19) summarised the English situation as promoted in the Tunisian media in a rather complaining tone, "English seems to be gaining little ground in the local media," and this is, according to him, due to the short time, one hour a day, which then was devoted to it on an essentially French-speaking radio known in Tunisia by the name RTCI (Radio Tunis Chaîne Internationale) and because most of it was songs.

Although short, RTCI time for English had a deep impact on Tunisian youngsters, as it shaped to a large extent their musical preferences. Over a decade ago, Judy (1999: 8-9) noticed that, “Grade-school girls walk down the street singing Spice Girl lyrics in clearly enunciated English. And Michael and Janet Jackson have become near icons, along with scores of other U.S. popular culture figures ranging from Pearl Jam to John Travolta.” This love for English songs has been further confirmed with the many opportunities that the internet has provided for youngsters to listen to world songs.

Table 4.9 Listening to French Songs * ID Crosstabulation

		ID		Total
		Teachers	Students	
Listening to French Songs	Always	7.2%	31.4%	23.2%
	often	15.5%	20.7%	18.9%
	sometimes	41.2%	29.3%	33.3%
	rarely	23.7%	11.7%	15.8%
	Never	12.4%	6.9%	8.8%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Furthermore, a quick comparison between teachers’ and students’ responses suggests that students said they listened to significantly more French and English songs than teachers. Apart from the age factor, which probably suggests that youngsters listen to more songs than the adults or the old, this difference seems to indicate that students may be willing to prove that they are citizens of the world and that they want to go beyond national borders, even through the simple act of listening to songs.

Table 4.10 Listening to English Songs * ID Crosstabulation

		ID		Total
		Teachers	Students	
Listening to English Songs	Always	5.2%	32.4%	23.2%
	often	7.2%	11.2%	9.8%
	sometimes	35.1%	28.2%	30.5%
	rarely	26.8%	16.5%	20.0%
	Never	25.8%	11.7%	16.5%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Data also show that more than 16% said they never listened to English songs, 8.8% said they never listened to French songs and finally 5.6% stated that they never listened even to Arabic songs. Even though this response looks unexpected, still, for religious reasons, there are Tunisians who rarely or never listen to songs because this activity might prevent

them from ‘worshipping God’ or doing their prayers properly. Furthermore, for some radical Islamists listening to French or English songs looks like committing a sin because these songs might include words that are from a certain religious perspective considered as taboo words, especially when they describe a sexual scene or promote what they judge as ‘misbehaviour’ or a blasphemous view. There are even some ‘fatwas’ that make it ‘haram’ or religiously forbidden to listen to songs, although such fatwas are rejected by the majority of Tunisians who have always adopted a moderate religious view that fundamentalists often sarcastically referred to as ‘Islam Light’.

These radical views have had serious political repercussions. Indeed, they had for long given Ben Ali legitimacy in many Western countries to be Tunisia’s ruler forever with hardly any attention paid to what he was indeed doing with freedom of expression. They just thought of him as a real barrier against the appearance and spread of extremism, especially as he was always keen on introducing himself as a moderate and modernist man of dialogue, as indicated in the following quote from a speech he delivered at the opening of an international conference on "Dialogue among Civilizations and Cultural Diversity”

We have also established an academic Chair for dialogue among civilizations and religions. We have created an international prize for solidarity, and an international award for the promotion of Islamic studies that advocate moderation, the golden mean and enlightened thinking. We have hosted various regional and international meetings and conferences on inter-civilisational dialogue and world solidarity, which were crowned with important charters and declarations (Ben Ali, June 2nd 2009)

My hypothesis was that the older generation would say they listened more frequently to Arabic and French songs for essentially historical reasons and the younger generation listen more to English songs essentially due to globalisation which is often said to be promoting English. The data revealed that the younger generation said they listened to significantly more French and English songs, but no significant difference between the two generations was detected when it comes to listening to Arabic songs (See Appendix IV). This seems to indicate two points; first that the spread of French and, more widely, English songs through such means as satellite TV and radio channels and the internet has impacted on the younger generation more than the older more due to the youngsters’ statistically proven more frequent use of the web pages, (See for example Chart 4.1) and second that the Arabic songs seem to resist to some extent these globalisation changes, as they still seem to unify Tunisians across different age-groups.

4.4.2. Watching Programmes by Languages

One of the statements that I changed compared to the pilot study was the one asking students to what extent they watched programmes in each of the three languages. The pilot questionnaire statement was: ‘the foreign language I mostly watch TV programmes in is...’ and informants had to tick one of the suggested languages i.e. Arabic, French, English (or another language, specify). I learned from this statement that the word TV was very restrictive particularly to students because they watch a great deal of their favourite programmes on the net as well.

The word ‘programmes’ used in the main study questionnaire is an umbrella term that encompasses all visual activities, as anything that one can watch whether on TV or on the net could be referred to as a programme. Besides, with the huge array of programmes on both TV channels and the internet, the choice of the language of the programme could be quite indicative of two things: the relatively high proficiency of the audience in the language of the programme or the desire to improve it and the rather positive attitude towards the language. When one says they watch the news in English it probably reveals that they understand the news in this language, they want to better their English and that they have quite a positive attitude towards it.

As indicated in Table 4.11, almost 80% of teachers and more than 75% of students stated that they regularly watched Arabic programmes. This majority is due to logistic, linguistic, religious and political reasons.

Logistically speaking, the huge number of Arabic satellite channels on TV and online that are currently available as free view in Tunisia and across the Arab world made it possible to watch all kinds of programmes in Arabic twenty-four hours, seven days a week. For instance, many Arabic channels present on a daily basis tens of movies accessible to all Arabic audiences without either license or subscription and this has enlarged the audience of Arab programmes in Tunisia dramatically. In addition, popular websites such as YouTube contains thousands of videos in Arabic, which can be watched or even downloaded. It is to be noted here that when this questionnaire was administered, YouTube was forbidden in Tunisia because it included videos critical of Ben Ali and his policies but still people were able to get video clips through other sites, which seems to indicate the power of globalisation and the Tunisians’ strong adherence to it, on the one hand, and the possibility that globalisation serves the first language on the other, as in this case, a worldwide internet site has enabled Tunisians to watch more programmes in their own language.

On the political side, the appearance of such serious news channels and networks as Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiyya in the Arab world made it possible for Tunisians to watch critical political programmes and to follow the news with more confidence that they might not be biased or at least inaccurate. For example, during the days of uprising and unrest in Tunisia, people mostly followed Al-Jazeera in Qatar to get more reliable news about what was going on, which had once been an area occupied by French or English channels.

Religiously speaking, there are channels that broadcast exclusively religious programmes like 'IKra' (Read), 'El-Majd' (The Glory) and Ennour (The Light). These channels attract a large audience, especially among those who boycott music and songs, because these channels broadcast exclusively either the Holy Quran recited by different Arab sheikhs or live programmes where people can call and ask about challenging religious issues. This correlation in some Tunisians' minds between Arabic and religion is, according to Moore (2008: 1), due to the French colonial language policy, "When France made Tunisia a protectorate in 1881, they introduced language policies that established French as the language of the public sphere and restricted Arabic to religion and to the home sphere."

Table 4.11 Watching Arabic Programmes * ID Crosstabulation

		ID		Total
		Teachers	Students	
Watching Arabic Programmes	Always	41.8%	48.4%	46.2%
	often	37.8%	28.2%	31.5%
	sometimes	16.3%	15.4%	15.7%
	rarely	1.0%	4.8%	3.5%
	Never	3.1%	3.2%	3.1%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

There was still a minority of 6.6% of respondents who stated that they rarely or never watched Arabic programmes. People who do not watch Arabic programmes could be either those who watch exclusively French or English programmes, or those who don't watch any programmes at all. The first type apparently includes people who can hardly express themselves in Arabic and, so they are least expected to follow Arabic programmes in particular. The second type is probably made up of those who boycott all kinds of programmes for religious reasons, an issue to be explored later in the chapter.

Marley, in her research in Morocco asked her students to what extent they watched television programmes in classical Arabic (Marley, 2005) and the result was to a large extent different from the results of this questionnaire. For instance more than 26% percent of her respondents said they rarely watched programmes in this variety of Arabic; whereas for this research only 3.1% said they rarely did. There are two clear reasons for this difference; first, Marley (2005) chose to ask her respondents about TV programmes in particular not on all kinds of programmes, which makes her question more restrictive, and second she asked them about the programmes in classical Arabic, which is an old variety of Arabic that is currently hardly understood and very rarely used in all Arab countries. Besides, there are hardly any programmes in classical Arabic whether on TV or even online. That's why only 37% of Marley's respondents stated that they frequently did (Marley, 2005: 1492). Classical Arabic programmes are usually available across the Arab world exclusively in the holy month of Ramadan in which all Arabs fast during daylight.

What is very significant in the findings of the data is that by comparing those who said they never watched programmes across the three languages, there are about 1/10 of teachers who said they rarely watched French programmes, but none of them said they never watched programmes in French (See table 4.12 below)

Table 4.12 Watching French Programmes * ID Crosstabulation

		ID		Total
		Teachers	Students	
Watching French Programmes	Always	20.4%	20.6%	20.6%
	often	36.7%	22.8%	27.5%
	sometimes	32.7%	35.4%	34.5%
	rarely	10.2%	14.3%	12.9%
	Never		6.9%	4.5%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

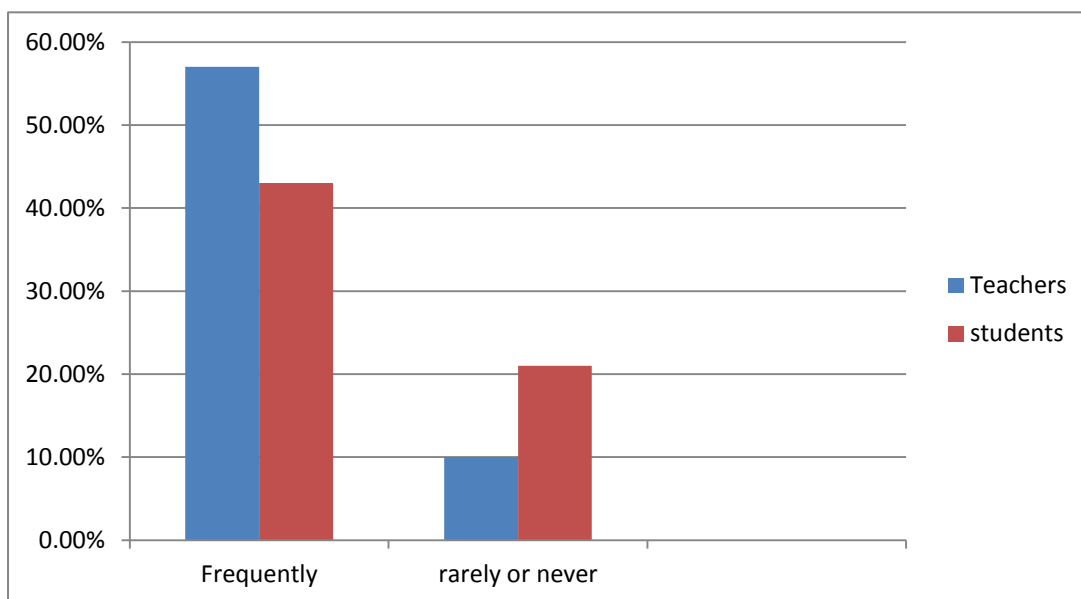
While no teachers said they did not watch programmes in French, 6.9% of students said they never did. This seems to indicate two points; first, the strong connection between teachers, being the older generation in this study, and French, which leads us to talk about the identity of the elite that Judy (2001: 6) calls “collective cultural identity,” which Moore (2008) attributes to the nature of the French colonial spirit “the creation of the French protectorate ushered in a new era in which language became not just a medium of communication, but a declaration of social and political identity” (Moore, 2008: 5). This identity is now known as the Francophone identity and is adopted chiefly by a small elite of Tunisians that would even boycott Arab programmes in favour of French ones.

The second point is that there is an important minority of more than 21% of students (see Table 4.12 above) who would rarely or never watch programmes in French. This percentage is more than double the percentage of teachers who rarely or never watch programmes in French. This huge difference between the two generations seems to indicate that the younger generation is less keen on watching programmes in French, which may be indicative of the French loss of some kind of emotional ground among the youngsters who may have found alternative in the Arabic or English programmes.

About 48% of the respondents said they constantly watched French programmes. This tradition dates back to about three decades ago when the Tunisian exclusive channel was named Radio Television Tunisienne (RTT). At ten o'clock at night, programmes would shift to French starting by rebroadcasting the news in French and then most of the time presenting an American black and white movie dubbed in French. This tradition seems to continue to exist, especially with the older generation who, according to this study, watch French Programmes significantly⁹ more frequently than students as is clear in Figure 4.3 below. "I couldn't change my habits; until now, I follow the French programmes more than the Arabic ones and read the French newspapers more than the Arabic ones. I've been doing this for over 40 years now, it's hard to change now" a teacher admitted.

⁹ P<.02

Figure 4.3 Watching Programmes in French



Students, on the other hand, said they watched programmes in English significantly more frequently than teachers ¹⁰; 42.3% against 14.4% (see Table 4.13 below). The highly significant difference between teachers and the students on this very point (See Appendix IV) strongly indicates that the new generation are much more interested in English language and culture than the older one that was described by Daoud (2001:22) as, “profoundly Frenchified”. They also seem to think that English programmes, whether scientific or literary are probably more useful and this is probably one of the areas in which English is gaining ground in Tunisia. American movies seem to be very attractive to Tunisian youngsters, probably enhanced by the fact that some US movies have been shot in Tunisia like, “*The English Patient* and the latest *Star Wars* movie, Episode I: *The Phantom Menace*.” (Judy, 1999: 8).

Table 4.13 Watching English Programmes * ID Crosstabulation

		ID		Total
		Teachers	Students	
Watching English Programmes	Always	7.2%	24.3%	18.5%
	often	7.2%	18.0%	14.3%
	sometimes	49.5%	28.0%	35.3%
	rarely	24.7%	17.5%	19.9%
	Never	11.3%	12.2%	11.9%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

¹⁰ P<.001

The difference between the two groups would not have existed unless globalisation had made it possible to choose among programmes and languages. That means, had there been only local channels in Tunisia that broadcast in Arabic and French exclusively, as the situation once was, the conflict would have probably been between these two languages and English would have been out of question. This situation speaks to the strong role played by globalisation as means of world communication and cultural exchange in giving English a more important status even in a country like Tunisia where normally French has a strong hold of people's minds.

4.5. Reading Activities by languages

Although reading can make a huge difference in people's lives, ranging from making them "feel better" to literally "saving their lives," according to research done by Sabine and Sabine on 1400 Americans (Elkin, Train and Denham, 2003: 10), "fewer people are reading for pleasure" concluded Bafumo (2006), a programme director for a council of educational change. Elkin, Train and Denham, (2003: ix) introduced their book by speaking of the "death of reading" and "demise of the book."

This investigation to some extent confirms this conclusion with a little more than half the respondents saying they frequently read for pleasure in Arabic, less than 32% in French and, to cap it all, less than 10% in English. Three statements were included in the questionnaire to gauge to what extent teachers and students read for pleasure across the three languages suggested.

4.5.1. Reading for pleasure in Arabic

Data show that teachers read significantly¹¹ more frequently for pleasure in Arabic than students; 72.5% against 44% (see Table 13 below). "Teachers have the time to read, but we don't," complained one of the students convincingly. Indeed, it is noteworthy that the students who responded to this questionnaire are at a level judged by many Tunisians as an academic turning point in one's life, as at the end of it, students take a national-scale exam; those who pass go to university and those who do not, have to stay at the same level for another whole year and even for those who pass, they need to have high scores, especially in the main subjects in order to have their favourite major. That in mind, many students would be pragmatic enough to focus exclusively on what they might have on the exam

¹¹ P<.001

paper and all ignore such activities as reading for pleasure. The result: more than 32.5% of students rarely or never read in Arabic, more than 36% rarely or never read in French and finally more than 63% rarely or never read in English.

Table 4.14 Reading in Arabic * ID Crosstabulation

		ID		Total
		Teachers	Students	
Reading in Arabic	Always	37.8%	23.6%	28.4%
	often	34.7%	20.4%	25.3%
	sometimes	18.4%	23.6%	21.8%
	rarely	6.1%	14.7%	11.8%
	Never	3.1%	17.8%	12.8%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4.15 Reading for Pleasure in French * ID Crosstabulation

		ID		Total
		Teachers	Students	
Reading in French	Always	12.0%	12.1%	12.1%
	often	28.0%	15.3%	19.7%
	sometimes	34.0%	36.3%	35.5%
	rarely	15.0%	18.4%	17.2%
	Never	11.0%	17.9%	15.5%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The Independent T-Test showed that students said they read for pleasure in English significantly¹² more than teachers and teachers said they read for pleasure in French and Arabic significantly more than students (See Appendix IV). This result confirms the hypothesis that the younger generation is more interested in English than the older one. Based on percentages, unsurprisingly enough, teachers said they read in French slightly more frequently than students; 30% against about 27% and students' responses show that they said they read more than teachers for pleasure in English; 10.5% against 8.4% (see Table 4.16 below). This slight difference could still show different reading preferences between generations. English seems to be slowly taking over an important domain from French. In the sharp absence of books and journals in print in public libraries, a few young people seem to be seeking alternatives online, which unveils the role of globalisation as

¹² P<.01

currently a principal provider of materials for reading especially in a francophone country like Tunisia where the printed legacy is predominantly in French.

To check availability of books across languages, the researcher visited one of the public libraries whose roles are supposed to include “providing reading materials and implementing initiatives to attract and retain more readers” (Glass, Barlow, Glass, 2008: 180) in El Alia, a city of average size in the north of Tunisia. This public library is made up of two storeys: an underground floor for primary school children and one on the first floor for young students and adults. According to the library director who was kind enough to release statistics from the library records, based on the latest statistics from late in 2011, the total number of titles in the library was 8,187 titles for the adults sorted by language as follows: 5,424 Arabic books, 2,663 French books and 100 English books and 13,209 books for the children, 11,140 of them in Arabic, 1,900 in French and 169 in English. These statistics may help to explain why reading in English was so low according to all respondents.

**Table 4.16 Reading for Pleasure in English * ID
Crosstabulation**

		ID		Total
		Teachers	Students	
Reading in English	Always	5.3%	6.3%	6.0%
	often	2.1%	4.2%	3.5%
	sometimes	17.0%	25.7%	22.8%
	rarely	21.3%	27.7%	25.6%
	Never	54.3%	36.1%	42.1%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

However, reading for pleasure may not develop adequately as a habit as long as books and journals are not publicly available and in print. The small number of books in English in the majority of public libraries all over Tunisia partly explains why more than 75% of teachers and more than 60% of students said they rarely or never read for pleasure in English.

In addition, the Tunisian media have recently undergone a dramatic change in their linguistic profile, but to the benefit of the Arabic language and only to a lesser degree to the benefit of English. Indeed, till recently, there were only ten daily newspapers produced in Tunisia evenly divided between Arabic and French; five-five, and only one single English weekly printed newspaper that is not intended for the public, as it “circulated

mostly through subscriptions to foreign agencies and companies in the country and Tunisian embassies abroad” (Daoud, 2001: 20). At the moment, and more specifically after the Tunisian Revolution, a communication boom has taken place both on the level of the print publications and web-based publications, as indicated in the following in Table 4.17. Arabic has now more than three times the number of French-printed newspapers in Tunisia, which makes the linguistic situation of the media different from that of Morocco where 11 newspapers are published in Arabic and the same number in French (Source: La presse marocaine) and dramatically different from that of Algeria where 22 newspapers are published in French and 7 in Arabic. (Source: La presse algérienne)

Based on web research there still seems to be no real printed newspaper published in English in Tunisia. Instead, Tunisian readers rely on either imported publications in English like the Times, Newsweek newspapers or on online websites which seem to be accessed to a greater extent by the younger generation.

Table 4.17 List of Tunisian Newspapers and News Websites by Language

Name of the Newspaper	Language	issue d	Publicati on	Links
1. Assabah	A	D	PP & O	http://www.assabah.com.tn
2. Chourouk	A	D	PP & O	www.alchourouk.com
3. El-Anwar	A	W	PP	
4. El Elane	A	W	PP	
5. El Mousawer	A		PP	
6. El Mawkif	A		PP	
7. Ettounsiyya	A		PP	
8. El-Maghreb	A		PP	
9. El-wihda	A	W	PP & O	www.elwahda.org.tn/
10. El-Masaa	A	W	P	
11. El-Masdar	A		O	http://www.almasdar.tn/
12. Assahafa	A	D	P & O	http://www.essahafa.info.tn/
13. Assarih	A		P	
14. Echaab	A	D	P & O	http://www.echaab.info.tn/
15. El-Moulahidh	A		O	www.almoulahedh.com.tn/
16. Albadil	A		O	www.albadil.org/
17. Tunisie Alwasat	A		O	www.tunisiealwasat.com/
18. Alfajr News	A		O	www.alfajrnews.net/news/
19. Al-Fajr	A	W	P	
20. La Presse	F	D	P & O	www.lapresse.tn/
21. Le Temps	F	D	P & O	www.letemps.com.tn/
22. Tunishebdo	F	W	P	
23. Le Quotidien	F	D		
24. L’Economiste Maghrebin	F		O	www.leconomistemaghrebin.com/
25. Akhbar Tounis	F		O	http://www.akhbar.tn/
26. Realite	A & F	W	P & O	www.realites.com.tn

27. Tunis Afrique Press	A, E & F		O	http://www.tap.info.tn
28. Tunisia Online News	E		O	www.tunisiaonlinenews.com/
29. Tunisia live	E		O	www.tunisia-live.net/
30. <i>African Manager</i>	A, E, & F		O	www.africanmanager.com
31. <i>The North Africa Journal</i>	E		O	www.north-africa.com/
32. <i>All Africa</i>	E & F		O	http://allafrica.com/tunisia/
33. <i>Panapress</i>	A, F, & E		O	http://www.panapress.com/

- Note: A: Arabic; F: French; E: English; D: Daily; W: Weekly; P: Printed; O: Online
- The last four sites (in Italics) display all African countries' news including Tunisia.

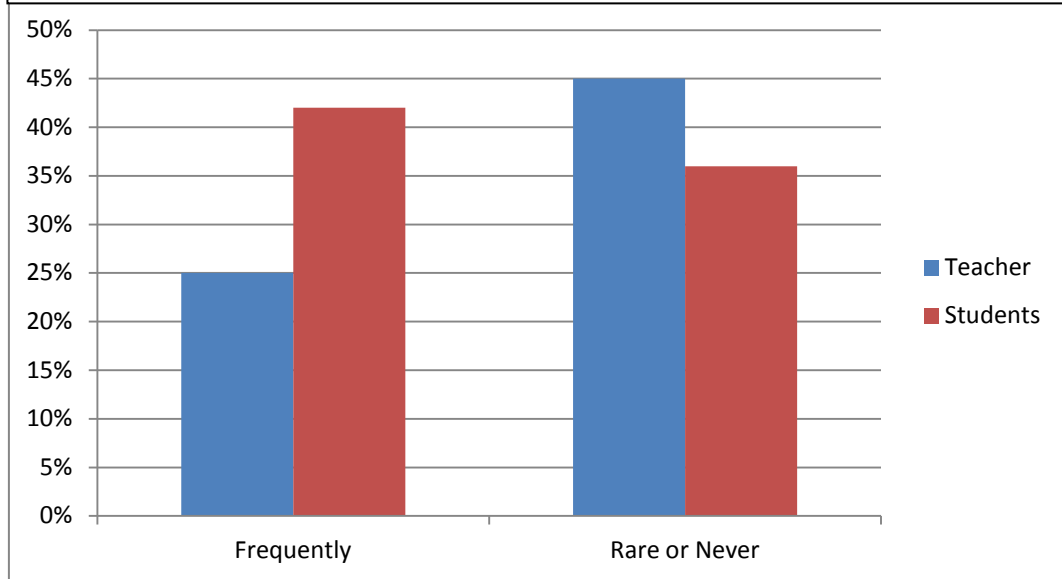
4.6. English as Lingua Franca in Tunisia

Generally speaking, lingua franca means “a common language between people who do not share a mother tongue” (Kirkpatrick, 2010: 13); so English as a lingua franca refers to “communication in English between speakers with different first languages” (Seidlhofer, 2005: 1). Using English as a lingua franca by Tunisians may be indicative of its global value from their perspective; that is why a statement was included in the questionnaire to ask to what extent they used it as such.

Being largely a touristic country, Tunisia had to be equipped with an effective means of communication that will enable visitors who pour from the four corners of the globe with different linguistic backgrounds to understand and appreciate the local culture that they are there to explore.

Till the 1980s, French was exclusively the Tunisians' lingua franca (Daoud, 2001: 23). Data reveal here that more than 36% of the informants stated that they frequently used English with foreigners (see Table 4.17 below). It is worth noticing here that the questionnaire was not distributed in what might, strictly speaking, be termed tourist areas as such areas cannot be representative of how people behave with foreigners more generally. Instead, normal cities that have often been visited by tourists and foreigners were chosen for the study. Among the results of this choice is that the total number of respondents who said they frequently used English as a lingua franca and that of respondents who said they rarely or never did were more or less balanced, 36% as opposed to 38%.

Figure 4.4 Use of English as a lingua Franca



Respondents who said they rarely or never used English with foreigners may be either those who have rarely or never socialized with foreigners, as admitted to by some respondents, or those who are not confident that they were able to communicate in English, as the problem of language proficiency often becomes a psychological one relating to one's self-esteem.

Table 4.18 The Use of English as a lingua Franca * ID Crosstabulation

		ID		Total
		Teachers	Students	
The Use of English as a lingua Franca	Always	9.9%	24.3%	19.6%
	often	15.4%	17.5%	16.8%
	sometimes	29.7%	22.2%	24.6%
	rarely	24.2%	17.5%	19.6%
	Never	20.9%	18.5%	19.3%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The students' use of English as a lingua franca is significantly¹³ higher than that of teachers groups. This seems to show the younger generation's awareness of the importance of English as a main language of globalisation and indicate that it may be taking a role that was played by French with the older generation.

¹³ $p < 0.012$

4.7 The Religious Role of Arabic

Two main reasons lie behind the strong connection between the Arabic language and the Islamic religion. The first is the holy book of Muslims. Indeed, one of the 'Eyet' verses of the Quran emphasises that it was revealed to the prophet Mohamed on purpose in Arabic, "Verily, We have sent it down as an Arabic Qur'an in order that you may understand." (Quran: Surah Yusuf, verse 2) The very mention of Arabic in this verse strengthened the link between the two and made the Arabic language in many Muslim people's minds a sacred language. Besides, preserving literary Arabic means that the Quran would continue to be understood and the opposite could well be considered as a threat, as it may mean that one day, Muslims will be unable to understand it. This argument is common across all Arab countries.

The second reason, typical to Tunisia and Maghreb countries, is often connected with the French colonial policies in the area, as was mentioned before. France to a large extent created an attitude among people that French was the language of science and technology and Arabic the language of religion. This attitude was until recently very common among many Tunisians to the extent that they could not imagine for example Maths being taught in Arabic and many students who had the experience of studying Maths, in French and then in Arabic had hard times trying to cope with the Arabic terminology, although many technical terms are originally Arabic like Algebra, and logarithm.

Now, when sheikhs speak on the pulpit of a mosque on Fridays to deliver the weekly religious sermon, they mostly use either Literary Arabic or MSA, but very rarely TA. The same is true for Religious Education teachers; they mostly try to use literary Arabic or MSA in class. Even the recent online religious discussions did not change this, as in social networks most of these discussions reflect the tendency to use predominantly Arabic.

Indeed, the very use of a refined version of Arabic in this context across the Arab world makes it correlate strongly with many people's inner feelings as echoed in research conducted a few years ago in Algeria where a majority of 82% of respondents said they felt "close to God" in literary Arabic (Benrabah, 2007: 238).

However, in spite of this strong liaison between Arabic and religion, only 40% of the total number of respondents said they used MSA in religious discussions and, surprisingly

enough, more than 30% said they rarely or never used it. One of the main reasons for this situation was political, as this questionnaire was distributed in the final years of Ben Ali's rule and his interior policies were known for associating religious discussions with such dangerous accusations as extremism and violence. Afraid of these allegations, many people were too inhibited to discuss religious issues and, if they did, it was mostly done in TA to make such discussions difficult to distinguish from other kinds of daily discussion.

Table 4.19 The Use of Standard Arabic in Religious Discussions * ID Crosstabulation

		ID		Total
		Teachers	Students	
The Use of Standard Arabic in Religious Discussions	Always	5.2%	21.7%	16.1%
	often	33.3%	19.6%	24.2%
	sometimes	38.5%	23.8%	28.8%
	rarely	12.5%	16.4%	15.1%
	Never	10.4%	18.5%	15.8%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Due to the complexity of the discussions about the religious issue in Tunisia namely from a political perspective, the responses seemed to be contradictory. On the one hand, a substantial proportion of students said they used MSA in religious discussions more frequently than teachers; more than 41% against 38.5% and on another hand significantly more students than teachers said they rarely or never used MSA in discussing religious issues; almost 35% as opposed to almost 23%. Students' majors can partly explain this 'contradiction,' however. For literary students Religious Education is a subject that they study for 2 hours a week and in terms of the final year assignment they have to sit an exam conducted in MSA; however, for science students it is not a school subject at all, so their discussion of religious issues may be less frequent and therefore they might not use MSA at all.

4.8 Conclusion

Table 4.20 summarises the areas in which statistically significant differences were detected between teachers' and students' responses with respect to domains of use in Arabic, French and English.

Table 4.20 Teachers and students' Domains of Language Use: Significant Differences

Domains of Language Use	Statistical Significance	Teachers	Students
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Use English as lingua Franca	$p<0.012$	25.3%	41.8%
Codeswitch to French	$p<0.001$	29.4%	60.6%
Codeswitch to English	$p<0.007$	8.3%	22.3%
Use Roman Arabic	$p<0.001$	15.6%	78.8%
Watch French Programmes	$p<0.013$	57.1%	43.4%
Watch English programmes	$p<0.001$	14.4%	42.3%
Listen to French songs	$p<0.001$	23%	52%
Listen to English songs	$p<0.001$	12%	43%
Use English in online chatting	$p<0.021$	10%	14.5%
Reading for pleasure in Arabic	$p<0.001$	72.5%	44%
Reading for pleasure in French	$p<0.047$	40%	27.4%
Reading for pleasure in English	$p<0.020$	7.4%	10.5%

Overall, the data show that there is a clear difference between teachers and students in their uses of languages across domains, especially in the fields that involve English language use. Indeed, students said they used significantly more English as a lingua Franca than teachers and more English for chatting online, listened to more English songs, code-switched more to English, watched more English programmes and read more for pleasure in English.

On the other hand, teachers said they read significantly more for pleasure in French, and watched significantly more French programmes, which may indicate that the older generation continues to use French in a number of domains. Indeed, even globalisation and the programmes that it makes available whether through the internet or satellite channels do not seem to have changed their Frenchified habits. This older generation's behaviour seems to confirm Daoud's claim that Tunisia was "a profoundly Frenchified country" (Daoud, 2001). However, the data seem to indicate that the younger generation is changing these habits by going for more English through resources that are made available thanks to globalisation agents like the ultra modern means of communication such as the internet and satellite channels. Globalisation seems to be leading Tunisian Francophone bilingual society through to a trilingual era with French and English enjoying to a large extent the same status.

Chapter Five: Public Language Attitudes in Tunisia

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter domains of language use in Tunisia were investigated and it was noted that globalisation has had an impact on the way students and teachers used the different languages at their disposal. Generally speaking, data revealed that teachers reported using more French than students and students used more English than teachers. In this chapter, language attitudes will be investigated to find out how people feel about the three main languages and if any changes are taking place in people's attitudes towards them.

Generally speaking, there are at least two good reasons for investigating language attitudes. First of all, it enables us to explore the position of a certain language in a society. Mugaddam argues that, "as language constitutes an integral part of society and individuals' identity, people's attitudes towards it must have strong effects on its status within a given community" (Mugaddam, 2005:1). That means there is a positive correlation between attitudes towards a language in a certain country and its status in it.

Second, attitudes are worth exploring because they enlighten educators and policy makers enabling them to take the right decisions. Attitudes can have a profound impact on linguistic behaviour whether in a school context or in society at large. Zhang and Hu point out that "knowing learners' attitudes to a language is valuable in language education and language-related policymaking" (Zhang and Hu, 2008: 342). So, usually when the general population has positive attitudes towards a language, policy makers might be expected to take this into consideration as one of the drivers of their linguistic decisions and measures. That means, they are likely to give it a special status in their education, communication and policies. If people have negative attitudes, they may be expected to underestimate or even exclude a particular language from their plans and policies.

Nevertheless, probably for political reasons, very little research has been devoted to attitudes in the Tunisian linguistic context because the study of attitudes involves making an assessment of government policies in the investigated field, either directly or indirectly, and this was politically risky when Ben Ali was in power. Daoud who is the most prolific researcher in Tunisia, for example, has cautiously tackled this issue through a 'small-scale

survey' (Daoud, 2001: 9), asking people one question about the languages with which a Tunisian citizen could live and prosper. In Morocco, Marley (2003) conducted a research investigation on students' and teachers' attitudes to languages with a special focus on French and Arabic. She distributed a questionnaire on 159 students and a group of teachers and came up with important data revealing essentially that these respondents were predominantly for Arabic-French bilingualism. Also, they believed that "French is useful for working in Morocco, and useful for science and technology" and English was "more important internationally (Marley, 2003: 38).

This section of the research, still drawing on the results of the questionnaires described in Chapters 3 and 4, aims to investigate students' and teachers' attitudes towards the three languages in Tunisia with a special focus on English, the status of which has been recently positively influenced by globalisation. My first hypothesis is that, although Tunisia is essentially an Arabic and a Francophone country, attitudes towards the three main languages in Tunisia have recently been influenced by the "unprecedented spread of English" (Tsui and Tollefson, 2007: vii) during the last couple of decades thanks to the spread of such aspects of globalisation as the internet, satellite channels and world organisations. My second hypothesis is that attitudes to English have become more positive among students in particular, as it has a good reputation for being the language of science, technology and global communication.

It is noteworthy that an attitude is essentially referred to in this research as, "potentially an evaluative stance that is sufficiently stable to allow it to be identified and in some sense measured" (Garrett, Coupland, and Williams, 2003: 3). 'Evaluative stance' here means that the participants' attitudes can serve as an assessment of the three main languages in Tunisia and 'measured' implies that this evaluation can be investigated.

5.2 Arabic Language and Identity in Tunisia

Generally speaking, language is strongly linked to identity. Joseph (2010:1) argues that, "in reality, our very sense of who we are, where we belong and why, and how we relate to those around us, all have language at their centre." So, speaking one language rather than another is of extreme importance in identifying people's identities. "Researchers have been analysing how people's choices of languages, and ways of speaking, do not simply reflect who they are, but make them who they are— or more precisely, allow them to make themselves." (Joseph, 2010: 1)

However, it is not easy to identify one's language of identity because identity, as defined by Benwell and Stokoe (2006: 17), following internet research in 2005, is a "possession that can be authenticated or falsified," just like "identity cards," which implies that in a multilingual and multicultural situation, people cannot necessarily pinpoint one linguistic identity. In addition, globalisation has made identity even vague and difficult to define. Graddol (1997: 6) pointed out that, "the close relationship that has previously existed between languages, territory and cultural identity is being challenged by globalising forces."

Furthermore, social identity theory is founded on the conviction that identity is not a single steady notion, but a number of identities which "are constituted through a process of difference defined in a relative or a flexible way..." Benwell and Stokoe (2006: 25). This theory looks at identity based on such terminologies as the 'ingroup' and 'outgroup'. For instance, for Francophones in Tunisia, the ingroup is the one who speaks French perfectly well and adopts the French way of life and the outgroup is the one who sticks to Arabic or, generally speaking, to a language other than French. This situation complicates the notion of identity and makes it a complex and dynamic one. So the statement included in the survey asking respondents to what extent they thought Arabic was their language of identity was meant is to track not only the respondents' attitudes towards Arabic, but also their sense of who they are, i.e. their identity.

The data indicate that an overwhelming majority of more than 90% of respondents agreed that Arabic was their language of identity (see Table 5.1). This majority attitude seems to indicate that most respondents probably wanted to convey that they were deeply rooted in their Arabic linguistic origins although they had gone through quite a long period of Frenchification that extended for more than seven decades and despite the fact that the TA that they speak is full of cases of code-switching to different languages. Daoud (2001: 39) describes Tunisian Arabic as, "the only native language in Tunisia which is transmitted from one generation to the next" and it is thus closely linked to people's identity.

On the level of terminology, it is clear that the majority of respondents looked at the word 'Arabic' in the survey as the language that consists of a continuum of varieties, part of which is the TA that more than 98% of Tunisians speak as their first language (Lawson and Sachdev, 2000) and which is "the mother tongue of the vast majority of Tunisians today"

(Lawson and Sachdev, 2000: 1345). That is why the respondents largely agreed about it being their language of identity.

In addition, politics have played an important role in shaping an attitude that associates speaking Arabic with a sense of identity. Indeed, in Tunisia's history since Independence in 1956, many measures have been taken in favour of Arabic whether at school or in administration. For instance, during the mid-seventies an enthusiastic Arabisation campaign was set off (Daoud, 2001) with the aim of "asserting the country's Arab-Islamic identity, and its cultural independence from Western influence" (Marley, 2004: 29). This campaign was waged in all three Maghreb Union countries, which gave it a wider sense of belonging in people's attitudes. Marley pointed out that, "Morocco, in common with Algeria and Tunisia, opted for a policy of Arabization, by which they meant replacing French, the language of the colonizer, with Arabic, the language of tradition and 'authenticity'" (Marley, 2005: 1488). This means that the process of Arabisation was intended to function as a process of self identification. Bahloul explains the spread of Arabic in Tunisia as, "to a certain extent the result of Arabization which is seen by many intellectuals and socio-political organisations in Tunisia as a process of recovering cultural and national identity" (Bahloul, 2001: 5).

This idea was reflected in Ex-president Ben Ali speeches, as he expressed his interest in promoting the teaching of the Arabic language ostensibly because it is "a mother tongue and a main component of [Tunisian] national identity" (Ben Ali, July 17, 1996). Currently, Arabic, as Daoud (2011a: 11) puts it, "remains today the country's official language as well as the anchor of its identity, in close association with Islam."

Only a minority of about 4% of the respondents disagreed about Arabic being their language of identity (see Table 5.1) and three reasons may be proposed for this. First, because the questionnaire did not 'specify which Arabic', as one of the responding students argued, "The language we are currently speaking is far from Arabic and even our culture is also different from Arabic culture" (the researcher's translation). Thus, at least some of the students who disagreed about Arabic being their language of identity thought that Tunisians have now moved away from a more traditional interpretation of Arabic and Arabic culture. These students might have agreed if the statement of the questionnaire had included TA rather than simply Arabic because they maintain that the language Tunisians speak includes a broader cultural background than Arabic and, therefore, stating that

Arabic is the Tunisians' language of identity is in their view very restrictive and does not cover all the linguistic components of Tunisians. Their identity is for them as diverse as the linguistic backgrounds of the TA.

Table 5.1: Arabic and Identity * ID Crosstabulation

		ID		Total
		Teachers	Students	
Arabic and Identity	Agree	93.9%	88.9%	90.7%
	Uncertain	2.0%	6.8%	5.2%
	Disagree	4%	4.2%	4.1%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Second, some respondents seem to have taken into consideration that Tunisia is a Francophone country where French plays an important role in the Tunisians' academic life as well as in their everyday activities. Such respondents might think that French is also an important component of their identity not only for linguistic reasons but also for cultural and historical ones, which confirms Judy's claim that, "Collective cultural identity is so identified with language that it is commonplace to refer to those Tunisians for whom French is the principal language of public intellectual exchange and business as the partisans of French (*Francisant*)." (Judy, 1999: 6)

It is worth mentioning that identity is hard to identify in a world where all cultures and languages interact. Indeed, it might have been difficult for some respondents to identify what their language of identity was due to globalisation which has provided a new notion of identity popularly referred to as that of the 'global citizen', which refers to people who "consider all countries as potential places to live, work, and play" (The Urban Dictionary). This notion has lately been discussed on a wide scale, especially on the net. Indeed, it was googled on March 31, 2012, and it gave 183 million results, which gives a clear idea of how widespread this notion has become. If respondents identify themselves as global citizens, they would perhaps disagree about Arabic being their language of identity. They would probably consider English to be everybody's language of identity as it is the

language that is the most capable of achieving global communication and cultural interaction.

However, the vast majority of the respondents, over 90%, considered their 'language of identity' to be Arabic and it may be that many of them considered that one can be a global citizen and an Arabic speaker simultaneously.

All in all, taking into consideration the importance of the French language in shaping Tunisian linguistic identity, the feeling that Arabic is diglossic led about 10% of the respondents to be uncertain or to disagree about Arabic being their language of identity. This suggests that globalisation in Tunisia did not have any considerable impact on people's sense of belonging to their mother tongue and their attitudes towards it. Globalisation in Tunisia seems to suggest an alternative for communication and interaction among people of different linguistic backgrounds in Tunisia that may touch language domains of use but not necessarily people's attitudes towards their first language.

In addition, globalisation may have weakened the Tunisian francophone's sense of belonging to the French language because their sense of belonging to it emanates principally from their feeling that it is the language that introduces them to the world and introduces the world to them, the end which has in more recent years been more successfully achieved through English.

Another statement was included in the questionnaire to check to what extent the respondents believed that Arabic, their first language, was the most important language in Tunisia. For the sake of this research, the statement was a general one and did not specify in what way or in what domains Arabic was considered to be the most important language. The aim was just to give the respondents the chance to use their own criteria to evaluate the Arabic language. Based on the results these criteria can be guessed and interesting conclusions relating to identity, religion, culture and politics can be reached. On the contrary, had the questionnaire specified the domain as in, say, "Arabic is the most important language in religion in Tunisia," the result would have been so obvious that hardly any interesting conclusions could be drawn.

The data show that a majority of more than 85 % (see Table 5.2) agreed that Arabic was for them the most important language. This result is unsurprising due to the religious,

linguistic, cultural, geographical, and political importance that the Arabic language has in Tunisia.

First, Tunisia's main religion is Islam whose prophet is Arabic and the Holy Book is written in Arabic. This has always given a special status to Arabic in Tunisians' and many Arabic people's feelings. Indeed, Arabic has often been referred to as 'the language of the Quran' and as such, Arabic "has served as a great unifying force." (Kaltzner, 1995: 159) This strong connection between the Arabic language and Islam probably made many teachers' and students' responses rather automatic. That means, Arabic might not be the most important language to them in terms of functionality or usefulness, but as long as it has such a religious dimension and connotation, it is for them the most important language in Tunisia.

Second, Arabic is the language of the overwhelming majority in Tunisia, 98% according to Lawson (2000). It is their language of identity, as the majority agreed. This fact seems to be enough for many respondents to agree that Arabic was the most important language. "It is our mother tongue and it has to be the most important language for us," said one of the respondents. For her and many others, indeed, no matter what the language is and whatever the role it plays is, as long as it is a mother tongue, it is the most important language.

Third, the majority of books, plays, movies, TV programmes in Tunisia are in Arabic, which gives it an important cultural value that makes it, according to many respondents, the most important of all languages in Tunisia. Indeed, in any of the Tunisian public libraries, for example, the majority of titles and entries are in Arabic. So, culturally speaking, no other language is as important as Arabic in Tunisia. After the 2011 Revolution, Arabic has gained more importance thanks to the plethora of new Arabic newspapers, radio and TV stations. Before, Arabic and French enjoyed the same number of newspapers. This cultural facet of Arabic seems to have heightened its importance for many respondents.

Fourth, geographically speaking, Tunisia lies in the middle of the belt, that is "extending from the Arabian Peninsula across the Fertile Crescent and on to the Atlantic Ocean," where Arabic is the main spoken language (Kaltzner, 1995: 158). The fact that Tunisia lies in this area, surrounded by Arab countries, has meant that it is related to them in many ways and through many important institutions, the most important of which is the League of Arab States (LAS), which encompasses 22 Arab countries whose main language of communication is Arabic. The geographical proximity of Tunisia and the rest of the Arabic

speaking countries has apparently reinforced the status of the Arabic language on the level of uses as well as attitudes.

Finally, as a result of the Arabisation period adopted by the language policy makers led by Mzali, the Minister of Education in the 1970s, many school subjects started to be taught in Arabic rather than French and the Arabic language had a greater role to play in academic settings and became more important even for primary school students. Moreover, following Arabisation, Arabic has been assigned other roles to play in society, i.e. outside schools, and many governmental documents like “forms, permits, certificates, correspondence and notices addressed to Tunisians,” (Daoud, 2001: 20) which were once issued exclusively in French, were henceforth to be written in Arabic. Bahloul (2001: 5) points out that the Arabisation policy in Tunisia resulted in Arabic assuming some new functions in Tunisian society. He says, “The use of Arabic is spreading and slowly taking over many of the functions formerly served by French” .

Table 5.2 Arabic Importance in Tunisia * ID Crosstabulation

		ID		Total
		Teachers	Students	
Arabic Importance in Tunisia	Agree	90.8%	82.6%	85.4%
	uncertain	3.1%	5.3%	4.5%
	Disagree	6.1%	12.1%	10.1%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

However, it is to be noted that Arabic as a subject is the first language to be introduced at school, and the first language to introduce students to science subjects throughout the 9 years of basic education. Nonetheless, sciences at a more advanced level are taught through the medium of French. Indeed, starting from the secondary school, year ten of education, Maths, Physics, Science, IT, Technical Design and all scientific subjects are studied exclusively in French, which clearly downgrades the importance of Arabic. That is perhaps the reason that made over 14% of the respondents either unsure about the

importance of Arabic or even disagree that Arabic is the most important language in Tunisia.

It is to be noted, as well, that the difference between the older generation and the younger one is statistically significant. Indeed, teachers seem to believe that ‘Arabic is the most important language in Tunisia’ more than students do. This may be due to the fact that students, especially at this level of study, are offered all the scientific courses in French which makes French for them academically speaking more important than Arabic. This situation made some students show discontent with all sciences being taught in French rather than Arabic or English. Answering a question about studying sciences in French one of the students convincingly exclaimed, “Arabic is our own language and English is the world language of science, why should we study sciences in French? It just doesn’t make sense.”

Finally, it can be concluded that there are many reasons why the respondents to this questionnaire and Tunisians in general might consider that Arabic is the most important language in Tunisia, the most significant of which is its religious, historical and cultural background. However, the role it plays in schools and in academic settings with respect to the sciences is still in its infancy and this seems to explain why some respondents disagree or have doubts about its importance. Although language policy in Tunisia promotes Arabic at the expense of French, teaching sciences at advanced levels of education seems to be a real challenge to Arabic adherents and a great deal needs to be done in this regard before a higher percent of students and teachers could consider Arabic to be the most important language in Tunisia.

5.3 Tunisian Attitudes to French Vs English

To compare the relative status of French and English in Tunisia, two statements were included in the questionnaire: ‘French is more useful than English’ and ‘English is more useful than French’. The aim of these statements was to see how students and teachers looked at these two major languages in terms of usefulness and to what extent they agreed that one of them is more valuable than the other. Analysing the responses to these statements might partly help in uncovering the discourse surrounding language policy in Tunisia and therefore partly answers the fourth research question: “What are the political and public attitudes and discourses surrounding language policy in Tunisia?”

It is noteworthy that in both statements the adjective ‘useful’ is used without any specification, i.e. without referring to the ways or domains in which it is useful. This was kept open in order to enable the respondents to look at both languages from several perspectives, although as the questionnaires were distributed in an academic setting, their attitudes were expected to reflect more or less attitudes which are commonly held in such settings. However, results of the data may be very revealing of the general attitudes towards these two main foreign languages in Tunisia both inside and outside academia.

Table 5.3 French Is More Useful Than English * ID Crosstabulation

		ID		Total
		Teachers	Students	
French Is More Useful Than English	Agree	79%	39.5%	53.1%
	Uncertain	5.0%	10.9%	8.9%
	Disagree	16.0%	49.5%	38%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Data revealed that about half of the total number of respondents agreed that French was more useful than English and about half agreed the opposite, 53.1% and 52.8% respectively. To begin, this very result reveals that the respondents’ attitudes towards the usefulness of French and English in Tunisia are very close. The difference in attitudes is so tiny that it does not seem to be that which might be expected to pertain between a long standing second language and a third foreign language. It rather looks like one between two languages that have almost the same history and status in one country like, for instance, English and French in Canada.

5.3.1 French Is More Useful than English

As stated above, more than 53% of the respondents agreed that French was more useful than English. As a majority stance, this result confirms most of the literature published about a decade or more ago about the language situation in Tunisia (Daoud, 2001; Judy, 1999; Bahloul, 2001). However, by looking at the fact that it is only a tiny majority, this result might indicate that a real change on the level of attitudes is taking place, especially compared to the way these two languages have often been portrayed in the literature.

Before entering into detail, it is important to reiterate that French is probably the most useful language in many academic settings in Tunisia. For example, it is the language of all the sciences that students study and teachers teach throughout secondary school education. Students at this stage depend on French to the extent that if they are weak at it they are usually unlikely to perform very well at any scientific subject. This seems to be one good reason for some students in particular to agree that French is more useful than English.

However, by comparing the teachers' and the students' group, it is noticeable that the proportion of teachers who agreed that French was more useful than English is significantly larger than that of students; it is indeed twice as large, 79% as opposed to 39.5%. This statistically significant¹⁴ difference in attitudes between the younger generation and the older one needs further investigation, as objective and subjective reasons seem to have contributed to the teachers' view that French is more useful than English and the students' attitude that English is more useful than French.

Objectively speaking, in the daily use of language in Tunisia, French is clearly more useful, as in some administrative and institutional contexts, French is generally used and application forms, certificates, and bills are still issued in French. For example, the three most popular bills in Tunisia, i.e. the telephone, water and electricity bills, have until recently been written in French and to understand the monthly or bimonthly charges, one needs to have at least some basic knowledge of French. Although this situation has been changing by introducing Arabic translations of most of these documents, it will take some time for the change to be fully implemented and till then French will still seem to be the only language which can be used to undertake a number of administrative transactions. For instance, up to present, the water and electricity companies are mostly known by their French acronyms SONEDE (Société Nationale d'Exploitation et de Distribution des eaux)

¹⁴ $p < 0.001$

and STEG (Société Tunisienne d'Electricité et de Gaz) although they officially have Arabic names as well.

Second, French is very useful for finding a job, as curriculum vitae are often submitted in French and interviews for interesting jobs are sometimes entirely conducted in French. That is why Daoud stated about a decade ago that French was so important in the job market that it was considered indispensable for having the “simplest office job or running a neighbourhood grocery” (Daoud, 2001: 9). Indeed, even simple jobs have until recently required at least some proficiency in French allowing employees to read addresses, bills or issue cheques. Nevertheless, this situation seems to be changing and the urgent need for French is starting to be challenged in two ways; first, by the Arabic alternative that is being forced into administration and second by an ever-growing need for English. Indeed, administration is slowly but surely being delivered in Arabic or at least bilingually in both Arabic and French. The second is that foreign investments have created the need for English proficiency as well and now it is not uncommon in Tunisia to see newspaper ads for jobs overtly requiring proficiency in English.

On the subjective side, some people in Tunisia feel that French is still very useful because they love it as a language and opt for using it whenever they have the ability to choose. For instance, some teachers still prefer to read the newspaper in French particularly since French newspapers are available everywhere, just like the Arabic ones and others prefer to watch programmes on French channels. These preferences make them continue to feel that French is more useful than English. For such people, French is not only useful, but “confers upon its users a high degree of sophistication and prestige” (Daoud, 2001: 22).

The historical background is important, too, in shaping people's attitudes towards languages. Indeed, due to the French presence in Tunisia for over seven decades, some respondents, of the older generation in particular, considered that no second thought should be given to the fact that French in Tunisia was more important than English, “In Tunisia, it goes without saying that French is more useful than English. Probably in the country where you are, (referring to the United Arab Emirates), English is more useful, but here it's a different story,” a teacher confirmed.

5.3.2 English Is More Useful than French

The majority of students agreed that English is more useful than French (see Table 5.4), although French is the exclusive language of instruction for science students and as a school subject it has a heavier weighting for Arts students. There seem to be three fundamental reasons for students' responding in this way. First of all, their thinking about their future research and studies at university, as clarified by HB, an English teacher with an experience in teaching of 18 years in Tunisia, "based on my discussions with them, students seem to be aware that English would be more useful for them at university for scientific research, especially at some advanced level," which implies that students are aware of the value of English in scientific research. Second of all, the age factor, which for ST, a newly recruited French teacher, "was very important, as students get started with English in their early teens and English for many of them represented a way to learn more songs and to watch more films". In addition, "as teenagers, when they start studying English, they seem to have already got fed up with French," she added.

Third, and finally, the English websites which students encounter even at times coincidentally while browsing the net seem to have shaped the respondents' attitudes towards the usefulness of the English language. One of the students confirmed that, "even when you google an entry in French, you often find more results in English" and from this perspective appears the importance of globalisation in promoting English sometimes even at the expense of French. On this very point, globalisation seems to have had an impact on both groups although to different degrees, as the difference between them is statistically insignificant.

Table 5.4 English is More Useful than French * ID Crosstabulation

		ID		Total
		Teachers	Students	
English is More Useful than French	Agree	48.5%	55%	52.8%
	Uncertain	18.2%	17.8%	17.9%
	Disagree	33.3%	27.2%	29.3%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

On the other hand, almost one third of the respondents believed that English was not more useful than French, the majority of them teachers. This difference in attitudes towards the usefulness of English and French seems to reflect a difference in perspectives between those who looked at the current linguistic situation inside Tunisia vis-à-vis those who looked beyond the Tunisian borders.

Overall, the data reveals that there seems to be a clear difference between the older and the younger generation in terms of which language is more useful than the other in Tunisia. Generally speaking, the young Tunisians seem to believe that English is more useful than French based essentially on their own beliefs about their academic future and the world status of English. On the other hand, the older generation still stick to the idea that, within the borders of Tunisia, French is still more important than English for practical, historical and cultural reasons. These attitudes seem to suggest that Tunisia is going smoothly and slowly through a period of linguistic transition in which English is probably going to play a more active role above all in academia, as expected by the younger generation that seems to be deeply influenced by globalisation and the image of English that it is promulgating.

5.3.3 ‘Vox pop’ questionnaire

In order to gain a broader view of attitudes to the two languages across a wider spectrum of Tunisian society, a ‘vox pop’ questionnaire was conducted and 100 people were asked while passing in the street, sitting in a coffee shop, or even during occasional party gatherings, which language they thought was the most useful for Tunisians to learn. People of different jobs, ages, genders and educational levels took part in this questionnaire. The

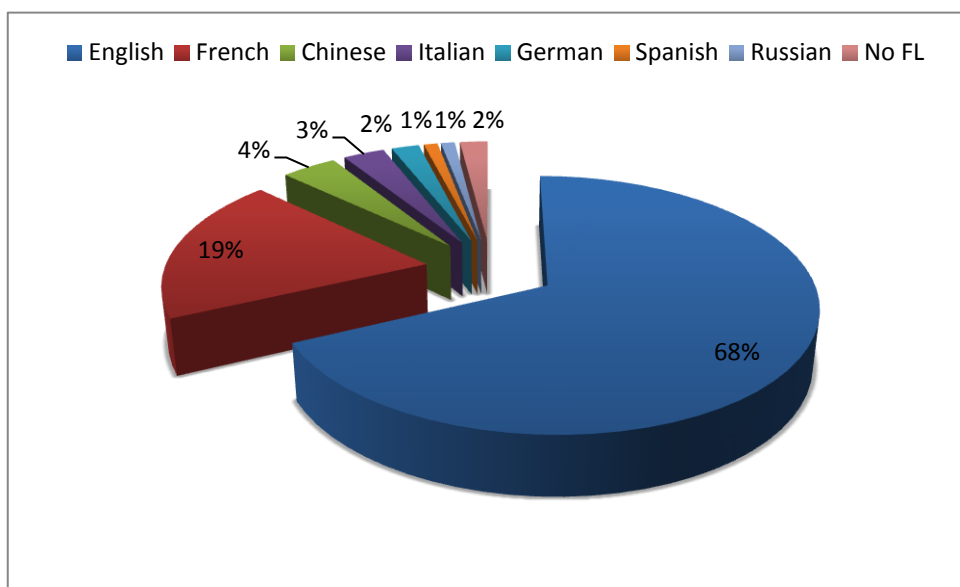
questionnaire was conducted over more than one year due to many people's, females' in particular, reluctance to respond.

5.3.3.1 The participants:

The respondents' jobs ranged from the simplest unqualified construction and farming workers, to taxi drivers and coffee shop waiters,—the list includes unemployed people as well— to skilled technicians, teachers and engineers. 70% of them were males and 30% females. 37% of them were university graduates, 29% secondary school level, i.e. studied 7 to 13 years and 34% primary school level, i.e. they had six years or less of basic education. Their ages ranged from the early twenties to over sixty. They were asked to suggest a language they thought was the most useful for Tunisians to learn and to give one single reason they considered as the most important one for their choice.

5.3.3.2 Results of the Questionnaire

Figure 5.1 Attitudes towards which language is more useful to learn in Tunisia



As indicated in the Figure 5.1, a majority of 68% of the respondents thought that English was the most useful language to learn in Tunisia and 19% thought that French was. This seems to be a strong indication that lay people are aware of the importance of English even compared to French which is Tunisia's second language. It is of course possible that few respondents did not consider that they needed to 'learn' French as it is already a second language in Tunisia. The findings suggest, however, that the result of the survey conducted in academic settings which gave a tiny majority to French in terms of usefulness was probably influenced by the role of French as the language of instruction for scientific

subjects. Outside these settings, people's attitudes seem to be considerably different and Tunisians currently seem to be weighing English and French and considering which of them they should stick to in order to benefit more from the world knowledge and technology.

Although these percentages are very significant, the reasons that the respondents gave for stating that one language was more useful than another seem to be even more revealing because they show what kind of attitudes they had towards these languages. Those, for example, who considered English to be the most useful language to learn, looked at it essentially from three perspectives: English as an International Language (EIL), English as a Language of Science and Technology (EILST) and English as a language of world communication.

Unsurprisingly perhaps, the most commonly reason reiterated by the respondents is 'the world status of English.' Indeed, the words 'international' and 'world' were used directly or indirectly over 24 times (i.e. over the 35% of the total responses of those who thought English was the most useful foreign language). For instance, the expressions "the language of the world," English is "an international language," and "English is understood all over the world" were repeated several times in different ways as reasons for considering English as the most useful language for Tunisians to learn. Regardless of the extent to which these expressions are true, they reflect to what extent Tunisians seem to be influenced by globalisation because the world status of English is the core meaning of linguistic globalisation.

Besides, they seem to be indicative of many Tunisians' aspirations to get access to new horizons of employability in different parts of the world rather than being constrained by a language that is not spoken in many areas where they wish to find a better career. Many Tunisians, for instance, feel very frustrated in the Gulf countries, where English is the key to employment. Many cases of Tunisian and generally Maghreb engineers and architects were reported to have failed their job interviews in spite of their high qualifications due to their lack of fluency in English. That is why one of the respondents pointed out that it was more useful to learn English because, "it is the most required language in the Gulf..."

Even in Tunisia, some of the respondents claimed that, 'In many companies in Tunisia, English is now more demanded than French according to their job ads', which may sound like an exaggeration but to some extent reflects a growing attitude that confirms the

literature stating that, “Outside the academic teaching areas, there has been an unprecedented demand for English by business companies and the general public, which has prompted many private institutions to teach it” (Daoud, 2001: 17). Indeed, not only teach it but use it as the main language of instruction of all majors. Currently, there is a huge project under construction in Sfax, the second biggest city in Tunisia; a university called Tunisia International University (TIU) that teaches business and management, science, medicine and technology exclusively in English, as Maher Bahloul, a member of the university Board has stated. This institution is intended to start student- admissions in the last quarter of 2013.

The second most repeated reason in the questionnaire can be labelled as, ‘English is the language of science and technology.’ Indeed, at least seven respondents expressed the usefulness of English in scientific research, particularly, at an advanced level. ‘Most research is conducted in English,’ ‘high level academic research is done in English,’ and ‘English will enable the coming generations to do deeper research,’ were the comments, respectively, of a student, an IT engineer and a civil engineer, to explain their choice of English as the most useful language in Tunisia.

For these reasons, it can be inferred that English may be assuming a greater role than French in the scientific domain, at least as far as public opinion in Tunisia is concerned, after many decades of French language domination. In reality, up to present, in secondary school, scientific subjects are taught in French. This policy does not seem to meet people’s expectations any longer, as the majority of those surveyed thought that English was more useful in this field, especially when students start their university studies. A university teacher admitted that, ‘roughly all the important research references are in English’.

This category of respondents believed that English was the most useful language for Tunisians to learn because they thought that French no longer met their needs in domains such as academic research. Indeed, such responses as, “French people themselves study and do research in English,” “French themselves are teaching English,” and “French has less international value now” show that many respondents look at the importance and usefulness of English from a French perspective, which implies that many of them feel frustrated because they consider that French is no longer the most useful language for Tunisians to learn, especially when it comes to advanced stages of research. This frustration was aggressively expressed by some respondents who said in rather angry tones, “enough of French!” or even “French is doing nothing for us.”

This tone, although still not reaching aggressive levels, reminds us of the Cambodian students of the Institute of Technology who demonstrated violently and interrupted classes in the mid 1990s for almost one month calling for using English as a medium of instruction because “students argued, they risked ‘never being able to find jobs . . . in this region of the world where English is the language of communication’” (Clayton, 2001: 4).

The third most important reason for considering English as a more useful language than French in Tunisia lies in the realm of online communication. Although French is apparently more useful for online communication within Tunisia itself, what respondents seem to have taken into consideration was communication with the outside world. That is why one of the respondents who works as a secretary stated that roughly all of her “online communications are mostly conducted in English.” Although this judgement may be influenced by the nature of her job or the company she works for, yet what she says makes sense and is reiterated by many others who feel that, “most people now speak English in the world,” or “English is the first language in the world,” as some of the respondents pointed out.

On the other hand, the respondents who believed that French was the most useful language to learn in Tunisia seem to have essentially put the Tunisian relationship with France at the forefront of their interests. Indeed, many of them thought that by preserving French as the second language in Tunisia, Tunisia will preserve its strong economic relationships with France and so preserve the possibility of having French investments and tourists come to Tunisia. “More Tunisians will work in France,” “Most of our transactions are with France,” “Our future is with France,” as some respondents pointed out.

Some other respondents thought that French was useful because it provides them with a sense of belonging to a group of Francophone countries. One of the respondents even stated that, “Tunisia will always be part of the Francophone world.”

Finally, due to the huge number of Tunisians who worked or still work in France, some responses were based on personal experience with French. One of the respondents explained his choice of French as the most useful language to learn in Tunisia by saying that he “worked in France for so long,” which is not an accurate explanation of his choice, but it reveals his feeling towards this language.

However, there are some other reasons that make French very useful in Tunisia, but which were not mentioned. It is currently the language that Tunisian elites master very well and so up to the present day, many scientific conferences are held in Tunisia through the medium of French. As an example, most of the scientific conferences in fields such as economy, medicine and biology are often held, presented and discussed in French because many of the Tunisian elite still do not master English to the extent of holding a whole scientific conference in it.

5.3 Language Preferences

In the last section, attitudes towards the most useful language were analysed. This section explores the favourite foreign language. Although the words ‘useful’ and ‘favourite’ have some points in common, the difference between the two sections is that the first explores the respondents’ objective attitudes and the second their subjective ones. When respondents believe that a language is useful, they are expected to present reasons for this which are different from the reasons for which they choose a language as their ‘favourite’.

Table 5.5 French Is my Favourite Language * ID Crosstabulation

		ID		Total
		Teachers	Students	
French Is my Favourite Language	Agree	80.2%	69.1%	72.9%
	Uncertain	5.2%	2.1%	3.1%
	Disagree	14.6%	28.8%	24%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Almost 73% of the respondents stated that French was their favourite language and more than 59% said English was their preferred language. The total is about 132%, which means that about 32% had both French and English as their favourite languages to the extent that they were not able to come to a clear cut decision. “I like both of them,” said a student.

A clear majority of the respondents said their favourite language was French. Two major reasons were given by both teachers and students for their preferences. ‘French is my

favourite language because I understand it better than English,’ said one of the students to explain his preference. Although this reason may not account for all the students’ choices, it is an important linguistic reason that can profoundly influence their choice of favourite language. Another respondent referred to her own culture. She stated that most of her readings whether for her job or for pleasure were in French and that, ‘English cannot be my favourite language because my knowledge of it is so weak.’

On the other hand, more than 14% of the teachers against almost 29% of the students disagreed that French was their favourite language. This significant¹⁵ difference between the two groups may be indicative of the younger generation’s shift of allegiance from French to English. It is clear from Table 5.6 that the percentage of students who agreed that English was their favourite language was larger than that of teachers; 61.9% and 54.3% respectively.

Table 5.6 English Is My Favourite Language * ID Crosstabulation

		ID		Total
		Teachers	Students	
English Is My Favourite Language	Agree	54.3%	61.8%	59.3%
	Uncertain	6.4%	8.4%	7.7%
	Disagree	39.4%	29.9%	33%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

About 60% of the respondents i.e. more than half of both students and teachers (see Table 5.6) agreed that English was their favourite language. They prefer it because it is for some of them an access ‘to understand their favourite songs’ and ‘watch their favourite films’ and for some others a means that can enable them to ‘pursue their higher studies.’

Interestingly, the percentage of teachers who disagreed that English was their favourite foreign language is considerably larger than the percentage of teachers who disagreed that French was their favourite language; 39.4% as opposed to 14.6%, whereas the percentage of students who disagreed that French was their favourite foreign language was almost the same as that of students who disagreed that English was their favourite language; 28.8%

¹⁵ $p < 0.01$

and 29.9% respectively. These data seem to indicate how close English and French are in the students' attitudes and the large extent to which teachers prefer French to English.

Overall, it is noticeable that the closeness of attitudes towards both French and English reveals a decline in preferences of French paralleled by a thriving relationship with English. This further confirms the literature claiming that, "a gradual decline in use and preference of French is apparent in the Maghreb" (Battenburg, 1997: 282). However, when it comes to the reasons conceived for this decline, Battenburg seems to attribute it chiefly to Arabization which is in his view, "largely responsible for such a shift" (Battenburg, 1997: 282) because Arabic was taking over many areas previously occupied by French, especially in academia. It is true that Arabisation seems to have proved that Arabic had a better potential than had been conceived and that it proved able to replace French in some domains. However, the main reason for this decline may be, as Battenburg indirectly hinted, but as a peripheral reason, that, "At the same time, English is increasingly viewed as a potential linguistic option" (Battenburg, 1997: 282).

The fact that French is declining simultaneously as English is increasing in popularity could have two possible explanations; either Arabisation has weakened French and therefore paved the way for English to flourish or that Globalisation has proved for many learners that English could be more useful to them and therefore they preferred it to French.

Furthermore, the statistically significant difference between the younger generation and the older one i.e. the students said they preferred English significantly¹⁶ more than the teachers and the teachers said they preferred French significantly more than the student based on the independent T-test (see Appendix IV) leads to two possible conclusions. First, that in the future English will possibly be the preferred language of the overwhelming majority of Tunisians, as the younger generation will one day become the older one, and so it will be possible that both generations at that time will consider English as their preferred language, unless these students change attitudes as they grow older, which is not very probable.

Second, the preference for English might pave the way for a change in official language policy. If due to any pressures, from France for instance, the government does not respond, these preferences might lead to substantial changes in the private sectors of education and higher education which are not totally under government control and therefore can escape

¹⁶ $p < 0.04$

some of its linguistic rules and regulations. This has indeed started to happen with the establishment of private primary and secondary schools along with colleges and universities that use English as their main language of instruction such as Tunisia International University, Tunis Business School and tens of other private schools. These educational establishments seem to offer Tunisians more linguistic options because they are probably aware that more and more Tunisians are showing discontent with French being the exclusive language of instruction for research and scientific subjects.

5.4 The Language of Science and Technology in Tunisia

Investigating people's attitudes towards the language of science and technology is of extreme significance because it is highly indicative of the importance people accord to a language. It is important to reiterate that, in spite of the Arabisation campaigns, French has assumed the role of the main language of science and technology since Independence in 1956. Up until now, Maths, Physics and Natural Sciences for example are taught in French in the last four years before students start their university studies. The students who responded to this questionnaire were in their last year of these four years i.e. one year before going to university. During this very year all scientific subjects are given and tested in French. The question was designed to find out whether these students really believed that French was the language of science and technology.

Marley (2003: 37) included one item in her questionnaire in Morocco, where the situation vis-à-vis French is fairly similar to that in Tunisia, asking respondents to what extent they believed French was useful for science and technology and a majority of 84.9% agreed that it was useful. However, the comparison in Marley's questionnaire was not between French and English, although one single item was included in the questionnaire asking to what extent the respondents believed that English was more important than French in the world. In Marley's study the comparison was rather between French and MSA and the majority of responses was for French being more useful; almost 85% as opposed to 42%.

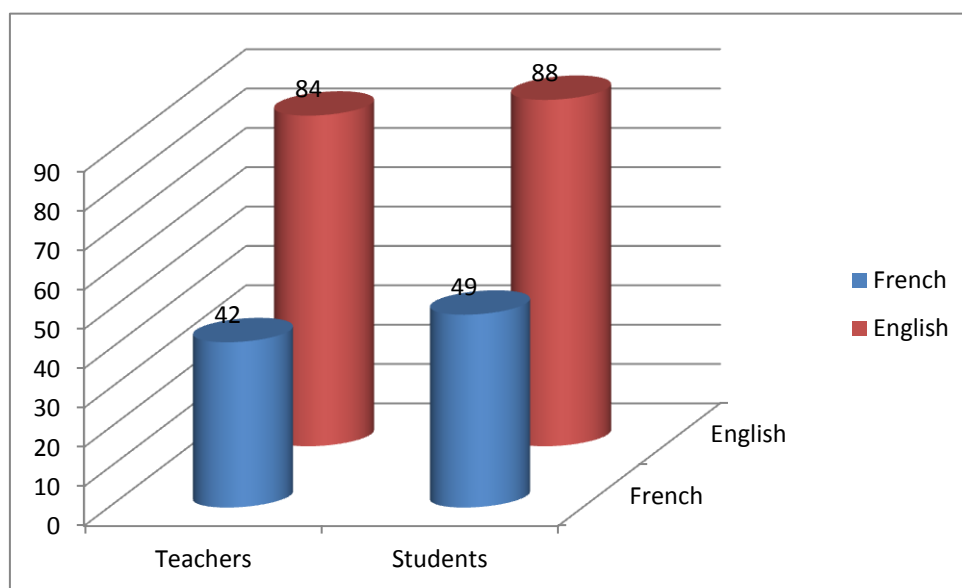
In this research, the comparison is different as it is essentially between English and French, the first being the world recognised language of science and technology and the second being Tunisia's second language and the de facto language of science and technology.

Table 5.7 French as a Lang of Science and Techno * ID Crosstabulation

		ID		Total
		Teachers	Students	
French as a Lang of Science and Techno	Agree	42.6%	49.5%	47.2%
	Uncertain	14.9%	8.4%	10.6%
	Disagree	42.5%	42.1%	42.3%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

As indicated in Table 5.7, less than half of the respondents agreed that French was the language of science and technology. Although the majority of students were studying sciences in French and many teachers were teaching sciences in French, a clear majority of respondents agreed that English not French was the language of science and technology (see Figure 5.2). This response may be indicative of the scientific and technological value of English in Tunisians attitudes. This confirms the results of the vox pop questionnaire in which many respondents thought that English was the most useful language to learn in Tunisia due to its status as the language of science and technology. This attitude was clearly formed thanks to globalisation that made it possible for Tunisians to follow the scientific research done in the different languages and compare between them both qualitatively and quantitatively. Before the internet, the satellite channels' age and the electronic versions of texts, Tunisians had access to only printed books, newspapers and magazines that reach them predominantly in French.

Figure 5.2 Attitudes towards the Language of Science and Technology



The data also partly confirm the literature which claims that “English is closely associated with the leading edge of global scientific, technological, economic and cultural developments, where it has been unrivalled in its influence in the late 20th century” (Graddol, 1997: 4) and shows that in the 21st century English continues to invade Francophone countries even with respect to attitudes.

Policy makers in Tunisia revealed in the interview that they were aware that Tunisians were developing more positive attitudes towards English as the world’s main language of science and technology and they have gone on to take new decisions to introduce English at an earlier stage. As previously mentioned, attempts have been made to teach scientific subjects in English; however, a human resources problem arose, which will be difficult to resolve in the foreseeable future, as practising science teachers do not master English well enough to use it as a means of instruction.

To recap, the world reputation of English as a language of science and technology seems to have made the respondents agree that English, not French, is the main language of science and technology. This attitude could be taken as a critical attitude towards LP in Tunisia, which continues to support the teaching of scientific subjects in French in spite of the majority of Tunisians’ awareness that English is the world language of science and technology.

5.4.1 The Qualitative Data:

For the sake of triangulation, an open-ended question was added at the end of the teacher/student questionnaire “In your opinion, should scientific subjects in Tunisia be taught in Arabic French, or English? Specify why you think so”. The responses are summarised in Table 5.8.

Table 5.8 Attitudes towards the Best Language to Teach Scientific Subjects in Tunisia

Languages for Scientific subjects	Responses	
	teachers	Students
Arabic	29%	11%
French	24%	48%
English	32%	31%
Any Language	15%	10%

It is noteworthy that some of the responses to the open-ended question do not seem to confirm the attitudes revealed in the responses to the closed question. For instance, in response to the survey item “English is the main language of science and technology in the world,” a large majority of 88% of the students believed that English was the language of science and technology, whereas when responding to the open-ended question about which of the three languages, Arabic, French or English, should be used to teach scientific subjects in Tunisia, only 31% of them agreed about English, as opposed to 48% for French and 11% for Arabic. However, by looking at their reasons for these responses, it is concluded that it is not a contradiction in their attitudes, but reflects different perspectives in their way of assessing the situation.

Many students wanted to convey that, based on the current linguistic situation in Tunisia, it is difficult for any language other than French to be used for the teaching of sciences. One of the respondents commented: “According to me, scientific subjects have to be taught in French in Tunisia because we are used to it since our childhood” and another said: “French is the second language in Tunisia and I learned it at a very early age” and a third one said: “Scientific subjects have to be taught in French because it is the most common language in Tunisia.” Almost all the rest of the responses were a reiteration or paraphrase of these three extracts.

However, over 31% of the students stated that English should be the language of science and technology in Tunisia and most of them relied essentially on the world value of English. One of the respondents said:

In my opinion, scientific subjects have to be taught in English; first to improve the students' skills in this language and second because this is the language of communication in the world.

Another stronger response was: "Scientific subjects must be taught in English in Tunisia because English is the language of the world and it is considered as the essential language of sciences and technology."

The most shocking result of the open-ended question was the students' attitude towards Arabic. Only 11% of them thought that scientific subjects should be taught in this language although it is their mother tongue and more importantly, it is the language through which they were first introduced to science during their first eight years of schooling.

This attitude was totally different in the teachers' responses. Indeed, more than 28% of the teachers, i.e. more than double the proportion of the students thought that scientific subjects should be taught in Arabic because it is "their mother tongue" and it is the language "most understood by Tunisians," as some respondents stated.

However, interestingly, the largest proportion of the teachers pointed out that English should be the language that takes the role of teaching science and technology, 32%. This is a surprising result because the teachers' group responses were generally in favour of the French language. Nevertheless, their attitude seems to be built on pragmatic bases, as most of what they wrote in response to this open-ended question expresses the idea that the subjects of scientific nature should either be taught in Arabic, the students' mother tongue, or in English, the worldwide-recognised language of science. One of the respondents pointed out that: "It's better to teach scientific subjects in English in order to enable students to widen their prospects of research and to profit from the international spread of English."

Overall, there is no statistically significant difference between the two generations on this point; especially when it comes to their attitudes towards English being the best language to teach scientific subjects; 31% of the students and 32% of the teachers thought English was the best language to teach scientific subjects.

5.5 Globalisation and Linguistic Attitudes in Tunisia

“What effects will economic globalisation have on the demand for English?” asked Graddol (1997: 3). Answering this question, Tsui and Tollefson (2007: vii) summarised the impacts of globalisation in relation to English in two main points; first the “unprecedented spread of English,” which was due to globalisation and second the severe challenge that the spread of English posed “to non-English-speaking countries”. This issue was raised in the questionnaire in the form of a statement investigating to what extent the respondents thought that globalisation had a positive impact on English in Tunisia.

Table 5.9 Globalisation's Positive Impacts on Eng in Tun * ID Crosstabulation

		ID		Total
		Teachers	Students	
Glob's Positive Impacts On Eng in Tunisia	Agree	83.4%	65.9%	71.8%
	Uncertain	12.5%	25.1%	20.9%
	Disagree	4.1%	8.9%	7.3%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

A clear majority of respondents, almost 72% (see Table 5.9) agreed that globalisation had a positive impact on English in Tunisia, which might indicate their awareness of the strong connection between globalisation and English. It is worth noting here that, in their responses to the preliminary question about the definition of globalisation, a majority agreed about the all inclusive definition D, ‘All the Above,’ which looks at globalisation as an amalgam of the whole world becoming a small village thanks to modern means of communication, the interconnectedness of the world economy and the world becoming Americanised and westernised. This perception of globalisation which associates it with communication and Americanisation is likely to make respondents adopt a positive attitude towards the relationship between English and globalisation.

Due to the complex nature of globalisation, a significant minority of about 21% were ‘uncertain’ about the positive impact of globalisation on English in Tunisia because many

respondents believed that “LP does not seem to be responding to the winds of globalisation adequately,” as an English teacher stated. This view seems to look at LP as a barrier against the spread of English in Tunisia.

Interestingly, the percentage of teachers who believed that globalisation had a positive impact on English in Tunisia is a great deal larger than that of students; more than 83% as opposed to 65.9%. This significant¹⁷ difference in attitudes seems to be due to the age factor. On the one hand, as an older generation, the teachers are more capable of comparing two situations, the older situation when English was a school subject of hardly any use outside academic settings and the new one in which English has started to be widely used in an array of domains such as online communication and business. On the other hand, being less than twenty years of age, the students know no situation before the spread of the internet and all the modern means of communication, yet many of them were able to recognise that the spread of English in Tunisia might be the result of globalisation.

Contrary to the majority’s belief that globalisation had a positive impact on English, a tiny majority of 51.6% of the respondents believed globalisation had a negative effect on French. More accurately, about 68% of teachers and 43% of students agreed that globalisation had a negative effect on French.

Table 5.11 Globalisation's Negative Impacts on Fr in Tunisia * ID Crosstabulation

		ID		Total
		Teachers	Students	
Glob's Negative Impacts on Fr in Tunisia	Agree	68.1%	43.1%	51.6%
	Uncertain	20.6%	33.2%	28.9%
	Disagree	11.4%	23.7%	19.6%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

First, it is noticeable that, just as a larger proportion of teachers than students believed that globalisation had a positive effect on English in Tunisia, a larger proportion of them, too, believed that globalisation had a negative effect on French. The common reason seems to

¹⁷ $p < 0.01$

be the teachers' stronger ability to compare the status of these two foreign languages before and after globalisation thanks to their age. On the one hand, the pre-globalisation period was characterised by French having a "firm foothold in the country's administrative and educational systems in general everyday use to the extent that it is currently difficult for academics as well as journalists clearly to distinguish its status as a second or foreign language." (Daoud, 2001: 6-7). The post-globalisation era, on the other hand, is characterised by the emergence of English as a language that is widely believed to be the appropriate language of science and technology.

Consistently enough, due to the complexity of the issue of globalisation once again, many respondents, students in particular, showed uncertainty with regard to their attitudes towards the negative impact of globalisation on French. More accurately, 11.4% of the teachers and 23.7% of the students were uncertain about their attitudes towards this issue because they probably thought that, "it is true that globalisation is pushing English in the direction of gaining more ground in Tunisia, yet French is still dominating many domains of both academic and social life" commented a teacher. So for some respondents the negative impact on French was not so evident. That is probably why a student left the following exclamations: "How? In what way?" to enquire about the ways globalisation impacted on French negatively.

Overall, the difference between the two generations in assessing the positive impacts of globalisation on English and its negative impacts on French is statistically significant (see Appendix IV). This significance seems to confirm the older generation's awareness of the linguistic differences between the two eras; the one that preceded globalisation and the current era.

5.6 English gaining New Ground in Tunisia

The fact that English has gained ground in Tunisia in the last couple of decades was hinted at in almost all the literature that has described the linguistic scene in Tunisia in recent years. It is mentioned, for instance, by Daoud (1996, 2001), Lawson (2000) and Bahloul (2001). However, no survey has asked to what extent Tunisians believed that English was really gaining ground and probably more importantly in what domains English is gaining ground. To answer this question, one statement was included in the questionnaire asking both teachers and students about their attitudes towards the degree to which English is spreading in Tunisia.

Table 5.11 English and New Grounds in Tunisia * ID Crosstabulation

		ID		Total
		Teachers	Students	
English and New Grounds in Tunisia	Agree	84%	77.6%	79.8%
	Uncertain	8.0%	18.8%	15.1%
	Disagree	8.0%	3.7%	5.2%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Interestingly, a large majority of about 80% (see Table 5.11) of both groups believed that English was gaining ground in Tunisia, which shows how clear the spread of English in Tunisia has become. The next question asked in which domains English is invading in Tunisia. To shed more light on this issue and for the sake of triangulation, teachers and students were asked the following open-ended question: ‘Is English gaining ground in Tunisia? Yes-No. If yes, please state some examples in which English is now used more.’

Data revealed that 63% of teachers and more than 72% of the students said ‘yes’ English was gaining ground, 28% of teachers and 23% of students said ‘no’ it was not gaining ground and 9% of teachers and 2.6% of students said that they did not know. A limitation in this question which is worth mentioning is that many respondents might have answered ‘no’ just to avoid the follow up question about the new ground English was gaining.

Over twenty domains were mentioned by both teachers and students in which English was gaining ground ranging from fields that were mentioned once or twice like politics, publicity, journalism and the stock market, to fields that were mentioned tens of times like information technology and the internet, the economy and scientific research. The top five domains where the respondents thought English was gaining ground are summarised in Table 5.12. The number of teachers who thought that English was gaining ground is 63 out of a total number of 100 teachers and the number of students who thought that English was gaining ground is 141 out of the total number of 192 students.

Table 5.12 Attitudes towards the Grounds Gained by the English Language in**Tunisia**

Attitudes towards the Grounds Gained by the English Language in Tunisia	Frequency of mentioning	
	In the Teachers' Responses (Out of 63)	In the Students' Responses (Out of 141)
Information Technology (IT), Internet communication	47	104
Education and Scientific Research	24	40
Economy	11	38
Jobs	0	35
Tourism	0	18

The first and most frequently mentioned domain that both groups thought was becoming dominated by English is IT, the internet and computer-mediated communication. “IT is even taught in English in the Lycée Pilote (Model Schools),” said one student to express the importance of English in this field. Another student added: “English has invaded many domains, the most important of which is IT which has now entered all the houses in Tunisia.”

The word communication as used by respondents includes computer mediated communication, and face to face communication that incorporates some rare “cases of code-switching to English,” as a student reported, which is new to the Tunisian linguistic scene; and even the ways of communicating ideas and expressing thoughts such as through signs and slogans.

Communication in English was boosted further during the days of the Tunisian Revolution in early 2011, when many international news channels came from different parts of the world to cover events and English was essentially used as a lingua franca to explain to visitors, journalists and diplomats what was happening in Tunisia. Many slogans were even written in English such as ‘Game Over,’ (see Picture 1), ‘Get Out’ and ‘Free Tunisia’, which shows the demonstrators’ intentions to internationalise the Tunisian struggle for freedom and dignity.

Picture 5. 1: Taken in Habib Bourguiba Avenue on January 14, 2012 with the English slogan ‘Game Over’



The second most frequently mentioned domain is education and scientific research. The ground gained in the field of education refers to the measures taken in favour of English by LP makers in the last couple of decades; and scientific research refers to the English references that students started to be given while pursuing their university studies.

In education, the first ground gained by English in Tunisia was in 1996, when for the first time English was introduced from grades 8 and 9 of primary school, i.e. a couple of years earlier than had been the custom for decades. This was the decision that broke the mould with respect to a change in LP in Tunisia. In 2001, the primary English clubs project was launched “with the setting up of 500 clubs in 500 primary schools throughout Tunisia.” (Ben Afia, 2004: 15). Finally, following the success of this experiment, it was decided to introduce English officially in primary school education, grade 6, and this decision marked a very significant educational change because it pushed English into an area where French had already been weakened by the previous decisions to teach the scientific subjects in Arabic rather than in French as had been customary since Independence in 1956.

Perhaps due to these educational changes, many Tunisians have developed through the last couple of decades a strong motivation to study English, which is a real ground that English is gaining. When the above mentioned English clubs were open, “All parents wanted their children to join the school club, but it was rather difficult to please everyone,” complained

Ben Afia (2004: 16), the inspector general of education. Ben Ali, the ex-president, was under a great deal of pressure from both students and their parents to open some institutions to teach English in the summer holidays. (Ben Ali, July 16th, 2001).

Interestingly, the belief that English is gaining ground in the domain of the Tunisian economy is stronger in the students' attitudes than in those of the teachers. Indeed, the word economy was mentioned in the students' responses 38 times whereas in the teachers' responses only 11 times. There seem to be two main reasons for this difference, first that "Economics" is a subject that many of the responding students learn at school; so they might be more aware of the position that the English language has in this field. Second, students at this stage are starting to think about their future and they know that mastering English can be an efficient way to get employed in multinational companies or in general in a foreign investment project in Tunisia. That is why, the students' group mentioned 'jobs' so many times. It seems to imply that English has become a requirement to get a job; whereas, the teachers did not mention it at all because jobs are not a priority for them.

However, surprisingly enough, 'tourism,' the last of the five top grounds gained by English, was mentioned 18 times by students whereas no teacher mentioned it as a new domain where English is being used essentially as a lingua franca. According to one of the teachers, "In hotels, I don't hear one particular language, I hear German, English, French, Italian...etc." This quote does not entirely explain the teachers' position, but it probably implies that students pay more attention than teachers to the languages used with tourists because they themselves want to talk to tourists and get acquainted with them. Some of the youngsters even share stories of friends who befriended a tourist from a certain country and then they moved to live in that country. So, the issue of communication with tourists seems to be more appealing to the younger generation than to the older one. That is perhaps why the teachers did not seem to be aware of the increasing use of English in this field.

5.7 Linguistic Threats in Tunisia

In relation to linguistic threats, there are two controversial issues in the discourse surrounding languages in Tunisia; the first is the English language threat to the French language and its status as a ‘second language’ in Tunisia and the second is the Roman alphabet that might be considered a threat to the Arabic language.

The issue of the threat that English poses to other languages was raised some time ago by Phillipson (1996, 2001, 2003, 2006 and 2007). He pointed out that, “English may be threatening the life of other languages, or at least occupying the territories that traditionally have been their preserve” (Phillipson, 2006: 1). One of the reasons for this threat may be that, “Some would like to see English replacing other languages” (Phillipson, 2007: 1). The question is whether this belief applies to Tunisia’s linguistic situation or not. As a matter of fact, most of the literature in this respect speaks of the strength of French in Tunisia (Daoud, 2001; Lawson, 2000; Judy, 1999), but hints as well at the emerging new linguistic power that is English. This situation makes this issue worth investigating and was the reason behind the question “Is English superseding French in Tunisia?”

Table 5.13 shows that more than half the respondents believed that English represented a threat to French and about 49% were either uncertain or disagreed that English was a threat to French. This kind of balance between the two attitudes seems to show that this is a controversial issue.

Table 5.13 English as a Threat to French in Tunisia * ID Crosstabulation

		ID		Total
		Teachers	Students	
Eng as a Threat to Fr in Tunisia	Agree	64%	45%	51.4%
	Uncertain	18.6%	19.0%	18.9%
	Disagree	17.5%	36%	29.7%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Some Tunisians argue that English is a window to open up on the world and to broaden their horizons with respect to both knowledge and reputation overseas. For example, Hichem Djait, a very prominent historian in Tunisia has lately finished writing the last part of a trilogy of books in French and in an interview he gave to Assabah Newspaper he said, “Personally, I rely on the translation of this book into English to reach both Muslims and non-Muslims all over the world” (Assabah, 16/02/2012, the researcher’s translation). This view confirms the literature arguing that, “the rise of English as a global language goes hand in hand with its increasing importance as the language of academic discourse and publishing,” as Muhleisen (2003: 107) states. Hichem Djait’s feeling is, indeed, a reflection of the feelings of many researchers who often “feel that their research will not reach a wide enough audience unless it is written in English” (Bahloul, 2001: 7).

So, English is in this case a language to connect with the world as a whole, whereas French is a language that can function well in Tunisia and within the francophone countries. English in this view may be a threat to French, as it is most of the time a shorter route to reach a world scope. That means Tunisian researchers, for instance, who seek larger readability might prefer to have their works translated to English rather than French.

For some other scholars, Tunisia is bound by very strong political and economic ties with France, which makes it impossible for English to undermine the status of French in Tunisia. For Kammoun (2006: 19), for instance, “English is far from representing a threat” to French and she considers the real fight to be indeed between Arabic and French, as Arabisation for example might represent a threat to French status in Tunisia. However, Kammoun seems to ignore that rivalry between French and Arabic may be to the benefit of English, as Arabic is taking over functions that were once assumed by French; but, simultaneously, English is gaining ground, as a majority of 84% of the teachers and over 77% of the students who responded to the questionnaire agree.

Almost the same view was once held by Daoud (2001: 42), as he confirmed that, “there is no reason to believe that English will represent a serious challenge to French in the foreseeable future.” He refined this view somewhat a decade later to consider, in 2011, that, “English, which is considered a neutral and necessary language, will continue its spread and probably take over some essential ancillary functions from French.” (Daoud, 2011:30).

However, for some other people, French had dominated the whole linguistic scene for decades, monopolising the teaching of scientific subjects at all levels, and this situation gave it the image of the exclusive language of technological and scientific research. Now, Tunisian researchers face the dilemma of either studying English to benefit from the great array of research published online and in print in English or stop at a premature stage of research. This new situation was often looked at as a threat that English is posing to French; as students now no longer regard French as the only language of science or even the best language for conducting research. Many post-graduate students confirmed that, during their research, they had to refer to English references and as their mastery of English was not adequate, many of them ended up resorting to language centres in order to take courses in English to carry on with their studies. Daoud (2001:10) noticed that:

If one stood in the city centre of any major town at the end of a working day, one would not think that many people were going home to have dinner; almost everyone seems to be taking evening classes in foreign languages (particularly English), computer skills, management, etc.

Finally, there is a cautious view, probably in this investigation represented by a little under half of the respondents who are either uncertain or disagree with English being a threat to French, that recognises the dominant strength of French, but which is aware as well of the noticeable spread of English in Tunisia. This view confirms the literature of the mid 1990s like that of Battenburg who stated that,

I am using terms such as competition, rivalry and contest with caution because I realize that for the foreseeable future French will remain the second language; nevertheless there's an ongoing struggle between the spread of English and the continued use of French in Tunisia. (Battenburg, 1997: 282)

Probably the most surprising result yielded by this questionnaire is what looks like an inconsistency of responses. Based on the statistical analysis, the students seem to 'listen to songs in English', 'watch programmes in English', 'code-switch to English' and 'read for pleasure in English' significantly more than teachers. The teachers, however, consider that English is a threat to French significantly more than the students do (refer to Appendix IV for significance details). The answer seems to be that students, all born during the last two decades, cannot compare the French status now and its status over a couple of decades ago; i.e. before the onset of the technological processes of globalisation.

5.7.1 Conclusion

There are different views with regard to the existence/nonexistence of a threat represented by English to French. If the word threat means just taking over some of the functions that

French once assumed, the results of this study show that it is there and English is confirmed to be gaining ground previously occupied by French in an array of domains and fields. If threat means the eradication of French as a second language from Tunisia and its replacement by English, neither the current linguistic situation nor the foreseeable future seem to confirm it.

5.8 Roman script as a Threat to Arabic

The second possible linguistic threat in Tunisia is the Roman Arabic (RA) which was defined and explained in Chapter Four as being a language that is half Arabic and half Roman and which does not have to comply with any kind of prescriptive grammatical or conjugation rules of either language. Its exclusive concern is to get the message across to the recipient regardless of the form

Table 5.14 Roman Arabic as a Threat to Arabic * ID Crosstabulation

		ID		Total
		Teachers	Students	
Roman Arabic as a Threat to Arabic	Agree	79%	71.8%	74.1%
	Uncertain	11.6%	8.9%	9.8%
	Disagree	9.5%	19.4%	16.1%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

As is clear in Table 5.14, a majority of about 74% of the respondents believed that Roman Arabic was a threat to Arabic. This belief can be put down to at least two main causes, according to some respondents. First, the users of Roman Arabic lose track with the spelling rules of Arabic, as these are based on words written in Arabic letters. For instance, the letter /t/ in Arabic is written in two different ways based on the gender of the noun, so people who write in RA are exempt from thinking about this issue and so they would have no worries about making embarrassing mistakes.

One of the inspectors interviewed said that RA does not have a negative impact on Arabic alone, but on all languages in a similar way, although he downplayed the threat posed by it. He pointed out that:

The chat language has a bad impact on all languages alike.... People now don't care anymore about language accuracy. Pragmatism has replaced accuracy. If we want to serve our language we just have to ignore this behaviour, it is not a real danger. (The Arabic senior inspector)

Another inspector confirmed that RA had a bad effect on all languages in Tunisia in the same way and not only on Arabic. He also added that this language is causing problems even in serious occasions of language use. He pointed out that,

What you described as Roman Arabic has an impact on all the languages. Even in national exams, we caught some cases of French essays where students used chat language to express their ideas.” (The French Senior Inspector)

5.9 Tunisia's Second Language

A question that might seem to many Tunisians to be overestimating the position and status of English in Tunisia, especially compared to French, is whether people believed that English should be Tunisia's second language (L2) i.e. English takes over the role of teaching sciences and benefits from being introduced earlier and having heavier weighting at school.

The data reveal that more than half of the respondents (see Table 5.15) thought that English should be Tunisia's L2. This result seems to indicate that seemingly there is a change in attitudes taking place, as the idea that French was Tunisia's L2 has never been disputed or even questioned in the past.

Table 5.15 English Should be Tunisia's L2 * ID Crosstabulation

		ID		Total
		Teachers	Students	
English Should be Tunisia's L2	Agree	50.6%	52.3%	51.7%
	Uncertain	11.6%	6.3%	8.0%
	Disagree	37.9%	41.4%	40.2%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Interestingly, almost the same percentage of teachers and students agreed that English should be Tunisia's L2. It was expected that far more students would agree to this than teachers. However, it was noticed that many respondents including students and teachers even added, "I hope so." The reason for them was that, "we'll have more chances of progress and development if we promote English," said one biology teacher.

5.9.1 Essays

To dig deeper into this issue a qualitative tool was used to see what students thought about giving more importance to English or to French at schools. For this sake two groups of 25 students each were given the following 2 prompts to address in writing for an IT class: Group1 took prompt a, and Group 2 took Prompt b:

a. Some people think that French is the language of science, modernity and technology and, therefore it has to be given more importance at school by introducing it earlier, allocating it more hours of study per week and giving it a higher weighting; whereas others think that English is the language of science, modernity and technology and therefore it has to be given more attention in our schools. Which of these two languages, in your opinion, deserves more attention? Justify your answer by giving clear reasons.

b. Some people think that French is the language of Science and modernity and therefore it has to be given more importance at school by introducing it earlier, allocating it more hours of study per week and giving it a higher weighting; whereas some others think that English is the language of globalisation and technology and therefore it has to be given more attention our schools. Which of these two languages, in your opinion, deserves more attention? Justify your answer by clear reasons.

These two prompts were intended to elicit students' attitudes towards the two main foreign languages in Tunisia i.e. to answer the following questions: which of them they thought was the language of science, modernity and technology-for prompt a? And, therefore, which of them, they thought, deserved to be given more importance as a means of instruction at schools? And, for prompt b, which language deserved more attention, French or English? French in this prompt was introduced as the language of modernity and science and English as the language of technology and globalisation. So, the difference between the two prompts is that in the first, students were invited to compare two languages said to complete in the same role; expressing scientific and technological advances and in the second, students were meant to compare two languages; one often thought to be the appropriate language for sciences and modernity and that is French, and another said to be the language of globalisation and technology, i.e. English.

The rationale for these prompts was to investigate a common Tunisian attitude towards French and English in Tunisia and outside. On the one hand, French was said to be the language of science and modernity. Indeed, as was pointed out in Chapter Two when describing the linguistic situation in Tunisia, Judy considered French as "the principal language of modernity" (Judy, 1999: 6). Daoud (2001: 22) even went further noticing that the use of French in Tunisia was important "not only in the scientific and economic domains, but in the social sciences and humanities, particularly when the latter involve international participation." English, on the other hand, has lately been identified as the language of globalisation and technology. Phillipson, for example, confirmed that English had become "integral to the globalisation processes" (Phillipson, 2001: 187) and in Graddol's list English was now "the international currency of science and technology" (Graddol, 1997 in Zoughoul, 2003: 116).

My hypothesis was: Students think that English is the language that should be given more importance in schools. My rationale for this hypothesis was the following: On the one hand, students have studied all their scientific subjects in French and have started studying it much earlier than English. Based on this, they were unlikely to think that it should be given more importance. On the other hand, students were well aware of the importance of English and they recognized its high status worldwide. This would probably make them feel that it should be given more importance.

Students were expected to give their own opinions about languages and language policy in academic settings in Tunisia. Confirming that any of these two languages needed to be given more importance might imply a critical view of current language policy. These participants were at school, in a normal IT class. Their teacher distributed papers (see Appendices A and B) and asked them to write their opinion about the suggested topics. Their essays were then collected and analysed.

5.9.2 Data Analysis

Although the essay was intended as a qualitative tool, some quantitative data could also be teased out of it. Indeed, the prompt included the direct straightforward question: “Which of these two languages, in your opinion, deserves more importance?” Which means, whatever direction the students’ analyses would take; in the end, they had to choose one language that, according to them, deserved more attention. The results of the choice between French and English yielded the following table:

Table 5.16 Which Language Should Be Given More Importance?

Languages	Group A	Group B	Total
English	30% (15)	26% (13)	56% (28)
French	20% (10)	24% (12)	44% (22)
Total	50% (25)	50% (25)	100% (50)

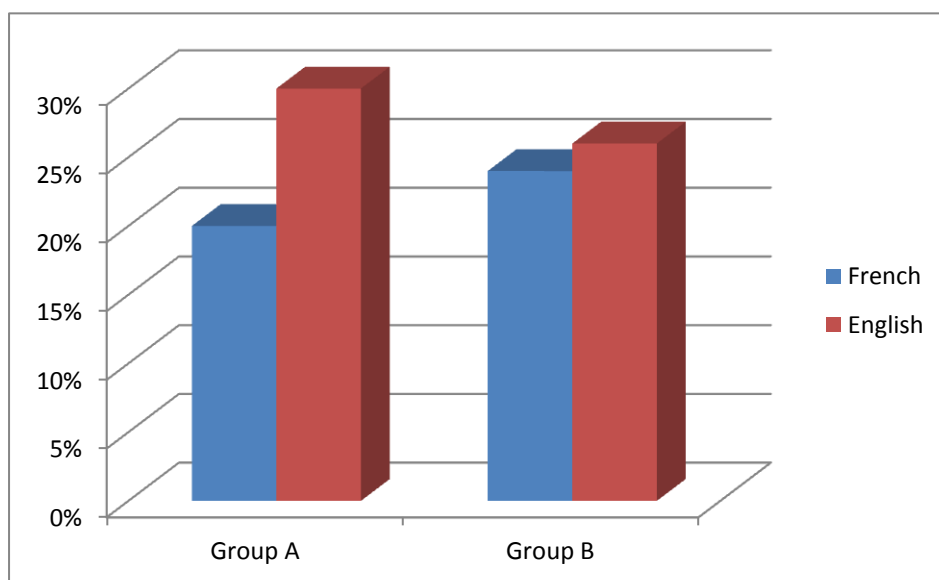
5.9.2.1 English Should Be Given More Importance

The first striking remark about this sample is that more students from both groups decided that English should be given more importance than French (See Table 5.16). According to students, then, English should be introduced earlier than year 5 in primary school, it should be allocated more study hours and its weighting should be higher. As indicated in the table above, out of a total of 50 respondents, 28 said English should be given more importance and 22 said French should be given more importance. Although this is an important result to understand and analyse, the knowledge of the different reasons that led students to have this attitude is even more important. Its importance lies in the fact that these reasons might be of different natures and even contradictory. Indeed, this choice could be due to:

1. The students’ awareness of the importance of English compared to French.
2. Their feeling that English is relatively neglected compared to French.

3. Their feeling that French is given an undeserved or exaggerated importance in Tunisian schools.

Figure 5.3 Which Language Should Be Given More Importance?



Having a closer look into these essays threw more light on which was the most valid reason for this. Indeed, every respondent presented their reasons for deciding which language should be given more importance. Once again, some quantitative data could be teased out of these qualitative essays.

Table 5.17 English is more important than English: The Reasons:

Reasons	Frequency (out of 28 responses for English)
English is the language of globalisation	93%
English is the language of science and technology	82%
Easy language (easy to conjugate verbs+ It includes many synonyms)/Not difficult	60%
A widespread language/A lingua franca	50%
The language of the internet	50%
Language of the world media	27%
Studying abroad	13%
Language of the USA	13%

The data included in Table 5.17 show that students made their choice based on what they saw as the powerful points or the positive aspects of English. Strangely enough, students rarely tried to compare both languages although the prompt invited them to do so. The majority of respondents just started by a topic sentence stating their choice along the lines of “I think that the English language is the more important because it is the language of

globalisation and technology” “I think that English is the language that deserves more importance for the following reasons, and then started sequencing their reasons mostly from the most important to the least important.

From the list of reasons mentioned above, “English as the main language of globalisation” was the most frequent reason for considering that English deserves to be given greater weight. This reason was mentioned by more than 92% of the total of 28 respondents who thought that English should be given more weight than French. This is very significant because it confirms the strong interconnectedness that exists between English and globalisation even when it comes to students’ attitudes towards languages. It is also significant because it shows how highly students value globalisation, as it is primarily due to globalisation that they decided that English should get more attention in schools.

The second most frequent reason was “English is the language of science and technology.” More than 64% of those who responded in favour of English mentioned this reason to justify their choice. This was quite a surprising result and it leads to the following questions and conclusions.

The respondents have studied all their scientific subjects in Arabic, from grade 1 to grade 9, or in French, from grade 10 to grade 12. So, why should they consider English, not French or Arabic, to be the language of science and technology? Does this betray their discontent with their language(s) of scientific instruction? Were they suggesting that they would prefer English to be their language of instruction of scientific subjects?

In the course of these written essays, a tone of criticism or even complaint could be inferred from the students’ remarks when suggesting that English should be given priority. One of the participants, 14E, complained that English is not given enough importance and that is weakening the students’ level of proficiency:

I believe that English is the language of science, modernity and technology also it is the world’s first language. Consequently, we have to give it more interest in our schools. Because it is introduced at a late educational stage, many students find it difficult to read a text in English and so they get low grades; whereas in French, the majority of students have good averages. In addition, most scientific and technological information on the net is in English. For all these reasons, English must be introduced earlier to get a better hang of it, just like French. (Researcher’s translation)

Another respondent was very straightforward, by bluntly suggesting a change in language policy:

In my opinion, English is far more important than French, as this language is the top language of the world and thanks to it, people can go to any country in the world and communicate with its people. In addition, it has easier rules. For all these reasons, I believe studies should become in English not French and we wish that the Ministry of Education change the programmes to English...” (Researcher’s translation)

So, either directly or indirectly, students who suggested that English be given more importance were calling for a change in language policy. That was evidently due to their belief that, in this age of globalisation, English was more advantageous for them than French. Nevertheless, French as the main language of instruction of scientific subjects is not likely to change soon, as was confirmed by Daoud’s quotes, in chapter 2. Indeed, French, according to him and based on his view of Tunisian language policy, “will remain the medium of instruction for science, technology, and business subjects in secondary and tertiary education in the foreseeable future.” (Daoud, 2002: 220). Also, in another article, he confirms that “The current situation is very likely to prevail for the next decade, with the exception that English will spread a little more in education and in the business sector. However, there is no reason to believe that English will represent a serious challenge to French in the foreseeable future...” Daoud (2001: 42).

Daoud’s future projections in both of these quotations seem to be based on his political awareness. Attitudes revealed in the students’ essays collected as part of the current study show an in-depth change on the level of attitudes which may represent a serious challenge to French language teaching in the future. The results of this change have already started to appear, as some private schools with English as their main language of instruction are now opening in Tunisia and gaining popularity owing to the use of English. The third important reason for opting for English was also surprising. More than 60% stated that English was easier than French and they even specified some areas of comparison like grammar and tenses. Although it is hard to say that one of these languages is easier than the other, a judgement of this kind could be simply attributed to students’ attitudes either due to a feeling that French is difficult, or a feeling that English is easy.

5.9.2.2 French Is More Important than English

As indicated in Table 5.16, 44% of the total number of respondents stated that French should be given more importance than English and stated their own reasons. The first

striking remark was that there was only one common reason among the numerous reasons presented by both respondents who opted for English and those who opted for French.

Table 5.18 French is more important than English: The reasons

Reasons	Frequency (out of 22 responses for French)
French is our main language of instruction and neglecting it leads to failure at school	77.2%
French is our second language	77.2%
French is the language of modernity and technology	40%
French is easier than English	40%
French is the language of the coloniser and it still has a deep impact on our lives	18%
French is the language that leads to a better future in Tunisia	13.6%
French is historically the oldest foreign language to be introduced in the Tunisian school	4.5%
French is the language of communication with the Tunisians who live in France and also with tourists	4.5%
Our strong ties with France	4.5%

More than 77% of the respondents mentioned two main reasons for choosing French to be the language that had to be given more importance. These two reasons were: (1) first, “French is our main language of instruction and neglecting it leads to failure at school.” This is, indeed, the most expected reason to be mentioned, because, as one of the participants stated, all the scientific subjects they are taking are in French, not in English, and French helps them in their studies as well as in their exams.

In our scientific major, for example, French helps us understand school subjects, like Science, Physics and Information Technology. It also helps us understand our exams. If a student has a low or unsatisfactory proficiency in French, they will definitely get bad or unsatisfactory grades, simply because they don't understand what they are studying or what the test is all about... (*Researcher Translation*)

It is clear then how important French is to Tunisian students, especially those who are taking scientific subjects. The problem with this response is that this participant's reason, along with many others', was based on the reality of education in Tunisia. These respondents do not seem to have addressed the prompt accurately. Nobody denies the importance of French in Tunisia as the main language of instruction of scientific subjects; nevertheless, the prompt was to question this importance based on the world status of English and French and the roles each one is assuming in different fields worldwide.

The second most frequent reason was “French is the second language in Tunisia.” And under this reason a lot of sub-reasons were mentioned, like historical, economic, social... etc, reasons. Students who stated this reason attributed it to the historical relationship between France and Tunisia. They mentioned, in particular, the period of about 80 years that Tunisia spent under French colonial rule when the French language was promoted by cultural and educational means.

If we compare the two main reasons stated by students to justify their choice of English and those to justify their choice of French (see Table 5.19), we notice that the first two reasons are ones which are recognised worldwide, whereas the last two reasons are local and strongly related to Tunisia. On this basis, we may come to the conclusion that Tunisian students had a strong awareness that English was the world language of globalisation and the language of science and technology worldwide, but inside Tunisia, Tunisian students admitted that French still had a strong hold of the Tunisian system of education and the teaching of scientific subjects.

Table 5.19 The Most Frequent Reasons

Reasons	Frequency
English is the language of globalisation	26
English is the language of science and technology	23
French is our main language of instruction and neglecting it leads to failure at school	17
French is our second language	17

5.9.2.3 Conclusion

Although Tunisia is an Arabic and francophone country, English seems to be growing more and more important to the extent that it might be slowly superseding French. Indeed, attitudes show that French is no longer unquestionably the second language in Tunisia, as many respondents showed more interest in English. The new status of English is closely linked to globalisation, as most of its advocates speak about its importance as the worldwide language of communication.

Chapter Six: Political Attitudes

6.1. Introduction

In this qualitative chapter, globalisation and language policy in Tunisia will be looked at from policy makers' perspectives. More specifically, the ex-president Ben Ali's decisions and attitudes to the major languages in Tunisia will be presented and discussed. Although, as president, Ben Ali has now departed, the language situation in Tunisia to a large extent still reflects his views. Ben Ali dominated the linguistic scene over a period of more than two decades in which he and his party, Le Rassemblement Constitutionnel Democratique, RCD, monopolised all the political powers. He contributed in a major way to the status of the languages in Tunisia. The Tunisian revolution is likely to change many domains including the linguistic profile; however, it will take years before a real impact is evident. The focus in this chapter will be essentially on English; first because it is the recently emerging linguistic force in Tunisia and, second, because the majority of the decisions and measures were clearly in its favour.

Apart from Ben Ali's views, this chapter includes presentation of the qualitative results of three interviews that have been conducted with the senior inspectors of the three main languages in Tunisia. These interviews were intended to provide clearer insights into the linguistic situation in Tunisia as seen by high stake holders in the ministry of education.

This chapter is intended to contribute in answering three of the four research questions of the thesis in a direct way,

1. What role has language policy played in the current Tunisian multilingual profile?
2. As the main language of globalisation, has English gained any ground previously occupied by other languages in Tunisia?
3. What are the political and public attitudes and discourses surrounding language policy in Tunisia?

The chapter will also provide some indirect evidence for the dynamic domains of language use and attitudes towards the major languages and therefore partly answer the fourth research question: How are the three main languages: Arabic, French and English currently used?

6.1.1 Who is Zine El Abidine Ben Ali?

Born in Tunisia in 1936 in a small city called Hammam Sousse on the Tunisian coast, Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, mnemonically ZABA, as many Tunisians like to call him, completed his military studies in France then in the United States to serve later “as ambassador to Poland in the early 1980s” (BBC, 20 June 2011). Then, he became Minister of the Interior, then prime minister in 1987 and became a president a few months later, “ousting Tunisia's first post-independence ruler, Habib Bourguiba, in a bloodless palace coup” (BBC, June 20, 2011) following a medical report signed by a group of doctors confirming that president Bourguiba was “mentally unfit to rule” (BBC, June 20, 2011). He spoke the three main languages in Tunisia i.e. Arabic, French and English, but based on some YouTube videos and the speeches he delivered throughout his presidency, he was not very fluent in any of them and he rarely improvised a speech in any language, unlike the Algerian president who constantly used “French in his public speeches showing at the same time his rhetorical skills in literary Arabic” (Benrabah, 2007: 28). In doing this, he adopted “the Moroccan leadership’s fluency in both languages-as exemplified by the late king Hasan II” (Benrabah, 2007: 28), which means Ben Ali was linguistically speaking less fluent than the leaders of the other Maghreb countries.

The interest in Ben Ali in this research stems from the fact that he monopolised all the powers of the state in Tunisia, including language policy making, as all of the important decisions in the field of language policy were either declared by him or were made in his name. Ben Ali usually explained his linguistic views and declared his new language policies, plans, reforms and recommendations in his annual Day of Knowledge Address delivered at the end of every school year, usually in the month of July. This day was celebrated every year ostensibly to reward the elite of the Tunisian students with the best results during each school year. This ceremony was also attended by a selection of teachers, high education stakeholders and a number of members of the government.

The new educational and linguistic decisions declared on this day usually came into force the following academic year. Regardless of the procedures and ways of taking any new decisions, once declared on this occasion, they made their way towards implementation. The only way to nullify them was when they proved flawed or showed obvious weaknesses in the course of implementation as in the case of the decision to introduce English starting in grade five in 1994 which was withdrawn reportedly due to a human resources’ problem, according to the Arabic Senior Inspector, SIA)

6.2 Ben Ali's Attitudes towards Globalisation

It is clear from his speeches that Ben Ali viewed globalisation as an unbalanced relationship between rich and poor countries. This relationship according to him had two facets, one involving economic competition that causes hardships to poor countries and another involving cultural hegemony that is threatening the diversity of both cultures and languages.

Economically speaking, Ben Ali apparently considered that the world interconnectedness boosted competition among all countries and consequently it made life harder for the underdeveloped and developing ones because they were unable to compete with the highly developed countries. He made his attitude clear on several occasions, one of which was an interview he gave to 'Le Figaro' magazine in 2007 when he stated, "We plan to intensify our action of modernization and reform; for in a context of globalisation, we have to face an increasingly fierce competition." (Ben Ali, November 10, 2007). The words 'face' and 'fierce' here seem to suggest that the ex-president considered globalisation as a battlefield of competition that is difficult to cope with.

However, this attitude was occasionally used as a pretext to justify the economic problems Tunisia was going through during the period of Ben Ali's rule, on the one hand, and to emphasize the success of Ben Ali's plans and reforms on the other. This is clearly illustrated in the remark he made:

Thanks to these deep reforms, we have managed to achieve positive results in terms of economic development, as reflected by the country's continuous pace of growth, and as testified by specialized institutions and bodies around the world. We have achieved this success despite our limited national resources, and despite the difficulties resulting from the globalization of the economy and the instability of prices on the world market." (Ben Ali, March 20th, 2009).

Globalisation in Ben Ali's discourse was, thus, mostly portrayed as a phenomenon which impacted negatively on the Tunisian economy in spite of the positive results which were reportedly being achieved due to what Ben Ali proudly describes as 'deep reforms' and 'great attention,' as he pointed out in the following quote,

That is why employment ranks always first among our concerns. We have, in fact, granted great attention to this issue, particularly in these conditions marked by a global economic and financial crisis, in order to preserve our gains and continue creating jobs and sources of income and enhancing initiatives. (Ben Ali, December 12, 2008)

During his rule as president, Ben Ali took three major actions with the aim of minimizing the ‘negative impacts’ of globalisation on Tunisia and of promoting interconnectedness among countries. On the international level, he called for an international ICT summit, and founded an academic chair for dialogue between civilisations and, on the national level, he set up a centre for financial and monetary research. These three actions are worthy of further exploration as they are highly indicative of Ben Ali’s attitudes towards globalisation.

In 2005, Ben Ali called for a world information technology summit that reportedly aimed at bridging the technological gap between the developed and developing countries. Bahá’í International Community (2005), the prominent non-governmental organisation, introduced this summit in the following terms:

Held in this North African capital on 16-18 November 2005, the Tunis Summit was the second part of the World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS), and its focus was on acting to ensure access and openness in information and communication technologies, or ICTs. (Baha Online Newsletter)

Calling for this summit reflects two core attitudes towards globalisation; firstly, the one implied in Ben Ali’s use of the ‘global village’ metaphor which stresses the world interconnectedness thanks to the use of modern information technology, as typified in this extract taken from the very opening address of the summit:

Our meeting today represents a summit for the ‘global village’ created by the new virtual realities, whose networks have been established, and whose components have been connected, through information and communication technologies, (Ben Ali, November 16, 2005)

The very use of ‘the global village’ metaphor here seems to indicate that Ben Ali looks at globalisation partly as the interconnectedness resulting from technological developments in the field of communication, which echoes the first definition of globalisation that dates back to the 1960s when McLuhan first coined this metaphor.

Secondly, organizing this summit reflects an attitude implying that the world is in a state of competition which is tilting further in favour of the developed countries and, thus, widening the gap, the technological one in particular, between rich and the poor countries. This attitude was made clear in Ben Ali’s statement of the aim of this summit where he pointed out that its aim was to,

strengthen the relations of cooperation and complementarity among the various components of the international community, as well as to reduce disparities among peoples, and achieve balanced and equitable development, in order to narrow the digital divide and remedy its negative effects as soon as possible, as this divide is ever-widening with the increasing disparity among countries in terms of growth rates and progress. (Ben Ali, November 16, 2005).

This summit was reported to be successful in the sense that it united people and organizations from the four corners of the globe, as illustrated by the following statistics in Baha's online newsletter:

According to the United Nations, 19,401 people participated in the event, representing 174 national delegations, 92 international organizations (like UNESCO or UNICEF), 606 non-governmental organizations, 226 business entities, and 642 media outlets. These totals rank with some of the best-attended UN world conferences of the 1990s. (Baha Online Newsletter)

The second action was an internal one but with global scope, designed to deal with globalisation in a scientific way to escape its possible negative impacts on the domestic economy.

In this context, we decided, a few weeks ago, to establish a centre for financial and monetary research, under the supervision of the Central Bank of Tunisia, to follow up world developments, carry out the necessary prospective research and studies, analyze the impact of these developments on the national economy, and to submit the suggestions deemed necessary. (Ben Ali, Nov 29th, 2008)

The motives of such a decision were that Tunisia was, according to Ben Ali, totally connected to the global economy and so any global new circumstances whether negative or positive were likely to have a direct or indirect impact on the Tunisian economy. He pointed this out in an interview he gave to Afrique-Asie Magazine published in its May 2008 issue,

Our economy is now integrated into the world economy. Thanks to its growing competitiveness; it is ranked 1st in Africa and 32nd internationally out of 131 countries, by the Davos World Economic Forum. (Ben Ali, April 28th, 2008)

The third compound action was intended to promote dialogue among the different countries and cultures in general in order to promote Tunisia's global image as a land of tolerance and moderation within the Muslim world, especially in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks, as the country might be viewed as a potential breeding ground for producing fundamentalists and extremists. Ben Ali made a number of important points summarised in the following quote:

We have also established an academic Chair for dialogue among civilizations and religions. We have created an international prize for solidarity, and an international award for the promotion of Islamic studies that advocate moderation, the golden mean and enlightened thinking. We have hosted various regional and international meetings and conferences on inter-civilisational dialogue and world solidarity, which were crowned with important charters and declarations (Ben Ali, June 2nd 2009)

Allegedly promoting 'Islamic studies that advocate moderation', 'the award' referred to in this quote was probably one of the strategies deployed to gain consent from the world, especially the powerful and influential countries, to fight what Ben Ali described as

fundamentalism, something he claimed he was faced with as soon as he got to power, “on the eve of November 7, 1987.” (Ben Ali, November 10, 2007).

Indeed, rewarding moderate thinking might have implied fighting extremism as well, especially since, as he described it to *Le Figaro Magazine*, a prominent international French magazine

Our country was faced with the threat of fundamentalist extremism. To protect ourselves, we have adopted a comprehensive and multidimensional approach aimed at addressing the root causes of extremism. (Ben Ali, November 10, 2007)

Indeed, by calling on the whole world for dialogue and moderation, Ben Ali was keeping on the safe side in case he decided to combat those who were opposing him internally under the pretext of fighting extremism. Indeed, he waged an intermittent war against wearing the veil and jailed thousands of Islamists without getting any kind of blame from any of the developed countries’ governments, due to the moderate image he adopted.

On the cultural level, Ben Ali had two different attitudes towards globalisation. On the one hand, he was critical of it, apparently blaming globalisation for its attempt to standardise lives and diminish the diversity resulting from the differences between cultures and civilisations, as implied in the following quote which is an extract taken from a speech that was delivered in a francophone summit in Quebec, “...the phenomenon of globalisation seems prone to sacrifice cultural and linguistic diversity, out of pragmatism and efficiency,” (Ben Ali, October 18, 2008).

Ben Ali seems here to be indirectly criticising the wave of dominance of American culture which has resulted in what Block and Cameron (2002:3) described as a “creeping uniformity” that characterises “all aspects of our lives, from how we dress to how we eat, from our entertainment preferences to our work habits and from the design of our buildings to our attitudes to our personal freedom.” (Block and Cameron, 2002: 4). Ben Ali’s criticism chimes in with Mudde (2007: 85) who points out that “Cultural globalisation has led to the alleged dominance of ‘the American way of life’ of Coca-Cola, McDonald’s, etc.”

Ben Ali’s concern became clearer when, in the same speech, he made an insistent call to the francophone countries to strengthen their inter-cultural relationships in order to be able to meet the cultural and scientific challenges posed by globalisation.

...our [francophone] organisation is insistently called on to demonstrate, through the promotion of a fruitful partnership between its various cultural component parts, its capacity to adjust to this new deal presented to it by the international scene and to the

scientific and technological progresses that characterise our time. (Ben Ali, October 18, 2008)

The call to unite in the face of globalisation might be partly due to Ben Ali's belief in the antagonism between French being the language of Francophony and English being the language of globalisation, and it is no surprise that the speech was delivered in a francophone summit in Canada where French and English are two major languages. In different contexts, Ben Ali often appeared to be in favour of globalisation and indeed called for global values. At the opening of the International conference on "Dialogue among Civilizations and Cultural Diversity," for instance, he called for stronger cooperation and communication between the different nations of the world, not only the francophone countries:

Today and more than ever before, we need to establish an international partnership for dialogue, cooperation, peace and development, one that promotes communication among all nations in any part of the world, regardless of colour, gender, religion or language. (Ben Ali, June 2nd 2009)

Furthermore, he considered that the "Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions," which was adopted in October 2005 by the UNESCO member states in Paris as "a major historic achievement and a significant qualitative contribution that merits all due support" (Ben Ali, June 2nd 2009) because it was intended to preserve the endangered cultural diversity.

6.2.1 Ben Ali and Globalisation: Some concluding remarks

Although Ben Ali seemed to hold rather negative attitudes towards globalisation viewing them as a source of economic, linguistic and cultural difficulty for poor countries, some of his declarations showed the pride he was taking from the results of economic investigations and assessments of such worldwide institutions as International Monetary Fund and World Bank:

The assessments made by such credible institutions as the IMF, the World Bank and the Davos Forum, which rank Tunisia at the head of the most competitive economies in Africa and the Arab World, and 29th at the international level, confirm the soundness of our approach and encourage us to move ahead along this path. (Ben Ali, November 10, 2007)

On the cultural level, his calls upon the international community to communicate regardless of 'colour, gender, religion or language' indicate Ben Ali's awareness that Tunisia, although primarily an Arab and Francophone country, could play an active role in the 'global village'. The question is whether these attitudes would have any impact on Ben Ali's linguistic

attitudes, especially as the linguistic situation in Tunisia reflects the three dimensions: the Arabic, the Francophonic and the global.

6.3. Ben Ali's Attitudes towards Languages

6.3.1. The Arabic Language and Identity

First, it is noteworthy that in the speeches where Ben Ali spoke about Arabic he referred to it in general without specifying which variety of Arabic or hinting at the diglossic character of Arabic. However, it can be inferred that he was referring to the modern standard Arabic (MSA) in which he delivered all his speeches. MSA is, in Daoud's words, the language that is "taught as a subject and used as the medium of instruction in elementary education" (Daoud: 1996: 599).

Generally speaking, Ben Ali specified on several occasions that he considered the Arabic language to be the Tunisians' mother tongue and a crucial part of their identity and, as such, he said he had always tried to preserve and promote it. In the 1996 Day of Knowledge address, he expressed his interest in promoting the teaching of the Arabic language because it was, in his terms, "a mother tongue and a main component of [Tunisian] national identity" (Ben Ali, July 17, 1996). Later, in 1999, he reminded us of his determination to preserve Arabic as an aspect of Tunisian identity, stating: "As regards our identity, we have consistently endeavoured to preserve its attributes, most particularly our Arabic language" (In Daoud, 2011: 17).

In this same respect, in order to consolidate the younger generation's sense of belonging to Tunisian identity, as Ben Ali claimed, a few months before stepping down, he gave instructions to design an Arabic dictionary and to develop a Tunisian encyclopaedia:

To anchor the national identity in our young generations, enrich their training and strengthen their sense of pride vis-à-vis their country's culture, glories, and great figures in all areas of civilisation, knowledge, arts, language and letters, we give instructions to the Ministry of Education and Training, jointly with the Ministry of Higher Education, Scientific Research and Technology and the Ministry of Culture and Heritage Preservation for designing an Arabic dictionary that is easy to consult and in tune with contemporary times and also for developing a Tunisian encyclopaedia that makes known our country's great figures, cities and sites. The preparation of these two works is to be entrusted to an elite of specialists. (Ben Ali, July 15th, 2010)

The aim of these two projects was not exclusively linguistic or lexical, but also cultural and civilisational, as it was intended to confer upon its users (Tunisian teenagers in particular), a feeling of 'pride' and a profound sense of identity. Therefore, designing such a dictionary could be conceived of as a step forward not only as a means of improving Arabic language teaching, but also in terms of giving the Arabic language some kind of prestige that will help in protecting it from being marginalized by the new generations in a globalised Tunisia that has become more and more open to powerful languages endowed with rich scientific and technological terminology and lexis.

In academic settings, Ben Ali's most important achievement relative to Arabic teaching took place following his 1992 educational reform in which Arabic moved on from its traditional status as a medium through which to teach religion or humanities to one playing a rather scientific role, a decision again aimed at targeting national identity,

Faithful to our Arab belonging and our national language ..., one of the objectives of our educational reform is to extend the use of the Arab language from teaching the literary and human sciences subjects only to teaching scientific subjects. (Ben Ali, July 18th, 1992)

This decision was very important in at least three ways. First, it was the first measure taken in Ben Ali's era to resume the process of Arabisation of school subjects which initially started in 1970 and ended in 1983 with the Arabisation of all primary school subjects (Daoud, 2011). This reform was, then, intended to resume a process that had begun almost a decade before. Upon the completion of this process, science, mathematics, and technical subjects were fully arabised (Daoud: 2011: 18) for the first time in the schools belonging to the ministry of the national education.

Second, French was believed to be the only language suitable to teach scientific subjects in higher school levels such as grades 7 to 9. This attitude was so entrenched in peoples' attitudes that after this reform many people could hardly conceive of how Arabic would be used to teach all sciences until level 9. The second way in which this decision was important lies, therefore, in the fact that it reduced the French monopolisation of the academic and scientific function in the Tunisian schools. Daoud (2011: 18) describes the status of French after this reform stating, "French was kept as a language course only, and taught from the second grade at the rate of 2 to 5 hours per week."

The third way this measure was important was that it reflected that policy makers belief that Arabic could be used to teach sciences and so this decision was thought to be the first in a series of measures in favour of Arabic. Many 'Arabisants' (Judy, 1999) in Tunisia were so optimistic after this decision as to think that sciences were about to be taught in Arabic even

at a higher secondary school level. However, this did not happen and Arabic as a language of science stopped at the basic level and was not continued to secondary school. As Moore (2010: 7) points out,

Humanities studies have gradually been Arabized at the secondary school level, but French remains the language of instruction for scientific and technical subjects, especially in higher education.

The Arabisation process had two important dimensions. On the ideological level, it was positive, as it helped “reassert the country’s Arab-Muslim identity” (Daoud, 2011:18); however, academically, it was “poorly planned, hesitant and indeterminate.” That is why its critics in education who were mainly francophones were critical even of Arabising the humanities and social sciences which had been Arabised since the 1970s,

The switch to Arabic had an impoverishing impact on the course content and teaching approach, particularly in the humanities and social sciences which could no longer rely on “enlightening” Western/French references, thus nurturing new generations of school graduates with a conservative, traditionalist, less westernized mindset. (Daoud, 2011:18)

Outside schools and academic settings and probably aware that the mass media “contribute[s] to language spread and reflect[s] language change over time,” (Daoud, 2001: 17) Ben Ali addressed the issue in order to help with the preservation of the Arabic language. Indeed, on the 21st anniversary of ‘The Change’ one of the decisions officially taken by Ben Ali was to: “Exhort the mass media, particularly the audiovisual media, given their large audience, to be the first to preserve the Arabic language integrity and reinforce its vitality.” (Ben Ali, June 26th, 2009)

This decision to encourage the mass media to preserve Arabic seems to indicate that policy makers, Ben Ali in this case, apparently felt anxious about the Arabic language situation, especially as used in the mass media. That is why he addressed them directly with words such as ‘preserve,’ ‘reinforce,’ ‘vitality’ and ‘integrity,’ which seem to imply that there is a certain risk or danger on the way. Indeed, they reveal that Ben Ali had a feeling that Arabic was weakening and its domains of use decreasing.

This feeling of anxiety might have stemmed from two new phenomena; first the dramatic change in the languages used on Tunisian TV and radio channels. Daoud (2011: 27) states that, until recently, the main language of the Tunisian media was modern standard Arabic (MSA) or Educated Arabic (EA). Their presenters were keen on using MSA to the extent that they used to “paraphrase a guest’s TA discourse using a more refined TA register,” but

now, especially in live programmes, the Tunisian variety is dominant often with a significant amount of code-switching and code-mixing.

In sports programmes, which are extremely popular in Tunisia, for instance, TV and radio presenters often interview football players or coaches right after matches and currently most of the time this kind of interviews is conducted in the lowest variety of Tunisian spoken Arabic which is loaded with code-switching and code-mixing. Indeed, the players and the coaches, among others, whose level of education is generally low, seem keen to insert as many foreign terms as they can in their discourse probably in imitation of the older educated elites in Tunisia. The situation has been like this for a long time, but recently, their code-switching and code-mixing has been largely tolerated by their interviewers who no longer bother to gently guide them into using a higher variety of Arabic such as EA.

Added to this internal issue of mass media is the second problem which is directly related to globalisation; i.e. the multiplicity of satellite channels, which might have been a cause for concern for Ben Ali. Indeed, the accessibility of a huge array of multilingual satellite channels and programmes has recently made it difficult for Tunisian local channels and programmes to compete in terms of viewing figures, especially among the young, which is likely to have a negative linguistic impact on the Arabic language. For example, according to this investigation, data revealed that over 40% of the students said they frequently followed English programmes, which can have a deep linguistic and even cultural impact on the younger generations in particular. For instance, they might come to prefer the use of English rather than Arabic, their mother tongue, when dealing with certain issues, especially as English is often reported as superior to Arabic, “English—in sharp contrast to Arabic—is exclusively endowed to promote the values of freedom, democracy, justice, openness, tolerance, decency and so forth” (Karmani, 2005: 265).

The issue, in Daoud (2011)’s view, loomed even worse for MSA when some international satellite channels started to present their programmes in a dubbed version which uses a low variety of Egyptian or Lebanese Arabic, which caused Daoud (2011) to feel that MSA was undergoing a large scale conspiracy, as indicated in the following quote:

Even American movies, TV series and talk shows, which are normally broadcast in English with Arabic subtitles on the MBC satellite network, are offered more and more in the dubbed version...If ever there was a large scale conspiracy against standard Arabic, this must be it (Daoud, 2011: 28).

However, Ben Ali's exhorting of the mass media to preserve Arabic and boost the Arabisation process might be viewed as a kind of political rhetoric i.e. a rather diplomatic step aimed at gaining more popularity. Ben Ali was fully aware of the important historical and, especially, religious connotations this language had in Tunisia. So, by showing interest in the Arabic language, he probably thought he was conforming to the image that many Tunisians wanted from the president; the image of a politician who defended the language of their nation and therefore their identity, history and religion, as for them, all of these dimensions are integrated in the Arabic language. Battenburg (1997: 281) pointed out that in Maghreb countries policy makers are aware that Arabisation was the most acceptable practice, "leaders of countries in the Maghreb realize that Arabization is the only politically accepted solution."

6.3.2 Ben Ali's Attitudes towards foreign languages

Generally speaking, foreign languages in Ben Ali's speeches had two aims. The first aim was employment which he said ranks first among his 'concerns' and second communication with the external world.

Mastering a second language or more is, for learners, a valuable gain and an added value in their training and culture, offering them large prospects for employment and vast opportunities for communication with the other. Therefore, to increase the employability of the graduates of our education and training system, we call for granting further attention to the teaching of languages and for adopting the necessary measures to develop language teaching and to bring the students' acquisitions in this field up to the current international standards. (Ben Ali, July 11th, 2008)

Foreign languages in Tunisia are associated with employment in two ways. First, for tourism which is an economically vital sector that, according to the Tunisian official Tourism Newsletter of 2011, contributes 7% of the Tunisian gross domestic product (GDP) and provides 400 thousand jobs. Speaking to tourists from different linguistic backgrounds requires mastery of foreign languages, especially English as a lingua franca.

Second, mastering English broadens the potential for finding a job abroad, especially in Anglophone countries such as the Gulf area. Although languages are not specified in this quote, it could be implied that when it comes to employment, English is most probably the foreign language referred to, it was hinted at in an article published in The Guardian newspaper, entitled "Tunisia turns to a new language partner" where English was considered as one of the solutions for unemployment,

The push for English is part of a wider policy by this former French colony [Tunisia] to transform its education system and tackle a growing problem of youth unemployment by improving vocational training and developing a workforce that will attract investment from Europe and can find work in wealthy Gulf countries. (The Guardian, February 6, 2009)

The Gulf area currently attracts a lot of workers from Tunisia; especially those who master the English language, as there, even interviews for the simplest jobs are frequently conducted in English.

6.3.3 Ben Ali's Attitudes towards The French Language

The strength of the French language in Tunisia may be considered as the result of historical, economic, political and social ties characterising the Tunisian-French bilateral relationships. Ben Ali's attitudes towards these aspects were best summarised in an interview he gave to *Le Figaro Magazine*. When answering the interviewer's question about the nature of Franco-Tunisian relations, he pointed out that,

Tunisian-French relations are exemplary. Our bilateral cooperation is dense and multiform, and is satisfactorily evolving. France is at the same time our first client and first supplier. It is also the first country in terms of direct foreign investments not including energy, and our principal European backer. Moreover, France hosts the largest number of Tunisians abroad. We have undertaken, jointly with President Nicolas Sarkozy, to further promote and open up wider prospects for our cooperation, so that we can draw reciprocal benefits from the different opportunities, and adapt our cooperation to Tunisia's new development priorities, as defined in our economic and social development plan. (Ben Ali, November 10, 2007)

Apart from the strong economic ties between the two countries, this quote stresses that France hosts the 'largest number of Tunisians abroad,' which may have played a very active role in sustaining the status of the French language in Tunisia, as every year tens of thousands of Tunisians come back from France to spend their summer vacations in Tunisia loaded with French culture and language. Many of them, the second and third generations in particular, have little linguistic grasp of Arabic.

Theoretically speaking, French for Ben Ali may be significant in two ways. On the one hand, he considers it to be a 'Francophone identity' and so he calls for cultural exchange among the French speaking countries and, on the other hand, he looks at it as an instrument for knowledge, as typified by the following,

Boosting co-operation in the education field within the sphere of the Francophony represents, in this respect, a considerable asset for our countries which benefit from the use of the French language, a tool for exchanging and sharing knowledge. (Ben Ali, October 18, 2008)

However, the instability in the introduction of French that developed (Kammoun, 2006) in Tunisian schools during his rule in particular may imply that Ben Ali was rather in favour of promoting Arabic, as was demonstrated by the 1992 reform which made Arabic replace French as the language of Science, Maths and Physics until year 9 of basic education, as well as promoting English, as will become apparent in the following section.

6.3.4 Ben Ali's Attitudes towards English

During his 23 years of presidency, the most important linguistic measures were taken in favour of the English language, although his first major decision was taken almost nine years after coming to power in 1987. In April 1995, Ben Ali travelled to South Africa accompanied by a group of high government officials and businessmen. That business trip was reported to be a failure due the lack of fluency in English of the Tunisian convoy (Daoud, 2001; Kammoun, 2006). As a result of this failure, two important decisions were taken in 1996 and then declared on the knowledge Day of the same year

We have decided to gradually introduce, as from next year, the teaching of English as from grades 8 and 9 of basic education and to generalise English language teaching in the first cycle of higher education, stated Ben Ali (July 17th, 1996)

Introducing English into the curriculum at the age of 13 was very important first because it came as a sudden change after over two decades of introducing English at the age of 15. More accurately, English had been taught from age 15 without any change since the 1970s (Kammoun, 2006). Second, across the 9 years of basic education, French had enjoyed the status of the only foreign language taught, so introducing English at this stage would inevitably weaken that status and reduce it to one of the two foreign languages taught. Third and finally, that decision was just one of a series of measures that were to be taken later on in favour of English, which demonstrates its importance as a preliminary part of Tunisia's linguistic future.

The second part of the decision, 'to generalise English language teaching in the first cycle of higher education' was also very important, although English had been introduced at this stage for specific purposes (ESP) since the year 1958. Its significance lies to a large extent in

its generalisation to all the universities and colleges in Tunisia, as Daoud (2001: 17) points out:

Teaching English for Specific Purposes (ESP) has been part of the university programmes since the national university system was founded in 1958, but it has witnessed a significant growth since the early 1980s that culminated in the generalisation of ESP to all higher education majors without exception in 1996–97.

Its generalisation enabled a large number of students to continue studying English at a university level rather than just consider it as a subject to be abandoned after passing the end of secondary school, the '*baccalauréat*'. After these two decisions, any university graduate in Tunisia was supposed to have been exposed to at least 8 years of English, before it had been only 4 years. This has had a very positive impact on the students who became proficient enough to consult references in English and, in particular, for students who explored and appreciated the scientific value of English.

This reform seems to have been a political response to economic globalisation and therefore a way in which globalisation served English in Tunisia through imposing reform on language policy stakeholders.

English-language education has a prominent role in this reform of the national undergraduate curriculum, on the understanding that having a workforce that is capable of using the English language will enhance the prospects for successful integration into the global economy. (Judy, 1999: 6)

In 1996, as well, it was reported that the ex-president wanted every Tunisian, no matter what their profession, even those “selling fruit in the street” to speak English (Battenburg, 1997: 287). That decision came into effect in the same year and the English teachers, who worked in El Kef Model School for instance, in 1996, still remember that they had full evening classes with newly registered learners ranging from very simple employees to engineers, pharmacists, lawyers and doctors, all of them heading for one purpose, to improve their English. However, most of them were aware that the whole programme was in response to a then recent presidential decision and some of them even thought English might become a mandatory requirement for their professional development and promotion.

It is noteworthy that these language policy measures were not taken under any kind of economic or political pressure from America or Great Britain. On the contrary, these countries' contributions to the Tunisian language teaching and education sectors in 1996 were insignificant compared to that of France, for example. Battenburg (1997: 287) reports that,

in spite of budget reductions, in 1996 the American government contributed an estimated US\$600,000 and the British government allocated about US\$400,000 for language, cultural and educational activities. The French government, in contrast, spent US\$20 million for such programs within Tunisia. One British official, in describing this disparity, exclaimed only somewhat jokingly: “The French spend more in a morning than we do in a year”

Ben Ali explains similar decisions by reference to Tunisia’s ‘urgent needs,’ as he declared when recommending that clubs for English teaching be opened at a very early stage of learning. This political awareness of the need for English was paralleled by a public one, as Battenburg (1997: 287) pointed out, “Tunisians are increasingly aware of their need for English.” In 2001, Ben Ali made the following significant recommendation,

We were also keen on the teaching of foreign languages due to our urgent needs in this area. In this regard, we have recommended that English language clubs be opened for fifth grade students in basic education, so as to familiarize the young with a second foreign language and to encourage them to learn a second language from the early stages of education. (Ben Ali, July 16th, 2001)

Although, following this speech, English was not introduced as an official subject in primary schools, this decision was important for several reasons; first, because it was a reiteration of a pilot scheme that was attempted and cancelled in the same academic year, in 1994-95. The return to this pilot seems to show a determination to make it a success this time. Second, because these English clubs were intended not only to introduce children to English at an early stage, but also to help them, in the words of the Inspector General of Education, Jawida Ben Afia, to, “develop a positive attitude towards the English language.” (Ben Afia, 2004: 16). This objective seems to aim at breaking the attitude that most Tunisian children used to be educated with the perception that French is the only language of science, modernity, technology, etc.

Third, the goals of these clubs, as summarised by Ben Afia, were important, as they were intending to help children,

- Become familiar with the sounds of the English language, with basic vocabulary and simple sentences;
- listen and speak in child-centred situations;
- read and write very simple words and phrases related to the activities;
- become sensitised to the sounds of the English language so that this will help them succeed when they begin formal language learning in year 7 of basic education, which lasts 9 years. Ben Afia (2004: 16)

The first and last objectives are particularly important because they represent anticipation of a real problem that many Tunisians suffer from in learning English in both speaking and listening. Indeed, the relatively late introduction of English compared to French causes many Tunisians' pronunciation to be deeply influenced by French. So, introducing children early on to English sounds might be an efficient anticipatory remedy for this problem. Fourth, these clubs were important because their introduction was partly in response to newly emerging globalisation concepts such as 'the language of technology,' 'citizen of the world' and 'global village,' as pointed out in Ben Afia's conclusion,

The decision to introduce English at a lower age stems from the awareness of the importance of mastering foreign languages in order to discover other cultures and, particularly, for children to be able to interact in the language of technology and research and to be a citizen of the world in the global village that communicates predominantly in English. (Ben Afia, 2004: 17)

Fourth, this decision was important because it was paralleled by a strong parental desire to have their children join these clubs. (Ben Afia, 2004) The parents' wishes could be interpreted as a starting point for a public intervention in language policy in Tunisia. Indeed, in the same year that these clubs were recommended, Ben Ali admitted that he had to respond to the wishes of the public in calling for more exposure to English (see Ben Ali, July 16th, 2001 in chapter Four).

This favourable response to the public demand reveals, first, the importance of having positive public attitudes towards a language, as the students' and parents' positive attitudes towards English in this case resulted in their demand for more English and ended up by a presidential decision to teach it even during 'summer vacations.' This demonstrates the power of attitudes which has been a main reason for investigating them in the current research study.

Indeed, pressure from parents and students echoes both the mentalist and behaviourist conceptions of attitudes, as the former considers them as the people's reactions to social circumstances and the latter views them as an "internal state generated by an external stimulation and which can shape a given response" (Jabeur, 1999: 190). English in this case is what mentalists refer to as social circumstance or, in Jabeur's terms, "social situations" and what behaviourists refer to as "external stimulation" (Jabeur, 1999: 190).

Second, parental pressure reflects the importance of public attitudes in shaping Tunisia's language policy and this seems to be used by Ben Ali as a cover to pass similar decisions

and measures in favour of English without attracting criticism from the powerful francophone forces in and outside Tunisia which tried to slow down the pace of promoting English in Tunisia, as will be clarified later.

Following the successful experience of clubs in primary schools, one of the most important decisions was made. English was to be introduced as an official subject for the first time in primary school.

On the other hand, to enable pupils to learn foreign languages and be open on other civilizations, we called for teaching the English language at an early stage. Following the assessment of the experience of teaching this language within clubs frequented by pupils of the 5th and 6th grades of basic education, we announce our decision to include English as a subject as part of the official curriculum of the 6th grade classes starting next school year. (Ben Ali, July 13th, 2005)

This decision was a very significant continuation of the previous decisions starting in 1996. Its importance lies first in its indication of the success of the preceding changes targeting specifically the age of introduction of English justifying a push for further changes and second, it marked a huge step forward in making the status of English official. Indeed, introduced as of primary school age, English is now likely to be compared to French and will enable students at a very early stage to decide which language they prefer and which to concentrate on.

It is noticed in this quote, as in many previous quotes from Ben Ali speeches, that any change or new decision that gives the English language a higher status is introduced under the 'cover' of promoting foreign languages. In the case of this extract which is taken from a speech made in 2005, Ben Ali introduces his decision to introduce English at a primary school stage by the following statement: "to enable pupils to learn foreign languages and be open to other civilisations, we called for teaching the English language" and in a previously mentioned extract from a speech made in 2001, Ben Ali says: "We were also keen on the teaching of foreign languages due to our urgent needs in this area. In this regard, we have recommended that English language clubs be opened for fifth grade students in basic education." One question occurs: Why did Ben Ali not address directly the issue of Tunisia's need for English in particular, especially as it is the language that he intended to refer to and promote?

The background of this issue might be of a political nature, rather than a linguistic one. Sonntag (2003: 113) points out that, "the more globalization, the more the issue of global

English is politicized locally.” Promoting English in a ‘profoundly francophone’ country needs to be introduced ‘smoothly’ to francophone forces both inside and outside Tunisia, as history tells us that locally, since the 1960s, many Tunisian officials were “hesitant to support English language education” (Battenburg, 1997: 283) and even tried to undermine graduates in the different specialties of English linguistic background in the late 1990s. Indeed, by the end of the school year 1994/1995, about one thousand high-achieving students were sent to the US to continue their higher studies of science and technology with the aim of finishing their studies in English and coming back to accelerate the process of development; however, of those who returned to Tunisia after graduating, about 60% of them, were anecdotally reported to have “faced resistance from well-positioned senior faculty who tried to block their promotion, and from junior colleagues who viewed them with envy and suspicion” (Daoud, 2001: 32).

This local resistance was once confirmed and backed by the French government. Indeed, in the mid-sixties, when the Tunisian system of education had not yet produced enough teachers to cover Tunisia’s need following the long period of French colonisation, the French president Charles De Gaulle went as far as to refuse “to send teachers of languages other than French to Tunisia” Battenburg (1997: 283). This indicates how sensitive the issue of promoting English in Tunisia had become and therefore might explain why the ‘omnipotent’ ex-president had to explain and provide the framework for any move he made relative to English language teaching.

Introducing the English language as of primary school age triggered a serious debate in the media as well as in political and educational settings on whether it was possible for English to sneak its way in to the country and become Tunisia’s second language instead of French. Kammoun (2006), for instance, considered that the measures taken in favour of English were rather due to the fluctuations in the French language situation in Tunisia, in a clear reference to the Arabisation of some human and natural sciences in the basic education levels after they had been given in French; but English, in her opinion, was still far from representing a serious threat to the status of French as a first foreign language. She stated that,

English has certainly profited from the ups and downs that French has suffered from, but not to the extent that some politicians and journalists would have liked and who have clamoured loudly and clearly for English to take the place of French as the first foreign language in the country and have said we couldn’t be more ‘catholic than the Pope’, since the French themselves have started to recognise the decline of the French language on the international scene. (Kammoun, 2006: 13, author’s translation)

A few months before Ben Ali stepped down, in his last Day of the Knowledge speech on July 15th, 2010, he recommended that English be introduced as early as the third year of the primary school, i.e. just one year after the introduction of French. (Assabah, 21/08/2010) This decision was expected to come into effect during the school year 2010/2011, but as Ben Ali was overthrown, this project was not pursued and further investigation was recommended, especially as it was based on a programme designed jointly by the Ministry of Education and the British Council. For the ex-regime the last move towards achieving this programme was exemplified as follows,

The Tunisian-British program to promote the teaching of English in educational institutions has been central to the conference of Mr. Hatem Ben Salem, Minister of Education with a delegation led by the British Council Director of the promotion of English and examinations for the Middle East and North Africa. (La Presse, 22/10/2010)

This conference was held again after the Revolution but this time between the interim Minister of Education, Taieb Baccouche and Jim Butler, Director of the British Council for the Middle East and North African Region. The meeting, according to the official site of the Ministry of Education, was intended to discuss the ways:

to speed up implementation of this programme whose achievement is to stretch over ten years and manage the programme in a way that guarantees the hoped-for results by allowing pupils to have command of oral and written English and open broad prospects for them in Tunisia and abroad. (Ministry of Education)

The very recurrence of the meeting between two different ministers of Education and high British Council officials before and after the Tunisian Revolution reveals a high degree of determination to carry on with the process of promoting the English language in Tunisia; however, so far no concrete decision has been taken with regards to introducing English in year three of the primary school.

At the level of higher education and to raise the students' communicative skills, two 'linguistic villages' were launched, the first in 2005 and the second in 2010, as outlined in the following quote,

We also give instructions for establishing another "Linguistic Village" that works all year round, to enhance the linguistic skills of students and provide a sound climate for linguistic exchange that helps them improve their communicative skills. (Ben Ali, July 15th, 2010)

The linguistic objectives of these projects, as presented here by Ben Ali, seem to be in favour of English language learners; however, in fact, they are not as favourable decisions as they first appear because they were intended to replace a language policy that had been in existence for decades and that gave the right to English language students to have a linguistic training in the UK for one academic year after graduation. A group of Tunisian students majoring in English language and literature used to be sent yearly to the UK to teach French in the secondary schools there and to enjoy living with a British family with the aim of practising the language. This training which was organised by the Tunisian Government and co-ordinated by the British Council was then cancelled and students were later sent for a couple of months only. This change was pointed out by an old English faculty member in the Ministry of Higher Education:

Concerning your question about student training in the UK, all I know is that there was a scheme according to which students were sent as French assistants in secondary schools and they were given a salary but this was then abolished and students were sent for shorter periods (about eight weeks) but at the expense of the Tunisian Government (the Tunisian Ministry of Higher Education). However, the budget allotted to this training program kept dwindling and the number of students benefitting from it kept going down. To my knowledge, the British Council acted as a coordinator in the first scheme and the UNESCO had no role in any.

This training, although reduced, was judged too expensive by the Tunisian government and was finally discarded by 2005, the same year in which the first Linguistic Village was declared open and ready to perform training in Tunisia, instead. However, many students still express their dissatisfaction with it, as it could by no means replace the period of training in the UK that was particularly useful as an excellent chance that all students could profit from in order to experience the language and culture they had been studying for years as well as improving their English through authentic, real-life situations.

The results of such a decision to stop sending students to the UK for a training period was probably one of the causes for the declining level of proficiency of English language teachers, which according to some inspectors' reports, has dropped dramatically. This led Ben Ali to set up a centre to train English language teachers,

In this context, we give instructions for establishing a National Centre for Languages, to be in charge of improving the quality of programmes and the content of training for language teachers. The aim is to enhance their qualifications and increase their ability to benefit from language laboratories, which will help bring our educational system up to the level of international standards. (Ben Ali, July 15th, 2010)

The centre referred to here was intended to be a solution to improve the language teachers' capacities. The interview with the Arabic senior inspector (ASI), for instance, revealed that this centre was launched following classroom observation reports which, "have shown a sort of decline in the level of proficiency of teachers," This centre was described by the ASI in the following terms,

The president announced that a national centre for languages would be launched in the city of Carthage with a training capacity of 300 teachers at a time. It is equipped with ultra-modern labs and technological tools to make the training more effective and fruitful.

Another aim for this centre is to help teachers reach an international level of proficiency in order to have learners who meet the specifications of the Common European Framework, as pointed out by the English senior inspector (ESI). Adopting such a framework was probably expected to boost the learners' employability after graduating. It was intended to give the Tunisian graduates similar chances of employability as European graduates either in Europe or in Tunisia by European investors. According to its published report, the Common European Framework includes four important points as it,

- provides a common basis for the elaboration of language syllabuses, curriculum guidelines, examinations, textbooks, etc. across Europe.
- describes in a comprehensive way what language learners have to learn to do in order to use a language for communication and what knowledge and skills they have to develop so as to be able to act effectively.
- covers the cultural context in which language is set.
- defines levels of proficiency which allow learners' progress to be measured at each stage of learning and on a life-long basis. (The Common European Framework: 1)

This framework was considered by the ESI as one of the prominent future plans for English language promotion in the future. Indeed, when asked: "Do you have any future plans to promote English?" The ESI pointed out that,

Yes, a lot of effort is being deployed and there is a group of specialists who are currently working on changing textbooks and programmes again to meet the European Common Framework¹⁸ which is a booklet containing all the standard skills that every student should acquire no matter where they are. This aims at promoting the Tunisian partnership with Europe. Those of our students who graduate and go to work in Europe should meet the European specifications and should be able to compete with their European counterparts. (From the interview with the SIE)

¹⁸ The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, teaching assessment (CEFR) was first published in 2001 and it is now "frequently referred to as the globalisation of education policy" (Byram and Parmenter, 2012: 1)

6.4 The Interview with the Senior Inspectors:

6.4.1 The Relationship between Globalisation and Language

Three senior inspectors were chosen to be interviewed, the Arabic Senior Inspector (ASI), the French Senior Inspector (FSI) and the English Senior Inspector (ESI) as they work very closely with the Ministry of Education. These inspectors are in charge of communication between the Ministry and language teachers either directly through large-scale conferences or through the inspectors allocated to the different regions of the country. They explain new ministerial measures, policies and plans and they provide feedback to the ministry about the application of new rules and regulations on the ground. Having had a long experience as teachers then as inspectors and finally as senior inspectors, these officials understand perfectly well the language situation in Tunisia, especially in academic settings.

First of all, they were asked about their conception of globalisation and they all agreed that it was a combination of the following three definitions:

1. Globalisation means that the world has become a small village thanks to modern means of communication
2. Globalisation means that the world economy has become interconnected
3. Globalisation means that the world has become Americanized and Westernized.

They stated that globalisation was the interaction resulting from the widespread means of communication, the world economic interconnectedness and the world becoming Americanised and Westernised. The Arabic Senior Inspector (ASI) felt that globalisation was an all inclusive concept but he pointed out that he was more inclined to choose the third option, which defines globalisation as a process of Americanisation. That means, for the FSI, globalisation was a rather negative phenomenon, although it included some positive aspects such as the internet. He pointed out that, "In the ideal world, globalisation is based on the principle of the free circulation of labour. However, in real life, it is a different story. It is fully in favour of the west that is trying to dominate the world." The FSI's view seems to echo the francophone view in general which is critical of globalisation, albeit from a different perspective, as the francophone criticism is based on its being a vehicle for the promulgation of English and the FSI's criticism is based on the west's monopoly of information thanks to technological development. On this point, the FSI seems to share Ben Ali's concern about the possible use of technology to treat weaker countries unfairly, as pointed out in the following extract,

We highly appreciate the opportunities of contact and communication made possible by modern ICTs, particularly the Internet. We nevertheless underline the necessity that these technologies not be used to intensify disparities and differences among countries. (Ben Ali, June 2, 2009)

As for the relationship between globalisation and language, all the senior inspectors pointed out that there is unquestionably a strong relationship between them. The ASI, for instance, stated that the communication between people from an array of linguistic backgrounds requires, “a common language to use to achieve this communication. One cannot learn all the languages of the world to communicate with people from different linguistic backgrounds”. From this perspective the FSI admitted that, “English was the language of globalisation, it is the language of the internet, commercial transactions, sciences, industry and scientific research”. Such a declaration, especially when given by the French senior inspector, reveals that Tunisia’s language policy seems to be directed towards giving a more important role for English to play due to its role as the language of globalisation.

6.4.2. The Impacts of Globalisation on the Language Situation in Tunisia

Surprisingly enough, the ASI pointed out that in the last couple of decades, students have become weaker in the three main languages in Tunisia, but he stated that the Ministry of Education is aware of this issue and is tackling it seriously through reforms targeting, “the teaching tools, the human resources and the programmes.” The students’ weakness in languages is echoed in Daoud’s latest article where he describes language rivalry as “an intensified functional competition between French and English, and an overall sense of deteriorating competence in all these languages among the younger generations, coupled with an unsettled cultural orientation.” (Daoud, 2011: 9)

However, on this very point, the ESI has a totally different point of view from the ASI. He argued that due to the spread of the internet, after 2002, “everything had to change: books, programmes and orientation regulations in order to cope with the internet culture. The whole view of what foreign languages were all about has changed” and following this change, the students have achieved a very noticeable improvement. He said,

Before, a student was likely to graduate unable to write a letter in English; whereas now, with the new programmes, students are able to express their own ideas about any of the subjects they have tackled at school. English teachers have noticed this positive change due to the new books that are more oriented towards communication.

The difference in viewpoints may stem from one of two hypothetical causes. First, the ESI may be in possession of a closer and more accurate view of what is going on in English language teaching. Indeed, being essentially a supervisor of English in Tunisia, he is better placed than anyone else, including the ASI, to judge the level of students in English in particular. In this case, his view can be taken even as a serious criticism of Daoud's (2011) conclusion assuming that students' level of proficiency is dropping. The second hypothesis may be that ESI is one of those who designed the 2002 programme and, in this case, his judgement becomes simply a defensive measure he is taking to show the success of this project.

What can be concluded from the results of the quantitative part of this investigation reported in Chapters 3 and 4 is that the students' use of the English language in online chatting is, for instance, significantly more frequent than the teachers', 14.5% and 10% respectively. More use of English could be considered as an indication of a better command of it, which further confirms the first hypothesis and therefore indicates that the level of students might not be deteriorating as the ASI and Daoud (2011) have claimed.

The FSI, on the other hand, considers that the level of students is improving in English thanks to the new decisions to introduce it earlier and earlier until it was finally introduced as of the primary school. Regardless of what he observed as a senior inspector in the Ministry of Education, as a parent and as part of the older generation, he noticed the difference between his children's level of proficiency and his own level when he was their age: "I have lately noticed that my children have progressed dramatically in English and their level is now much higher than our level used to be." This testimony, first further confirms the hypothesis that the level of students may not really be declining in English as was reported by the ASI and, second, that the younger generation has a better command of English than the older one.

However, the FSI admitted that, "The English supervisors report that the students' level of English has retreated," but, in his opinion, if this was accurate, it might be the result of the small academic weighting of the literary subjects in general compared to the scientific ones. He explained here that, "Nowadays, the scientific subjects are preferred to the literary ones; for students, mathematics, physics and sciences in general are more important than languages." This explanation might be correct for students majoring in sciences; nonetheless it cannot explain why the Arts' students' level may be in decline, for example, if ever it is

the case for them as well, as the weighting for languages is higher for them than for sciences.

Outside the school and academic settings, the ESI believed that the impacts of globalisation on languages differ from one region to another. Indeed, in his view, it was clear that, “globalisation has fostered English in coastal touristic regions, I mean towns and cities. Nevertheless, its impacts are less clear in internal areas where people’s contacts with foreigners are less frequent.” This remark demonstrates that the ESI looked at the impacts of globalisation essentially on English as a lingua franca (ELF). It is noteworthy that all touristic zones in Tunisia lie on the Mediterranean coastal areas and so when tourists come they usually settle there and have only occasional excursions to the internal areas. For example, as indicated in Map1, five out of the six airports in Tunisia are in coastal cities.

Map 6.1: The main Touristic Cities in Tunisia



Still outside academia, and speaking about the grounds English is gaining in Tunisia, the ESI noticed that many people currently, “send short messages in English and use the internet in English.” This remark is very significant, although it is not based on a scientific study of the proportion of people actually using the internet in English in Tunisia; indeed, as mentioned before, according to the findings of the current study, statistically, still a minority of less than 15% said they frequently used the internet in English, as opposed to more than 46% who said they frequently used it in French. However, the ESI’s remark seems to reflect a general attitude that English is being used even more than French due to the high speed at which its use in networking has been increasing.

In this same context, the ESI remarked that most teenagers now prefer to listen more to English songs than to French ones, which is not confirmed by the data revealed in this research (See Table 6.1). Indeed, in his opinion, “Now most youngsters would listen to English songs rather than French ones.” Although this is not statistically confirmed, it is a judgement based on a sweeping attitude in Tunisia that people, teenagers in particular, listen to more English songs (Judy, 1999, Daoud, 2001). To make the ESI’s judgement more authentic, the word ‘most’ could possibly be changed to ‘many.’ It is statistically true that many people have now started to use the internet in English, which has even led to more people taking, “courses in English in order to profit from the English cultural and scientific sites,” as noticed by the ESI.

Table 6.1: Frequency of Listening to English Songs

Frequency	French Songs		English Songs	
	Teachers	Students	Teachers	Students
Always or often	23%	52%	12%	43%
Rarely or Never	36%	18%	52%	28%

Answering a question about the relationship between French and English in Tunisia, the ESI stated that students have started to code-switch to English, which “was not the case before when only French was code-switched to”. He added that it was common to hear words such as ‘game,’ ‘good,’ ‘weekend,’ ‘bye’ and ‘ok’ which confirms Daoud’s observation that, “Teenagers and college students tend to sprinkle their talk with expressions like “Sorry”, “Thanks”, “No problem” and “No comment”, but do not seem ready yet to go beyond the two-word stage.” (Daoud, 2011: 22)

The surprising remark for the ESI was that code-switching was carried out even by people who are almost illiterate in English. He said, “Now, the strange thing is that some English

words are sometimes used by people who have not even studied English in academic settings, or who have hardly been introduced to English.” (ESI) This remark is very interesting because it shows that English has started to penetrate the social network regardless of education and educational settings. This was previously reserved for French, as revealed in Daoud’s description, “French is so rooted in the socioeconomic fabric of Tunisia” (Daoud, 2009: 9). Indeed, using English outside academia, especially by laypeople, demonstrates that English can no longer be considered as a simple school subject, but as a newly emerging social phenomenon, just like French, although to a lesser degree.

6.4.3. Language Threats in Tunisia

Is any language being promoted in Tunisia at the expense of another? Is any language being threatened by another? The French senior inspector admitted that French is declining in Tunisia. However, answering the question about the 2,600 students who got zeros in French in the year 2006, he said that it was an exceptional incident due to the “type of exam that was given” which was, “highly criticised” along with “the marks breakdown.” So it was not the result of a decline in the level of students, according to him.

The main reason for the retreat of French in Tunisia, in the FSI’s view was essentially the unqualified teachers who were teaching French, which coincides with Kammoun (2006)’s view that there were teachers of other teaching specialties working as French teachers on the assumption that they were fluent enough in French to teach it without any difficulties. Due to this false assumption, he added, “We have now students who, at grade 7, i.e. after five years of studying French, are still unable to write their names in French. I am not exaggerating this is the truth.”

The ESI and the ASI mentioned a similar problem for the English language teaching in the primary school level. The ASI stated that,

We have now 6,000 primary school teachers who are not specialized in English, but who are teaching it. Worse still, there are teachers who have never studied English and now they are obliged to teach it. They are just offered a few-weeks’ course and based on it they go to teach English. Language policy here seems to be promoting English, but it is faced with different kinds of difficulties...

Both English and French thus had the same human resource problems, according to the senior inspectors, but still the FSI considers that English is a threat to French not only in Tunisia, but also in France and the whole world, as indicated in the following declaration,

English is now gaining much ground at the expense of French in Tunisia and the whole world. Indeed, English is gaining ground even in France itself. Scientifically speaking, French is retreating even compared to languages like German and Japanese, let alone English. French people now are also in need of English and that's why English now in Tunisia is being promoted at the expense of French.

The second linguistic threat that was hinted at in Ben Ali speeches was Arabic; as he even called upon mass media to help in preserving it. For the ASI, the chat language did not have a special impact on Arabic exclusively. In his opinion, it had an impact on all languages in the same way because people become pragmatic while chatting. Their only concern is to get their messages across, regardless of language, style and accuracy. However, this should not represent a threat, according to him, and "if we want to serve our language, we just have to ignore this behaviour, it is not a real danger."

For the ESI Arabic is not threatened by foreign languages for at least three reasons. First, because it is the Tunisians' mother tongue and has a high degree of immunity; second because in language policy in Tunisia there are rules and regulations protecting it like the 2002 law which, for instance, "made Arabic an obligatory subject in the baccalaureate exam" in addition to some other governmental decisions stipulating that, "all official letters, reports and documents be written in the standard Arabic" and third because Arabic is, "the language of our culture and religion," as the ESI pointed out. However, for him the real danger for Arabic is the Tunisian dialect, "the standard Arabic used exclusively at schools or in newspapers." On this very point, the ESI seems to share Ben Ali's concerns and the worries of Daoud (2011) who maintains that MSA is jeopardised by the persistent use of the Tunisian dialect in the mass media.

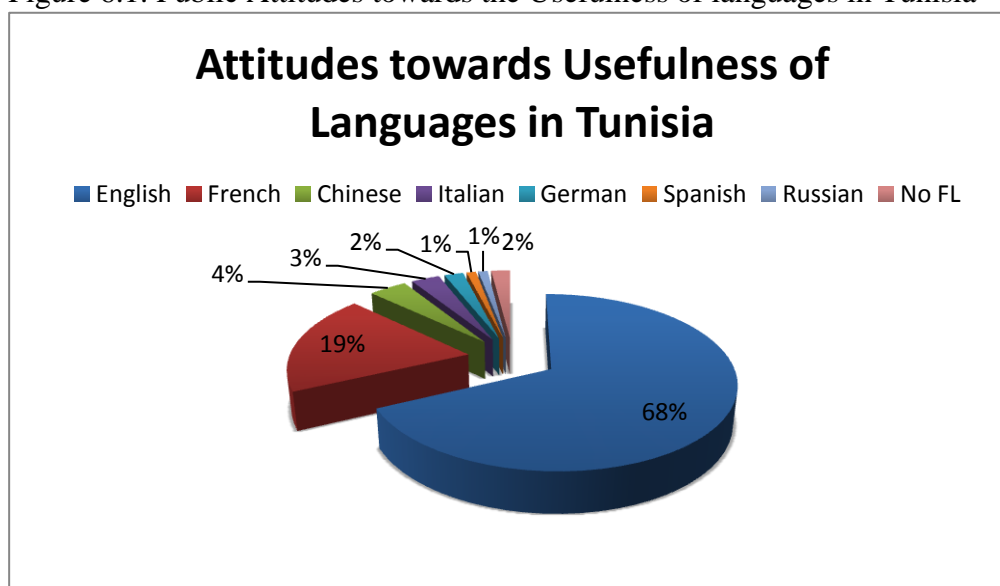
6.4.4. The Most Useful Language to Learn in Tunisia

As indicated in Table 6.2 (also shown as Table 5.3 and 5.4), the quantitative data indicated that the students and teachers who filled in the questionnaire had different attitudes towards the most useful foreign language in Tunisia. Indeed, in contrast to teachers of whom the majority thought French was the most useful language for Tunisians to learn, the majority of the responding students and laypeople (see Figure 6.1, also shown as Figure 5.1) thought English was the most useful language.

Table 6.2: Attitudes towards the most useful language in Tunisia

	Teachers	Students	Total
French is More Useful Than English	79%	39.5%	53.1%
English is More Useful than French	48.5%	55%	52.8%

Figure 6.1: Public Attitudes towards the Usefulness of languages in Tunisia



The results of the qualitative research, on the other hand, indicate that Ben Ali, the top policy maker in Tunisia, expressed his views about the usefulness of languages through the decisions he declared in favour of French and English. The senior inspectors, being part of the elite policy making process, were asked a question about the language they viewed as the most useful to learn in Tunisia and as a result which language they thought should be used to teach scientific subjects. Their answers were all in favour of English. The ESI stated that English has become more useful for two reasons. First, because it is the language of the internet worldwide, which has had an impact on Tunisian internet users and, second, which is probably more important in the ESI’s opinion, because,

employers now look in job applicants’ résumés for English more than French and that is because of their need for computer programming which is most of the time done in English.

This second reason seems to tie in with Ben Ali's association of English with employability. Although so far, no scientific research has yet been done to check the degree to which English is demanded in the Tunisian foreign investments, there is a growing feeling that English, "can give one an edge in finding employment or succeeding in business, accessing information and being a citizen of the world" (Daoud, 2009: 9).

The French Senior Inspector pointed out that English could and actually was used in teaching scientific subjects in Ariana Pilote School, for instance; however, he revealed that such an experience was bound to fail because it depended to a large extent on foreign financial support. The FSI made it clear that, according to him, scientific subjects in every country should be taught in the mother tongue of its population. To justify this view, he stated the example of the Hebrew language, "which was once a dead language," and now it is "becoming a language of sciences and is contributing to different fields of science."

Surprisingly enough, in contrast to the French inspector who called for teaching the scientific subjects in Arabic, the Arabic inspector showed interest in introducing them in English due, in his view, to the international importance of English. He pointed out that,

The value of a foreign language lies in people's need for it. The role that English is now playing in the world as a lingua franca makes it the best option to study sciences in English. China and Japan, for example, are now on their way to dominate the world technology; nevertheless, all their research is available in English. This will make it more important and useful to study English rather than any other language. Besides, it is easier to access world knowledge via one single language. Now, we have some private academies that have already started teaching scientific subjects in English.

6.4.5. Conclusion

The importance of English as a lingua franca and its association with 'world knowledge' expressed by the Arabic inspector and its usefulness which the English inspector attributes to its dominance of the internet, along with the French inspector's focus on the worldwide importance of English all reflect the deep impact of globalisation on policy makers. Indeed, even Ben Ali's attitude towards English was closely linked to its world status and its importance in terms of outside employability.

The interviews with policy makers revealed that French is declining in Tunisia and that is, again according to them, due to its retreat globally, as even in France, English was said to be widely used.

Finally, Arabic was said to be relatively secure with respect to any foreign language threats being the mother tongue of the country. Its only threat, though, was the dialect variety that is taking over from MSA.

Chapter Seven: Findings, Limitations and Implications

7.1 Findings

Investigating the impacts of globalisation on language policy in Tunisia with a focus on the shifts in domains of use and language attitudes involves an investigation of the impact of a range of aspects of modern life style in Tunisia on the Tunisian linguistic profile; technology, media, multi-national companies, international organisations and rapid means of communication and transportation amalgamate to contribute to the creation of a spirit of a new life style referred to in the last couple of decades as globalisation. This spirit is mainly characterised by a stronger desire for interaction and interconnectedness implemented essentially, on the linguistic level, by means of the English language. Although Tunisia was once described as a “profoundly Frenchified” country (Daoud, 2001:22), it seems that a considerable linguistic change is taking shape pertaining in particular to the generation born and raised during the last twenty years or so; as indicated in the following summary of the findings of this research:

- (1) There seems to be a significant difference between the older generation and the younger one pertaining to the domains of use and, by looking more closely at these differences, it can be noticed that specifically in two domains of language use, teachers and students take completely clear-cut positions, i.e. one for French and the other for English. These domains are watching programmes and reading for pleasure. The word ‘programmes’ without specification has been used advisedly to include all kinds of programmes on TV and on the net. The teachers stated that they watched programmes and read for pleasure in French significantly more than the students and the students thought they watched programmes and read for pleasure in English significantly more than the teachers, although data reveal that the percentage of reading for pleasure is generally low (see Chapter 4). This situation could be attributed to the age factor i.e. to the difference of interests between two groups belonging to two different generations; but the linguistic situation in Tunisia seems to be more complex and probably requires a closer look at the new changes and developments that have been taking place at a very fast rate in the last couple of decades. Graddol’s belief that, “the current enthusiasm for English is closely tied to the complex processes of globalisation.” (Graddol, 2006: 13) seems to explain the younger generation’s greater use of English than the older one. Indeed, statistically speaking, youngsters are the ones who statistically use the internet and social networks; for instance, more than the older generation (see Figure 4. 1).

The older generation, on the other hand, seems to be partly resistant to change for two reasons, first, the age factor, as their mature age may have developed in them a kind of resistance to change and to ‘try something new’ and second, and probably more importantly, their francophone linguistic background, as this generation has studied, for example, all the scientific subjects in French ever since the primary school, from the age of 7 or 8, whereas the younger one has started studying these subjects in French at the age of 15.

- (2) The second significant difference between the two groups investigated pertains to linguistic attitudes. The older generation said they preferred French and the younger one said they preferred English. As a linguistic change, the difference in preferences could be considered as a deeper change than the difference in domains of use, as a language user can use one language rather than another or one language more than another due to their job duties or place of work, but preferring one language over another could herald a real change in the whole linguistic profile in Tunisia because language policy, as was indicated in Chapter Six, proceeds through both top down and bottom up processes. That means some political decisions were made directly in response to public pressure, as was admitted by the ex-president on the occasion of his speech on the Day of the Knowledge in 2001 (see chapter Six). Some other decisions are taken top down as the ones made following the failed trip to South Africa (See Chapter Six), after which English was to be introduced earlier in the school curriculum.

However, both decisions, which are indeed just examples, seem to be driven by the feeling of the importance of English as a global language. Both the pressure coming from the public on the government and the politicians’ decisions to take new measures in favour of English seem to be driven directly or indirectly by globalisation.

The difference of preferences between the two groups is also partly due to the different domains of language use between the two groups. The younger generation use significantly more English in chatting online, watching programmes, listening to English songs and as a lingua franca and all these domains fall under the ‘discretionary’ use of language; i.e. all these domains seem to be voluntarily chosen by youngsters in order to enjoy trying something unrelated to the local culture and context.

- (3) The teachers’ group believe to a significant extent more than the students that globalisation has impacted negatively on French and positively on English. Added to this is the significant difference in believing that French is at risk due to the spread of English. This equation may lead to the conclusion that the older generation look rather suspiciously at the

linguistic globalisation being a threat to the language that they consider as their favourite one.

- (4) Although the data seem to reveal that the linguistic change in Tunisia is moving predominantly bottom up in the sense that it is affecting the younger generation first as they are, in the terms of Jabeur, “a population segment which is highly permeable to social change and new cultural modes” (1999: 191), the vox pop questionnaire has shown that even lay people of different ages, levels of education, jobs and genders have also developed a linguistic awareness that has made them apparently much more aware of the importance of English as a global language.

In answer to the four Research questions posed in Section 2.5, I can respond as follows:

1. How are the three main languages: Arabic, French and English currently used?

Although the data show that Arabic is the most important language for the majority of Tunisians, that it is for them their language of identity and that it has gained much ground in academic settings, essentially at the expense of French; it seems to be still far from being used as the main language of modernity, science and technology. That means, it is still ignored when it comes to scientific and technological research. The issue now seems to consist of the existence of two rival languages, French, the language that represents an important part of the Tunisian history and culture. The data shows that it is more used and preferred by the older generation of the Tunisians but that seems to be adhered to more by the older generation i.e. 40 years and above; and English, the international language that seems to attract essentially the younger generation due to their associating it with their online activities. Arabic seems to be used across generations for religion and religious discussion

2. What role has language policy played in the multilingual profile of contemporary Tunisia? If we look at language policy as the way a government deals with the languages in a country, this research has come up with the conclusion that Ben Ali before being overthrown backed English at the expense of French and had he not stepped down, the school year 2011-2012 would have witnessed a real turning point in the history of language teaching in Tunisia, as in July, 2010, it was decided that the following year English was to be introduced as of year three of primary education (see Chapter Six for more details).
3. As the main language of globalisation, has English gained any ground previously occupied by other languages in Tunisia? There is no concrete evidence that English

is taking the place of any other language in Tunisia. However, it seems to be invading the new grounds introduced through the waves of globalisation such as the internet and computer-mediated communications. In doing so, it is gaining a ground that could potentially have been occupied by French. In addition, it is getting more positive attitudes from the younger generation as an international language and a language of science and technology. These attitudes were once reserved exclusively for French.

4. What are the political and public attitudes and discourses surrounding language policy in Tunisia? Ben Ali, the ex-designer of language policies in Tunisia used to promote Arabic and English; the first being an associate of culture and identity and therefore its promotion meant free propaganda for himself and his policies in general and the second was allegedly to boost international cooperation and open new prospects for employment.

In answer to the specific hypotheses raised in Section 3.1, I can respond as follows:

1. English is now significantly more widely used by students (the younger generation) than by teachers (the older generation). Indeed, students think they use English significantly more than teachers in such domains as watching programmes, whether on TV or on the net, listening to songs, reading for pleasure and, probably most significantly, in the domain of use of English as lingua franca.
2. English has become significantly the preferred language for the younger generation i.e. the students. The independent sample T-Test has proven significant the difference of attitudes of the two generations (See Appendix IV); the students' favourite foreign language is English, whereas that of teachers' group is French.
3. Students hold a significantly different attitude from teachers about which language they think should be Tunisia's second language. The data has not revealed a significant difference between the two groups, but more than half of the respondents either agree or strongly agree that English should be Tunisia's second language.
4. Teachers use significantly more Arabic for daily communication than students: Although the crosstabulation statistical operation shows that teachers said they used more TA than students, the difference between the

two groups was not statistically significant based on the T-Test. That is why it is hard to come to a conclusion in this regard. However, in terms of importance, Arabic seems to be more important to teachers than to students to a statistical significance.

5. Students use significantly more English than teachers in dealing with technology. In chatting online, for instance, students thought they used English significantly more than teachers did (see Appendix IV).
6. Teachers use more French than students when using technology. This difference is not statistically significant and so it is hard to come to a conclusion, except for watching programmes. Teachers watch programmes in French significantly more than students.
7. Teachers code-switch to French significantly more than Students. The data revealed just the opposite. Reportedly due to their studying the scientific subjects in French, the students code-switch significantly more than the teachers. They discuss such subjects as Mathematics, Physics and Natural Sciences in Arabic, but more often than not they codeswitch to French when using technical terms or phrases.
8. Students use significantly more English than teachers when doing leisure activities: This hypothesis was tested through two items; listening to songs and watching programmes. It is revealed that the two investigated groups were different to a significant level. This difference seems to confirm Jabeur's (2001) study about school children who were proven to associate English with affection.
9. Students hold a significantly more positive attitude towards English than teachers and the teachers hold significantly a more positive attitude towards French than students: These attitudes were proved through the significant differences between these two groups. Students prefer English to a statistically significant difference from teachers and teacher prefer French to statistically significant difference from students
10. The older generation agree to a significantly stronger degree than the younger generation that French is the language of science. This hypothesis has not been proven statistically.
11. The younger generation chat on the net more than the older one, and so students use significantly more Roman Arabic than teachers. The difference between the older generation and the younger one is highly significant.

12. Due to language policy measures, Arts students read in English more than Science students. English has more weight for Arts' students than for Science students. That is probably why they tend to practice more reading. As a result the difference between these two groups is statistically significant.
13. Language policy is promoting English at the expense of French. This has not been statistically measured, but based on the recent political measures of the last fifteen years or so, the senior inspectors' interviews, the Tunisian language policy seems to favour English.

7.2 Implications

7.2.1 Political Implications

On the political level, with the world's rapid rate of development on all levels, on one hand, and the considerable political change taking place in Tunisia following the recent 2010 Revolution which caused the old regime to collapse with all its plans and schedules, on the other, it is not easy to confirm the direction these changes will take in the future and to what extent the linguistic profile will preserve, or otherwise, its current traits. However, based on the findings from the study and some recent facts and events, it can be predicted that English is set to gain more ground in Tunisia. This will probably make the overt and covert battles between English and French as to who will dominate the Tunisian multilingual profile more fierce. The following are some features of the current linguistic situation in Tunisia:

First, the current governing Troika led by the Nahdha Party, although for the moment a temporary government, might be in favour of giving more weight in academia to English due to such significant considerations as,

- a. Some of the main leaders of the majority party in government were refugees in the UK; such as Rashed Ghannouchi, the leader of the party, who has recently shown contempt for code-switching to French while speaking Arabic and described it as a form of language "corruption."
- b. The French government backed the Tunisian ex-regime during the breaking up of the Tunisian Revolution and was even ready to lend a supporting hand to ex-president Ben Ali to abort the popular uprising, which developed a wide feeling of discontent against France.

- c. France no longer seems interested in supporting its language in Tunisia, as testified to by one of Daoud's respondents who claimed, "with globalization, it's English which will take its place more and more. Besides, France is disinterested in the level of French in its former colonies" (Daoud, 2011b: 62). This situation dates back, according to Daoud, (2011) to over two decades ago, following the collapse of the Soviet Union. So, maybe ironically, France's lackadaisical attitude towards its cultural and linguistic institutions in Tunisia, such as the *Centre Culturel Français* and the *Ecoles françaises*, seems to have coincided with the beginning of the current technological age of globalisation that speaks predominantly English.
- d. The Tunisian-American bilateral relationship, on the other hand, has lately flourished and ways of strengthening the two countries' ties, with the aim of benefitting from the American investments in Tunisia, have recently been continuously investigated in more than one way as indicated in the following four examples,
- i. A forum took place in November 2011 aiming, according to the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) president, Elizabeth Littlefield, "at putting Tunisia on the minds of U.S. companies." (Ayari, 18 November, 2011)
 - ii. A roadshow in January 2012 entitled, "Doing Business with Tunisia." Organised by the US Embassy in collaboration with the "Ministry of Industry and Commerce, the Fund For Access to Foreign Markets (FAMEX), the *Centre Technique de l'Emballage et du Conditionnement* (PACKTEK), the *Centre des Jeunes Dirigeants d'Entreprises* (CJD), the Tunisian American Chamber of Commerce (TACC), and the *Union Tunisienne de l'Industrie du Commerce et de l'Artisanat* (UTICA)." (Keskes, January 9, 2012)
 - iii. A tour made by the Tunisian ambassador in the States in February, 2012; an event "co-organized by Tunisian American Young Professionals (TAYP) and Bilateral US Arab Chamber of Commerce (BUSACC)" aiming at "presenting Tunisia to American officials, investors, and big corporations". (Ghribi, February 7, 2012)
 - iv. A partnership contract signed by the Tunisian-American Chamber of Commerce (TACC) and the Tunis Business School (TBS) in order to,

allow for the professional training of a select number of TBS students in TACC-affiliated companies, as well as their participation in important business conferences. In addition, TBS students will have the opportunity to consult TACC members for advice on their own business plans. (Yaros, June 9, 2012)

These events which are real incarnations of the concept of globalisation in its Americanisation sense, among others, although not pertaining directly to the linguistic situation, might be indicative of the Tunisian government's new orientation towards the Anglophone world, which, in its own right, is likely to bring about more dramatic changes in the Tunisian linguistic profile at least in academic settings.

7.2.2 Implications for Future Research

With the new air of liberty and democracy that seem to characterise political life in Tunisia, such research could go farther and bring about more accurate results. Indeed, due to the totalitarian nature of the ex-regime, some of the respondents and interviewees were too inhibited in their responses for fear their testimonies or positions might be used against them. Now, teachers, students, senior inspectors and lay people can express much more freely their attitudes towards any linguistic issue in or outside academic settings. This new situation makes it possible to replicate this research and come up with an interesting comparative study between two important eras in Tunisia's history; i.e. Ben Ali's and the post-revolution eras.

7.3 Limitations

In common with all human activities involving a research about language use and attitudes, this research has got some limitations:

1. First, as the questionnaires and the interviews were conducted in the last years of Ben Ali's dictatorship some respondents were too inhibited when giving their own views. The senior inspectors, in particular, showed much inhibition when answering the interview questions. Although the researcher made it crystal clear that the interview was for purely academic purposes and that their names would not be mentioned, as they required, they refused, at first, to have their answers recorded and, during the interview, some attempted to evade or avoid some questions.

2. Second, building on the previous point and the lack of freedom of expression during Ben Ali's era, the phrase 'language policy' was translated into the equivalent of 'language planning' in the questionnaires and interviews because the words 'policy' and 'politics' have the same equivalent in Arabic, which makes including it in any research tool a good reason for all sorts of doubts and suspicion from the part of any respondent.
3. Many of the teachers who received the questionnaire by e-mail did not respond, as it is a new practice and they did not feel any sense of moral obligation to give it some of their time, which made it very challenging to get hard-copy responses from one hundred teachers from different cities and backgrounds.
4. The data on the domains of language use are based on how respondents think they use the language rather than on the observation of how they actually use it, which might make them prone to be inaccurate.

7.4 Conclusion

Globalisation seems to have benefitted English in Tunisia and the difference between the older and the younger generations pertaining to the domains of language use as well as to attitudes seems to be indicative of the ground English is gaining; however, Tunisia is in a transitory period and therefore more research will probably be needed in the near future to explore the linguistic dynamics after the constitution has been written and approved, the government has passed from its current temporary status to a permanent one and the long-awaited process of reform has started.

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Appendix I: Questionnaire for Tunisian Teachers/Students

Globalisation and Language Policy in Tunisia: Shifts in Domains of language use and Linguistic Attitudes Questionnaire for Tunisian Teachers/Students

I would be grateful if you could take few minutes to respond to the following questionnaire:

The Major I study/The Subject I teach:

Years of experience: 1-15 or 16 to 30

I started studying French at school in grade: 2—3—4

I started studying English at school in grade: 5—6—7—10

Gender: Male—Female

Town of origin:

First, please tick the responses that express your opinion about the following statements:

1=Strongly Agree; 2=Partially Agree; 3= I Don't Know; 4=Partially Disagree; 5= Strongly Disagree

	1	2	3	4	5
A- Globalisation means that the world has become a small village thanks to modern means of communication					
B- Globalisation means that the world economy has become interconnected					
C- Globalisation means that the world has become Americanized and Westernized.					
D- All the above					
E- Overall, globalisation is a good thing for Tunisia					

Language Uses

A=Always; O=often; S=Sometimes; R=Rarely; N=Never; DK= Don't Know

Statements	A	O	S	R	N	NI
1. The Tunisian Arabic is my main language of communication.						
2. I use Roman Arabic (e.g. 3le ra7tik) in my internet chats						
3. I code switch to French in my daily communications						
4. I code switch to English in my daily communications						
5. I use French in my internet chats						
6. I use English in my internet chats						
7. I use modern standard Arabic when discussing religious issues						
8. I use English to talk to foreigners						
9. I listen to English songs						
10. I listen to French songs						
11. I listen to Arabic songs						
12. I watch programs in English						
13. I use more English than French when I browse the net						
14. I watch programs in French						
15. I watch programs in Arabic						
16. I read for pleasure in Arabic						
17. I read for pleasure in French						

18. I read for pleasure in English						
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Attitudes Questionnaire

Please put a tick opposite the following statements to express your opinion about them:
 1=Strongly Agree; 2=Partially Agree; 3= Uncertain; 4=Partially Disagree; 5= Strongly Disagree

Statements	1	2	3	4	5
1. Arabic is the most important language in Tunisia					
2. Arabic is the language of identity in Tunisia					
3. French is more useful than English for Tunisians					
4. English is more useful than French for Tunisians					
5. French is my favourite foreign language					
6. English is my favourite foreign language					
7. French is the main language of science and technology in the world					
8. English is the main language of science and technology in the world					
9. Globalisation has had a positive impact on English in Tunisia					
10. Globalisation has weakened people's interest in French in Tunisia					
11. English should be Tunisia's second language					
12. French is at risk due to the spread of English in Tunisia					
13. Roman Arabic (e.g. 3le ra7tik) is a real threat to Arabic.					
14. English is gaining ground in Tunisia					

Arabic French English Another None
 Language

Which language is, according to you,
 more useful to learn for Tunisians?

Is English gaining ground in Tunisia? Yes –No

If yes, please, state some examples in which English is now being more used

-
-
-
-
-

In your opinion, should scientific subjects in Tunisia be taught in Arabic, French or English? Specify why you think so.

.....

.....

.....

.....

Appendix II: Interviews

Interview with the senior inspector of Arabic

Q1- What is your conception of globalisation? Which of the following definitions, if any, fits your conception?

A- The world has become a small village thanks to modern means of communication

B- The world economy has become interconnected

C- The world has become Americanized and Westernized.

D- All of these

A1- I think it is all of them, although I am rather inclined to choose the third one. The world now is getting more and more unified and interconnected, but under the dominance of the Western cultures and languages.

Q2- Speaking about languages; what is the relationship between globalisation and languages, according to you?

A2- Interaction between different peoples from different linguistic backgrounds necessitates a language of communication...a common language to use to achieve this communication. One cannot learn all the languages of the world to communicate with people from different linguistic backgrounds.

Q3- Does globalisation have any impacts, positive or negative, on language teaching in Tunisia?

A3- I will probably surprise you to say that the students' level of acquisition in all of the three languages was better 20 years ago than now, i.e. before the advent of the globalisation phenomenon. The ministry of education is aware of this problem. Currently, an investigation is taking place to find a good solution to it. There is, for instance, a National Commission to Promote Language Learning. In addition, there is an issue under scrutiny and investigation by the Ministry of Education entitled: "How to promote language learning?"

Q4- By the way, how do you promote one language?

A4- By allocating it more hours of teaching. For example, Arabic was allocated 5 hours a week, instead of 4. That was an attempt to promote it.

Follow up comment (FC)- Or, by giving a language, as a school subject, a higher coefficient (more weight).

Follow up Answer (FA)- No, the coefficients of Arabic and French, for example, are already high.... Coming back to improving language teaching, one of the other solutions suggested was to try to improve the level of teachers, as the latest classroom observation reports have shown a sort of decline in the level of proficiency of teachers in all the three languages equally: Arabic, French and English. In the president's last Day of the knowledge address (2010), he announced the establishment of a centre for language teachers' development and training. The president announced that a national centre for languages would be launched in the city of Carthage with a training capacity of 300 teachers at a time. It is equipped with ultra-modern labs and technological tools to make the training more effective and fruitful. The ministerial reforms target three main elements: The teaching tools, the human resources and the programmes. Although our school programmes are not very old, we want to revisit them continuously to scrutinize and evaluate them.

Q5- Last year, my son was in grade seven, elementary school, French was coefficient 4 while English was coefficient 1.5. How do you account for this difference?

A5- First of all, because French is introduced at an earlier age than English; as you know, children start studying French as early as year 3 of the primary school, whereas they start studying English in year 6. That is three years later. In addition to this, it is a way to make students concentrate more on French because in year one secondary school, i.e. three years

after, they will start studying all the scientific subjects like Mathematics and Physics in French. It's a way to urge students to get a linguistic baggage (here the SI codeswitched to French). If they ignore French during the years 7, 8 and 9, they will be too weak to understand the scientific subjects that are given in French starting from the year 10.

Q6- Battenburg (1997: 9) reports that, "in spite of budget reductions, in 1996 the American government contributed an estimated US\$600,000 and the British government allocated about US\$400,000 for language, cultural and educational activities. The French government, in contrast, spent US\$20 million for such programs within Tunisia." What kind of influence, if any, can these contributions have on the Tunisian language policy?

A6- I think it is reasonable to take this help and use it in favour of promoting foreign language teaching. It is also reasonable to be open on cooperation and mutual help with these countries. Our French and English programmes have benefitted a lot from these funds. A lot of training programmes were offered to both teachers and inspectors of these languages. However, we notice that classroom practice is still weak. That's why we still have to look for other reasons for weakness.

Q7- Ilyes Zahrouni, a special envoy of Obama, has lately recommended the Tunisian president to make English the main language of some sciences at university such as medical and physical sciences at university. How effective is such a recommendation?

A7- Actually, there is now an experiment going on in the "Pilot Schools." There, information technology is offered in English. There is a real political determination to make English even more important than French in Tunisia. However, this really needs time because we have a human resources issue. We have now 6000 primary school teachers who are not specialized in English, but who are teaching it. Worse still, there are teachers who have never studied English and now they are obliged to teach it. They are just offered a few-weeks' course and based on it they are teaching English. Language policy here seems to be promoting English, but it is faced with different kinds of difficulties...

FC: What impacts can this have?

Students will make a wrong first step, a bad start, with a wrong methodology and incorrect language. The ministry of education is well aware of this. The problem is more even complicated than it looks.

Q8- Now, there's a new language that is spreading very widely in SMS texts as well as in internet communications, it is the Roman Arabic (like "Sbe7 el5ir" to mean good morning), do you think it will have any impacts on students' motivation to learn languages, including English? Have you looked into this issue?

A8- The chat language has a bad impact on all languages alike. Writing part of a word has bad effects on the accuracy of any language and, for the sake of communication and getting the message across; people now don't care anymore about language accuracy. Pragmatism has replaced accuracy. If we want to serve our language we just have to ignore this behaviour, it is not a real danger.

Q9- Which foreign language is, according to you, more useful to learn for Tunisians? Why?

A9- I think English is the language the most useful to learn for now. It is the main language of science, technology and economy. The importance of a language lies in the content it produces and the content it presents to humanity. If we want Arabic to be spread and to dominate the world we have to produce scientific research worth reading and using.

Q10- In your opinion, should scientific subjects in Tunisia be taught in Arabic, French or English? Specify why you think so (one good reason is again enough).

A10- The value of a foreign language lies in people's need of it. The role that English is now playing in the world as a lingua franca makes it the best option to study sciences in English. China and Japan, for example, are now in their way to dominate the world technology; nevertheless, all their research is available in English. This will make it more important and useful to study English rather than any other language. Besides, it is easier to access the world knowledge via one single language. Now, we have some private academies that have already started teaching scientific subjects in English.

Interview with Senior Inspector of English

Q1- What is your conception of globalisation? Which of the following definitions, if any, fits your conception?

A- The world has become a small village thanks to modern means of communication

B- The world economy has become interconnected

C- The world has become Americanized and Westernized.

D- All of these

A1- All together I guess.

Q2- A decade ago Daoud (2001) described Tunisia as “a profoundly Frenchified country.” was this description accurate and is it still valid?

A2- Not too much! Maybe this description was once true, but today we notice that many people send more and more short messages in English and use the internet in English. Many people even went on taking courses in English in order to profit from the English cultural and scientific sites. Even songs, now most youngsters would listen to English songs rather than French ones. In addition, nowadays we started to hear some English words being used in the Tunisian daily discourse; words such as weekend, game, ok, bye, good...etc. This was not the case before when only French was codeswitched to. Now, the strange thing is that some English words are sometimes used by people who have not even studied English in academic settings, or who have hardly been introduced to English.

Q3- According to you has globalisation had any impacts on the Tunisian linguistic scene?

A3- Yes, I believe globalisation has had an impact on languages in Tunisia. However, its impacts differ from one region to another. It is clear that globalisation has fostered English in coastal touristic regions, I mean towns and cities. Nevertheless, its impacts are less clear in internal areas where people’s contacts with foreigners are less frequent.

Q4- Have internet and globalisation in general contributed to any change in English Language Teaching (ELT) programmes?

A4- Indeed, since 2002 everything had to change: books, programmes and orientation regulations in order to cope with the internet culture. The whole view of what foreign languages were all about has changed. Before, a student was likely to graduate unable to write a letter in English; whereas now, with the new programmes students are able to express their own ideas about any of the subjects they have tackled at school. English teachers have noticed this positive change due to the new books that are more oriented towards communication.

Q5- According to you, what is now the relationship between English and French in Tunisia? Is English now winning grounds that were previously dominated by French?

A5- As far as students are concerned, we notice that many of them have started to use English terms in common daily speech and these terms are definitely taking the place of French terms that have once thoroughly dominated people’s daily speech. Some of the French teachers have even witnessed that students started to use English terms in their French essays and this shows how far English has impacted on students. However, it is hard for English to completely wipe out a language that has dominated Tunisians for more than a hundred years. It’s all a matter of time, English is progressing dramatically...

Q6- It is now known that America is subsidizing English language teaching programmes in Tunisia and, even more substantially, France is supporting French financially in order to preserve its outstanding status as Tunisia’s second language. Does this have any impacts on Tunisian language policy?

A6- I don’t think so. I think that what guides our language policy in Tunisia is not the foreign funds provided to support one language or another. It is rather our need to one language Here there’s a bit of difference between Hachemi and Messaoud???rather than another. That is decisive in this regard. Actually, we are having different kinds of support from France, America and England as well. However, our support for the English language is due to its world status. Our need to it reflects indeed our need to communication with the world.

Q7- What is your opinion about the project that introduced English as early as year 5 of the primary school? Why was it abandoned?

A7- That project was not officially introduced as part of educational programmes. It was just in the form of clubs intended to prepare students to get officially exposed to English in the year 7 i.e. two years later. Then it was decided to introduce English as a subject as from grade 6. It was a great idea to start exposing students to English as early as year 5, even in the form of clubs. Nevertheless, the big problem that this project faced was the small number of primary school teachers who were able to teach English. Indeed, the overwhelming majority of this category of teachers themselves has hardly been exposed to English. The training courses that were given to them were hardly enough to enable them to be models of English speakers to their students. Some of those teachers could catch up, though and become good English teachers, but their number is so small.

Q8- Ilyes Zahrouni, a special envoy of Obama, has lately recommended the Tunisian president to make English the main language of some sciences at university such as medical and physical sciences at university. How effective is such a recommendation?

A8- in my opinion, this cannot affect the country's language policy; however, the state encourages foreign language, especially English being now the language of the world.

FC: In my opinion, the president has started to encourage English language teaching since 1996; and more specifically following his business visit to South Africa accompanied by a group of Tunisian diplomats and businessmen. The visit was considered to be a failure due to the absence of a tool of communication between Tunisians and South Africans. When, Ben Ali came back he recommended that English be taught everywhere. Following that recommendation, many people joined evening classes to take courses in English. I, having been an English teacher then, participated in these programmes.

Q9- Do you consider Arabic to be threatened by foreign languages?

A9- in my opinion, Arabic language is not threatened because it is the mother tongue and because there are some regulations in our current language policy that are meant to protect it at school. For instance, the 2002 laws made Arabic an obligatory subject in the baccalaureate exam. It is also the language of our culture and religion. However, the real threat is the Tunisian dialect which made the standard Arabic used exclusively at schools or in newspapers. Again another measure to preserve Arabic, the government has made it obligatory that all official letters, reports and documents be written in the standard Arabic.

Q10- In 2006, in the baccalaureate exam, 2600 students got zeros in French; do you believe this is an indication of the French language weakening? Or, at least, the students' motivation to learn French has weakened?

A10- I don't agree that students' motivation to learn French has weakened. It is just that students, in the baccalaureate exam tend to focus more on subjects with heavy weight. For example, they would pay more attention to mathematics and physics than to French because these are more important to their success and academic future. Besides, as there were students who got zeros there must be students who got full marks. Most of the time excellent students get good marks in all subjects.

Q11- Do you have any future plans to promote English?

A11- Yes, a lot of effort is being deployed and there is a group of specialists who are currently working on changing textbooks and programmes again to meet the European Common Framework which is a booklet containing all the standard skills that every student should acquire no matter where they are. This aims at promoting the Tunisian partnership with Europe. Those of our students who graduate and go to work in Europe should meet the European specifications and should be able to compete with their European counterparts.

“The Common European Framework provides a common basis for the elaboration of language syllabuses, curriculum guidelines, examinations, textbooks, etc. across Europe. It describes in a comprehensive way what language learners have to learn to do in order to use a language for communication and what knowledge and skills they have to develop

so as to be able to act effectively. The description also covers the cultural context in which language is set. The Framework also defines levels of proficiency which allow learners' progress to be measured at each stage of learning and on a life-long basis."

http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/source/framework_en.pdf 26/02/2012

Q12- In grades 7-8-9 of the basic education, French weight is much heavier than the English one. How do you account for this?

A12- This is not strange. It is related to the number of classes students get per week. Students now have more French classes per week than English ones.

Q13- How do you see the future of English in Tunisia?

A13- English is becoming more and more important than French in Tunisia and that is due to two main reasons. First, it is said that more than 80% of the internet contents are in English and we all know the importance of the net in all the domains of life in Tunisia and in the whole world actually. Second, which is probably more important, employers now look in job applicants' resumes for English more than French and that is because of their need to computer programming which is most of the time done in English.

Q14- Scientific subjects are now taught in Arabic until year 9 of the basic education and then, starting from year 10 they are taught in French. Do you think we can see these subjects taught in English one day in Tunisia?

A14- It is possible. Scientific subjects could one day be taught in English. Nevertheless, currently, we have a human resources problem that can hamper this for a long time. Let's take mathematics, as an example; all those who are teaching it now have studied it in Tunisian schools and universities in French, so how can they teach it in English? This is almost impossible. I remember a mathematics teacher who wanted to work in one of the Gulf countries was asked if he spoke English or not. It is not easy for a teacher who got his BA in a subject which he studied in French to teach it in English, so things have to change at universities first.

Q15- (follow up) Then how were math teachers able to teach math in English in the Lycee Pilote experience?

A15- The teachers who were chosen to teach math in English in the Lycee Pilote were teachers who were fluent at English and, besides, they were sent to take several language training courses in the UK to get familiarised with math technical terms in English. Even when teachers had to teach math in Arabic, they also had to take courses in Arabic. To get the best of what teachers can do, we have to prepare them thoroughly for teaching.

Interview with the Senior Inspector of French

Q1- What is your conception of globalisation? Which of the following definitions, if any, fits your conception?

A- The world has become a small village thanks to modern means of communication

B- The world economy has become interconnected

C- The world has become Americanized and Westernized.

D- All of these

A1- In the ideal world, globalisation is based on the principle of the free circulation of labour. However, in real life, it is a different story. It is fully in favour of the occident that is trying to dominate the world.

My comment: You seem to have a rather negative attitude towards globalisation.

Response: To some extent yes; it has some positive sides though, like the internet, the diminishing of distances...etc. Nevertheless, the western countries are making bad use of these technologies; they use them only for their own good. They promulgate only the information and the news which are in their favour; what is not, they just hide. That's their way of manipulating the world. In the past their domination of the world was less powerful. Nowadays, thanks to the ultra-sophisticated means of communication like mobile phones and satellites, they are able to cover all that is going on in the whole world.

Q2- In your opinion, what is the relationship between globalisation and language?

A2- Language is not separate from the socio-economic life in general. English is now the language of globalisation. It is the language of the internet, commercial interactions, sciences, industry and scientific research.

Q3- English is then, according to you, the language of globalisation and we know that Tunisia is a highly globalised country. Has this situation had any kind of impacts on French; positive or negative?

A3- There is some change going on with regards to the French status in Tunisia. I am not saying that this change is towards the positive or the negative. This change dates back to the era in which Mohamed Mzali (MM) was the Tunisian minister of education. MM put an end to the contracts of the teachers who came from France as early as the Independence in 1956 to teach different subjects in the Tunisian schools. They were replaced by Tunisian teachers. Besides, the predominantly French programmes and subjects were replaced by Arabic ones.

My comment: This was in favour of Arabic...

Response: It was introduced as such; nevertheless, this change was driven by a hidden agenda. It was meant to consolidate Tunisia's relationship with the Gulf countries which were looked at as a rich region that could be of a huge use to Tunisians. Although Bourguiba was considered to be totally pro-France, he was pragmatic and even opportunist when he agreed about that change.

Q5- What about English? Do you think it has lately gained more weight in Tunisia?

A5- English used to be introduced in the secondary school, then it was introduced as early as the preparatory school and finally, now it is introduced in the primary school. As a parent, I have lately noticed that my children have progressed dramatically in English and their level is now much higher than our level used to be.

The language supervisors report that the students' level of English has retreated, but in case this judgement is accurate, it may be related to the value of languages in general in Tunisia now; nowadays, scientific subjects are preferred to literary subjects. For students, mathematics, physics and sciences in general are more important than languages.

Q6- What about French? Has it progressed or retreated? I have learned that in the year 2006, 2600 students got zeros in the baccalaureate exam. How do you account for this?

A6- This is true. That was due to two main reasons: First, a general retreat in the level of students in French and, second, the type of exam that was given to students in that year. I mean that of 2006. It was highly criticized and even the marks breakdown was criticized. However, what we have to look at in depth is the reasons that led to that bad situation.

The first reason was that basic school teachers of French were not specialized people. Worse still, they were not at all qualified to teach French. The same problem also happened with English. It was a big mistake. Especially for English, they just reiterated the same mistake of French. Instead of hiring qualified teachers, they just offered a 15-day-long course in teaching English the teachers they have already hired to teach other subjects and asked them to start teaching. This has caused a weakness in both teaching and learning.

We have now students who, at grade 7, i.e. after five years of studying French, are still unable to write their names in French. I am not exaggerating this is the truth. Added to this, students now in the primary school pass from one grade to another automatically, no matter how weak they are. This makes the number of students larger, but the quality worse. Once in the college where only qualified teachers are hired, some students can be rescued, but the majority are just hopeless cases in French. Worse still, some French students, even after getting their university degrees, they remain weak.

My comment: and this is the case for English as well.

Q7- Battenburg (1997: 9) reports that, “in spite of budget reductions, in 1996 the American government contributed an estimated US\$600,000 and the British government allocated about US\$400,000 for language, cultural and educational activities. The French government, in contrast, spent US\$20 million for such programs within Tunisia.” What kind of influence, if any, can these contributions have on the Tunisian language policy?

A7- It certainly has influence. However, after the foundation of the European union and, more specifically, after many Eastern European countries joined it, France interest and focus have shifted to these new members of the Union and so have its investments, which weakened its interest in North African countries. Among the projects that were launched and funded by France was, for example, “Projet de Renovation du Français” which is a project aiming at training French teachers, teacher trainers, and supervisors. Another project was also called PRECSUD, also funded by France.

The issue is how we deal with these funds. Unfortunately, here we have what we call “the campaign culture.” When a funded project is launched supervisors, teachers, and all stakeholders are involved and devoted to it. Once money has finished, the project whole idea will be abandoned. This means that there is no long term, well devised strategy to promote French language teaching.

Another problem has to do with the way funds are dealt with. Indeed, it is far from optimal. Some of the managers of French projects use these funds for their personal interests. In the end, France sends kind of auditors to check how a project is progressing to find out that the project has stopped. These managers are often sued and the funds allocated to the project are returned to these auditors.

Q8- According to you, does English represent a threat to French in Tunisia?

A8- Yes; English is now gaining much ground at the expense of French in Tunisia and the whole world. Indeed, English is gaining ground even in France itself. Scientifically speaking, French is retreating even compared to languages like German and Japanese, let alone English. French people now are also in need to English and that’s why English now in Tunisia is being promoted at the expense of French.

Q9- Is it possible, according to you, to see scientific subjects in Tunisia being taught in English?

A9- This happened indeed in Ariana Pilot School. The problem, as I said before, is when the financial support stops projects stop. The same thing indeed happened with French, when Bourguiba Lycee Pilote was meant to teach all subjects in French and then all of a sudden everything was stopped because money was over. The mistake here is in

associating all projects with the funds; the financial support. Once that ends, the whole project collapses.

Q10- In your opinion, should scientific subjects in Tunisia be taught in Arabic, French or English? Specify why you think so (one good reason is again enough).

A10- Now, most students are weak in all of the three main languages. Yes... many students don't master any language very well; even Arabic. And the teachers who teach scientific subjects in Arabic or French themselves don't have good hang of either language. In my view, the best thing is that each country uses its mother tongue to teach scientific subjects. Nowadays, Hebrew, which was once a dead language, is becoming a language of sciences and is contributing to different fields of science. I believe Arabic also can do that. The problem is not in the language in its own right it is in its speakers. Personally, I am for the promotion of the mother tongues in all countries.

In all the countries of the world, you cannot get a degree without mastering its mother tongue. The Arab world is, unfortunately, an exception to this rule. Anyone can get a degree from any Arab country without knowing a word of Arabic, which destroys the Arabic peoples' self esteem and self confidence.

Foreign languages are unquestionably an asset to us. One now cannot live with one single language in Tunisia. I hope that students will be able to study sciences and to express themselves in all of the three languages. It is always good to have students who are able to express their thoughts orally and in writing in the three languages. Nevertheless, to have a good position in this world, we have to master our national language first.

Q11- Now, there's a new language that is spreading very widely in SMS texts as well as in internet communications, it is the Roman Arabic (like "Sbe7 el5ir" to mean good morning), do you think it will have any impacts on students' motivation to learn languages, including English? Have you looked into this issue?

A11- This phenomenon reflects a clear weakness in the original means of communication. What you described as Roman Arabic has an impact on all the languages. Even in national exams, we caught some cases of French essays where students use chat language to express their ideas.

Q12- Which Foreign language is, according to you, more useful to learn for Tunisians? Why?

A12- English is now an indispensable language all over the world and we cannot now survive without it. However, French is also crucial to Tunisians because it is related to our own history, culture and even economy. Hundreds of thousands of Tunisians work in France. As every other country in the world, I believe, Tunisia has to be multilingual. That's what globalisation requires today.
August, 2010

Appendix III: Tunisian People's Attitudes towards Languages

A Questionnaire to the public

Which foreign language is now, according to you, more useful to learn for Tunisians?

Why?

N Of Resp.	Level of Edu	Job	Sex	Languages				Reasons
				E	F	An. Lge	None	
1.	U	Lib	F	X				The language of the world now
2.	S	Lib	M	X				English is everywhere in the world
3.	U	Ital	M	X				International Language (Hamza)
4.	U	tea	M	X				High-level references are in English not in French
5.	P	nurse	M	X				The international language of science (Mansour)
6.	S	Nurse	F	X				The language of science
7.	P	tax	M	X				English is understood all over the world
8.	P	no	M	X				The language of modernity
9.	S	Uw	F		X			It's the common language in Tunisia
10.	S	tax	M	X				English is an easy language (how are you?)
11.	P	Farm	M	X				English is now the language of the world(17yrs in Fr)
12.	S	Sch	M	X				Cultural richness of English (Chokri)
13.	P	tax	M	X				For no reason he knows (That's what people say)
14.	P	Far	M			Sp		Doesn't know why (lotfi)
15.	S	tax	M	X				English is more demanded now even in Tunisia
16.	S	nur	M	X				To open up on the world
17.	P	No	M	X				To chat with more people on the net
18.	P	UW	M	X				French is no more useful
19.	U	far	M	X				More research is now done in Eng
20.	S	shop	M	X				International language...many lost careers because they don't speak English
21.	S	Tea	M			Chi		The future is for Chinese
22.	U	Tea	M	X				All the important research refs are in Eng
23.	U	Tea	M	X				The whole world can speak Eng now.
24.	U	Tea	M	X				International lang
25.	U	Tea	M	X				People from all countries can

								understand you...
26.	U	Tea	M	X				French no more meets our needs
27.	U	Tea	M	X				The Eng-speaking countries are very developed
28.	U	business	M	X				Understandable everywhere
29.	U	No	M	X				The first language of the world
30.	P	UW	M	X				It's a dominant language everywhere
31.	P	UW	M			Chi		Everything is now made in China
32.	P	UW	M	X				Lang number one in the world
33.	S	Taxi	M	X				An international language
34.	P	Taxi	M	X				The language of the whole world
35.	P	Taxi	M		X			Tunisians like French
36.	P	Taxi	M		X			Half of the Tunisians are in France
37.	P	factory	F	X				An international language
38.	P	Factory	F	X				the world language
39.	S	Factory	F	X				The instructions mostly come in English (textile factory)
40.	P	Factory	F		X			I like French (My Fiancé is in France)
41.	U	techn	M	X				It is the most required lang in the Gulf area for e.g.
42.	U	Student	F	X				An international language
43.	U	Student	F	X				Most research is conducted in English
44.	S	prefect	M		X			French is easier to teach/learn
45.	P	Builder	M		X			More Tunisians will work in France
46.	P	CW	M	X				English is the most famous language
47.	U	IT eng	F	X				Hi level Academic research is done in English
48.	U	accountt	F	X				French has less international value now
49.	S	Student	F	X				I like English
50.	P	Shop	M	X				The language of the world
51.	P	Painter	M		X			I worked in France for so long.
52.	P	Painter	M	X				International language; stronger than French
53.	U	Arch	F	X				We really need it for deep research.
54.	U	secret	F	X				Online communications are mostly conducted in English.
55.	P	farmer	M				X	We need to concentrate on our own language
56.	U	Eng	M	X				English will enable the coming generations do deeper

								research.
57.	S	teacher	M	X				The future is for English
58.	U	retired	M		X			Tunisia shall always be part of the francophone world
59.	S	teacher	F		X			Our relationship is stronger with France
60.	S	Taxi	M			Ital		Italy is the closest European country to tunisia
61.	P	farmer	M	X				French themselves teach English (He lived in Fr 17 years)
62.	U	teacher	F	X				You can function anywhere in the world
63.	U	teacher	F					It's the most romantic language (French teacher)
64.	U	driver	M		X			It's the becoming the most famous all over the world
65.	P	driver	M	X				French is doing us nothing
66.	P	UW	M	X				Everything now is in English
67.	P	waiter	M	X				It's the first language in the world
68.	S	farmer	M	X				English now is more useful worldwide
69.	P	shop	F			Russsia		Russia is a strong country
70.	S	student	F		X			French is easier to learn
71.	U	Techn		X				Enough of French
72.	U	Senior Eng	F	X				French people themselves study and do research in English
73.	P	No	M			Ital		Thousands of Tunisians go to Italy every year
74.	S	Waiter	M	X				It's the language number one in the world
75.	S	HW	F		X			Our future is with France.
76.	U	teacher	M	X				France is spoken only francophone countries
77.	S	No	M	X				All good new films are in English...
78.	U	Lawyer	F	X				It's enough as a foreign language
79.	S	secret	F		X			Most of our transactions are with france
80.	P	UW	M			Chi		The strongest country now.
81.	S	Secret	F	X				Internationally the most recognized language
82.	U	Eng	M			Ger		We can benefit a lot from Germany in tourism for eg
83.	U	Priv Sch	F	X				The language of science
84.	U	No	M	X				The language of the world
85.	U	student	F			Ital		English is very difficult to understand
86.	S	Taxi	M	X				Most people now speak English in the world

87.	S	Taxi	M		X			Most visitors understand it
88.	U	teacher	M		X			Nahdhaouis want to turn us to English
89.	P	Farm	M	X				I don't know
90.	P	Shop	M				X	No language but Arabic (bearded)
91.	P	Shop	M		X			French is easy
92.	U	Shop	F	X				The strongest language
93.	S	Cof. Sh	M	X				I like English songs
94.	S	Restau	M	X				English is very famous now...(I don't know)
95.	S	Shop	M			Chi		Everything is made in China
96.	U	Pharmac	F		X			Most of our interactions are with France
97.	U	Pharmac	F		X			It's difficult to turn all prescriptions into English
98.	P	C W	M	X				I don't know, but this is what people say (sorry)
99.	U	Teacher	F	X				English is now the most used lge everywhere
100.	S	retired	M			Ger		Oh I used to work in Germany

Abbreviations

Job Abbreviations:

Tea: Teacher

UW: Unqualified worker

No: Jobless

Farm: Farmer

Business: Businessman

CW: Construction Worker

Eng: Engineer

Taxi: taxi driver

Tech: Technician

Sec: Secretary

Arch: Architect

Level of Education Abbreviations:

Un: uneducated (illiterate)

P: Primary school (low level education)

S: Secondary School (medium education)

U: Studied at University

Appendix IV: Significant T-Tests

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
The Use of the Roman Arabic	Equal variances assumed	4.960	.027	13.154	277	.000	2.05185	.15599	1.74478	2.35892
	Equal variances not assumed			12.804	163.766	.000	2.05185	.16025	1.73544	2.36827

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Codeswitching to French	Equal variances assumed	2.479	.117	5.113	284	.000	.64282	.12573	.39535	.89030
	Equal variances not assumed			5.139	190.357	.000	.64282	.12508	.39609	.88955

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Codeswitching to English	Equal variances assumed	6.086	.014	2.545	282	.011	.35705	.14031	.08086	.63324
	Equal variances not assumed			2.702	225.259	.007	.35705	.13213	.09668	.61742

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
English Use in Networking	Equal variances assumed	4.742	.030	2.325	275	.021	.33607	.14452	.05157	.62056
	Equal variances not assumed			2.422	195.417	.016	.33607	.13876	.06242	.60972

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
The Use of English as a lingua Franca	Equal variances assumed	4.007	.046	2.414	278	.016	.42409	.17565	.07833	.76986
	Equal variances not assumed			2.538	202.480	.012	.42409	.16710	.09461	.75358

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Listening to English Songs	Equal variances assumed	11.713	.001	5.979	283	.000	.96995	.16222	.65064	1.28926
	Equal variances not assumed			6.424	235.589	.000	.96995	.15100	.67248	1.26742

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Listening to French Songs	Equal variances assumed	8.353	.004	5.172	283	.000	.76535	.14797	.47410	1.05661
	Equal variances not assumed			5.410	219.532	.000	.76535	.14147	.48655	1.04416

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Watching English Programmes	Equal variances assumed	17.747	.000	3.303	284	.001	.50641	.15331	.20465	.80817
	Equal variances not assumed			3.609	245.084	.000	.50641	.14033	.23000	.78282

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Watching French Programmes	Equal variances assumed	6.550	.011	-2.324	285	.021	-.31368	.13497	-.57935	-.04801
	Equal variances not assumed			-2.502	239.850	.013	-.31368	.12536	-.56062	-.06674

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Watching Arabic Programmes	Equal variances assumed	2.253	.134	-.036	284	.971	-.00456	.12642	-.25340	.24428
	Equal variances not assumed			-.037	216.462	.970	-.00456	.12214	-.24529	.23618

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Reading in Arabic	Equal variances assumed	21.481	.000	-5.004	287	.000	-.80682	.16124	-1.12418	-.48946
	Equal variances not assumed			-5.497	250.901	.000	-.80682	.14678	-1.09589	-.51775

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Reading in French	Equal variances assumed	.399	.528	-1.992	288	.047	-.29737	.14930	-.59123	-.00350
	Equal variances not assumed			-2.032	212.899	.043	-.29737	.14637	-.58590	-.00884

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Reading in English	Equal variances assumed	.184	.668	2.345	283	.020	.33775	.14405	.05422	.62129
	Equal variances not assumed			2.366	189.577	.019	.33775	.14275	.05617	.61933

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Arabic Importance in Tunisia	Equal variances assumed	2.001	.158	-3.042	286	.003	-.38947	.12805	-.64151	-.13744
	Equal variances not assumed			-3.233	231.473	.001	-.38947	.12048	-.62685	-.15210

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
French Is More Useful Than English	Equal variances assumed	34.284	.000	-5.628	290	.000	-1.00333	.17827	-1.35421	-.65246
	Equal variances not assumed			-6.079	247.110	.000	-1.00333	.16506	-1.32844	-.67823

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
French Is my Preferred Language	Equal variances assumed	10.036	.002	-2.600	285	.010	-.48075	.18488	-.84465	-.11684
	Equal variances not assumed			-2.733	217.744	.007	-.48075	.17590	-.82743	-.13406

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
English Is My Preferred Language	Equal variances assumed	.000	.990	2.024	283	.044	.36939	.18247	.01021	.72856
	Equal variances not assumed			2.044	189.762	.042	.36939	.18076	.01283	.72595

Independent Samples Test

	Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
	F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
								Lower	Upper
Glob's Positive Impacts On Eng in Tun	5.809	.017	-2.553	285	.011	-.32842	.12864	-.58163	-.07522
			-2.747	231.590	.006	-.32842	.11955	-.56397	-.09288

Independent Samples Test

	Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
	F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
								Lower	Upper
Glob's Negative Impacts on Fr in Tunisia	1.852	.175	-3.728	285	.000	-.55106	.14780	-.84197	-.26014
			-3.817	206.280	.000	-.55106	.14436	-.83566	-.26646

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Eng as a Threat to Fr in Tunisia	Equal variances assumed	2.542	.112	-3.801	284	.000	-.62696	.16494	-.95163	-.30229
	Equal variances not assumed			-3.911	209.563	.000	-.62696	.16029	-.94295	-.31096

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Roman Arabic as a Threat to Arabic	Equal variances assumed	2.131	.145	-2.182	284	.030	-.36263	.16617	-.68972	-.03555
	Equal variances not assumed			-2.261	206.311	.025	-.36263	.16042	-.67890	-.04637

Reading in English Across Majors: Science Vs Arts Students

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Reading in English	Equal variances assumed	1.661	.199	4.409	189	.000	.86325	.19577	.47706	1.24943
	Equal variances not assumed			4.000	54.658	.000	.86325	.21583	.43065	1.29584