UNDERSTANDING THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE POLICY IN THE CONSTRUCTION AND MAINTENANCE OF INEQUALITIES IN TUNISIA AND MOROCCO

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ABSTRACT

This thesis analyses how language-in-education policy (LIEP) shapes the socioeconomic status (SES) of university students in Tunisia and Morocco. I investigate how different types of language policy (LP) influence the language attitudes and language practices of university students and thereby contribute to the construction of their SES. This thesis is the result of ethnographic research in which a mixed-methods approach was employed. This mixed-methods approach involved surveys and interviews that investigate the link between the socioeconomic status of university students and the multi-layered language policy (Hornberger & Johnson 2007) employed by several linguistic "influencers" (Badwan 2021) in the university context.

The findings of this research show that in both Tunisia and Morocco there is a substantial difference between the *de facto* LP and the *de jure* LP at the school level and that participants from similar social classes share patterns of language practices, language ideologies, and language planning. As demonstrated in this thesis, the three interrelated but independent components of language practices, language ideologies, and language planning (Spolsky 2004) reflect socioeconomic hierarchies.

Within these hierarchies, two patterns emerge. The lower class tends toward a less prestigious linguistic repertoire, an anti-colonial language ideology, and translanguaging practices. In contrast, the upper class tends to standardize language practices and ideologies toward French, influenced by language planning in private institutions. The research highlights how mother tongues and the growing presence of English impact sociolinguistic dynamics, fostering a more democratic postcolonial language policy.

The thesis underscores the role of language policies in shaping students' future opportunities and perpetuating social hierarchies. Through a comparative analysis of Tunisia and Morocco, it identifies challenges faced by policymakers in developing sustainable language policy models. The analytical perspective presented can inform the examination of similar multilingual and postcolonial contexts characterized by socioeconomic inequalities.

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Chapter 1 - Introduction

As the author of this research, my interest in Tunisia and Morocco arises from a deep fascination with their complex sociolinguistic landscapes. These North African countries, enriched by historical intricacies and linguistic diversity, present a captivating field for exploration. Significant historical moments - such as the historical development of the Berber indigenous communities, the Arab-Islamic settlement, French colonization, and globalization - shape the sociolinguistic composition of these countries. These historical ebbs and flows contribute to a dynamic and heterogeneous demography in Tunisia and Morocco.

The role of the indigenous Berber component constitutes one of the major sociolinguistic differences between the two countries. The great ethnic and linguistic diffusion of the Berbers in Morocco has led to a revaluation of this identity especially in the last twenty years. Language policies (LPs) have been instrumental in revaluating this identity. In contrast, Tunisia has a minority Berber presence that lacks linguistic and political recognition. In this thesis, the term "Berber" is used following relevant literature (Boukous 1995; Sadiqi 1997; Ennaji 2005; Errihani 2008; Zouhir 2014) and for practical reasons (see Section 3.5a for further details).

Despite these differences, Tunisia and Morocco share similarities. The historical dissemination of Arabic since the 7th century has played a crucial role in shaping their sociolinguistic landscapes. Arabic serves as the official language in both countries, with Standard Arabic as the official variety. Tunisian Arabic and Moroccan Arabic, considered dialects within a diglossic situation, are the two major mother tongues. In this thesis, the terms "Tunisian" and "Moroccan" are preferred over "Tunisian Arabic" and "Moroccan Arabic" and/or "Tunisian dialect" and "Moroccan dialect". This choice is made to reflect the political perspective of the

speakers, as the terms "Arabic" and "dialect" near "Tunisian" and "Moroccan" may stigmatize the inferiority of the Tunisian and Moroccan languages within a diglossic linguistic landscape.

Another parallel lies in the lasting impact of French colonization, especially in the education system, where French continues to play a significant role in both countries. Additionally, the ongoing process of globalization, coupled with the rise of English as an international language, contributes to evolving sociolinguistic dynamics in Tunisia and Morocco.

These sociolinguistic dynamics are integral to the concept of language policy in these multilingual and postcolonial nations. Language policy plays a pivotal role in shaping the educational landscape, influencing the linguistic profile of students, and impacting individuals' socioeconomic status (SES) through inclusion-exclusion processes where language acts as a key discriminating factor. In the global capitalist economy, language proficiency in high-demand languages provides socioeconomic advantages (Tochon 2009), while studying in a language other than one's mother tongue may pose challenges and lead to poorer academic outcomes (Zhao 2019). These language mechanisms are significantly influenced by LP, primarily through education, which becomes a determinant of individuals' SES based on economic, ideological, and political factors.

Through a linguistic ethnographic approach, this research aims to analyse various facets of LPs and their impact on the SES of university students in Tunisia and Morocco. Higher education, positioned at the intersection between primary-secondary education and the workforce, serves as a critical juncture for observing the diachronic evolution of LP mechanisms and understanding their contributions to creating or perpetuating existing inequalities (Kromydas 2017).

1.1 Research premise

The origin of this research is rooted in my personal experiences as an individual, student, and researcher in Tunisia, Morocco, and my home country, Italy. My studies in Italy focused on the languages and societies of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) countries, leading to a profound interest in the Arabic language and the social dynamics in North African countries. From 2014 to 2020, I lived, studied, and conducted research in Tunisia and Morocco for a cumulative period of two years. These experiences provided a unique opportunity to immerse myself in the social and linguistic fabric of these countries, further fuelling my interest in the field of language policy.

This research emerged from my interests and the urgency of describing a situation that, in my opinion, deserves greater attention: the hardship experienced by the youth and the prevailing uncertainty in the future in Tunisia and Morocco. Within this wide topic, language-in-education policy represents just one aspect within a broader context. However, I strongly believe that in these two contexts and beyond, languages and education can and must have a role in the social recoupment of discouraged and disadvantaged young people. Thus, the overarching goal of this research is to contribute to the revaluation of sociolinguistic dynamics in Tunisia and Morocco, with a focus on promoting greater social equity. My personal experiences, active involvement in this research, and my identity characteristics (see Chapter 4 for further information) are integral components of the bottom-up approach I have adopted. Within this approach, the voices of the most vulnerable subjects, particularly the students, form both the starting and end points of this research.

1.2 Research aims

This research aims to conduct a comparative analysis of language-in-education policies (LIEP) in Tunisia and Morocco, exploring the extent to which LIEP contributes to the formation of inequalities, particularly in the socioeconomic status (SES) of university students in these countries. By examining the relationship between micro and macro elements of language policy and the socioeconomic situation of university students, I identify the factors that determine inequalities through education. Moreover, focusing on the category of university students as a point of reference for a broader analysis, helps us to understand how young people in these countries experience conditions of inequality due to LPs. In this thesis, this aim will be achieved by answering the following research question, which will drive the analysis of the two contexts, Tunisia (Chapter 5), Morocco (Chapter 6) and the comparison of the two cases (Chapter 7).

What is the relationship between language policies and inequalities among students in Tunisia and Morocco?

This question will be answered by exploring how the different language policy components, layers and influencers contribute to the construction and maintenance of socioeconomic inequalities among students in these two countries**.** The examination of LP in multilingual contexts, such as Tunisia and Morocco, proves valuable for discerning the consequences of governmental decisions on the societies of these countries. The current sociolinguistic identity of populations marked by a lengthy period of foreign occupation, as observed in Maghreb's area countries, results from LPs imposed by governments, fostering highly marked social hierarchies that favour elitist groups at the expense of disadvantaged classes.

Adopting a historical-structural approach (Tollefson 1991), we can understand how historical factors, including colonialism and globalization, are linked with the creation of a hierarchical LP system. Within this hierarchy, each language has a specific status, uses (practices), and carries a wealth of ideological values. However, a critical point concerns the distance between language status and language practices. For instance, the statuses of languages are defined by *de jure* LP (language planning) but are not based on *de facto* LP (language practices).

Tunisian and Moroccan, the mother tongues of most of the population in the two countries, are not recognized as official languages, yet they are the most spoken within these countries (Daoud 2001; Zakhir & O'Brien 2019) they are theoretically excluded from the formal domain of education, but their oral use is widely acknowledged. In contrast, Standard Arabic, French, and English, each with its specificities, hold the most prestigious positions. LIEP primarily advocates for their use. A distinct scenario pertains to Berber, the mother tongue of a significant portion of the population in Morocco, which is gradually gaining prominence in education (Buckner 2006; Errihani 2006; El Aissati et al. 2011; Zouhir 2014). However, the absence of Berber from school curricula in Tunisia reflects its status as a non-recognized minority language (Gabsi 2022).

These sociolinguistic and educational dynamics operate in continuously evolving contexts, in which global processes determine local reactions and vice versa. In response to the 2008 global financial crisis, protests in Tunisia and Morocco in 2010-2011 called for resource distribution. However, since 2011, both countries have witnessed an increase in the unemployment rate, a decline in GDP per capita (IMF 2021), and discouraging outcomes in public education (PISA-OECD 2000, 2018). The emigration flow has persisted as people seek opportunities abroad.

Within this critical situation, inequalities are increasing, and the low level of public education induces those with the highest SES to attend private courses and private schools. Within the private education sector, the quality of teaching, including language teaching, is higher than in the public sector (OECD 2000, 2018). Parents' inclination towards private schools is often fuelled by the importance placed on French language learning.

On the other hand, individuals with lower SES tend to attend public schools. Here, the combination of low-quality teaching and LP makes it more challenging to learn French. Consequently, students with lower SES possess a less prestigious repertoire, limiting their access to knowledge, study opportunities, jobs, and mobility.

This linguistic and socioeconomic hierarchy raises the question of whether a more egalitarian language policy can lead to a more equitable society. Tunisia and Morocco display differences within their political and linguistic scenarios. However, they also share a common cultural-historical substratum and apparent similarities in governmental obligations. Therefore, a comparative analysis proves instrumental in understanding one country's situation through the lens of the other. By adopting a bottom-up approach to analyse the situation in Tunisia and Morocco, this research aims to provide a comprehensive description of the relationship between LIEP and socioeconomic inequalities in these contexts and beyond.

1.3 Thesis outline

Chapter 2 presents an introduction to the concept of LP. After a brief overview of the different components, typologies, and levels of analysis, attention is paid to the evolution of studies on

this subject. This literature review of the theory of LP then ends with the formulation of the research question that guided the elaboration of this thesis.

Chapter 3 offers an overview of the sociolinguistic situation of Tunisia and Morocco. It analyses the status of various language varieties that hold significant roles in these two countries. If Chapter 2 serves as the theoretical foundation of the research, Chapter 3 functions as its contextual basis, offering a comprehensive perspective on the language varieties crucial for the subsequent chapters.

Chapter 4 describes the methodology used during the research. This encompasses theoretical aspects, including diverse applied approaches, practical considerations such as data collection tools, and the analytical approach employed in the following chapters.

Chapters 5, Chapter 6, and Chapter 7 constitute analysis and results. Within these chapters, the topic investigated is the relationship between LP and socioeconomic inequalities. Chapter 5 analyzes Tunisia, Chapter 6 examines Morocco, and Chapter 7 compares the two cases. All three chapters present a combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis.

Chapter 8 is the final chapter of the thesis and summarizes the main results and contribution of this research. The interpretation of data and findings in this chapter delivers valuable information for LP researchers and policymakers involved in investigating and formulating language-in-education policies.

Chapter 2 – Theoretical background: language-in-education policy and its relevance in Tunisia and Morocco

2.1 Chapter Outline

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the main theme of the research: language-in-education policy. It serves as the theoretical foundation upon which the project proposal, research questions, and data analysis during field research are developed. Consequently, this chapter offers the initial and necessary elements to understand the theoretical approach adopted during the ethnographic research and analysis of the topic presented in the rest of the thesis.

Over the years, a multitude of definitions and interpretations of the concept of language policy (Gazzola et al. 2023) and its application in education have emerged. Within this chapter, I clarify and discuss how my interpretation of this concept has evolved through the development of a theoretical framework that incorporates four main considerations.

1. The necessity of adopting a historical-structural perspective in analyzing language policies (Tollefson 1991).

2. The importance of examining language policy mechanisms (Shohamy 2006) at multiple levels (Hornberger & Johnson 2007).

3. The significance of considering human agency and the role of linguistic influencers (Badwan 2020) as crucial components in language policy analysis.

4. The advantage of conceptualizing language policies broadly but schematically, as a combination of practices, beliefs, and management (Spolsky 2004, 2009).

These considerations address different facets of language policies and language-in-education policies (LIEPs), some of which have been subject to criticism and contrast. Therefore, this chapter demonstrates how these aspects can be compatible when analyzed dynamically and critically. Furthermore, the integration of these aspects facilitates a comprehensive understanding of the language policy phenomenon. As described in Chapter 4, this theoretical approach must be complemented by a methodology grounded in linguistic ethnography as it is essential to analyse certain sociolinguistic features within specific contexts and communities.

The chapter is divided into nine interconnected sections to explain the nature of LIEP studies and the questions I aim to address in this thesis. Section 2.2 will demonstrate the indispensability of adopting a critical approach when analyzing the relationship between language policy and inequalities (Tollefson 1991). In Section 2.3, the increasing interest in language practices and ethnographic research will be highlighted, contributing to a reevaluation of language policy at various levels of analysis (Hornberger & Johnson 2007). Specifically, Section 2.4 will delve into the complexity and significance of human agency at the micro level, likened to that of influencers (Badwan 2020). Section 2.5 will briefly show how the evolution of studies on language policies since the 2000s has led to the reconsideration of approaches and terminologies previously taken for granted. Section 2.6 will illustrate how, in this thesis, the dynamic and critical adoption of Spolsky's model is the most suitable for analyzing the relationship between language policy and inequalities. The elucidation of Spolsky's model in Section 2.6 and further reflections on language policies in Section 2.7 will underscore the compatibility and necessity of the previously mentioned perspectives (Tollefson 1991; Hornberger & Johnson 2007; Badwan 2020) for achieving a comprehensive understanding of language policies. In Section 2.8, the focus will be on studies that have examined language policies in Tunisia and Morocco, along with comparisons between the two contexts, aiming to

address a significant gap in the literature. It will demonstrate how previous studies have seldom analyzed the relationship between language policies and inequalities in these countries or compared the two situations. Finally, Section 2.9 presents the research question formulated in light of this literature review.

2.2 Critical language policy and the historical-structural approach

In the 1950s and 1960s, during the initial period of language policy studies, scholars such as Fishman, Ferguson and Dasgupta (1968) directed their interests toward researching social and linguistic situations in countries formed or "resurrected" after the collapse of colonial powers post-World War II. These studies were intricately linked to the linguistic challenges these new countries faced. At the time, LP studies assumed language neutrality, apoliticality, and abstraction from historical and social contexts (Ricento 2000).

In the late 1970s, language policy studies experienced a shift towards increased interest in the socioeconomic aspects of language planning and its role in establishing inequalities (Engman & King 2017). In response to the assumption that LP has the power to manipulate the behaviour of individuals, greater attention was being paid to other elements that may indicate inequalities. Arguably, one of the most influential works in this period is that of Tollefson (1991), which introduces the historical-structural approach to the study of LPs. Before describing this important contribution, it is good to mention other authors who have marked this critical trend in the study of LPs. Scholars like Ruiz (1984), Wolfson and Manes (1985), Cooper (1989), Phillipson (1992), and Skutnabb-Kangass (1988, 2000) began investigating LPs seeking to

understand how they could be improved and proposing new ideas and models in order to reduce inequalities.

Wolfson and Manes (1985) investigated how language reflects and influences social, economic, and political inequalities. They advocated for the practical application of language equality, particularly in education. Ruiz (1984) talks about orientations that must be considered regarding linguistic minorities. He exalts the factor of power that LPs have in influencing certain linguistic attitudes. Cooper (1989) defined language planning as efforts to influence the behaviour of others in the structure, function, and acquisition of language codes. He introduced the term "acquisition planning", placing it on par with corpus and status planning.

Phillipson (1992) introduced the term "Linguistic Imperialism" highlighting how foreign dominations established linguistic hierarchies mirroring social hierarchies. Concerning this, we see how the expansion in the use of English and other standardized colonial languages has characterized the education of many former colonies and the subjugation of education to labor policy (Tollefson & Tsui 2014). Skutnabb-Kangas coined the term "linguicism" (1988, p.13), defined as a set of "ideologies, structures and practices which are used to legitimate, effectuate and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources between groups which are defined on the basis of language". In addition, Skutnabb-Kangas formulated the term "linguistic genocide": a "linguicide" that takes place in the field of education every time indigenous or minority children…are educated in a dominant language" (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000).

This period marked a critical turn in LP studies, transitioning to a more critical perspective that considered the social and political implications of LP. Language planning was no longer perceived as neutral; instead, the ideological value of languages took centre stage, affecting

individuals and groups with little political influence (Tollefson 2002). This tradition of studies extends beyond LP studies and is defined with the term "critical sociolinguistic" (Ricento 2000) or "critical poststructuralist sociolinguistics" (García et al. 2017) and consequently the term "critical language policy" aligns with the focus of this research.

Within this tradition of studies, the role of LP in consolidating inequalities in and through education is highlighted. This new trend sought to break away from the initial objectivism in the study of LP. Although some of these contributions are earlier, a decisive turning point is the book *Planning Language, Planning Inequality*, in which Tollefson (1991) describes how a historical-structural approach is indispensable in understanding the link between LP and inequalities. Tollefson (ibid.) evolved from and criticized the neo-classical approach (Fishman et al. 1968; Rubin & Jernudd 1971; Rubin et al. 1977), affirming the importance of a historical-structural approach. In brief, this approach focuses on the investigation of historical and structural factors that have contributed to the creation of a system of inequalities (Johnson 2018). The goal became to unmask those mechanisms that perpetuate unequal economic policies and interests. In particular, he draws attention to the role of ideologies in changing language practices, particularly in educational institutions (Martin-Jones & Da Costa Cabral 2018).

The historical-structural approach consists of two interconnected components with a cause-and-effect relationship. The historical component is represented by all those events and processes influencing LPs at specific points in time and subsequently. For example, in Tunisia and Morocco, historical processes like the spread of Islam, colonialism, postcolonialism, the 2011 revolution, and the impact of the Internet and social networks have profoundly shaped LPs, contributing to increase a system of inequalities. Structural factors are essentially

represented by all the social mechanisms that contribute to the creation or maintenance of inequalities. In this research, for example, the social class to which one belongs was placed at the centre of attention in order to investigate socioeconomic inequalities.

2.3 Language-in-education policy layers

Critiques of Tollefson's approach, as well as the broader critical trend, have emerged due to its perceived overemphasis on the influence of certain superstructures, such as national and supranational institutions, neglecting the significance of human agency (Ricento & Hornberger 1996). Ricento and Hornberger (1996), along with Hornberger and Johnson (2007), introduced an analytical model based on the metaphor of an onion. According to these scholars, language policy "mechanisms" (Shohamy 2006) should be examined across various levels, such as macro, meso, and micro, akin to the layers of an onion. With "mechanisms" Shohamy (ibid.) denotes actions mediating between ideologies and language practices, effectively implementing real LP. LP mechanisms, including rules, regulations, LIEPs, and language tests, can manipulate and impose specific ideologies and practices (Skutnabb-Kangas 2006). Moreover, Tollefson (1988) and Shohamy (2006) distinguish between overt LPs and covert LPs. The first are explicit and are typically delineated in official written documents and statements. Their written and material nature renders them explicit tangible artifacts (Barakos 2020). In contrast, the latter are implicit, informal, non-institutionalized, and often overlooked (Shohamy 2006).

In the realm of education, these mechanisms manifest across various layers, with the teacher occupying a central position at the micro-level, serving as a pivotal figure in language policymaking (Cushing 2019). Education stands as a domain where LP exerts considerable influence, both through explicit directives and implicit actions (Skutnabb-Kangas 2006). This shift in focus expands beyond merely examining LP mechanisms at the macro level, such as language planning or official policies, to also encompass an understanding of language practices, known as de facto policies. Consequently, scholarly discourse engages in a debate regarding the primary focus of LP studies, often highlighting the perceived dichotomy between structure and agency, macro and micro levels.

In the domain of LIEP, it is crucial to emphasize that while its intricate elements often resist clear distinctions of levels and layers, a rough categorization into macro, meso, and micro levels aids in comprehension and analysis. At the macro level, encompassing national, governmental, and public spheres, decisions, rules, curricula documents, standardized assessments, and marking criteria pertaining to language use and teaching constitute examples of LIEP (Ricento & Hornberger 1996; Hornberger & Johnson 2007). These decisions encompass choices regarding language teaching as a second language, first or second foreign language, as well as determinations regarding the MOI. They can dictate the allocation of language study hours, selection of instructional materials, strategies, methods, and proficiency-skills tests. Such macro-level choices may be filtered down to the meso level if determined at the local or departmental level within individual schools.

The micro level predominantly involves the exercise of human agency. As previously mentioned, a clear instance of micro-level LIEP pertains to the political role of teachers (Cushing 2019). The burgeoning interest in the role of human agency and the micro level within

LIEP underscores the necessity for empirical methodological tools. For instance, beginning in the mid-1990s and particularly from the 2000s, LP studies increasingly recognized the imperative for empirical research and an ethnographic research approach as the most effective methodological approach (Hornberger & Johnson 2007). This empirical turn (Johnson 2023) within LP studies was indispensable for analyzing mechanisms occurring at the micro level, which were considered less impactful in the historical-structural approach. LP studies need interested in what happens in the classroom, for example by observing practices and attitudes of students and teachers.

Moreover, the ethnographic approach facilitates the linkage between language practices within school environments and the broader analysis of sociohistorical contexts and ideological processes embedded within them (Martin-Jones & Da Costa Cabral 2018). Drawing on principles of ethnographic research in postcolonial contexts (Canagarajah 1993) and the imperative to investigate linguistic minorities (Heller 1999), Hornberger and Johnson (2007) advocate for the critical ethnographic approach as the preferred methodology for studying LIEP. For them, it is not enough to observe the elements of the LPs in a given community. It is instead necessary to pay attention to the social implications that these LPs determine.

2.4 Human agency and advocacy in language policy

Examining language policy at the micro level requires a critical perspective that emphasizes the role of human agency and the intricate dynamics among those implementing LP. By focusing on human agency, the analysis reveals how LPs are actively interpreted, negotiated,

and influenced by individuals in their everyday interactions. Furthermore, emphasizing human agency accentuates the potential for advocacy and transformative action within local contexts, showing how individuals wield the power to challenge and reshape broader LP landscapes through their actions and decisions (Liddicoat & Taylor-Leech 2021).

Moreover, in this reserarch, human agency has been at the forefront of analyzing management implemented by individuals. For instance, the term "language management" (Spolsky 2009) underscores the critical role of human agency in the planning process, emphasizing the need to perceive LP not as abstract concepts but as operational strategies. Those responsible for implementing language management are thus referred to as "linguistic managers." These managers may operate at different levels (macro, meso, micro) and possess varying degrees of authority. In the educational context, for instance, at the macro level, a politician or policymaker may influence decisions regarding the languages examined at the culmination of secondary school. At the meso level, a high school principal may determine which optional language courses students can enroll in. A teacher's corrective action toward a student's language use exemplifies micro-level LIEP.

Among these linguistic managers, individuals may also be identified as having the power of advocacy. Advocates promote and defend specific LPs, sometimes advocating for innovative and revolutionary linguistic causes, albeit without always having the power to achieve their objectives. Differently, managers possess the authority to implement pre-established LPs (Spolsky 2021).

The major distinction between individuals exercising management actions lies in the power and authority that they have. However, this power is not always explicit, but the effects of

management actions can still have repercussions. In this context, the term "linguistic influencer" warrants consideration as it adds a further dimension of power. Badwan (2021) defines linguistic influencers as individuals within a university context, such as heads of departments or professors, who wield authority and significantly influence and manage the linguistic behavior of others, particularly students. The author describes how the effects of linguistic influencing actions also follow a hierarchical order. For example, the head of department can influence the language practices of professors, staff members and students, while the opposite is more difficult to happen.

The term "linguistic influencers" not only add a further dimensions of power in LP but also contemporary nuances to the role of linguistic managers or advocates (Spolsky 2021) and "arbiters" (Menken 2008), especially within the educational sphere. This term may be particularly apt when referring to individuals with apparent power, such as policymakers or professors who can decide what language other individuals should use in a given situation. Although they implement management actions, the effects of these actions are not always as expected or sustained, reflecting the fluidity of social and linguistic hierarchies (Pennycook 2010). Consequently, language management is viewed not as absolute control but as an action that influences behavior for a limited period.

In this context, the definition of linguistic influencer broadens the concept of linguistic manager by delineating different power dynamics, influences, and effects exerted by various stakeholders. For instance, while students may not typically assume the role of linguistic manager or advocate, they can nonetheless function as linguistic influencers. There are several possibilities for this to happen. A case may consist in the moment in which a student answers a question from the teacher in a language different from the one used by the latter and causes

a change in the use of the language in the rest of the conversation. This was observed in the context of this research, where students influenced language choice in interactions with professors, thereby assuming a role in language management.

The case described above shows how linguistic influence does not follow the fixity of the social hierarchy. For this reason, in LP research, it is imperative to consider the diverse social positions of participants within specific interactions and contexts of analysis, acknowledging the potential for these positions to evolve through interactions (Martin-Jones 2015). Even those who apparently have less power and occupy a lower rung on the social ladder can perform a linguistic influencing function, even if only temporarily. This perspective aligns with the bottom-up approach favored in analyzing LPs (Canagarajah 2005), which considers the power of language planning from grassroots levels (Alexander 1989). Human agency constitutes a crucial component of the micro level of LPs, with processes occurring here often as impactful as those at the institutional macro level (Ricento & Hornberger 1996; Hult 2010).

In this renewed context, LP research should embrace ontological fluidity and maintain a critical approach, intensifying the focus on the socioeconomic inequalities generated by human actors. It is important to contextualize LP within a apparently social hierarchy but it is also necessary to consider the dynamic interactions within this hierarchy and the effects they produce. In education, where teachers significantly influence learners' language practices, understanding the role of human agency is paramount (Johnson 2018), given that learners are often the primary vulnerable subjects of LIEP studies. Furthermore, the ethical dimensions of advocacy and activism in language planning studies become indispensable. Within the academic environment, which occupies a symbolic role in an unequal system, scholars must engage with non-academic stakeholders, interrogating their public engagement and interactions (Hult &

Johnson 2015; Holborow 2015). As will be elucidated in Chapter 4, advocacy in this research reflects the adoption of a precise methodological approach aimed at empowering participants (Cameron et al. 1992).

2.5 Evolution of language policy studies

The increasing prominence of ethnography as a methodological tool, coupled with a heightened focus on the micro level and language practices, has spurred the development of a rich and innovative terminology related to LP and language more broadly. This shift has led to the conceptualization of language as an ontologically fluid and dynamic entity, transcending political and ideological boundaries. This terminological evolution introduces the challenge of delineating and naming languages while extending the concept of linguistic repertoire proposed by Gumperz and Hymes (1972). Since the 2000s, LP processes have gained traction, resulting in a greater relativization of previously taken-for-granted concepts. Consequently, terminology has assumed a more neutral stance, reformulating notions such as diglossia, mother tongue, first language, second language, foreign language, bilingualism, and multilingualism.

Critical post-structuralist sociolinguistics marks a departure from Fishman's (1965, 1971) sociolinguistics by focusing on the intrinsic nature of linguistic phenomena. Researchers now prioritize understanding why individuals speak in certain ways across different situations and contexts (García et al., 2017). Many scholars (Canagarajah 2013; Blommaert 2013, 2015; Silverstein 2015; Flores & Lewis 2016) aim to overcome the barriers of language as an entity. However, Makoni & Pennycook (2005) do not abandon the idea of analysing linguistic

phenomena within a broader contextual framework. For instance, their work *Disinventing and (re) constituting languages* (ibid.) is emblematic. They show us how attention must be paid to "understanding the interrelationships among metadiscursive regimes, language in-ventions, colonial history, language effects, alternative ways of understand-ing language, and strategies of disinvention and reconstitution" (ibid. p.137).

Central to this transformation is the concept of "translanguaging" (García & Lin 2017), conceptualizing language as a more fluid set of resources and as a continually transforming process within the broader social interaction system (ibid.). This perspective abandons the notion of language as a singular, distinct entity, and a noun (language). Furthermore, it presupposes that the linguistic repertoire is the sum of manners of speaking (Makoni & Pennycook 2005) rather than the sum of different languages known by individuals. This conception follows a *panta-rei* approach, as an action or verb (languaging) that changes in a non-linear way. Language practices can be considered translingual because they go beyond (from Latin *trans= beyond, across, through*) the definition of languages (Wei 2011). Furthermore, the origin of the term shows how the concept of translanguaging is particularly suitable for the educational field. The English term "translanguaging" derives from the Welsh term "*Trawsieithu*", coined by Cen Williams in the 1980s. This term was constructed as a purposeful strategy for the use of two languages for teaching and learning within the classroom (Conteh 2018).

This transformative perspective gained prominence in the 2000s, coinciding with the undeniable effects of globalization and digital communication development. The increase in transnational mobility in both physical (migration) and digital (the Internet) terms led Vertovec (2007) to coin the term "superdiversity." With this term, he describes a situation of

"diversifying the diversity". This situation has characterized European societies in particular since the 1960s (Spotti & Blommaert 2017). This terminological and ontological reformulation is a consequence of the preceding critical period, where the focus shifted to linguistic inequalities and minorities. The critical perspective initiated a reevaluation of language varieties and processes, challenging Western thought and addressing the political dominance of certain systems over others, especially in the context of human agency within language planning.

Gazzola and colleagues (Gazzola et al. 2023) state that the proliferation of studies, interdisciplinary approaches, new terminology, and diverse research methods has significantly enriched the concept and study of LP. However, the absence of epistemological boundaries within this field precludes the identification of a definitive theoretical or methodological approach as superior. Nonetheless, considering the historical evolution of LP studies and the research focus of this thesis, a critical adoption of Spolsky's model (2004, 2009) was deemed most suitable for analyzing the relationship between LP and inequalities in Tunisia and Morocco. In the next section, I describe Spolsky's model and the reasons why an adaptation of it was considered necessary.

2.6 Adoption and adaptation of Spolsky's model

Spolsky's model (2004, 2009) encompasses LP in its broadest conception, considering different types of processes that represent the status or representations of language. This flexibility allows for a nuanced analytical application while maintaining schematic precision. The model

comprises three intersecting components: language practices or uses, language beliefs and ideologies, and language planning or management. This tripartite structure facilitates the categorization of linguistic phenomena but necessitates fluid and dynamic application.

In this thesis, the adoption of Spolsky's model can be considered critical since other determining factors have been included in the analysis of LPs. More precisely, the critical issue lies in having allowed the reconciliation of two often juxtaposed trends and approaches. The dialectical relationship between the historical-structural approach (Tollefson 1991), which emphasizes macro-level structures, and the multilevel or multi-layered approach (Ricento & Hornberger 1996; Hornberger & Johnson 2007), which elevates ethnography and human agency, is complex. Authors such as Blommaert (2006), Glasgow and Bouchard (2018), and especially Spolsky (2004, 2009) illustrate this dialectic, emphasizing the reciprocal influence between structures and human agency. For instance, the relationship between these two forces is dialectical and one is complicit in determining the other (Glasgow & Bouchard 2018). Every human choice is in some way subject to hegemonic superstructures, however human freedom and creativity constitute such superstructures (Blommaert 2006).

Looking at Spolsky's model, the first component is represented by language practices. They are the real LP or *de facto* LP. They are the linguistic actions or uses carried out by individuals according to geographical, social, and communicative functions. Language practices include the language varieties and variants used, and other communicative mechanisms such as style or accent. As previously introduced, when talking about languages practices it is sometimes more useful and correct to talk about linguistic repertoires rather than defined languages (Spolsky 2021). Also, practices are human processes, and they reconnect to the concept of human agency and the need for an ethnographic methodological approach to analyse this

component. Placing language practices at the forefront of this model gives the possibility of enhancing the importance of both the human component of LP and of the micro level more broadly. Consequently, whether a bottom-up approach where practices are investigated observing participants actions, it could ensure greater adherence to sociolinguistic reality as it is more in line with the *de facto* LPs and their users. The focus on language practices reflects the need to investigate the role of human agency and the importance of starting from the micro level for understanding how inequalities are experienced by language users.

The second component in the Spolskyan model is language ideology. This is closely connected to and shaped by the first component of language practices. Language ideology encompasses the values, beliefs, stereotypes, and judgments that speakers associate with different language varieties in a community. This intricate relationship highlights how language ideology influences and is influenced by the overall language policy and planning (LPP) framework. The position of language ideologies within this model is useful for the reconsideration of Tollefson's historical-structural approach (1991), the relationship it has with human agency, and its compatibility with an ethnographic approach that involves analysis at multiple levels (Hornberger & Johnson 2007). In fact, language ideologies are represented by structures and thoughts shared by a part of the population and are determined by past, current and future historical events and pre-existing and continually evolving social structures. Even more, ideologies can be represented, albeit in different forms, at different levels, transcending the micro-meso-macro limits and recognizing the not absolute but existing historical-structural influence on linguistic phenomena (Tollefson 1991). For example, analysing ethnographically language ideologies involves the investigation of individual and collective language attitudes and behaviours of people (micro level) in relation to overarching ideologies (macro level).

The third component of the model can be considered as the regulator of the first two components from which it originated (Spolsky & Shohamy 2000): language planning also known and reformulated as language management. This is the set of actions carried out by certain members of the community who have a certain type of authority over others. In general, language planning includes the implementations of a LP in all possible domains (Baldauf 1994). For example, language planning may concern the implementations of a government on the choice of language of instruction in a particular country. Language planning aims to decide which language varieties are to be used in different contexts and domains.

Some scholars advocate for a clear differentiation between actions carried out by individuals and those undertaken by institutions within the realm of language policy (Gazzola et al. 2023). According to this view, LP is often confined to language planning alone, while language practices and ideologies are relegated to secondary roles, treated as elements to be analyzed within the life cycle and evaluation of LP (ibid.). This perspective shifts the focal point away from individual speakers to the state and government entities responsible for implementing language planning initiatives. While this alternative conception of LP offers benefits in terms of focusing on specific macro-level choices and actions tied to historical-structural events, it may overlook the intricate interplay between individual agency and institutional frameworks.

In this thesis, I adopt Spolsky's model, which incorporates language planning or management as one of the three key components of LP. This approach enables a multi-level analysis wherein language planning at the macro level is synonymous with what Gazzola (2023) terms as public policy. Moreover, the addition of the nuance of linguistic influencer (Badwan 2020) helps to increase the contribution of human agency in language management at the micro level.

In conclusion, each component of Spolsky's model is regarded as a fundamental element of LP, recognizing that every linguistic action, whether undertaken by individuals or institutions, holds political significance. Language practices thus represent linguistic political actions, while language ideologies encompass metalinguistic discourses and processes imbued with political power. Understanding the varying degrees of power wielded by individuals and components across different levels is essential for analyzing the complex relationship between LP and inequalities. Only through a dynamic consideration of individuals and components at multiple levels can we fully grasp the dynamics at play within LP frameworks.

2.7 Further reflections on language policy: models, applications and implications

While Section 2.4 focused into the significance of language managers or influencers at the micro level, it is essential to clarify that the examination of language planning at the macro level, or the study of LP as public policy, aligns with a prevalent trend that underscores the distinction between planning and practice, between de jure and de facto policies (Gazzola 2023). It is important to note that neither model is inherently superior to the other. However, in this section, I aim to underscore, through practical examples, how the critical application of Spolsky's model aids in comprehending LP issues as dynamic processes occurring across multiple layers, wherein influencers and historical-structural factors wield significant influence. Within this framework, it becomes challenging to exclude practices and ideologies as fundamental components of the LP process. For instance, to highlight the need to analyze these two components, I start from the description of the third component, language planning. After some definitions relating to it, I will instead go on to show what some of the reasons may

be behind the implementation of certain LPs and what repercussions they may have. All these descriptions are accompanied by real and practical examples of LP.

2.7.1. Language planning: status, corpus, acquisition

Cooper (1989) defines the scope of LP studies and their repercussions: "Who plans what, for whom, and how?". To this definition, Ager (1996) adds an additional dimension "Why? Under what conditions? To what effect?". As we have seen before, the agents, manager, or influencer deciding on a specific LP are typically individuals, groups, institutions, or governments wielding authority over other members of a community. Although individuals theoretically possess the freedom to choose the language practice they prefer, such choices are invariably influenced, manipulated, or controlled by conditions imposed explicitly or implicitly by others (Spolsky & Shohamy 2000). LP influencers must demonstrate the capacity to impact community members intentionally, influencing their inclusion or exclusion and either facilitating or disadvantaging specific groups based on their social, ethnic, religious, or political affiliations. Consequently, LP can contribute to the formation of minorities or the exacerbation of their marginalization (Piller 2016).

The practical application of a LP can be defined as language planning (Baldauf 1994). Language planning, enacted by diverse influencers occurs through various modalities, involving modifications to the very nature of language, its perception, acquisition, and usage. Cooper's (1989) model provides a framework for analysing different types of language planning, encompassing status planning, corpus planning, and acquisition (and diffusion) planning.

Status planning pertains to actions that seek to institutionalize, recognize, and impose a certain status on a linguistic variety in specific domains and functions (Kloss 1968). An elementary example at the macro level is a state entity adopting an official language, typically used in public contexts such as administration, schools, and other services within the state's geopolitical borders (Spolsky & Shohamy 2000; Spolsky 2004). Notably, the official language may differ from the national language, common among the nation's members, and may extend beyond the state's geopolitical borders.

For instance, the aftermath of the dissolution of Yugoslavia (1992) saw each new country adopting its official language reflective of its nationalistic character. Official languages of the new countries are Serbian in Serbia, Standard Croatian in Croatia, Montenegrin in Montenegro, Bosnian in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Slovene in Slovenia, Macedonian in North Macedonia, Albanian and Serbian in Kosovo (Požgaj Hadži 2014). While the *de jure* differences in official languages persist, the *de facto* linguistic diversity in this region does not align with these official language borders. For instance, one may encounter Serbs speaking Serbian in Bosnia or Romanians speaking Romanian in Serbia.

The promotion of the status of a language involves practical interventions, including corpus planning. Corpus planning means the choices and modifications that specific influencers make in the structure and form of a language. A simple example of corpus planning is the creation or adoption of a writing system. The imposed written language will experience inevitable changes in language practices leading to the creation of neologisms, the incorporation of foreign words, and the acceptance of new pronunciations and spelling. The set of these changes can lead to the creation of vocabularies, grammars, list of terms.

The final aim of status planning is the codification and standardization of a given variety (Milroy & Milroy 1999; Milroy 2001; Rutten 2016), which must be classified as the most suitable and correct. For example, in 1923, the proclaimed Republic of Turkey decided immediately that a far-reaching language reform was necessary. This reform aimed at establishing new bases of identity and communication within the Turkish country. The first operation consisted of the replacement of the Ottoman and Arabic alphabets with the Latin alphabet for the Turkish language (Tachau 1964) implemented by Kemal Ataturk, considerable as the main linguistic influencer on this occasion. As a consequence of the alphabet reform, there was a need to create new dictionaries and grammars. The creation of this corpora had the goal of "purifying" the Turkish language: words of Arabic and Persian origin, frequent in the language in Ottoman Turkey, were to be replaced with equivalent Turkish neologisms (invented words but with Turkish roots) or with European words (Sevin 2018). The standardization of Turkish aimed at the secularization of the language and of Turkey as a country. LP played a very important role in the detachment from the Ottoman and Islamic past, and the approach to Westernization. The cultural and religious values of Arabic (and Persian) needed to be replaced with the values associated with Latin. To conclude, it can be said that this alphabetical replacement is aimed at a "ideological civilization replacement".

The standardization process is an action that inherently limits diversity by promoting one variety of language and therefore one group to the detriment of another (Milroy & Milroy 1999). In some cases, standardization appears as an operation of protection and emancipation of a minority that claims the right to promote their mother tongue. In other cases, it may give rise to discrimination against those who are unable to meet the standards. In this last situation, non-standard varieties, including dialects and vernaculars, may be deemed theoretically illegitimate, and the linguistic acts of their speakers marginalized. The vernacular varieties of

a language as well as the dialects, or other language varieties spread in a given territory can therefore be seen by the population as varieties that can contribute to the corruption and decay of the standard language (Milroy 2002). Standardization is a socio-political process (Hudson 1996), an arbitrary design with functional and symbolic (sometimes ideological) purposes but lacking linguistic legitimacy.

The last component of Cooper's model is acquisition planning. Acquisition planning and diffusion planning involve the operations aimed at the acceptance and implementation of corpus planning and status planning within the community. This area is inextricably linked to the educational sphere as the main place for language learning. Unlike status planning, which deals with the functions of language, and corpus planning, which deals with the form of language, acquisition planning focuses on users and how they acquire language communication skills (Hornberger 2006). The actors involved in this sphere are diverse, as are the approaches employed.

The acquisition and diffusion of a language within a territory do not solely depend on the state education system (macro-level); various companies, organizations, and private schools also play a considerable role (meso-level). These institutions, whether publicly or privately funded, may operate within the country where the language is official or in a different country. For example, the British Council has been instrumental in promoting Standard British English globally since 1934 (Phillipson 2000, 2011). Since its creation, this public corporation (charity and executive non-departmental public body with operational independence from the UK government) has aimed to promote British culture and civilization, and the English language in the UK and other countries of the world (British Council 2023). There are currently British Council offices in 110 countries and territories and 229 cities and towns around the world

(ibid.). The extent of the diffusion planning is extremely broad as the variety of the acquisition planning: There are different learning programs based on the characteristics of the student (e.g. children or adults, students, or teachers, etc.) and needs (e.g. personal interest, to pass a language exam, to get a language certification, to improve language skills, work, business) involving different teachers, teaching materials and methods (micro-level).

Another interesting example concerns language planning in a multilingual context like Switzerland: the four cantons that make up the Swiss Confederation enjoy a certain political autonomy guaranteed by the Constitution (Art. 16). Each canton has its official language (German, French, Italian, or Romansh) which usually corresponds to the mother tongue of most of the population in that canton (Grin & Schwob 2002). Language freedom is recognized by the Federal Tribunal throughout the territory and guarantees every individual to use the language they prefer within the private sphere (including the fields of commerce and business) (Grin 1998). Nevertheless, each canton has the right to choose its own LIEP. Moreover, until the sentence of the Federal Court in 1965, it was forbidden to use a language other than the official language of the canton as a language of instruction (Kuzelewska 2016). This type of language planning is the result of an approximate analysis of the language practices of the country's population and a political thought of identity that exploits language ideologies.

The case of Switzerland is interesting because LP magnifies the ideological boundaries of different language varieties across the geographic borders of a single country. However, both in this case and in cases of a less rigid LP, the three Spolskyan components are to be considered extremely fluid, dynamic, and constantly evolving. This is due to the continuous change (sometimes invisible) of the speaking community and the varieties they use. Indeed, language practices may be influenced by the attitude of an individual and/or the ideology of a community.

2.7.2 Language policy's interests and implications

The abstract nature of attitudes and ideologies can make them imperceptible, extremely fluid, and subject to change. These apparently hidden changes, both in practices and in ideologies, can then become the principles for the formulation of an explicit language policy and planning (Spolsky & Shohamy 2000). The policy implemented can subsequently confirm, promote, or clash with practices and ideologies shared by members of the community depending on various interests: political, cultural, economic, social, identity, and religious. A clear example of this is the Arabization policy adopted in Tunisia (Daoud 1996) and in Morocco (Redouane 1998). Arabization was motivated by the interests mentioned above and a large part of the population shared this choice. However, the promotion of Standard Arabic has always had practical difficulties because it is not the native language of the population in Tunisia and Morocco (as it is not in any other country).

Similarly, reasons for LP implementation can include a more goal-oriented promotion of a political party or government's agenda favoring a specific language variety in particular domains. For instance, during the Pol-Pot communist rule (1975-1979) in Cambodia, all foreign languages were banned in order to preserve national economic autonomy (Clayton 2002). Political groups may aim to maintain, revalue, or include language considered endangered or having a minority status. For example, since the beginning of the 2000s, the Italian right-wing party Lega Nord considered it necessary to revitalize the Venetan language (the language of the Veneto region) due to perceived threats from migrants speaking other languages (Perrino 2019). In all these three cases, LPs aim to promote both a language and a specific identity (national, ethnic, religious).

The functional value of a language often drives LP implementation, particularly in education, where language value is manipulated (Weinstock 2003). For instance, the inclusion of a language in school curricula may grant access to a wider range of knowledge. A historical example illustrates the contrasting roles of Latin in the European Middle Ages and English today. During the European Middle Ages, it was necessary to know Latin to access to scientific and literary manuscripts. The lingua franca of Europe, spread by the Roman Empire and the Church, was taught mainly within religious institutions which played a major role in the field of education. In that vast but specific historical moment, education was the privilege of a few. Therefore, the knowledge and study of a language such as Latin, brought individual benefits. A different situation can be observed today with the triumph of English as a major international lingua franca. The inclusion of English in school curricula (as medium of instruction (MOI), foreign language (FL), second language (SL)) in many European countries and the huge difference in schooling compared with the Middle Ages, is also determined by the need for a country to have a considerable number of individuals who master this language. Comparing the two situations, the motivations behind Latin education were mainly directed towards an individual and exclusive good. On the other hand, the motivations behind English education are mainly directed towards the promotion of a collective good (Wilton 2012).

The functional value of LP processes can therefore bring individual and collective benefits both in the purely cultural and in the economic sphere. Economic interests often drive LP adoption, even in post-colonial countries like Tunisia and Morocco, heavily dependent on economic relations with former colonizing countries (Spolsky 2021). As will be discussed in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, school curricula structures in these countries prioritize French for STEM subjects, offering better professional opportunities over Standard Arabic.

It is desirable for a state to have a population that can communicate and understand a specific language (usually the official language) in order to ensure economic savings (De Swaan 2010). In ideological terms, the state can take greater advantage of a monolingual LP by exploiting the element of national and identity unity based on Fichte's idea (1807) that the language is the voice of its nation. For instance, a multilingual LP must often be inserted in a dominant monolingual perspective. This is the case of Italy, for example, where Italian is the official language and has a dominant status compared to other recognized minority languages, and foreign languages present in the educational field. In a globalized world, countries aim for citizens with a certain language repertoire including the official and international languages (Guerini 2011). This creates advantages in terms of "economic capital", "cultural capital", and "social capital," convertible into economic capital (Bourdieu 1986).

Reasons for adopting or teaching an international language can be functional or ideological. As regards the mastery of an international language, many countries consider it necessary that a huge number of individuals know an international language in order to ensure the development of the economy of their country in a globalized context. This is the case of Norway and Finland where the official language is not a language considered an international language. In these terms, the role of English as lingua franca is undoubtedly recognized and, as described in the example above, influences the structure of school curricula across diverse countries (Cha 1991).

Any knowledge of an additional language is considered an important requirement in many regions of the world in specific work or social contexts. For instance, in countries with a high rate of immigration such as the US or Saudi Arabia, knowledge of a language spoken by a high

number of immigrants can be considered a job requirement for the indigenous people in certain fields. At the same time, proficiency in languages spoken by immigrants is often a job requirement and facilitates social network diversification (García & Flores 2013).

LP influences linguistic skills necessary for immigrants seeking citizenship and employment, emphasizing language requirements in a globalized world. In the European Union, for example, almost all member states require immigrants to have linguistic proficiency in order to obtain citizenship (Extramiana & Van Avermaet 2011). LP plays a pivotal role in shaping language knowledge essential for citizens' and countries' economic and social growth. However, the aspiration of a state for a specific language repertoire is often an ideal. LP, like any policy, can yield different results.

LP may fail if the *de jure* or official LP diverges significantly from the *de facto* or real LP, ignoring community language practices or encountering ideological opposition to language planning. For instance, using a language other than the native language as the MOI in education can lead to low educational attainment with various repercussions. Another case of LP failure occurs when the state does not recognize a language variety, resulting in discrimination against the language and its speakers (Edwards 2004).

On the other hand, successful LP originates from community language practices, gaining acceptance for the intended changes. While total success and agreement are impossible, a potential example of a successful LP is observed during a country's transition from colonial dominance to national independence. New governments may change LP to break from the colonial past, emphasizing national identity and pre-colonial languages. In this context, most of the population usually accepts the change because it represents an act of revenge against the

colonial power and an affirmation of their identity. The new LP may consist of establishing a language other than the colonial language as the official language and/or as the language to use in public contexts and/or as MOI in the education field. If this policy is well implemented, it can result in a practical advantage for those who were not literate in the colonial language or who did not master it. Successful implementation can increase social, cultural, and economic capital.

The Arabization policy in Tunisia and Morocco, explored in Chapter 3, exemplifies the intersection of ideological values and language planning. Indeed, understanding the implementation of Arabization in these countries after their Independence in 1956 is important to understand the current situation. Despite intentions for identity affirmation, Arabization did not achieve the expected results due to an oversight of recognizing local varieties, Tunisian and Moroccan, as integral to national identity. The case of Arabization is well representative of an unsuccessful policy that, however, was supported by a large part of the population.

2.8 Comparative language policy studies in MENA countries

In the preceding section, a particular LP was briefly discussed within the contexts of two distinct countries. While merging different cases into a single narrative may seem unorthodox, such synthesis is warranted through individual case analyses followed by a comparative approach (della Porta 2008; Goodrick 2020). This methodological strategy not only offers a broader understanding but also facilitates nuanced insights into each case (Sharma 2022). Indeed, comparative research possesses a unique advantage in broadening perspectives compared to single-case studies (Bennett 2004). Paradoxically, this method also underscores

the uniqueness of each case in contrast to others (Rose & Mackenzie 1991), offering a deeper examination of diversity (della Porta 2008).

In social sciences, comparative research typically targets large-scale elements like societies, countries, or policies (Allardt 1990; Goodrick 2020). However, within the realm of LP, there exists a significant dearth of comparative studies (Sharma 2022). This deficiency reflects a Eurocentric view that overlooks non-European contexts, including comparisons between European and non-European settings (ibid.). Within this context, examining countries such as Tunisia and Morocco reveal how they are often categorized according to a European perspective, obscuring their unique sociolinguistic dynamics (Said 1978).

The history of LP studies in Tunisia and Morocco has relatively recent roots, with notable developments since the 2000s. The emergence of these studies in the 1970s was accompanied by significant progress in the subsequent decades. However, the literary tradition influenced by Orientalism, as discussed by Said (1978), often categorized sociolinguistic research in Tunisia and Morocco within a broader framework that considered the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region. This perspective identified the Arabic language and Islamic religion as common threads despite the heterogeneity of cultures, languages, and populations in the MENA region. The Maghreb countries, including Tunisia and Morocco, are part of the MENA region. The Maghreb, commonly defined as North Africa excluding Egypt, encompasses Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, and Mauritania. In addition, Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia, sharing a history of French colonization, form a distinct subcategory within the Maghreb.

Numerous scholars have addressed the topic of LP and LIEP across the Maghreb. Notable contributors include Grandguillaume (1983, 1991, 2004), Ennaji (1991), Ezzaki & Wagner

(1991), Moatassime (1992), Sirles (1999), Laroussi (2003), Alalou (2006), Davies & Bentahila (2012), Gill (2013), Sayahi (2014), Yacine (2015), and Ech-Charfi (2019). Collectively, their works offer a comprehensive portrayal of the multilingual sociolinguistic landscape in the Maghreb, incorporating elements of LIEP. However, none of these studies are designed as comparative studies (Goodrick 2020). While these works analyze the situations of individual countries within the geopolitical context of the MENA or Maghreb countries, they often lack a comparative research design despite including descriptions of the language policies of two or more countries. A systematic comparison of two cases within a context that shares linguistic elements has the advantage of identifiying both common patterns and uniqueness. In addition, the comparison of LP implementations in two different countries better describes the subsequent effects.

In this research, the comparison of two case studies serves a specific purpose (Goodrick 2020). Specifically, the comparative analysis of LPs in Tunisia and Morocco aims to enrich the literature on the language policies of these two countries, which represent only two pieces of the MENA or Maghreb region. While acknowledging the potential benefits of comparing countries within the same geographical area (della Porta 2008), this research adopts a decolonization perspective towards the literature on LP. This perspective aims to critically examine the structures established by Western research in past decades (Makoni et al. 2023). In accordance with this perspective, the notion of geopolitical regions, countries, or nation-states must be problematized and contextualized by acknowledging the importance of local (Southern) epistemology (ibid.). The subsequent section will highlight how this comparative research aims to address a specific gap in the literature on LIEP concerning Tunisia and Morocco. Chapter 4 will provide a detailed description of the comparative analysis conducted in this study.

2.8.1 Studies on language policy in Tunisia and Morocco

The literature on LP in Morocco is more in-depth and extensive than that on Tunisia. One of the reasons is the more significant presence and status of the Berber population in Morocco. Over the years, the Berber population in Morocco has generated a political activism that has its foundation in the respect for the rights of ethnolinguistic elements. A considerable part of the literature on the sociolinguistics and LP of Morocco focuses on the issue of planning and revitalization of Berber languages (Sadiqi 1997; Hoffman 2006; Errihani 2008; Boukous 2009, 2012; Fischer 2011; Faiq 2013; Zouhir 2014; Soulaimani 2016; Benton-Monahan & Severo 2020; Idhssaine & El Kirat 2021) and its role in education (Buckner 2006; Errihani 2006, 2007; El Aissati et al. 2011; Zaid & El Allame 2018). In contrast, the relatively low presence of the ethnic linguistic Berber population in Tunisia and its unofficial status, has not produced the same kind of political activism and consequently, a rich literature about it did not develop (Battenburg 1999; Gabsi 2011, 2022).

It could be argued that the difference between the developments of Berber political activism in the two countries is partly linked to the different French colonial policies in the two countries. As will be seen in more detail in Chapter 3, France adopted in Morocco a policy of "*divide et impera*": to have greater control, the population was classified according to socio-identity parameters of various types (ethnic, linguistic, religious, class). On the other hand, in Tunisia, France did not regard the Berber ethnic identity as a classification variable. This is again due to the low presence of the Berber population within Tunisia, but also to its distribution across the territory. For instance, Berber presence was and is still present predominantly in the south of Tunisia (Gabsi 2022), an area where France did not intervene intensively.

While there are specificities related to the Berber element, both Tunisia and Morocco share common sociolinguistic and LP-related research subjects. The impact of globalization and its consequences have aroused the interest of many linguists. Moreover, the teaching of foreign languages and the new language attitudes towards Arabic, French, and English have been studied in the context of Morocco (Zakhir & O'Brien 2015; Bouchaib, et al. 2018; Bouziane 2020; Jebbour 2021) and in that of Tunisia (Daoud 1996; Battenburg 1997; Boukadi 2013). At the same time, the relationship between language practices and gender is a subject of research both in Morocco (Hachimi 2001; Sadiqi 1995, 2003, 2005; De Ruiter 2008) and Tunisia (Ennaji 2005; Walters 2011; Kammoun 2015). Other topics of interest in these two contexts of study are the role of language in the media and the influence on people's linguistic behaviour (Alkhames et al. 2019; Miladi & Mellor 2020), aspects of variation and change (Gibson 2002; Caubet 2017; D'Anna 2020) and code-switching (Lawson & Sachdev 2000; Bouzemi 2005; Sayahi 2011; Ziamari 2008).

Academic interest in the study in the most specific and delineated area of LP of the two countries has developed mainly since the end of the 1990s and even more since the 2010-2011 Arab Revolution. Within this macro area, Redouane (1998, 2016), Marley (2004), Ennaji (2005), Errihani (2008), Bensoukas (2010), Moustaoui Srhir (2016), Jaafari (2019), Ghilani (2020), Loufti (2020), Loufti and Noamane (2020), Nifaoui (2020) are just some of the different scholars interested in Moroccan LP and their impact in education. However, there are not many studies interested in the relationship between LP and inequalities.

Chakrani (2013, 2017), Boutieri (2016), Moustaoui Srhir (2016), and Loufti and Noamane (2020), have begun exploring the link between LP and economic aspects. These works consider

the concepts of benefit and economic prestige of a given LP by investigating specific communicative situations (Moustaoui Srhir 2016) or by analyzing the general framework and official guidelines (Loufti and Noamane 2020). However, the proposal for a new model of LP based on the language practices of a social movement (Mousatoui Srhir 2016) lacks connection with the wider political context. Conversely, the study of the classification of languages within the framework of LP (Loufti and Noamane 2020) lacks an analysis of the sociolinguistic reality based on empirical data. In both Moustaoui Srhir (206) and Loufti and Noamane (2020), the connection between the two levels of analysis, macro and micro is always missing. The most exhaustive and most significant study for this research is that of Boutieri (2016). This author places an empirical analysis of languages and education in Morocco within a worldwide neoliberal perspective. In her work, the analysis of the educational system and the status of languages is offered through an ethnographic framework enriched by a qualitative research methodology. However, the lack of quantitative data does not guarantee alignment between the individual narratives and findings and the global context that Boutieri praises.

On the Tunisian side, the literature on LP is comparatively scarcer than the literature on Morocco. Among the most important and relevant (for this research) works are Daoud (1991, 2001, 2011), Marley (2004), Mejri et al. (2009), Aouina (2013), Sayahi (2014), Boukadi & Troudi (2017), Abdeljaoued & Labassi (2020), Smari & Hortobagy (2020), Badwan (2021), Troudi (2022), Helal (2018, 2023). As shown in Section 2.4, one of the most significant work for this thesis is Badwan (2021). Its importance, however, is more linked to its theoretical conception than to the context of Tunisia. She analyses in detail the relationship created between different political mechanisms in the context of LP with a focus on higher education. She has the merit to introduce the term "linguistic influencers" highlighting the importance of

agency in LIEP. This concept has a very important impact on my research, especially in terms of methodology and data interpretation.

In summary, the exploration of LP in Tunisia and Morocco reflects divergent scholarly attention, with Morocco's literature being richer and influenced by the distinctive sociolinguistic dynamics related to the Berber population. Tunisia's literature, while addressing common sociolinguistic themes, remains comparatively less extensive. The Arab Revolution of 2010-2011 has contributed to increased scholarly focus on LP in both countries. However, there is a lack of attention towards the link that these LPs have with the creation and maintenance of inequalities. In the subsequent chapter, the thesis will delve into the sociolinguistic situations of Tunisia and Morocco in light of the theoretical and literary background provided.

2.9 Research question

The literature review in this chapter has highlighted a notable gap in research concerning LP and its relation to inequalities in Tunisia and Morocco. This gap is attributed to various factors, such as divergent interpretations of the concept of "language policy" and a lack in comparative research endeavours. Given these circumstances, the present study aims to address this gap by conducting a comprehensive investigation into the dynamics of LP and its implications for inequalities within the contexts of Tunisia and Morocco.

Moreover, this research analyses elements of LP and the situation of university students in order to carry out sociolinguistic research that may have an impact on the LIEP of Tunisia and Morocco. This impact extends to the potential implementation of new LP models by policymakers and educators. The research also holds promise in advancing existing theoretical and methodological frameworks for comparative and sociolinguistic research. The adoption of the theoretical model described in Section 2.6 and its methodological analytical realization may pave the way for new directions in the study of LP, offering valuable insights for future exploration in this field. Through this comparative analysis, the project seeks to address the following research question:

What is the relationship between language policies and inequalities among students in Tunisia and Morocco?

This question will be answered by exploring how the different language policy components, layers and influencers contribute to the construction and maintenance of socioeconomic inequalities among students in these two countries. Moreover, this research question will drive the analysis of the two context, Tunisia (Chapter 5), Morocco (Chapter 6) and the comparison of the two cases (Chapter 7).

Chapter 3 – Current sociolinguistic situations and language policy in Tunisia and Morocco

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I paint a picture of the sociolinguistic situation of Tunisia and Morocco, starting approximately from the beginning of the 20th century. The focus is on the most recent language policy developments influencing the current linguistic market in the two North African countries. Specifically, the social upheaval events of 2010 and 2011 can be considered a historical turning point for Tunisia and Morocco. This crucial event, rooted in Tunisia's specific national context, spread throughout North Africa, including Morocco, and its impact reached the Middle East, having global consequences. This event started in December 2010 and is often defined by the Western media as the "Arab Spring". It coincided with the fall of several dictatorial governments in the Arab region and was believed to bring about improvement and flourishing. This definition does not fully reflect the reality. However, for consistency with terminology, the term "Arab Spring" is used in this thesis. In the comprehensive summary of the sociolinguistic situation in this chapter, the consequences of the Arab Spring on language policy and education are underlined. Indeed, the education field is consistently considered one of the main areas for the transmission and representation of these mechanisms.

In this chapter, a deliberate distinction is made on the political and social dimensions of the concept of language. The examination focuses on every language variety that holds political recognition, is taught in schools, and is claimed at the societal level. Following a general

presentation of multilingualism in Tunisia and Morocco and a concise overview of LP in the educational landscape, the chapter delves into the analysis of various language varieties, including Standard Arabic, the official language in Tunisia and Morocco (Section 3.2); French, a language with special status in Tunisia and Morocco (Section 3.3); English, an emerging language in the North African linguistic landscape (Section 3.4); Berber, recognized as an official language in Morocco and a minority language in Tunisia (Section 3.5a, Section 3.5b); Tunisian and Moroccan, the mother languages of the majority of their respective populations (Section 3.6); Spanish, a language that maintains a certain presence in specific areas of Morocco (Section 3.7).

Recognizing the multitude of similarities between the role of Standard Arabic, French, English, Moroccan and Tunisian in Tunisia and Morocco, I have opted to analyse the situation of these languages collectively, amalgamating the two contexts in order to summarize the multilingualism of the region. There are also similarities in the two contexts. For instance, in both countries, the status of Standard Arabic, French, and English is determined by a shared set of ideologies and practices, forged by analogous historical reasons and events. Likewise, the comparison between the local varieties, Tunisian and Moroccan, with Standard Arabic, aligns with the discourse on diglossia. On the other hand, the extreme divergence in the status of Berber in the two countries made me opt to dedicate two individual sections - one per country - to address this language. Finally, I decided to dedicate a section to Spanish in Morocco, acknowledging its historical and current role in some regions of this country.

The analysis of these languages is structured around Spolsky's LP model (2004, 2009), which involves examining three core components: language practices and uses, language beliefs and ideologies, and language planning and management. The fluidity inherent in these elements

highlights the dynamic nature of discussions surrounding language policy, often rooted in binary frameworks. These frameworks may involve a perceived "competition" and "conflict" among languages (Eisele 2002). This framework is particularly evident in contexts where all the three LP components – practices, ideologies, planning - are shaped by extra-linguistic factors of conflicts and negotiations.

In examining the profiles of individual languages, I consider factors such as the representations of identity elements in the political and educational spheres during and after the upheavals of 2010-2011. The reactions, or the absence of reactions, to historical events like the Arab Spring play a role in shaping the emergence, resurgence, or crisis of different identity elements. As described in Chapter 2, language is not only a fundamental element of the abstract concept of identity but also an important element in political assertions (Edelman 1985).

Furthermore, the analysis of the language profiles considers the impact of globalization and its consequences. The advent of globalization, the mediatization of information, and the massification of the Internet have caused significant shifts in LPs and practices (Blommaert et al. 2009). This transformation is particularly attributed to the widespread use of electronic devices and the influence of social media. These powerful communication channels continually contribute to the evolution of new linguistic forms, influencing the language attitudes and practices of individuals (Caubet 2017). Simultaneously, the use of social media and the Internet have played and continue to play a role in the global dissemination of resources and knowledge. This chapter can be considered an indispensable historical-structural preamble, laying the groundwork for a comprehensive understanding of the subsequent chapters of analysis.

3.1.1 Multilingual Tunisia

The geographic location of Tunisia can be considered as the primary determinant of its linguistic and identity features. Situated on the northern coast of the African continent, at the heart of the Mediterranean, Tunisia has historically been a focal point within the Mediterranean macro-area. The coastal regions, serving as vital trading hubs, have played a crucial role in the economics of the area (Daoud 2001). Nowadays, these areas also serve as significant departure points for an immense number of migrants seeking to reach European coasts from sub-Saharan regions, Central Asia, the Middle East, as well as Tunisia and Libya. This strategic position has fostered a dynamic and heterogeneous demography. The constant influx and outflow of diverse populations have contributed to the formation of a specific linguistic panorama, characterized, like Morocco, by multilingualism.

Figure 1 – Geographic location of Tunisia

Source: WorldAtlas.com

Several sociolinguistic studies (Belazi 1991; Daoud 1991, 1996, 2001, 2011; Mejri et al. 2009; Aouina 2013) highlight Tunisia's multilingual character, attributing it to the introduction of French during the colonial period and its subsequent role in the postcolonial school system. In alignment with well-established historiography, these studies assert that multilingualism in the Tunisian context originated with the dissemination of a language other than Arabic. However, this perspective undermines the role and significance of languages utilized in Tunisian territory before the arrival of Arabic.

Tunisia can be considered a multilingual country dating back to the earliest attestations of Punic in the 7th century B.C. With the arrival of the Phoenicians, this language coexisted with the autochthonous variety, Berber, establishing a linguistic diversity that predates the spread of Arabic. From this historical standpoint, the region now known as Tunisia has been a melting pot of communities speaking different languages (Daoud 2011; Smari & Hortobàgy 2020). Historical linguistics often faces stigmatization through a periodization that, while acknowledging the existence of different peoples and languages before the arrival of Arabs and Arabic, tends to label this era as regressive. The pre-Arabic era coincides with the pre-Islamic era, deemed a time of ignorance, or *jāhiliyya*, which is considered to have concluded with the advent of Islam and the Arabic language (Kirazli 2011). Consequently, the period "before Arabic" is viewed as corrupted, associated with paganism, and unfaithfulness, a perspective that extends to its linguistic aspects.

Similarly, there is an "after Arabic" period, precisely traced back to another phase of language corruption and the transformation of the linguistic community. This phase aligns with the intrusion of another element of paganism—the influence of French power and its language.

From a linguistic perspective, it is not accurate to initiate the analysis of Tunisia's sociolinguistic situation solely from the introduction of Arabic in the region. Every language variety deserves the same dignity and value, and an analysis that follows a real chronological order is more accurate. Nevertheless, it is inevitable to acknowledge the sociopolitical significance of Arab identity and its profound impact on the linguistic element in Tunisia and other Arab countries. The conquest and settlement of tribes from the Arabian Peninsula in the 7th century A.D. can be considered a decisive point in the sociolinguistic history of the country, comparable in significance to the later French occupation (Daoud 2001).

The historical trajectory of Tunisia has significantly influenced its current state of multilingualism. In the following sections, this multilingualism is analyzed taking into account the distinction between languages with official status, such as Standard Arabic (Section 3.2), or those with recognized roles within certain sectors of the state apparatus, such as French (Section 3.3) and English (Section 3.4). In parallel, the analysis focuses on the languages that lack the same official status, such as Berber (Section 3.5b) and Tunisian (Section 3.6). Tunisia's multilingual landscape extends to include other minority languages, both in terms of the number of speakers and official recognition. However, in this analysis, the focus is specifically on minority languages originating in the country, namely Berber and Tunisian. Languages not native to the region, spoken by a relatively small number of individuals are excluded from this examination. This sociolinguistic overview must be contextualized in the analysis of LP mechanisms, particularly within the education sector. To provide a clearer understanding of developments in the primary and secondary school systems following the 1997 school system reform and the more recent changes in 2016, a brief overview of LIEP is presented.

The *Livre Blanc* of 2016 encapsulates a five-year educational system reform project (2016-2020) (Ministry of Education, Tunisia 2016), built around four main pillars: equity, quality, citizen training, and the promotion of the homeland. Linguistic considerations are integral to the *Livre Blanc*. In diagnosing the problems within the school system, a significant emphasis is placed on the severe linguistic deficit observed in Tunisian students. It highlights an inadequate linguistic proficiency of students, particularly in Standard Arabic as a major obstacle to achieve satisfactory academic results. Consequently, enhancing the teaching of Standard Arabic is outlined as a priority strategic objective, along with the imperative to elevate the quality of foreign language instruction to meet international standards (Ministry of Education, Tunisia 2016). Specifically, these are considered the measures to be taken to achieve these objectives:

1) Establishing a comprehensive framework for the teaching of Arabic in all its phases.

2) Promoting pedagogical approaches that enhance Arabic instruction.

3) Utilizing theoretical and grammatical approaches conducive to effective Arabic teaching and learning

4) Adopting advanced tools and programs for Arabic instruction.

5) Defining language policy in Tunisian schools.

6) Establishing a framework for teaching foreign languages at all levels.

7) Promoting pedagogical approaches beneficial for foreign language improvement.

8) Adopting advanced tools and programs for teaching foreign languages.

9) Offering the possibility of a second optional course for teaching an additional foreign language (adapted from Iazzetta 2020).

In conclusion, the *Livre Blanc* provides a roadmap for fostering linguistic proficiency among Tunisian students, addressing linguistic deficits, and aligning language education with global standards. The outlined measures, if implemented effectively, have the potential to not only enhance language skills, but also contribute to the broader goals of equity, quality, citizen training, and the promotion of the homeland in the educational system.

3.1.2 Multilingual Morocco

Numerous sociolinguistic studies (Abbassi 1977; Bentahila 1983; Boukous 1995; Redouane 1998; Ennaji 2005; Moustaoui 2018) define Morocco as a multilingual country characterized by an identifiable linguistic complexity and diversity. Its geographical position and morphological nature are the first elements that have shaped its linguistic influences throughout history. Located in the western corner of the Mediterranean, Morocco has always been a crossroads between Africa and Europe and, to some extent, the Middle East. With the expansion of trade and transportation links with the American continent, Morocco has notably increased its Atlantic vocation, especially in terms of economic-commercial and bilateral political relations (Stenner 2012; Loutfi & Noamane 2021).

Figure 2 – Geographic location of Morocco

<div align="right">Source: WorldAtlas.com</div>

The sociolinguistic landscape of Morocco is the result of the coexistence of the different language varieties that have played a more or less important role in the local territory. However, Moroccan historiography and historical linguistics commonly adopt an ideological starting point in the 7th century A.D. with the onset of the Arab-Islamic era. In contrast, alternative sociolinguistic studies, including the work of Ennaji (2005), extend their analysis to the period preceding Islam's arrival, commencing from the 3rd century B.C. During this era, the region was ruled by Berber tribes, and the local population comprised diverse ethnic groups, with a majority being Berber and minorities of Christians and Jews. The ethnolinguistic heritage at

the time of Muslim conquest thus emerged from the coexistence of local populations, Berber tribes, and various groups such as the Greeks, Phoenicians, Romans, and Jews who had inhabited Moroccan territory due to conquests or migrations (Ennaji 2005; Zouhir 2014).

The spread of Islam and Arabic in Morocco has been a gradual and non-uniform process across society and the territory (De Poli 2015). Many Berber communities, considered the true indigenous communities across the Maghreb, often lived in isolation, particularly in mountainous areas that limited extensive interactions with other societies. This geographical marginalization significantly impacted the social and linguistic marginalization of these communities, and these sociolinguistic characteristics persist even today (Benton-Monahan & Severo 2020).

The historical predominance of Arabic in Morocco's LPs can be attributed to several factors. Firstly, the inherently political nature of the Islamic dynasties, even if of Berber ethnic origin, was characterized by a centralized concentration of power. This authority was legitimized through the prophetic descent of the sovereign, and the Islamic religion emerged as the cornerstone upon which the foundations of various dynasties and reigns in Morocco were built over approximately thirteen centuries. The association between Islam and political power significantly contributed to the dissemination of Arabic, the language of the holy book, the Qur'an (Levy 1998; Ennaji 2005).

Both Berber and Arabic, the two current official languages in Morocco, have a rich history of linguistic contact between their respective varieties and those "imported" from immigrant populations. It is crucial to distinguish between linguistic contacts involving "imported" varieties and indigenous languages based on historical periods and the roles these languages

played within society. For instance, Latin in Morocco was primarily used administratively by the Romans but did not substantially permeate the local linguistic landscape. On the other hand, due to the significant and continuous Jewish diasporic presence in Moroccan territory, the linguistic contact between Hebrew, Arabic, and Berber, has given rise to distinct language varieties with unique characteristics that endure, with necessary adjustments, to the present day (Chetrit 1985, 2018).

A particular feature of the sociolinguistic landscape of Morocco is determined by the constant migrations of populations of different ethnicities and languages from the Iberian Peninsula, Sub-Saharan Africa, and the Middle East. Its geographical position marked it as both the starting point for migrations to Europe for African migrants and the destination for Muslims and Jews fleeing Christian persecution in the Iberian Peninsula. The situation became even more complicated during the 1800s and 1900s when the French Empire and the Spanish Empire imposed their protectorates on the Moroccan territory. Prior to this, the sociolinguistic scenario was primarily characterized by a linguistic hierarchy, with Classical Arabic holding prestige as the language of authority and religion, while other indigenous varieties, local, social, and community varieties of Moroccan and Berber, functioned as vernacular languages for everyday communication (Ennaji 2005). The establishment of protectorates in 1912 introduced French and, to a lesser extent, Spanish, into the local sociolinguistic landscape in a disruptive manner. The influence of French and Spanish in Morocco exhibited a notable disparity, a difference that persists in the general sociolinguistic situation and extends to the presence of these languages in education (Abbassi 1977).

Unlike Tunisia, a clear distinction between official languages and others in Morocco is challenging due to the marked presence of a covert LP. Arabic and Tamazight (as written in the

Constitution) are recognized as the two official languages, but their roles, values, and symbols differ (Zouhir 2014). Additionally, various local varieties, including other Berber dialects, Moroccan dialects, and European-origin varieties like French, English, and Spanish, sometimes hold importance in specific domains such as education.

Since 1999, the Moroccan government has embarked on educational reform programs. These initiatives include the National Education and Training Charter 1999-2008, followed by the Education Emergency Program 2009-2012, the Education Action Plan 2013-2016, and most recently, the 2015-2030 Strategic Vision of the Education System Reform (Ministry of Higher Education, Scientific Research and Innovation, Morocco 2023). Among the various challenges in public education in Morocco, LP remains a contentious issue. The Strategic Vision of 2015-2030 provides the latest indications regarding the roles that different language varieties must play in various grades of schools.

In primary school, the teaching of Standard Arabic is mandatory throughout all years, both as a subject and as MOI for every subject. Berber language teaching is compulsory in all years of primary school as a subject, initially delivered orally in the first two years and gradually integrating writing instruction in subsequent years. French is also mandatory as a subject throughout all years of primary school, and the integration of English is projected to begin from at least the 4th year by 2025.

In secondary school, the teaching of Arabic is obligatory during all years as a subject and as the main MOI. Efforts are to be made to improve Berber language teaching. French is compulsory as a subject and MOI in certain modules throughout all years. English is a mandatory subject throughout all years, with MOI in specific modules limited to certain high

schools. Some high schools in certain regions also mandate a third foreign language, mainly Spanish (Ministry of Higher Education, Scientific Research and Innovation, Morocco 2023).

The Arabization policy was abandoned in 2016, marking a shift toward fostering bilingual competencies in both Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and French (Ghilani 2020). However, the implementation of these policies is not uniform across the Moroccan territory. Recent changes have been introduced for English and Berber, reflecting significant interest from policymakers. The government is working on a plan to increase the distribution of the teaching of these two languages and to start instruction at an earlier age (Sahnouni 2023; Zoutien 2023). Nevertheless, these changes are not occurring uniformly across Morocco due to various resource constraints. Subsequent sections dedicated to individual language varieties provide a more detailed definition of their precise roles in education.

3.2 Standard Arabic in Tunisia and Morocco: ideological language planning and limited language practices

Arabic is an official language in 27 countries: Algeria, Bahrain, Chad, Comoros, Djibouti, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, Palestine, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic, Somalia, Somaliland, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Yemen. Standard Arabic is generally considered the official variety, although it is not the native language for anyone (Loutfi 2020; Loutfi & Noamane 2020).

In Tunisia and Morocco, as stated in Article 6 of the 2022 Tunisian Constitution and Article 5 of the 2011 Moroccan Constitution, Arabic is the designated official language. Notably, the term "Standard" is not explicitly used in these constitutional texts. However, its assumption is implied. In the Moroccan Constitution, Arabic shares official status with Tamazight. Moreover, all local languages, including Ḥassānī and local Arabic vernaculars, are recognized as integral to Moroccan cultural identity (Elinson 2013).

The term *al-fuṣḥā* (meaning pure or the purest) could aptly replace the English term "Standard" when describing Arabic varieties in constitutional texts. Thus, Elinson (2013) defines Standard Arabic as contemporary *al-fuṣḥā*. A point of interest to highlight here is the use of the idea of "pure" which suggests that there is an opposite, and prompts questions about language contamination (Eisele 2002). This topic is often tied to the concept of diglossia and the contamination of the high variety, Classical Arabic, from the low variety, usually the local variety of Arabic, or other foreign languages (Eisele 2002; Sayahi 2014).

The classifications of different varieties of Arabic stem from Western definitions of social varieties, such as Standard Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic, Classical Arabic, Literary Arabic, and Educated Arabic (Owens 2001; Walters 2003; Daoud 2011), regional varieties like Levantine, Egyptian, Maghrebi, and Peninsular, (Walters 2003, Daoud 2011), or "origin" varieties like pre-Hilālī or non-Hilālī sedentary (*ḥaḍarī*) varieties, and bedouin (*badawī)* varieties (Holes 2018).

Arabic introduction to North Africa aligns with the initial Arab conquests and settlements, particularly during the 7th century. The religious and educational institutions, such as the mosques of Qayrawan in Tunisia and al-Qarawiyyin in Morocco, played pivotal roles in the dissemination of religious knowledge and the Arabic language. In contemporary times, Classical Arabic predominantly features in religious contexts and some university courses.

Literary Arabic represents the "great works" until the decline of Islamic civilization, while Educated Arabic serves as an intermediate variety influenced by regional and learned borrowings (Daoud 2011).

Perceptions of Arabic varieties in Tunisia and Morocco are fluid, with Standard Arabic often blending with Classical Arabic under the umbrella of the concept of *al-fuṣḥā*. Outside the religious sphere, Classical Arabic is often interchanged with Standard Arabic given the prestige that both enjoy compared to other varieties. Identifying the barriers of *al-fuṣḥā* is enigmatic (Owens 2001). Standard Arabic can indeed be considered the modern version of the high variety of Arabic. This intertwining perpetuates the beliefs, values, and ideas associated with Classical Arabic, including religious, social, and cultural motives, influencing individual language practices. In Tunisia and Morocco, language ideologies regarding Standard Arabic are shaped also by religious and political factors. The religious element, particularly in Muslim-majority countries, aligns with the majority's ideological vision (Daoud 2001; Loutfi 2020).

In language ideology discourses, the religious element becomes a political element because of the political value of the religion, Islam in this case (Al-Jabiri 2009). Political motives, stemming from the colonial period, also play a role, with varying attitudes toward the French element influencing language ideologies concerning Arabic. For instance, members and supporters of the *Ennahda* party, the Tunisian religious party, have, on several occasions, explicitly declared themselves promoters and defenders of Arabic (Elgindy 1995). Members of the party explicitly declared their preference for Arabic in opposition to other language varieties like French, linking the symbolic value of Arabic with religion.

In other cases, supporters of the idea of Arabism and nationalism in Morocco promote and defend the value of Arabic in the name of the unity of the Arab community (Ennaji 2005; Zakhir

& O'Brien 2017), which does not necessarily correspond with the Islamic community. In both cases, as reflected in the constitutions of the two countries, the variety meant is Arabic, without the need to specify the standard or classical term when it opposes to French. At the same time, the political meaning of Arabic refers to the pure Arabic, *al-fuṣḥā*, in contrast with the dialectal varieties of Arabic.

The situation in Tunisia is unique because of the dichotomy between the Arab and French elements, especially at the level of education. Education was, until the establishment of the *College Sadiqi* in 1875 (Degorge 2002), and more significantly, until the arrival of the French, part of the religious sphere and therefore inevitably linked to the teaching and use of Arabic. Moreover, until that moment, religious education itself was the only one and was very limited: the number of female students was very small, and those, male and female, who could afford this luxury, apparently enjoyed a high social status (ibid.). The resulting ideology thus presupposes social superiority for individuals who know and use Arabic correctly in suitable situations and contexts. It means an educated version of Arabic that aligns with the social definitions of Standard Arabic and/or Educated Arabic. Consequently, this ideology can discourage many from using this variety for fear of making mistakes, being perceived as uneducated, and facing negative judgments (Kamusella 2017).

Moreover, it is necessary to underline that in Tunisia, as described for Morocco (Sadiqi 2008), women did not have the same opportunities to access the public, working, formal spaces, spaces where Standard Arabic should be used. This situation stimulated some women to learn and use this language to demonstrate a higher social status (Vicente 2009). This ideology has changed over the years. Indeed, since colonization first (1871 - 1955) and Independence then (1956), the rate of schooling, female schooling, and literacy have increased drastically (Daoud 2001;

Ben Salah et al. 2022), and education is no longer confined to the religious sphere and to Arabic alone.

The historical impact of French colonization in the 1900s and the subsequent efforts for Arabization in the years following the independencies have influenced the LPs in both Tunisia and Morocco. Ideological positions surrounding language have been deeply entrenched, impacting education policies and perpetuating socioeconomic inequalities. The Arabization process, initiated in response to French colonial power, encountered obstacles but was integral to post-independence language planning (Daoud 1991; Zakhir & O'Brien 2017).

Since the independence, in Tunisia and Morocco, one of the fundamental criteria on which the educational policy was based was the generalization of public education throughout the territory. This generalization included as its goal the Arabization of primary and secondary public schools. Conversely, higher education (STEM subjects' courses in particular) and private schools have always favored instruction in French (Daoud 2001; Ennaji 2005).

Although the promotion of Arabic is based on the concept of the revaluation of national identity, the Arabization process can be considered a process that favored the elites (Daoud 1991). For instance, Arabization has privileged individuals with access to a second language, with French being predominant given its extensive presence in the sociolinguistic fabric of both countries (Ennaji & Sadiqi 2008). The failure of the Arabization process in both nations can be attributed, in part, to its ideological foundation being disconnected from linguistic and educational realities. Arguments about the "reinstatement" of Arabic as part of a decolonization process, as suggested by Chakrani (2013), should be viewed more as the establishment of a new, previously non-existent planning. Additionally, this planning retained a colonial aspect,

aiming to replace the colonial French language within the colonial system imposed by the French (Daoud 1991).

A conservative perspective could explain that the democratization of education, the bilingualism imposed after the Independence, and the failure of the Arabization project have caused the pollution and degradation of Arabic in terms of both language practice and language ideology. Symbols linked to Arabic, such as Islam, tradition, and the elite, have diminished in value. This vision was widespread within post-independence Tunisian and Moroccan societies. In Tunisia and Morocco, the Arab element and symbols are often part of a dichotomous debate, contrasting with the French element, seen as a symbol of modernity and westernization. These religious, cultural, social, and political factors have frequently fueled the promotion and defense of Arabic use in various domains. In this ideology, the primary adversary has consistently been French, often regarded as an uncomfortable legacy from the colonial period (Daoud 2011).

Between 1994 and 1997, Tunisia adopted Arabic as the language of instruction for all subjects (before STEM subjects were taught in French in grades 7-9) in primary education. This language planning is still valid today. Standard Arabic is, in theory, the main language that must be used in official and formal situations both in oral and written communications (ibid.). In Morocco, the situation is analogous. Since 1990-91, the Arabization process was completed for all primary and secondary schools: every subject was taught in Arabic, with French taught only as a foreign language (Redouane 1998). The Arabization process was finally declared failed in 2016 when French was reintroduced as MOI for STEM subjects in secondary school. While the promotion of Arabic is framed within the context of national identity, the implementation of LPs has often favored those with access to a second language, particularly French. This

linguistic landscape reflects the intertwined influences of religion, politics, and cultural history in shaping language ideologies and practices in these North African nations.

3.3 French in Tunisia and Morocco: symbol of prestige and vehicle of social mobility

French in Tunisia and Morocco is not officially recognized as an official language, but it has a special status. It is often considered a second language or the first foreign language depending on the context and domain of use. In terms of education, there are differences between Tunisia and Morocco.

In Tunisia, French is the first foreign language taught in school, from the third year, and MOI for STEM subjects in secondary schools and universities. In Morocco, French have enjoyed the same status only from 2016. However, from 1990-91 to 2014-2015, it was taught solely as a second language, but it was not MOI for any subjects in secondary school (Bensoukas 2010; Daoud 2011; Alalou 2017; Ben Said 2019).

In both countries, proficiency in French is often a prerequisite for accessing certain university courses, particularly in STEM fields (Souilah 2018). A command of French is crucial for job opportunities, professional categories, and upward socioeconomic mobility in various public sectors (Marley 2004; Ennaji 2005; Zouhir 2013). However, French is not necessarily required for lower-paying occupations, such as restaurant and bakery jobs or driving (El Haimeur 2017).

Studies by Daoud (2011) and Aouina (2013) highlight the widespread use of French in Tunisia beyond educational, economic, and media contexts. Families where French is spoken at home often have parents educated in the French school system, aiming to pass on their linguistic and cultural heritage to their children. Similarly, in Morocco, French serves as a language for everyday communication in informal domains, particularly among the educated elite in urban areas (Ennaji & Sadiqi 2008; Chakrani 2013, 2017). French is also prominent in formal domains like government, business, technology, media, and higher education. The use of French can be a social marker associated with educational levels, social class, and origin.

The historical connection between the knowledge and use of French and education, social background, and origin has undergone significant transformations. The process of democratizing education and Arabization has reshaped the social value attached to the French language. In Tunisia, the apex of this transformation occurred between 1994-1997 (Daoud 2011). During the colonial period and in the initial years post-independence, French held a more prominent role in education, being taught as a subject and used as MOI for STEM subjects. However, access to education was limited, with only a small fraction of the population having the opportunity to attend school (Ben Salah et al. 2022). Between the 1970s and the 2000s, there was a significant surge in school enrollment and literacy rates, yet urban students outnumbered their rural counterparts, and male students exceeded female students (Daoud 2001).

In both countries, until the completion of the Arabization process in primary schools in the 1990s, proficiency in and use of French could signify a significant social marker because education was viewed as a privilege. The democratization of education subsequently reduced the social prestige of French, making it a more widespread and relatively homogeneous element

in both territories. Despite efforts to Arabize education, the demand for French-language instruction led to a rise in enrollments in private schools where French serves as the primary MOI. This trend is particularly notable among upper and upper-middle-class families who recognize the global economic significance of French (Berdouzi 2000) and its role in social mobility (Ennaji 2005).

In Morocco, the discriminatory role of French is more evident due to the Arabization process extending to secondary school until 2015-2016. This has resulted in a lesser spread of French compared to Tunisia, creating a perception of French as a "snob" language associated with private institutions. (Loutfi & Noamane 2020). Theoretically, in both countries, only students who attended private primary school had the potential to have better French linguistic preparation when the MOI of STEM changes (from Arabic to French) in secondary school. On the other hand, students who attended both private primary and secondary schools should have better French linguistic preparation at the end of secondary education and easier access to prestigious universities (Tullon 2009) or, in general, in universities where French is the MOI.

Another specific sociolinguistic factor concerns the variety of French used: metropolitan French, or North African/Maghrebi French (Sayahi 2014). While the mastery of the first variety may be linked to an individual's educational level, having a higher education level does not necessarily equate to a greater mastery of this variety. The use or imitation of metropolitan French, considered the prestigious variety, could manifest a desire to belong to the upper-middle class, particularly among females (Sadiqi 2003). Building on Sadiqi's observations on Moroccan gender and linguistic negotiation spaces, I would add that this phenomenon is even more evident in public spaces rather than private spaces. The reasons for these linguistic choices can be linked in part to the values and ideas behind the French element *tout court*, and

to the French element in relation to the Arabic element, and, in some cases, to the English element.

Turning to Tunisia, Walters (2003) analyzes progressively these language categories, the gender variable, and the two dichotomous poles of authenticity and tradition in contrast with openness and modernity. He notes that proficiency in French, especially metropolitan French, is more associated with the feminine element, in contrast to Arabic and/or North African French, which are linked to the masculine element. Walters states that the contradictions within these dichotomous associations are evident because gender does not straightforwardly align with authenticity, tradition, openness, or modernity. Considering spatial categories, in some instances, it may be more appropriate to associate the feminine element with tradition and authenticity and the masculine element with openness. This stems from the patriarchal nature of the society, where participation in public life is predominantly male (ibid.).

Another aspect to consider is the subjective meaning that individuals in Tunisia or Morocco associate with the terms "authenticity" and "openness", potentially defining French as an "authentic second language" or "foreign language" and English as "the language of openness". This paradigm shift could associate the English element with the feminine element, symbolizing openness, modernity, and belonging to the upper-middle social class, while French is linked ideologically to authenticity. Ennaji & Sadiqi (2008) note that French is preferred by women over men because men prefer a woman fluent in French rather than Arabic, reflecting the less anchored status of French in Moroccan social identity and the association of Standard Arabic with male leadership. An additional factor, blending ideology and functionality, is that men prefer women fluent in French because they assume they can speak and teach French to their children, aiding in the process of social success and mobility. Within this patriarchal

society, women are aware of the ideology and social functionality of language, prompting them to use French strategically to gain and maintain social power (ibid.).

Consistent with Walters' (2003) perspective, it is essential to understand that these language ideologies are over-determined, contradictory, and exist because individuals of different genders are positioned differently within society due to and because of these ideologies. These ideologies are not created or reproduced solely through gender or other social variables like origin, social classes, and education, but become associated with them over time in particular historical contexts. Illustrating this complexity, the study by Cichon et al. (2010) demonstrates how language ideology results from the clash between two ideas of identity, varying across regions due to historical reasons. In the southernmost areas of Tunisia, where French penetrated less and school enrolment is lower, French is often seen more as a foreign language than as a second language or as intrinsic to Tunisian identity, as may be the case in the north of the country. Conversely, in the north, French may be considered a foreign language, reflecting its downgraded status from the colonial period.

A similar situation could be also observed in Morocco, where, due to geographical and historical reasons, rural areas are much more predominant than in Tunisia and the education policy adopted by the French colonizer in Morocco was less democratic. When analysing and comparing data on literacy and schooling in Morocco and Tunisia over the years, there is a higher percentage of literates and school enrolment in Tunisia. For instance, in 1956, the literacy rate in Morocco was 10%, while in Tunisia, it was 28% (DeGorge 2002). These data are often unclear about the language and the concept of literacy but usually they intend the capacity of being able to read and write in one language. Again, data from the *Organisation International de la Francophonie* (2007) regarding the knowledge and/or mastery of French

differs between the two countries. In 2007, 33% of Moroccans spoke French, compared to 63.6% of Tunisians. This discrepancy can be attributed, in part, to the more extensive penetration of French in Tunisian territory compared to Morocco, a trend that dates back to the colonial period and continued for 21 years longer in Tunisia than in Morocco.

3.4 English in Tunisia and Morocco: planning and practices towards a positive ideological modernity

English is currently not recognized as an official language in Tunisia and Morocco. In Tunisia, English plays a pivotal role in education, having been included in the school curricula since 1996-1997. Initially introduced in the ninth year, it was later moved to the seventh year in 2000-2001. Eventually, from the academic year 2006-2007, English became a compulsory subject from the sixth year onwards after a year of informal English "club" activities (Boussabah 2007). Before 1996, English was taught only from the tenth year (Daoud 2011). In Morocco, English is introduced as a second/foreign language in public schools in the 9th year of secondary school, with the Charter of National Education of 1999 vaguely mentioning its introduction in primary education (Errihani 2017).

The presence of English in the Tunisian and Moroccan education systems is not rooted in historical reasons linked to colonialism but is a result of broader historical phenomena such as capitalism, globalization, mediatization, and linguistic imperialism (Phillipson 1992). Despite recent implementations, the spread of English within the education systems of these countries began well before, dating back to the post-Independence years when the US government, the British government, and private associations such as the Ford Foundation, British Council,

AMIDEAST, and the American Language Center started investing in these nations (Batternburg 1997; Sadiqi 1991; Errihani 2017; Jebbour 2021).

In Tunisia, the investment in the *Institut Bourguiba des Langues Vivantes* is of great importance. This institute is still today a very important reference at national and international level for foreign language teaching for Tunisian people, and for Arabic language teaching for non-native Arabic speakers. The first substantial presence of English speakers in Morocco can be linked once again to military and economic reasons. The Tangier area became an international zone in 1923, administered jointly by the Spanish, English, and French governments, with English being the language of communication. This trend continued in 1943 when the American army established several military bases in Tangier and other cities of Morocco, namely Kentira and Casablanca, to prepare for the attack on the Nazi-occupied southern European territories. Afterward, the American organization AMIDEAST established the first English language courses on Moroccan territory, addressing both Moroccans and Americans present in the area (Loutfi & Noamane 2014).

Starting in the 1980s, there was a growing global belief that English was becoming the international language of scientific and technological development. In Tunisia, recognizing the indispensability of this knowledge for the country's economic and social development, the government deemed it crucial to support and promote the spread of English. As described by Battenburg (1997), several politicians and journalists were enthusiastic about this novelty, especially as the rise of English was seen in contrast to the declining status of French.

This phenomenon should be understood within a broader historical and political context. During the Cold War era, the influence of the US became pervasive internationally, and English

was increasingly recognized not only as a language of scientific and technological development but also as the language of international communication and lingua franca. This trend was not unique to Tunisia and Morocco but extended to other countries in Africa and Europe, leading to the inclusion and expansion of English teaching at the primary level (Rixon 1992; Shaaban 2001; Savignon 2002). In the context of former French colonies, the value attached to the teaching of English took on a different and ideologically neutral significance, perceived as more positive than that of French. Unlike French, English was considered "chameleonic", capable of assimilating harmoniously and adapting without dissonance to the local linguistic ecology (Ben Said 2019), as the "English World" had left no negative aftermath in these countries.

In Morocco, the promotion and dissemination of English were primarily driven by private institutes and universities until the 2000s. An illustrative example is the inauguration of Al-Akhawyn University in Ifrane in 1995, marking the first university in Morocco to adopt English as the language of instruction (Errihani 2017; Jebbour 2021). During this period, the demand and necessity for proficiency in English surged with the widespread distribution of the Internet and new technologies. However, the Ministry of Education faced significant challenges, particularly the persistent shortage of human and material resources. The educational policies of the 1980s, in addition to the well-known Arabization efforts, aimed at "Moroccanization" of education. This initiative encouraged the recruitment of Moroccan resources instead of relying on individuals and materials from other countries. It also emphasized removing cultural and social references from language teaching. Nevertheless, the outcomes revealed a considerable disparity in proficiency levels between those educated in private institutions and those in public institutions (Jebbour 2021). This perpetuated social discrimination through linguistic elements,

paradoxically allowing the less "authentic and traditional" languages, French and English, to maintain their leadership in the linguistic hierarchy.

The ideological-linguistic rivalry between French and English has fostered positive economic competition in the realm of education in Morocco and Tunisia. France, aware of its power and influence in its former colonies, has always continued to invest significant amounts in the promotion of the French language and culture in these countries. Notably, in Tunisia, investments in education to encourage the spread of English are often matched by French government support for teaching French as a subject and as MOI. A clear example is the year 1996 when the American government spent 600,000 USD on language promotion in Tunisia, the British government allocated 400,000 USD, and the French government's investment reached a staggering 20 million USD (Boukadi & Troudi 2017). While the diffusion of a language does not precisely reflect the total public investments made by a government, it underscores the former colonial power's aspiration to maintain a prominent role in the educational sector of its former colony.

In this context, the language ideology associated with English plays a pivotal role and is both determined by and determinative of language planning and practices. The language planning of British and American public and private entities was responsive to market demands, primarily requiring English proficiency for economic purposes. Consequently, since the 1980s, a variety of English for Specific Purpose (ESP) courses, supported by institutions such as the British Council, the Moroccan Association of English Teachers (MATE), AMIDEAST, and other private entities, have emerged in Morocco and Tunisia (Daoud 2001, Errihani 2017; Jebbour 2021). While these courses varied in nature, they shared a common goal: linguistic preparation with the aim of communication in a globalized and capitalistic world. This

approach to language teaching and management propagates an idea of language that appears ostensibly culturally neutral but can foster a language ideology linked to economically productive social spheres, including sciences, technologies, commerce, and more. Inevitably, this ideology associated with English aligns with the countries that excel in these fields and have contributed to linguistic imperialism—namely, the United States and the United Kingdom (Phillipson 1992; 2000).

The presence and language practices of English in Tunisia and Morocco are often characterized by their limited and sectoral nature, serving as an overlay on an already established linguistic landscape (Walters 1996). While the relatively small number of English speakers and its confined use may suggest a socioeconomic indicator, certain factors challenge this notion. English is predominantly employed as a lingua franca in situations involving interlocutors with diverse mother tongues or where its use is necessitated (Daoud 2011. These situations vary widely, encompassing interactions between English-speaking tourists and tour operators, Tunisian businesspersons and American secretaries, or university professors and students, each pair potentially representing different socioeconomic backgrounds.

Likewise, the connection between the educational factor as a social element and proficiency in English is not always straightforward. In Tunisia, where the compulsory teaching of English commenced in the thirteenth school year until 1996, acquiring a strong foundation in English through public education alone was challenging. Proficiency in English was often reserved for specific professional domains and environments, such as science and technology, academia, international trade, tourism, and media, and was not necessarily tied exclusively to upper social classes (ibid.). A similar pattern existed in Morocco until the 2000s, when languages like

English, German, and Italian were primarily taught as foreign languages in some high schools (Errihani 2017).

Two additional social factors that play a role in shaping English language ideologies and practices are gender and the rural or urban origin of individuals. While the relationship between these categories and the spread of French within the school system was evident, it is less pronounced in the case of English, given its limited presence in school curricula. However, following the argumentation of Sadiqi (2003) on context, gender, and language, I argue that gender and participation in public and professional life could suggest a lower prevalence of English-speaking women compared to men. Similarly, the criterion of origin may contribute to a reduced prevalence of English in rural areas of both countries, where economic challenges are more pronounced and sectors requiring English proficiency are less prevalent.

In these contexts, language ideology might vary among individuals, but common models could potentially emerge. English may be perceived as culturally "neutral" and/or post-modern, occupying a "third space" in the linguistic landscape between Arabic, representing traditional culture, and French, once the language of modernity but now seen by some as snobbish and elitist, and by others as outdated (Ben Said 2019). In conclusion, starting from the early 2000s, English in Tunisia and Morocco has assumed a significant role as a mediator between two linguistic entities, Arabic and French. Its apparent cultural and political neutrality does not diminish the cultural values of Arabic; rather, it positions itself to potentially challenge and reshape the roles and functions of French, possibly without provoking negative ideological reactions.

3.5a Berber in Morocco: political language planning not reflecting language practices

In Morocco, the Berber language gained official recognition in the 2011 Constitution and is spoken by approximately 40% of the population, the highest percentage among any country (Ennaj 2005; Zouhir 2014). As anticipated in Chapter 1, the term "Berber" is used in this discussion following relevant literature (Boukous 1995; Sadiqi 1997; Ennaji 2005; Errihani 2008; Zouhir 2014) and for practical reasons. While the term "Amazigh" is used in Morocco to refer to the Berber ethnicity and, in a broader sense, to all Berber linguistic varieties (El Aissati et al. 2011), it can cause confusion when analyzing the three major linguistic varieties across the territory: Tarifit in the Rif, Tamazight in the Middle Atlas and central-eastern High Atlas, and Tashelhit in the western High Atlas, Souss Valley, and Anti-Atlas (Bentahila 1983; Sadiqi 1997; Ennaji 2005; Cornwell & Atia 2012; El Haimeur 2017). The historical context, influenced by French colonial policies during the protectorate, adds complexity to the classification and definition of Berber (Wyrtzen 2011). Thus, the term "Berber" is preferred to avoid favoring one variety over others.

Unlike Tunisia, the spread of Islam in Morocco did not result in a nearly complete language shift from Berber to Arabic. Political and economic changes, particularly the consolidation and centralization around Arabic-dominant institutions, have contributed to a partial shift (Hoffman 2006). The Arab conquest isolated many Berber communities in rural areas, reducing linguistic contact with Arabic speakers and leading to social and economic marginalization (Crawford 2002; Zouhir 2014).

While the recognition of Berber as an official language in 2011 was a significant step (Errihani 2006), the impact of this measure is debated. State intervention in rural areas remains limited, contributing to negative stereotypes of Berbers as lacking formal education. A small percentage of Berbers are monolingual, and the Tifinagh alphabet, currently used to write Berber, fell into disuse centuries ago (Zouhir 2014).

A notable gender difference exists, with women less exposed to linguistic influences due to their reduced role in public space. Women often transmit Berber to the younger generation (Sadiqi 2003; Benton-Monahan & Severo 2020). However, scholars such as Hoffman (2006) and De Ruiter (2008) raise questions about potential changes with the new LP.

In terms of LP, since 2011, Tamazight (as written in the Constitution) is "an" official language of the country, while Arabic is "the" official language of the country. The process that led to this political change was prompted by the demands made by the Berber activists and associations since the independence in 1956. They continued to claim recognition of Berber rights and identity, elaborating on an emblematic document, the Agadir Charter in 1991. In this document, they requested official recognition and protection (Cornwell & Atia 2012). In 1994, the former King Hassan II acknowledged the symbolic importance of Berber and expressed an intention to introduce its teaching in schools. However, it was only with a reform plan in 1999 that King Mohammed VI, for the first time, established the fundamental role of Berber, allowing its use on par with "any other dialect" to facilitate school learning (El Aissati et al. 2011; Zouhir 2014). Following this landmark decision, Berber received continuous support and promotion, at least symbolically (Errihani 2006). The efforts were particularly evident through the initiatives of the IRCAM, the Royal Institution for Amazigh Culture, established by King Mohammed VI in 2001 (Crawford 2002; Buckner 2006; Benzakour 2007).

In addition to safeguarding and promoting Berber culture in education and national media, IRCAM faced the challenging task of standardizing Berber. One major obstacle was unifying different language varieties under the same system, at times considered unintelligible to each other. Another challenge was the codification of an alphabet for a predominantly and traditionally oral language. The IRCAM selected the Tifinagh alphabet, deeming it neutral with respect to the Arabic and Latin alphabets and most suitable for consolidating the autonomy of the language (Errihani 2006). However, the ongoing process has been met with criticism, as it seemingly imposes a form of colonialization or Europeanization on an indigenous language. This perpetuates the Western ideology of the necessity of standardization for educational purposes and reinforces the notion that native speakers are considered illiterate in their own mother tongue (Benton-Monahan & Severo 2020).

Amidst these developments, it is crucial to consider the political motives and the potentially populist nature of these actions, which were executed without sufficient expert support and study (Errihani 2006). The recognition of Berber within the constitution by the King serves as one of several symbolic actions responding to the protests of 2010-2011. While the initial declaration in 1999 was necessary for the new King to establish a different image than his predecessor, the 2011 maneuver conveniently followed the social protests led by the February 20 Movement, within which Berber activists played a significant role.

The new constitution represented an opportunity to maintain social and political stability in the country, and the officialization of Berber served as a political tool to garner support from diverse audiences (Buckner 2006; Zouhir 2014). The approach adopted by the King in the new constitution was locally supported and admired by Berber activists and internationally by those

advocating for democratic and liberal rights. The King was portrayed as the guarantor of a liberal, multicultural society capable of recognizing the rights of minorities. While the officialization of Berber and other actions represent important steps towards tolerance and recognition, the constitutional text makes it clear that Tamazight should not and cannot be equated with the Arabic language. Article 5 is constructed gradually, regulating the role and status of Arabic, Tamazight, Ḥassānī, and generic languages and cultural expressions present in Morocco (Ramaioli 2016).

The ambiguity and subaltern role assigned to Berber contribute to the temporary setbacks in the LP success, exacerbated by the considerable challenge the government faces in integrating Berber into the education system. A significant impediment is the scarcity of educators proficient in teaching the language, particularly using an alphabet unfamiliar to most speakers (Errihani 2006). While some elementary schools and universities began offering Berber language teaching from 2003 onward (Benzakour 2007), the 2019 law mandating all Moroccans, including private institution students, to study Berber illustrates an effort to overcome this challenge (Sanga 2022).

The initiative to revitalize Berber through education is championed by Berber activists, aiming not only for cultural and historical symbolism but also to strengthen its communicative function in formal and informal settings (Ennaji & Sadiqi 2008). Conversely, conservative Arabophones perceive the promotion of Berber as a potentially divisive operation that might jeopardize national unity and identity (ibid.). Errihani (2008) identifies additional obstacles to effective policy implementation, including negative language attitudes among the general population, where learning Berber is perceived as irrelevant for an individual's socio-economic progress. His study reveals that the motivation to learn the language and feel part of the community is

primarily confined to IRCAM members, with non-native Berber speakers expressing skepticism about its inclusion in state schools. According to Errihani, these challenges collectively paint a less optimistic future for this LP, while Buckner (2006) suggests that the insincere intentions of policymakers constitute a major factor in its failure.

The evident challenges in implementing this top-down policy signal a need for a comprehensive revaluation of methods, resources, and objectives concerning Berber language instruction. To achieve different outcomes, analysis, and adaptation of teaching approaches to diverse communities and individuals becomes imperative. Moreover, there should be a shift in understanding the policy's objective—beyond symbolic and identity aspects—to incorporate pragmatic goals. The emphasis should be on providing the opportunity for students to study in their mother tongue, fostering improved academic success.

3.5b Berber in Tunisia: towards language death

The significant conversion of the indigenous population in Tunisia to Islam by the mid-11th century marked a crucial moment that contributed to the gradual decline of Berber, making Arabic the dominant linguistic force (Daoud 2011). Since the country's independence in 1956, when Arabic was declared the official language, Berber in Tunisia has been marginalized, with native speakers estimated to be between 0.3% and 0.5% of the population by 2011 (Daoud 2011, Labiadh 2017). This decline has been consistent since the mid-20th century, with Basset (1950) noting that only about 1% of the population spoke Berber.

Tunisian Berber, or Shilha, faces a stark reality today, as its usage is limited to a few isolated communities. Gabsi (2003) distinguishes two main branches of Shilha - the Continental branch spoken in southern Tunisia (Chninni, Douiret, Guermessa, Matmata, Tamazret, and Taoujout) and the Insular branch spoken on the Island of Djerba (Ouirsighen, Cedouikesh, Guellala, and Ajim). The advanced stage of language shift is evident in the significantly reduced number of speakers, especially when compared to the millions in Algeria and Morocco. Attempts at revival face considerable challenges, with almost non-existent monolingual speakers of Berber.

Over the years, the number of Berber-speaking zones has dwindled. Basset (1950) reported thirteen old Berber villages, all entirely Berberophone, but by 1968, this number had decreased to only six villages. The absence of reliable government sources on the number of Berber speakers became a contentious issue, with organizations like *Le Congrés Mondiale Amazigh (CMA)* claiming that Berber speakers constituted ten percent of the entire population (Leclerc 2015). Berber in Tunisia is in a precarious state, facing the threat of endangerment. The situation for the Berbers in Tunisia aligns with what Pauwels (2016) terms a "territorial minority setting", emphasizing the linguistic consequences for a group with a historical association in a territory when another group, either indigenous or exogenous, assumes a dominant role in that space.

The Berber varieties in Tunisia are broadly categorized by the state as "mountain dialects," without explicit acknowledgment of their non-Arabic origin. The Berbers in Tunisia differ from typical minority groups as they generally do not perceive themselves as ethnically distinct from the broader population (Gabsi 2011). The dominance of the Arabic ethnic element, coupled with continuous language contact with Arabic and Tunisian, has influenced the language

attitudes of Berber speakers. Negative attitudes toward their mother tongue can contribute to language shift or language death (Thomason 2001).

Geographic and socioeconomic factors have further fueled the gradual decline and disappearance of Berber in Tunisia. Gabsi (2011) contends that the dispersed nature of Berber-speaking villages hinders a sense of unity and solidarity. Additionally, the prevalence of Standard Arabic in formal situations and the use of Tunisian by individuals from or returning from urban centers act as counterforces against the preservation of Berber. The changing social role of women, who, since Independence, have gained more prominence in public life through education, employment, and migration to urban areas, has also played a role. The traditional role of women as the guardians of tradition and the preservers of Berber has diminished, leading to a shift towards bilingualism as the norm. Gabsi (2011) notes that the last generation of Berber monolinguals has disappeared, marking a point where bilingualism has become the standard.

3.6 Tunisian and Moroccan in "their" countries: ideological low status of mother tongues and new practices

As explained in Chapter 1, in this thesis, the terms "Tunisian" and "Moroccan" are deliberately used to refer to the two language varieties spoken as mother tongues by most of the populations in Tunisia and Morocco, respectively. Despite being distinct languages, their sociolinguistic and LP situations are discussed together in this section due to their similar status. Both Tunisian and Moroccan, often called Darija or 'ammiya, are considered by many as deviant or corrupted forms of Classical Arabic, creating a diglossic situation (Zouhir 2013, 2014; Idhssaine & El Kirat 2021). This section aims to highlight the main differences in language practices and

planning specific to Tunisian and Moroccan, taking into account the prevailing shared ideology among the majority of the population.

While Tunisian and Moroccan have always been used in everyday conversations among their respective populations, there is a notable difference in language practices between the two countries. Moroccan is often perceived as a lingua franca among Moroccans, particularly those who have another mother tongue, typically a Berber variety (ibid.; Sadiqi 2008; De Ruiter 2008). However, both Moroccan and Tunisian lack official status and corpus planning. They are spoken languages associated with orality and hold a subaltern status in Tunisia (Ben Slimane Ben Said 2010) and Morocco (Chakrani 2017; Loutfi 2020).

The literature about the diglossic situation is vast and usually starts from Ferguson's definitions (1959, 1971). In this case, I describe the main elements that characterize diglossia trying to critically analyze some more traditional perspectives on the Tunisian (Belazi 1991; Daoud 1991, 2001, 2011; Gibson 1998; Sayahi 2014) and Moroccan (Chakrani 2014; Alalou 2018) diglossic situation. Ferguson's second definition (1971) suggests the dichotomous existence of the same language, involving a dialect or regional variety on one hand and a highly codified, distinct variety on the other. However, labelling the situations in Tunisia and Morocco, this definition of diglossia may not be appropriate, as there is not initially a situation of linguistic unity from which two distinct varieties emerge. Tunisian and Moroccan, as evidenced by various studies (Gibson 1998; Mejri et al. 2009; Bensoukas & Boudlal 2012; Ech-Charfi 2018), exhibit their phonological, syntactic, morphological, and lexical structures, which differ from Standard Arabic. While there are similarities due to prolonged language contact and coexistence, the richness of Tunisian and Moroccan lies in their flexibility, resembling Creole-

like varieties resulting from historical and continuous language diffusion and evolution (Alalou 2018).

The absence of language standardization has historical and supranational reasons. In Tunisia and Morocco, simplistic definitions like "a language is a dialect with an army and navy" lack linguistic merit. The reluctance to initiate standardization is rooted in supranational factors tied to the values and ideologies of Arabic, notably its deep connection with religious elements. Arabic, with its roots in written texts like the Qur'an and its oral recitation, has strong ideological values persisting over thirteen centuries. The dichotomous view and values associated with Arabic are entwined with social factors, leading to conflictual ideologies concerning other languages in different contexts and times (Sayahi 2014). The role of education, historically focused on Classical Arabic and, more recently, Standard Arabic, is a decisive factor, along with other variables such as gender, social class, and rural or urban origin. Proficiency in Classical/Standard Arabic has long been a symbol of privilege and prestige, contributing to a process of social distinction where linguistic values play a central role (ibid.).

Additionally, macroeconomic changes and exposure to other foreign languages have altered some dynamics but have not diminished the antagonism toward the local languages in the so-called "Arab" countries. Since gaining independence in 1956 and the establishment of two nation-states, Tunisia and Morocco, along with other nations, have declared Arabic as their official language in their constitutions. This decision, seemingly made in opposition to former European occupiers, still carries colonial characteristics in the constitutions themselves. The significant difference is that Europe's ideology of "one language, one nation" was not adopted (Kamusella 2017). Instead, there was an emphasis on a shared purpose where language, as a unifying element, represented supranational ethnic (Pan-Arabism) and religious (Pan-

Islamism) identities. Such a multifold unity in a territory stretching from the Atlantic Ocean to the Indian Ocean has never truly existed, particularly in the post-independence era. Governments aimed, perhaps optimistically, to establish linguistic unity among the inhabitants of Tunisia and Morocco after gaining independence, mirroring the European example in many aspects.

However, to align with the European example, the official language should have been the local language variety with higher social status and a larger number of speakers (ibid.). In Tunisia and Morocco, this is typically the variety spoken by a specific social class in the capital, such as Tunis, or in major cities like Casablanca or Fez (Hachimi 2012). This local variety could evolve into the national koine and/or the prestigious variety. It is crucial to emphasize, as discussed in the section on Standard Arabic, that every "national" Arabic dialect encompasses various varieties depending on factors such as the region of use, origin, and social characteristics like gender and age (Sayahi 2014).

While this section considers Moroccan and Tunisian languages in general, it is important to underline the relevance of Ḥassānī, a variety of Arabic considered by some as a distinct language (Bensoukas & Boudlal 2012; Taine-Cheikh 2020). It is also cited in the 2011 Constitution as a component of Moroccan identity to be maintained (Elinson 2013) and preserved (Zakhir & O'Brien 2017). The political and symbolic value of this recognition warrants discussion. Ḥassāni is primarily spoken in the south of the country, particularly in the Western Sahara region, where desires for independence from the Moroccan government have been expressed since the end of Spanish control in 1975. While avoiding delving deeply into the specifics of this political issue, it can be argued that the King's declaration of Ḥassānī as an

integral part of Moroccan identity within the Constitution serves to justify and legitimize the (military) presence of the Kingdom of Morocco in these territories.

In Tunisia, the native language variant, Tunisian, shares numerous characteristics with Standard Arabic. However, it has evolved through language interactions between local varieties, including Berber varieties, and languages from other places, such as Punic, Latin, Greek, Italian, Turkish, Maltese, French, Spanish, English, and even Arabic itself (Sayahi 2014). In contrast, in Morocco, Berber varieties have had more constant and lasting contact, influencing the structure of Moroccan more significantly than in Tunisia (Ech-Charfi 2018). Spanish also exerted more influence in Moroccan than Tunisian, owing to geographical proximity, continuous trade, and political influence during the protectorate period (Sayahi 2014).

In short, the various historical periods witnessing the alternation of different communities of speakers in the territory have simultaneously shaped the evolution of a language that serves as the mother tongue of almost all Tunisians and Moroccans. Characterizing the Tunisian and Moroccan languages as "Tunisian/Moroccan Arabic" oversimplifies the sociolinguistic and dialectological analysis and, in some instances, might be ontologically inappropriate. Some argue that the influence of languages other than Arabic is predominantly lexical and consists of borrowings within a dialectal variety of Arabic (Gibson 1998; Daoud 2011; Ech-Charfi 2018). Diglossia in Tunisia and Morocco is enigmatic and one of the main paradoxes lies in the absence of standardization of Tunisian and Moroccan languages. Indeed, diglossia has widely coexisted within a continuum between Standard Arabic and Tunisian or Moroccan, without clear separation in language perception and practices (Zribi et al. 2014).

Unlike the other languages discussed earlier, pinpointing specific evolutions in language planning and ideologies related to Tunisian and Moroccan since the 2000s is challenging. However, some authors (Elinson 2013; Caubet 2017) argue that Moroccan has undergone drastic changes in practices and status during this period, but it could be contended that this change is limited to certain sectors and types of communication, without a substantial impact on formal domains like education. The evolution of language practices is observed primarily through language contact with other varieties and the surge in computer science and technology.

A comprehensive analysis of the dynamics of Tunisian and Moroccan during this period faces challenges due to the lack of codification, the prevalence of oral use over written use, and the scarcity of sources. However, it is evident that the mass proliferation of electronic devices, such as computers, laptops, mobile phones, and smartphones, has significantly increased the use of these languages in written form (Caubet 2017). The driving force behind this dynamic is the massification and intensification of communication through these devices, requiring speed and communicative immediacy that are more effective in the mother tongue. This phenomenon will experience a drastic increase in the following years, although, in the initial period (around the early 2000s), the number of individuals with access to electronic devices and communication tools was limited, primarily linked to work contexts.

The widespread availability of electronic devices, the advent of the Internet, and the rise of social networks significantly intensified the practice of using Tunisian and Moroccan in written form. A crucial factor contributing to this shift was the lack or scarcity of devices with Arabic character keyboards. The inability to write in Arabic characters prompted the use of the Tunisian and Moroccan, which, never officially codified with any alphabet, were adapted to

Latin characters. This phenomenon is commonly referred to as "Arabizi", a term combining Arabic and English (Yaghan 2008; Kashina 2020). While Arabizi suggests that the local languages of Arabic countries are Arabic dialects, it encompasses both the use of these dialects and the use of Standard Arabic within the described continuum. The English element in the definition is associated with the incorporation of English terms in discourse (إنجليزي "Inglizi" is the Arabic word for "English"), primarily due to the prevalence of English terminology related to electronics and the internet and the global dominance of English in international communication. While this definition is somewhat superficial, the use of Tunisian and Moroccan in written form with Latin characters offers several advantages, contributing to its success in subsequent years. Not having a codified grammatical and lexical norm, allows authors to present a "contemporary and progressive" image without revealing any illiteracy (Abusa'aleek 2014).

Simultaneously, with the rise of internet communication, language contact with English has increased, influencing the evolution of Tunisian and Moroccan. This phenomenon extends beyond the internet, encompassing media and globalization, with a minor role attributed to the school system due to the absence of clear regulations on the use of Tunisian and ambiguous regulations on the use of Moroccan in education policy. In Morocco, the National Charter of Education and Training of 1999 acknowledges the use of local dialects within schools (Miller 2017) but does not clarify whether written use is accepted. While Moroccan, like Tunisian, is widely used orally in educational settings, its use in writing is limited.

The social variables influencing language variation in Tunisian and Moroccan in relation to the English element may not differ significantly from those determining the use of English itself, but they are generalized in a more extensive linguistic context. While the contact with English

may contribute to a reduction in the use of terms and structures from other linguistic origins, particularly Standard Arabic and French, many English terms assimilated into Tunisian and Moroccan represent innovations that contribute to the evolution and enrichment of languages still heavily influenced by Arabic and French linguistic components.

3.7 Spanish in Morocco: traces of the immigrant past become ideological and functional language practices

The presence of Spanish in Morocco is currently concentrated in specific areas, particularly in the northern provinces of Tetouan and Tangier, as well as in the Western Sahara (Sayahi 2004, 2005; Chahhou 2014). Although sociolinguistic studies on Morocco have often overlooked or downplayed the role of Spanish, it is crucial to include it in the description of the North (Sayahi 2005), and potentially, the Western Sahara if considered part of Moroccan territory. The influence of Spanish is manifested through Spanish speakers, predominantly bilingual or multilingual individuals, and its usage in public and private institutions, media, and road signs.

In the realm of education, Spanish is taught in some public high schools as a foreign language alongside other languages such as Italian and German. Moreover, at the university level, there are 14 departments dedicated to Spanish language and literature, along with individual Spanish courses within STEM departments (Chahhou 2014). Spanish institutions, notably the Instituto Cervantes, play a significant role in promoting awareness of the Spanish language and culture in Morocco. According to the Ministry of Education and Science of the Spanish Embassy in Rabat, Morocco stands out as the country where the Spanish government invests the most in disseminating the Spanish language globally (ibid.).

The dissemination of Spanish in Morocco is influenced by historical and geographical factors. Geographically, the proximity of Spain to the Moroccan coast and the existence of the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla on North African territory are notable factors (ibid.). Historically, migratory flows, particularly since the 15th century, have seen Jews and Muslims leaving the Iberian Peninsula due to Christian persecution (Quilis 2002). Some of these immigrants retained the use of Judeo-Spanish until the definitive "rehispanization" during the period of the protectorate in the 20th century (Serels 1996). Spanish education in Morocco during the protectorate primarily catered to the children of Spanish residents and had limited influence on the wider Moroccan population (Daniel & Ball 2009).

During decolonization, Spanish further diminished in importance, facing competition from French and the Arabization process. From the 1960s, Spanish was introduced as a foreign language in some public schools but remained largely confined to domestic and family use as many families opted to enrol their children in French schools (Krikez 2005). The popularity of Spanish continued to decline until 1991 when the Instituto Cervantes was established to promote the spread of the Spanish language and culture in collaboration with the Ministry of Education. It is essential to recognize that, at the institutional level, the Instituto Cervantes plays a major role in the dissemination of Spanish, leveraging its extensive experience in various regions worldwide.

The media serves as a significant channel for the dissemination of Spanish in the northern regions of Morocco, with a presence in traditional media such as TV, newspapers, and radio, and more prominently in areas where internet access allows viewing Spanish broadcasts (Sayahi 2005, Chahhou 2014). A similar situation is present in Tunisia, where in the areas

closest to Italian territory it is possible to synchronize Italian television and radio channels. However, it is essential to note that the interest in studying Spanish is limited compared to another foreign language like English, given its constrained functionality within the country. The geographic proximity and colonial history have led to the spread of Spanish, particularly in Tangier and Tetouan (the capital of the Spanish protectorate), where, apart from rare Spanish monolingual residents, the language is used as a second or third language (Sayahi 2011).

In the Western Sahara territories, the situation of Spanish is distinct. During the period of Spanish occupation from 1940 to 1970, Spanish was the language of instruction. However, given a 90% illiteracy rate in 1970, schooling and knowledge of Spanish were not closely linked. After the withdrawal of Spanish troops, the Moroccan monarchy imposed Arabic as the language of instruction, similar to the rest of the territory. In response, the Polisario independent government implemented a bilingual Arab-Spanish education system following the proclamation of the Saharawi State in 1976 (Chahhou 2014).

Spanish holds significant value and plays a crucial role within the ideology of the Saharawi people, symbolizing identity and distinguishing them from the Moroccan monarchy (ibid.), represented in Saharawi ideology by Arabic-French bilingualism. Additionally, Spanish serves as both a symbolic and functional means of communication with Spanish-speaking countries officially recognizing the Saharawi State (Awah & Moya 2009). In this perspective, the Saharawi government aims to promote the ideology that positions Spanish as a cornerstone of the struggle for independence from the Moroccan monarchy.

Chapter 4 - Methodology

4.1 Chapter outline

This chapter focuses on the methodological approach employed in the research. Precisely, the aim is to provide a comprehensive understanding of the research design and the procedures used to gather and analyse data. I describe the methodological approach (4.2), methodological tools (4.3), ethics considerations (4.4), and analysis techniques (4.5) I have employed in order to answer the research question:

What is the relationship between language policies and inequalities among students in Tunisia and Morocco?

The overarching methodological approach adopted in this study is linguistic ethnography (Section 4.2), an approach that involves studying the relationship between language, culture, and society (Shaw et al. 2015). Within the framework of linguistic ethnography, various sub-approaches are utilized to investigate the research topic. These approaches include a multilingual approach (Costley & Reilly 2020) (Section 4.2.1), and an empowerment-oriented approach (Cameron et al. 1992) (Section 4.2.2).

Subsequently, I describe four methodological tools employed in data collection - context observation, questionnaires, interviews, and focus groups (Section 4.3). Data collection integrated both quantitative and qualitative methods to investigate the complex relationship

between LPs, inequality, and social dynamics in Tunisia and Morocco. I conducted systematic observations of the social and linguistic contexts under investigation (Section 4.3.2). This involved immersing myself in the research setting, documenting observations, and noting relevant contextual factors that influence different LP components. Questionnaires were designed at the initial stage of this study and distributed to collect data from a larger sample of participants during field research (Section 4.3.3). Before distribution, I developed and piloted the questionnaires, ensuring their appropriate design to gain valuable insights into LP and inequalities. In-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with selected participants to gather qualitative data (Section 4.3.4). Before conducting field research, I formulated interview questions and structure, while during field research I selected interviewees on a voluntary basis, and conducted interviews to elicit detailed accounts of LPs, language attitudes, and their impact on socioeconomic inequalities. Focus groups were utilized to facilitate group discussions and capture diverse perspectives on the same topic covered in the questionnaires and interviews but through different dynamics (Section 4.3.5). Participants were always selected on a voluntary basis, and I employed appropriate facilitation techniques to encourage open dialogue and obtain collective insights.

In Section 4.4, I examine ethical considerations, both general and specific to the research context, including the unique challenges posed by the Covid 19 pandemic in Tunisia and Morocco. In Section 4.5, I offer a description of the analysis methodologies utilized in examining the data collected. These includes quantitative analysis (Section 4.5.1), qualitative analysis (4.5.2) and comparative analysis (Section 4.5.3). Section 4.5 serves as a bridge between this methodological chapter and the subsequent Chapters 5, 6, and 7, where I elaborate on the analyses and present the results obtained. Overall, Chapter 4 outlines the theoretical

framework guiding the study and describes the data collection methods and analysis techniques employed.

4.2 Linguistic ethnography

The methodology of this research is ethnography in its essence, specifically linguistic ethnography. Linguistic ethnography is essential to analyse certain sociolinguistic features within specific contexts and communities. The nature of linguistic ethnography is to analyse linguistic features of a specific *ethne* in local contexts while considering its connection to the broader social world (Creese 2008). In ancient Greece, the term *ethne* was often juxtaposed with *polis* with the former associated with the "barbarian" or peripheral world and the latter with the more sophisticated city-states (Graninger 2015). Nowadays, this definition has become more neutral, and *ethne* generally refers to forms of social and political organizations located in certain geographical locations (ibid.).

Linguistic ethnography combines linguistic and ethnographic approaches to understand social and communicative processes in a range of settings and contexts (Shaw et al. 2015). The combination of linguistics and ethnography, with their different analytical tools, offers a more comprehensive set of resources than each field of study could offer independently (Creese 2010). In alignment with the evolving nature of ethnography over the past two decades (Rampton 2007b), this research embraces a variety of approaches - multilingual (Costley & Reilly 2020), empowerment-oriented (Cameron et al. 1992) within linguistic ethnography, including analyses of different natures such as quantitative, qualitative, and comparative

analysis. This multifaceted approach enables to analyse the topic of LP from an interdisciplinary perspective, considering historical, political, and social factors. This interdisciplinary approach appears particularly suitable and necessary for the comparative investigation of LPs in multilingual contexts (Johnson 2018).

An important aspect of ethnographic research concerns living for an extensive period in the community studied in order to capture first-hand its language patterns and attitudes trying not to alter daily practices (Canagarajah 2006). In this research, sociolinguistic elements and considerations have emerged not only through formal research, but also from apparently passive and participatory observations during non-formal research. Observations and interactions with various individuals, even outside formal research periods, have significantly contributed to the research's development. Additionally, past life experiences, studies, and research in Tunisia and Morocco have influenced the formulation of research questions and associated expectations.

The ethnographic component of the methodology is empirically represented through field research in the two contexts of analysis, Tunisia and Morocco, conducted from late March 2022 to December 2022. In Tunisia, field research took place exclusively in the capital, Tunis, from late March 2022 to late June 2022. In Morocco, field research was carried out in three different cities - Rabat, Casablanca, and Meknes - from late September 2022 to December 2022. The choices of these locations were dictated by my familiarity with these cities. As I mentioned in Chapter 1, I had the opportunity to live in these two countries for a total period of two years. In particular, I lived most of the time in Tunis, Rabat, and Meknes, and given the proximity of Casablanca to Rabat, I had the opportunity to spend some time in this city too.

4.2.1 Researching language policy multilingually

Various ethnographic studies in multilingual contexts have employed a multilingual approach, consciously or not, but only a few studies have explicitly underlined its importance (Giampapa & Lamoureux 2011; Said 2011; Martin-Jones et al. 2016; Singh 2017; Goitom 2020; Costley & Reilly 2021). A multilingual approach recognizes the necessity of utilizing different language varieties in contexts where the population exhibits a diverse range of linguistic repertoires based on geographical origin and various social factors, such as socioeconomic status (Costley & Reilly 2021).

One innovative and interesting aspect developed by Costley and Reilly (2021) consider that the multilingual perspective should be integral to the entire research process, starting from the project's conception. This perspective is crucial for studying precisely multilingual contexts, where language practices vary significantly among different language varieties. This approach is in contrast with a monolingual perspective, recognizing that it would lack the accuracy required for understanding diverse perspectives and situational complexity. In the context of my research, it is good to make two considerations about the methodological multilingualism employed.

The first consideration concerns my personal multilingual repertoire and my perception of it at the beginning of the research. At the time of the design of the project, my understanding of languages was more in line with the view that perceive languages as entities. This conception was influenced by the fact that, in the analysis of LPs, it is essential to differentiate individual varieties by clearly naming them. For this reason, the initial multilingual approach I have

employed took into account all available personal linguistic resources as different entities to broaden the scope of analysis. My linguistic repertoire includes knowledge of varieties used in Tunisia and Morocco, such as Standard Arabic, French, and English. I am not a native speaker of any of these languages, but I have studied, learned, and practiced them in different ways, contexts, and durations. Proficiency in these three languages may vary, but I can hold conversations, read, write, and understand each. Other languages considered a minority in these contexts, such as Italian (my mother tongue) and to a minimal extent Spanish, are also part of my linguistic repertoire. While I am not fluent in the mother tongues of most of the population in these countries (Tunisian, Moroccan, and Berber), I have relied on translators to overcome this limitation. Notably, I needed a translator only once during an interview with a student who preferred to speak in Tunisian.

The second aspect pertains to how I utilized a multilingual approach throughout the entire research process. As I embarked on field research, my conception of languages had evolved to view them through the lens of translanguaging (García 2009). Translanguaging, as observed in daily communication situations, involves a dynamic where different language varieties are constantly mixed based on factors such as the speaker's linguistic repertoire, the type of interaction, the topic of discussion, and the setting (ibid.). This conception of language as translanguaging may be at odds with the concept of code-switching that, in this research, must be considered from a broader perspective that is not simply reduced to the juxtaposition of two varieties within the speech (Gumperz 1982). My grasp of translanguaging likely stemmed from my continuous exposure to the university environment in the UK, where I directly witnessed language in its dynamic form. Nonetheless, even when viewing language as a process, it remains feasible to recognize and distinguish the languages utilized or encountered by

explicitly naming them. In the UK, I observed that the languages I engaged with or comprehended within this process were all standardized languages.

During my fieldwork in Tunisia and Morocco, I further solidified and refined my understanding of language as a dynamic process through my observations and active participation in everyday spoken language interactions. However, in this context, predominantly non-standardized languages were prevalent. Here, I specifically examine vernacular languages as manifestations of translanguaging, assigning the political designations of "Tunisian" and "Moroccan" to this phenomenon. The utilization of vernaculars exemplifies translanguaging, as it entails the fluid utilization of linguistic repertoires (García 2009). In the analysis of LPs, it is imperative to distinguish and label languages, even within complex processes. However, vernaculars often lack clear nomenclature or possess names that do not adequately reflect their linguistic significance, necessitating the identification of the most appropriate term. In this scenario, the absence of standardization in these vernacular varieties prompts me to link the metalinguistic concept of translanguaging with the political-linguistic classifications of "Tunisian" and "Moroccan." This connection arises from the disparity between the dynamic evolution of language practices and the relatively static nature of LPs, which fail to recognize the existence, standardization, and regulation of these language varieties.

This interplay between translanguaging and the necessity for language definition emerges as a prominent aspect of this LP research. Translanguaging metaphorically permeated every stage of the research process. However, for the sake of clarity, synthesis, and written analysis, there were occasions where languages needed to be delineated as distinct entities. For example, during cognitive processing and interviews, translanguaging naturally reflected the linguistic reality. Conversely, when it came to writing tasks, such as crafting questionnaires, it became

imperative to differentiate between languages. This differentiation stemmed from the disparity between the fluidity of spoken language and the more rigid structure of written language (Horowitz & Berkowitz 1964).

As detailed in Section 4.3.3, the questionnaires were crafted in three languages - Standard Arabic, English, and French. Each questionnaire remained monolingual, allowing students to select their preferred language. In contrast, during interviews and focus groups, participants had the liberty to choose which language(s) to utilize, underscoring the flexibility that allowed for variation throughout the session. For instance, no interview or focus group session exclusively utilized a single language variety. Instead, language practices were characterized by translanguaging, where speakers adeptly employed available linguistic resources (Otheguy et al. 2015).

4.2.2 Empowerment-oriented approach

The methodological empowerment-oriented approach reflects the importance of human agency in LP research as explained in Section 2.4. This approach includes individual and group methodological aspects related to considerations of ethics, advocacy, and participation (Cameron et al. 1992). These three aspects must interact with each other. These three facets are interconnected, with ethical considerations stemming from the type of research conducted to ensure the preservation of the subject being studied. Advocacy implies a researcher's willingness to assist participants through the research process, especially when the subject is vulnerable and subject to inequality. In this context, the research goes beyond the ethical considerations of studying a subject; it extends to conducting research for and with the subject

(ibid.). These two elements dialogue during empirical research in different steps. All interactions, collaborations, and sharing actively take place from both the researcher's and participants' perspectives. This dynamic characterizes collaborative research where the researcher conducts research with and for the subject (ibid.). This approach leads to the concept of empowerment research—research on the subject, for the subject, and with the subject—with the ultimate goal of impacting the subject while respecting ethical considerations and actively involving the subject of research (Cameron et al.1992).

In this research, this approach has been particularly applied during the two field-based research phases. In different steps - recruitment process, interviews, questionnaires, focus groups - the research objectives were explained, and active participation was sought from students, professors, and staff members, always adhering to necessary ethical considerations. Moreover, the collective nature and on-site dynamics of the focus groups brought this approach to the forefront.

The aim was to encourage the participants to think critically about their linguistic future, rights, and statuses. In questionnaires, interviews, and focus-groups I aimed to investigate conflicting points of view on language relationships and stimulate the elaboration of new perspectives. This approach resembles action research, where research questions and data elicitation methods are collaboratively constructed, facilitating dialogue between the researcher and participants on locally relevant questions and findings (Canagarajah 2015). Finally, in line with this approach, one of the objectives is the dissemination of the results of this research through the contact networks established during my experiences in these contexts. The goal is for participants to be aware of the results of a research study in which they were the subjects - a research conducted for them, and in which they actively participated.

4.3 Data collection: mixed methodology

The methodology included four different techniques and tools during data collection - context observation, questionnaires, interviews, and focus groups. These methods were employed to analyse the three components of language policy – practices, ideologies, planning (2004) - qualitatively and quantitatively. A mixed methodology proves most suitable for obtaining the comprehensive data necessary to address the research questions (Teddlie & Tashakkori 2009). Triangulation was a crucial concept accompanying the mixed methodology. As described by Denzin (1970), three types of triangulations were applied in this research: data triangulation, involving the use of multiple sample methods for data collection; theoretical triangulation, incorporating diverse theoretical approaches; and methodological triangulation, utilizing multiple methodologies.

4.3.1 Participants and recruitment process

The recruitment of participants can be considered a crucial step in data collection (Schensul et al. 1999). In this research, various types of participants – students, professors, staff members, linguistic activists - were recruited to address the research questions. University students made up the majority of participants due to their vulnerable position (Prinsloo & Slade 2016) and the necessity to analyse it. In contrast, professors were chosen because it was important to observe their role in influencing students' practices (Johnson 2018). Linguist activists were recruited to observe an ideological perspective that has as its principle the defence of a linguistic right (Combs & Penfield 2012) such as education in the mother tongue.

Participants were involved in the different steps of investigation: observation, interviews, questionnaires, and focus groups. Overlapping participation occurred when some participants took part in more than one stage. Passive participation in observation, not quantifiable numerically, was not subject to quantitative analysis.

A total of 204 students completed the questionnaires in Tunisia, while 227 students completed them in Morocco (Section 4.3.3). Participants involved in the interviews were: 10 students in Tunisia, 10 students in Morocco, 5 staff members in Tunisia, 5 staff members in Morocco, and 3 language activists in Tunisia (Section 4.3.4). A various (approximately 20 students per group) number of participants attended the two focus groups that were held in both countries (Section 4.3.5). Excluding participants in observation and considering that students who conducted interviews and participated in focus groups also completed questionnaires, the total number of participants is 444 (431 students, 10 staff members, 3 linguistic activists) plus the researcher. The following table summarizes the tools used and the number of participants involved in each step.

Table 1 – DATA COLLECTION TOOLS AND NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS

DATA COLLECTION TOOL	NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS		
	TUNISIA	MOROCCO	TOTAL
QUESTIONNAIRES	204 STUDENTS	227 STUDENTS	431
INTERVIEWS	10 STUDENTS 5 STAFF MEMBERS 3 LANGUAGE ACTIVISTS	10 STUDENTS 5 STAFF MEMBERS	23

FOCUS GROUPS	VARIOUS (APPROX. 20 STUDENTS PER FOCUS GROUP)		
ALL TOOLS	212	232	444

The recruitment process was varied and adapted to the evolving circumstances of the research environment. The non-linearity of the recruitment process is part of the methodological complexity of ethnography (Agar 2004). The initial structure of the recruitment process was designed as follows.

The first step of the process involved establishing contact with a university professor who agreed to facilitate the research during their lessons with their students. During these lessons, I introduced the nature and objectives of the research to the students and distributed the pre-prepared written questionnaires. To overcome some practical recruitment difficulties within university institutions, the research extended to different environments usually frequented by university students, including classrooms, study rooms, cafes, and bars adjacent to the institutions, where student presence was predominant. These adjustments were made to overcome obstacles such as the limited availability of spaces for research with a large number of participants and the intention not to disrupt the regular flow of university activities.

4.3.2 Context observation

The observation of the context was constant during the field research. I prefer to use the term "context observation" rather than "classroom observation" or "participant observation" because the research was not exclusively conducted within classes, and the objective was not limited to the analysis of language practices of participants within educational settings (Lofland

et al. 2022). The formal research extended to various student contexts, including classes, study rooms, corridors, gardens, and common spaces across different universities, as well as cafes inside and outside the university environment. This approach aimed to address some challenges in the recruitment process influenced by different circumstances during data collection.

Additionally, the definition of "participant observation" may seem limiting (ibid.). While the primary focus of the project was the analysis of different components of language policies through the experiences of participants, primarily linguistic actors within the university, the observation, and subsequent analysis were not confined to the linguistic behaviour of these participants alone. Instead, efforts were made to place this observation within a broader sociolinguistic context or setting (ibid.). Therefore, the term "context observation" encompasses continuous immersion in the research field, even during apparent moments of rest, in everyday situations and spaces. As argued by Blommaert (2001), fieldwork goes beyond mere data collection and observation because "data are chunks of reality that have a (autobiographical) history of being known and interpreted."

As mentioned in Section 4.3.1, the recruitment process also took place in different contexts, not only within classrooms but also in other environments, both within university institutions and external locations such as bars and cafes close to universities. The decision to diversify research contexts was both deliberate and necessary due to different circumstances during the two field research phases. As will be described in Section 4.5.3, the recruitment process in Tunisia, in particular, was at times different, more complex, and dynamic. In any case, the variation in contexts and dynamics influenced distinct considerations during the analysis phase.

4.3.3 Questionnaires

In this research, the total amount of completed questionnaires is 431 (204 in Tunisia + 227 in Morocco). Among the 204 questionnaires in Tunisia, 17 were conducted online, but the structure remained the same. The questionnaires are available in Appendix A (Tunisia) and Appendix B (Morocco).

Questionnaires are commonly employed across various types of research, offering the opportunity to gather and compare a relatively large amount of data using a straightforward format (Rasinger 2010). In this research, the essence of questionnaire data analysis was quantitative, aiming to derive statistics that numerically indicate the analysed phenomena (ibid.). The questionnaire data, or rather the participants who complete them, represent a sample of a specific part of the population, ideally reflecting the entirety of that part. In this research, the part analysed consisted of university students, but the sample was not intended to represent the entire population of university students in one country; rather, it described the situation in a specific context.

The nature of questionnaires did not allow for detailed qualitative analysis, as with interviews (Codò 2008). However, the questionnaire structure and the analysis conducted enabled specific considerations about individual participants or the comparison of two or more participants, even without constant quantification of the data collected. The primary goal of questionnaires was to obtain quantifiable data and generate statistics to identify sociolinguistic patterns (ibid.).

The main limitation of questionnaires, contributing to the challenge of comprehensive qualitative analysis, consisted of the self-reported nature of the data by participants (Howard 1994). The analysis of questionnaires considered the gap between the actual situation and the

data reported by participants, and the large volume of collected data permitted a statistical evaluation that mitigated the impact of a single participant. Data accuracy depended primarily on the participants' performance in completing the questionnaires and could be influenced by factors such as honesty, sincerity, and engagement, all of which were explicitly emphasized before the administration of the questionnaire. The non-compulsory nature of questionnaires aligned with these principles (Razavi 2001). To address the limitations of quantitative data derived from questionnaire analysis, methodological and data triangulation were employed (Denzin 1970), incorporating qualitative analysis from the observation of the context, interviews, and focus groups. Additionally, many interviews and focus groups were conducted after the questionnaires, allowing for a more precise investigation of elements that remained ambiguous in the questionnaire responses (Harris & Brown 2010).

4.3.3a Structure and language of the questionnaires

The questionnaires were designed before the two field studies and were customized for the respective research contexts. The design of the questionnaires aligned with the thematic areas of the overall analysis. Most questions were multiple choice offering options of Standard Arabic, French, English, Tunisian/Moroccan, and Berber in Morocco. Participants were often required to indicate their agreement or disagreement using a Likert scale from 1 to 5 for each language. In some questions, participants simply had to answer yes/no for individual languages. Other questions were dual choice - such as the choice between private school/public school - accompanied by a short rationale.

The introductory page of the questionnaire provided a brief overview, indicating the number of questions (47 in Tunisia and 39 in Morocco), the question content, and examples of different

question types. On the second page, the "Demographic Information" section requested personal details such as city of origin, nationality, age, university name, and the course attended. This section had 6 questions, including an additional question specific to Tunisia regarding employment status. This question was excluded from the Moroccan questionnaires due to limited responses from Tunisia. The "Education" section included initial questions about LP within the primary and secondary education systems, analysing the three components: practices, ideologies, and planning. The questions were identical for both sections (primary and secondary school) and included an initial question about whether the student had attended a public or private institution. This section was divided into two parts focusing on primary and secondary education. The questions (9 in Tunisia and 7 in Morocco, with an additional question in the second part for Morocco) were identical for both countries. The "Family" part was related to LP within the household and the socioeconomic situation. This section comprised 8 questions for both Tunisia and Morocco. These questions aimed to gather linguistic data and information about the participants' socioeconomic status. The section "Language" focused on students' attitudes, ideas, and opinions on languages, their future, and the educational system. This last section was the most extensive, featuring 20 questions for Tunisia and 16 questions for Morocco.

The variation in the number of questions between Tunisia and Morocco resulted from adaptations made during the second research phase in Morocco. Some questions from the initial set for Tunisia were omitted based on participant feedback, difficulties in understanding, or redundancy with other questions. Modifications and additions were made to the Moroccan questionnaires for clarity. Questions unique to one context were not subjected to comparative analysis but were interpreted within their specific context. The main structure and nature of the

questionnaires used in the two contexts remained essentially the same and the changes made are to be considered as an improvement and not as an element of distraction (Barab et al. 2004). The most notable adaptation from Tunisian to Moroccan questionnaires involved the inclusion of the "Berber" option in the questions of the Moroccan questionnaires.

Initially drafted in English, the questionnaires were later translated into Standard Arabic and French. Students were given the freedom to choose the language they preferred among these three options. The language choice made by students became a key element of analysis, as these three languages are the most widely used at the written and official levels within the educational and university systems of both countries.

Notably, I (partially) refrained from translating the questionnaires into the mother tongues of the majority of the population—Tunisian and Moroccan—for several reasons. Initially, this decision was based on the observation that these languages are not officially used in written form within the educational university systems of both countries, reflecting the language policy mechanism. However, in order to respect the multilingual approach (Costley & Reilly 2021), I wanted to enable students to complete the questionnaires in their mother tongues. Interestingly, this idea was met with resistance and sometimes disapproval from participants (both professors and students) due to the perceived "strangeness" of encountering Tunisian and Moroccan languages in written form within the university context. This negative attitude towards one's mother tongue, particularly when inserted into a formal setting such as the university, became an additional element of analysis.

Despite initial discouragement from some participants, I proceeded to translate the questionnaires into Tunisian with the assistance of a native Tunisian language participant.

However, when given the option to complete the questionnaires in Tunisian, none of the students chose this language, leading me to discontinue the use of Tunisian and forego translating the questionnaires into Moroccan. Moreover, some students in Tunisia started reading the questionnaires written in Tunisian, almost started laughing, and opted to complete the questionnaire in another language. This behavior confirmed the strangeness of observing the mother tongue in written form in a formal context.

An exception was made during the field research in Tunisia when some students and friends encouraged the administration of online questionnaires. Only 17 students completed the online questionnaires. Online questionnaires were also available in Tunisian, and in this case, 3 students completed them in this language. This element is emblematic of the link between digitization and the expansion of Tunisian, which differs substantially from the representation and writing of the same language in a "traditional" manner with pen and paper, and especially in a non-virtual and formal context. However, due to the poor effectiveness of the online administration system, I quickly abandoned this mode focusing exclusively on questionnaires written on paper and I decided to administer only paper questionnaires in Morocco.

Regarding Berber, I opted not to translate the questionnaires into Berber due to the extremely low number of participants capable of reading and writing in this language in both countries. Despite the significant numerical difference in the number of Berber speakers between Tunisia and Morocco, the ability to read and write in Berber using the Tifinagh alphabet was minimal in both countries. Attempts to translate the questionnaires into Berber were hindered by the lack of available assistance in the translation process.

4.3.4 Interviews

In this research, a total of 32 semi-structured interviews were conducted. 20 interviews were held with students (10 in each country), 10 with professors and/or staff members (5 in each country), and 2 with linguistic activists in Tunisia. The questions asked in the interviews can be consulted in Appendix C. The different identities of the interlocutor presupposed the adaptation in the structure, register, and nature of the interviews. However, semi-structured interviews maintained a common foundation, depending on whether the interviewee was a student or a professor (Kvale & Brinkmann 2009). The duration of the interviews varied from 10 to 30 minutes, with interviews of linguistic activists lasting over an hour.

Interviews with students aimed to analyse their perspectives and views on a wide range of topics related to LP and socioeconomic conditions (Kvale & Brinkmann 2009). The structure of the interviews with students was built on three main research topics: multilingualism and personal linguistic background, socioeconomic situation, education and language-in-education policy. Interviews with professors or staff members allowed me to understand the perspectives of people of different ages and roles on the same topics. They have been able to make a personal judgment and a comparison between the current situation and the situation of previous years. As will be seen in the analysis chapters (Chapters 5, 6, 7, 8), some recurring patterns emerged. An example concerned the positive attitude towards the use of English by many participants, which could be linked to the increasing presence of English among youth in Tunisia and Morocco (Boukadi & Troudi 2017; Errihani 2017).

One of the notable advantages of interviews was their flexibility (Edley & Litosseliti 2010), allowing for dynamic and immediate exploration of research topics. Interviews provided a direct way to capture participants' perspectives, allowing them to express ideas, thoughts, and

perceptions effectively (ibid.). Participants' linguistic practices were observed through their linguistic behaviours, while language attitudes, perceptions, and ideologies were analysed through participants' behaviour, language choice during the interview, and self-reported information. This dynamic highlighted the interplay between language practices and their perception. Aspects related to language practices, attitudes, and perceptions were analysed for all participants, with a particular focus on students, being the most affected and vulnerable part of the LIEP.

Unlike questionnaires, interviews involved constant face-to-face exchanges, where the human and social positions and identities of both the researcher and the participant were influential. Given the semi-structured nature of interviews, they had a fixed structure but were continuously modified, deconstructed, reconstructed, and adapted based on the interlocutor and the course of the conversation (Brown & Danahaer 2019). Interviews were dynamic conversations in which the interviewer actively participates, attempting to understand the motivations behind answers, link different elements in the conversation, and stimulate reflections and ideas (Litosseliti 2003).

Due to the face-to-face and semi-structured nature of interviews, social factors related to the participant's identity could influence the conversation's course and impact the data collected. Factors such as age, gender, ethnicity, nationality, social role, and religion were considered to potentially influence participants' behaviour and conversation dynamics. The behaviour of participants could be influenced by the desire to meet social expectations, providing answers that were socially accepted or perceived to be what the interviewer wanted to hear (Alshenqeti 2014). To mitigate this, two factors were considered.

Firstly, participants' anonymity was guaranteed to facilitate spontaneity, sincerity, and honesty in their responses. Secondly, interviews as ethnography data collection tools, led me to reflect on my positionality and the fluidity of the insider-outsider dichotomy (Milligan 2016). As a linguistic ethnographer, I needed to become an insider within the research community (Hornberger 1988). It was even more important to adapt my identity as an insider/researcher to the different contexts, participants, and situations. At the same time, the adaptation of my identity reflected the dynamic perception that different participants had of me in different situations and contexts. The adaptation or shift of identity had the objective of increasing the sense of solidarity and cooperation between the participants and me.

My social position facilitated this operation because I considered my social identity as fluid and could present myself differently depending on the interlocutor. For instance, I had the opportunity to present myself as a Student, PhD Student, Student Researcher, Researcher, Assistant Lecturer, Teacher, or a combination of these terms. The flow of the identity element mirrored the dynamics of social interactions, and therefore, I opted not to follow a fixed rule. The primary distinction revolved around fostering a sense of solidarity, both with teachers and students. While each interview displayed unique shapes of identity, my general strategy involved presenting myself as a member of the same social category as the interviewee. The linguistic factor also played a role in this. The multilingual (Costley & Reilly 2021), or translingual approach that I used, had the prerogative of increasing the effectiveness of the data collection. For instance, adapting my linguistic identity depending on the interlocutor and allowing the latter to use translanguaging processes has further contributed to increase the sense of solidarity (De Los Ríos et al. 2021) thanks to more effective communication (Canagarajah 2011).

This strategy evolved during the research but was predominantly shaped by my prior life and research experiences in both contexts. The aim was to mitigate the interviewees' desire for social acceptance by providing reassurance, emphasizing anonymity, and establishing a foundation of trust and solidarity inherent in shared social categories. While the strategy's effectiveness cannot be absolute, I can affirm that it has significantly contributed to broadening access to more participants.

4.3.5 Focus groups

In this research, a total of 4 focus groups (2 in Tunisia and 2 in Morocco) were carried out to enrich the data collection through a different method. Focus groups necessitated active, dynamic, and collaborative participation from both participants and the researcher, who was responsible for initiating, stimulating, and moderating the discussion (Colucci 2007). The duration of these groups varied from ten to twenty minutes, aiming not merely for a representative sample but to generate insightful data describing specific social and linguistic phenomena. The same ethical considerations of the interviews concerning the identity of the researcher and the similar nature of the two methodologies were applied during focus groups (Edley and Litosseliti 2010). The increased dynamism of the focus-groups allowed for the involvement of a larger number of individuals, fostering interaction and the development of interesting insights into the research themes (ibid.).

Participants for focus groups were often recruited spontaneously after the completion of questionnaires. In classroom settings, discussions began by inviting students to share comments on the recently completed questionnaires. In other locations like study rooms, cafes,

and corridors, students who returned questionnaires were approached to discuss these topics collectively. While diversity in participant backgrounds could enhance the emergence of varied interactions and perspectives (Kitzinger 1995), the focus group participants were chosen voluntarily and randomly from those who had completed the questionnaire.

Aligned with the principles of empowerment-oriented research (Cameron et al. 1992), the discussions were initiated by asking participants for feedback on the completed questionnaires. Through my moderation, a collective discussion unfolded, aiming to cover various aspects of the research. Focus groups offered the advantage of providing a platform for participants who were hesitant to engage in individual interviews. This preference for collective participation could be attributed to the sense of security and shared identity in a group setting, mitigating potential feelings of embarrassment or vulnerability encountered in individual interviews (Munday 2006).

Notably, the distinction between individual and collective identity became apparent when comparing the behaviour of students participating in both focus groups and interviews. Some students expressed differing opinions in these two settings, potentially influenced by the dynamics of collective participation and the individuality of interviews. In focus groups, the diversity of opinions, interactions, and negotiations between participants contributed to comprehensive discussions and the construction of a collective identity (ibid.). In collective discussions, ideas, beliefs, and attitudes towards the topic investigated, constituted conflicting theses that students felt obliged to support or discredit (Kitzinger 1994, 1995; Litosseliti 2003). In contrast, interviews, being more individualistic, might generate fewer dynamic interactions as the interviewer typically aimed for neutrality, fostering constructive interactions.

4.4 Ethical issues

Ethical approval from the University of Essex was obtained in January 2022 before the first field research period in Tunisia from 28 March 2022 to 30 June 2022. The approved documentation included a description of the ethical considerations that were applied in both research contexts, Tunisia and Morocco. Given the similar nature of the two research contexts and the methodology used, the ethical considerations were the same in both research periods. The ethical approval can be consulted in Appendix H.

At the time of the ethical approval application, prevention measures for the spread and transmission of COVID-19 were still in place at the University of Essex and host countries. A special section of the ethical approval was dedicated to the elaboration of the protocol that all participants were bound to respect in the various steps of the research. During the actual field research in Tunisia and Morocco, COVID-19 prevention measures were relaxed and not mandatory in the main research environments. While maintaining respect for participants' health, I ensured adherence to appropriate social behaviour aligned with general COVID-19 prevention measures and the protocol outlined in the ethical approval.

Before leaving for both research periods, I inquired about the need for special permits for academic research in these countries and individual university institutions. No special permission was required from the government authorities of both countries. In some cases, research activities required permission from individual universities, involving the submission of documentation such as the research proposal (Appendix D). The University of Essex issued travel insurance for the entire period of residence abroad.

4.4.1 Consent

Participants have been anonymised and are not identifiable in any way except for those who have agreed to participate in the research in a recognisable manner, notably the linguistic activists. The activists, advocating for a cause involving human rights, did not seek anonymity due to their public role. Pseudonyms or generic terms like "student," "professor," "staff member", and "activist" were used during data transcription, analysis, and discussion for confidentiality. All collected material, transcribed data, and analyses are accessible exclusively by me and my supervisors. Within the confidential files, participants were anonymized using the aforementioned titles.

In accordance with the guidelines for obtaining ethical approval from the University of Essex, two consent forms were created and used during the research. The forms created were based on the University of Essex template and included general research information, objectives, and ethical considerations. The two forms – one consent form to use oral data (Appendix F) and one consent form to use written data (Appendix G), were delivered before the execution of a particular step of the research alongside an informative sheet (Appendix E).

All participants gave their consent to the use, in anonymous form, of oral and written data. The consent form for oral data, mainly applicable to interviews, was not always seen as necessary by the participants due to the informal nature of many interviews. In cases where the participants did not deem it necessary to sign the consent, I proceeded to record their consent in oral form. The consent form for written data, relative to questionnaires, was always delivered alongside the questionnaires and signed by the participants. A random collection of signed consents aimed to prevent the association of participants' names and signatures with the

questionnaire data. Consent to record during university setting observations and focus groups has been recorded in oral form. Consent forms were presented in English, and if a participant requested a translation, I orally provided translations in Standard Arabic or French.

4.4.2 Material and data storage

All the material obtained has been carefully preserved making sure that the privacy of the participants was always respected. Audio files of interviews, recordings from lesson observations, and focus groups were made and captured using both the recorder on my smartphone and the recorder on my laptop. Subsequently, all files were securely stored in a private and confidential folder protected by a password on the laptop. Regular data backups were conducted on my Google account at the end of each coding and analysis phase. Notes taken using a notebook, smartphone, and laptop during field research were kept private, confidentially, and not shared with anyone. Later, all data was transcribed onto the laptop and stored in a dedicated folder. The questionnaires completed by students were kept privately and transported to the office at the University of Essex. Upon arrival, all questionnaire data was transcribed to the laptop, and the physical copies of the questionnaires remained in my possession.

4.5 Data analyses

This section serves as a bridge between this chapter and subsequent analysis chapters. For instance, I describe the methods I used to analyze the data collected, addressing the research

questions. The results were obtained by combining two types of analysis, quantitative and qualitative, along with a comparative analysis of the data collected in the two research contexts, Tunisia and Morocco. As mentioned in Section 4.3, the different methodological tools utilized yield different types of collected data. The quantitative analysis used data from the questionnaires, while the qualitative analysis drew upon data from interviews, context observation, and focus groups. Triangulation of methodologies and data enhanced the depth of analysis (Denzin 1970), culminating in the conclusions presented in the analysis chapters (Section 5.6; Section 6.6; Section 7.8).

Both the questionnaires and the interviews were organized around thematic areas, and the coding and analysis of the data facilitated the identification of recurring themes. The analysis was structured into two main thematic areas: language-in-education policy and inequalities; language policy, inequalities, opportunities, and challenges for students. Following the coding procedure, sub-themes were identified within these two thematic areas, corresponding to the headings of the subsections in the analysis chapters.

The data analysis process for this study involved an initial familiarization with the content of the questionnaires and interview transcripts to gain a comprehensive understanding of the data. Subsequently, a systematic coding approach was employed, identifying meaningful concepts and recurring themes, which were then labelled with descriptive codes (Elliott 2018). The coding process was iterative, allowing for flexibility to incorporate emergent themes and refine codes as necessary (Holton 2007). In the next sections, I give an overview of both quantitative (4.5.1) and qualitative (4.5.2) coding procedures and analysis.

The first theme of the analysis, language-in-education policy, is the fulcrum of the research and is included across three different chapters: Chapter 5 includes the topic in Tunisia, Chapter 6 in Morocco, and Chapter 7 provides a comparative analysis of the two countries. Within these two thematic areas, the Spolsky model (2004) was consistently considered, contextualizing it within the analysis of social inequalities and exploring interactions at macro, meso, and micro levels in these thematic areas.

Within the macro-thematic area of language-in-education policy, various relevant subthemes were identified. They represent the most recurrent and relevant patterns in this research. Some subthemes were similar in both Tunisia and Morocco, such as the diverse perception of the multilingual educational landscape, analysed in Sections 5.4.1 and 6.4.1, respectively. In other cases, subthemes were approached from different perspectives. For example, the role of the medium of instruction was examined through the lens of language activists in Tunisia (Section 5.4.4) and through the perspective of students and professors discussing translanguaging in Morocco (Section 6.4.4).

The second theme, analysed in the second part of the chapter of analysis (Tunisia: Section 5.5; Morocco: Section 6.5; Comparison: Section 7.6, Section 7.7), naturally evolved from the first. Here, language policy is analyzed to understand its impact on individuals' lives after implementation in schools. This analysis aimed to observe how language policy mechanisms influence students in practical terms. The critical examination of language policy extended beyond the educational sector to encompass a broader historical-structural contextualization.

In each analysis chapter, every thematic area undergoes an initial quantitative analysis based on questionnaire data. This quantitative analysis served as a foundation for a more

comprehensive qualitative analysis, exploring the dynamics investigated. Moreover, these thematic areas were consistently analysed to discern their links with socioeconomic aspects and inequalities. The classification of participants into socioeconomic categories (lower class, middle class, upper class) was determined through specific questionnaire questions, providing a key variable for the study.

4.5.1 Quantitative analysis

The quantitative analysis was based on the data gathered from the questionnaires, forming the initial phase of data examination. The questionnaires were designed to gather data on LP and socioeconomic situations. The LP questions aimed to analyze the overall situation through the three components of the Spolsky model (2004): uses and practices, ideas and beliefs, planning and management. The Tunisian questionnaires comprised 47 questions, while those for Morocco had 39 questions, reflecting adjustments made after the first field research (Tunisia: Appendix A; Morocco: Appendix B). Eight questions present in Tunisia's questionnaires were deemed non-influential and unnecessary for the analysis, leading to their exclusion from the Moroccan questionnaires. This decision resulted from participant feedback, with some considering the questions repetitive or unclear. All responses and information from the questionnaires were transcribed and analysed using basic statistical methods in Microsoft Excel. Information in French and Arabic was translated and input into Microsoft Excel in English.

4.5.1a Socioeconomic status

The information collected in the questionnaires was initially entered into Excel sheets, with one sheet for each country. Each participant corresponded to a row, and their responses were inserted into the respective columns indicating the questions from the questionnaires. Subsequently, I proceeded with the calculation of the socioeconomic status of the participants, considering it a primary discriminatory factor in determining inequalities within the quantitative analysis (House et al. 1990). SES is a crucial factor influencing individual and family health and well-being, shaped by various social and biological factors such as education, income, occupation, age, and physical health (ibid.).

For the calculation, the starting point was a revised version of the adaptation of the Kuppuswamy scale (1976), as modified in 2019 by Wani (Wani 2019). Originally, the Kuppuswamy scale was designed to assess the social class of individuals in the Indian context. It incorporated a composite score, considering the education and occupation of the head of the family along with the monthly family income. Table 2 presents the modified Kuppuswamy scale (Wani 2019), which served as the basis for the scale utilized in this research. This scale assesses three factors: Education of the head of the family, Occupation of the head of the family, and Monthly income of the family.

Table 2 - MODIFIED KUPPUWSWMY SCALE (adapted from Wani 2019)

EDUCATION OF HEAD OF FAMILY	SCORE
PROFESSIONAL DEGREE	7
GRADUATE OR POSTGRADUATE	6

INTERMEDIATE OR POST HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA	5
HIGH SCHOOL CERTIFICATE	4
MIDDLE SCHOOL CERTIFICATE	3
PRIMARY SCHOOL CERTIFICATE	2
ILLITERATE	1
OCCUPATION OF HEAD OF FAMILY	**SCORE**
PROFESSIONAL (WHITE COLLAR)	10
SEMI-PROFESSIONAL	6
CLERICAL, SHOP OWNER/FARM	5
SKILLED WORKER	4
SEMI-SKILLED WORKER	3
UNSKILLED WORKER	2
UNEMPLOYED	1
MONTHLY INCOME OF FAMILY (FEBRUARY 2019 CPI)	**SCORE**
+52,734	12
26,355 – 52,733	10
19,759 – 26,354	6
13,161 – 19,758	4
7,887 – 13,160	3
2,641 – 7,886	2
-2,644	1

Table 3 below shows that the sum of the scores of these three factors - Education of the head of the family, Occupation of the head of the family, and Monthly income of the family - determines the socioeconomic class of the student.

Table 3 – SOCIOECONOMIC CLASS ACCORDING TO THE MODIFIED KUPPUWSWMY SCALE (adapted from Wani 2019)

SOCIOECONOMIC CLASS	TOTAL
UPPER	26-29
UPPER MIDDLE	16-25
LOWER MIDDLE	11-15
UPPER LOWER	5-10
LOWER	1-4

Given the dynamic nature of these factors and the constant transformations in economic development, creating effective measuring scales has been challenging (Wani 2019). Therefore, the scale I used did not aim to yield absolute results but served as a critical interpretation of participants' SES in specific historical contexts within the two research environments. My adaptation of the Kuppuswamy scale was driven by differences in research communities, available data, and a reflexive contextualization of the obtained information.

Notably, I considered the education and employment of (both) parents of the participants (students), departing from the original Kuppuswamy scale, which evaluated only the head of the family. This decision stemmed from my knowledge of the social context in both countries and the obtained data. Recognizing the importance of (both) parents' roles within the family context, regardless of potential gender gaps, was a deliberate choice. Table 4 represents the scale employed in this research. It assesses the same factors as the modified Kuppuswamy scale (Wani 2019). However, unlike the original scale, which considered only the head of the family, this adaptation takes into account (both) parents. A further adaptation concerns the score relating to parental education. I gave an extra point to those who attended a private institution. Also, in this case, the choice was motivated by my knowledge of the context. In calculating the

final score, I considered the sum of the scores of both parents for every factor (education, occupation, monthly income). The score related to the monthly salary has been adapted to the currency of Tunisia and Morocco.

Table 4 – SCALE USED IN THIS RESEARCH

EDUCATION OF ONE PARENT	SCORE
GRADUATE	6
HIGH SCHOOL	4
PRIMARY SCHOOL	2
NO EDUCATION	1
OCCUPATION OF ONE PARENT	**SCORE**
PROFESSIONAL (WHITE COLLAR)	10
SEMI-PROFESSIONAL	6
CLERICAL, SHOP OWNER, MERCHANT	5
SKILLED WORKER	4
SEMI-SKILLED WORKER	3
UNSKILLED WORKER	2
UNEMPLOYED	1
MONTHLY INCOME OF FAMILY (TUNISIA TND)	**SCORE**
+5,000	12
3,000 – 4,999	10
2000 – 2,999	6
1000 – 1,999	4
400 - 999	3

-400	1
MONTHLY SALARY OF FAMILY (MOROCCO MAD)	**SCORE**
+20,000	12
12,000 – 19,999	10
8,000 – 11,999	6
4,000 – 7,999	4
1,600 – 3,999	3
-1,600	1

Table 5 shows that, like the modified Kuppuswamy scale (2009), the sum of the scores of these

three factors determines the socioeconomic class of the student.

Table 5 – SOCIOECONOMIC CLASS ACCORDING TO THE SCALE USED IN THIS RESEARCH

SOCIOECONOMIC CLASS	TOTAL
UPPER	+37
MIDDLE	19-36
LOWER	1-18

Through this calculation, participants were subdivided into three social classes. Tables 6

(Tunisia) and 7 (Morocco) show the percentages of students by social class.

Table 6 – PERCENTAGES OF STUDENTS PARTICIPANTS ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CLASS IN TUNISIA

Tunisia, 204 participants.

SOCIAL CLASS	PERCENTAGE OF PARTICIPANTS
LOWER	21.56%
MIDDLE	54.91%
UPPER	23.09%

Table 7 – PERCENTAGES OF STUDENTS PARTICIPANTS ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CLASS IN MOROCCO

Morocco, 227 participants.

SOCIAL CLASS	PERCENTAGE OF PARTICIPANTS
LOWER	20.2%
MIDDLE	48.45%
UPPER	30.39%

4.5.2 Qualitative analysis

The qualitative analysis served as a critical interpretation of the data derived from context observations, interviews, and focus groups. Qualitative analysis, concerning the connection between linguistic elements and inequalities, differed from quantitative analysis. During interviews, focus groups, and context observation, efforts were made to comprehend participants' ideas, attitudes, opinions, and assessments without extracting personal information about their SES.

Qualitative analyses complemented the quantitative analysis, delving deeper into research topics and bringing forth aspects and dynamics that quantitative analysis alone could not capture (Trullols et al. 2004). The richness of methods employed allowed for the emergence of new facets and insights, fostering the examination of the two thematic areas: LIEP and inequalities; LP, inequalities, opportunities and challenges for students. The semi-structured interviews varied significantly based on the interlocutor. While the initial structure differed depending on the respondent, a consistent thematic framework was maintained for participants within the same social category (e.g., students or professors). The primary themes mirrored those in the questionnaires: education; linguistic repertoire; family language background; language practices and attitudes; social opportunities and challenges; future aspirations; and language needs.

Throughout the interviews, I sought to elicit personal experiences and opinions from the interviewees while also encouraging a broader perspective. This approach yielded a diverse range of data, opinions, and information enriching the ethnographic narrative (Schensul et al. 1999). After all data had been collected, a coding procedure was applied. Table 8 shows an example describing all the steps carried out for the analysis of interviews, starting from the choice of the topic to investigate up to the subthemes investigated in this thesis.

Table 8 – EXAMPLE OF THE INTERVIEW CODING PROCEDURE

(1) Section and question in the interviews	(2) Example of interviews answers	(3) Emerging pattern	(4) Area of analysis	(5) Heading and sub-themes

				analysed in the thesis
Section: EDUCATION Question: *Researcher – Do you think that can be useful to use Darija in teaching?*	*Student #2 – Yes, I definitely think that it would be better to use Tunisian, I mean the more different is the language you use from your mother tongue the more difficult is to study in that language, to adapt, especially when you are a young child.* *Student #7 – I think that if Darija is introduced as language of instruction this can help people*	Positive attitude towards Tunisian as MOI.	Language-in-education policy and inequalities	5.4.3. Post-diglossic perception of Arabic in education

	who don't know well other languages like French or Arabic, especially in sciences.			

The coding procedure involved systematically reviewing interview responses (2), identifying recurring patterns or themes (3), associating them with broader areas of analysis (4), and mapping these findings to specific sections or themes within the thesis for further exploration and discussion (5). This structured approach allowed for a comprehensive and organized analysis of qualitative data. In the following chapters of analysis, the data obtained through qualitative analysis will be presented, trying to bring out the ethnographic aspects observed during the research. I will try to offer a critical interpretation not only of the data and information reported by the participants during the interviews and focus groups, but also of the reactions, motivations, and dynamics behind these data.

Data derived from focus groups shared similarities with interviews data but offered insights into different dynamics and processes. Data obtained through the observation of the context contributed to the interpretation of the thematic areas. The analysis of these data confirmed, contradicted, and expanded considerations and viewpoints (Schensul et al. 1999). This type of analysis provides insights into the general sentiments on a given topic by individual participants, complementing the quantitative analysis that offers numerous individual data points subsequently analyzed collectively (Teddlie & Tashakkori 2009).

4.5.3 Comparative analysis

Chapter 5 will extensively explore the language policy situation in Tunisia, while Chapter 6 will delve into Morocco's context. Subsequently, a comparative analysis will be presented in Chapter 7. Indeed, for a robust comparative examination, it is imperative to thoroughly scrutinize individual cases initially (della Porta 2008; Goodrick 2020). Comparison becomes feasible when concepts and analytical units can be methodologically applied across multiple contexts (Rose & Mackenzie 1991).

The comparative analyses of Tunisia and Morocco will unveil similarities, differences, and patterns within their respective language policies, synthesizing these findings. This synthesis will be achieved through a comparison of both quantitative and qualitative analyses of the two cases. Employing a mixed methodology is common when comparing two cases (Goodrick 2020). Furthermore, quantitative analysis typically precedes qualitative analysis to provide a foundational understanding, with qualitative analysis offering nuanced insights at a later stage (Allardt 1990).

Comparative analysis can extend to various levels (Goodrick 2020). As will be illustrated in Chapter 7, this research incorporates a dedicated section for the macro level, which is partly delineated through text analysis. However, elements of the macro level inevitably permeate both quantitative and qualitative analyses, sourced from participant data. Micro level analysis is evident in both quantitative and qualitative examinations, while elements of the meso level are present across all three sections.

The comparison between the two cases was facilitated by the design and execution of a comprehensive data collection protocol (ibid.), the phases of which were outlined in Section 4.3. This protocol enabled systematic data collection and subsequent thematic analysis aligned with a unified objective. However, variations in research experiences and fieldwork unavoidably influence data collection and analysis (ibid.). For instance, slight adjustments to the questionnaire structure and in the recruitment process were made during the second field research in Morocco, as mentioned earlier.

Other differences in analysis arose from the diverse contexts and timelines in which the research was conducted. However, findings are to be considered reliable because not too much time passed between the two fieldworks (ibid.). A notable distinction concerned the sequence of the two field-based research projects. The first research conducted in Tunisia from the end of March 2022 to the end of June 2022 served to empirically grasp methodological mechanisms and analysis, providing advantages for the subsequent research in Morocco from the end of September 2022 to the end of November 2022. One of these benefits concerned the time factor: in Morocco, I managed to collect more data in a shorter time than in Tunisia. This was possible for several reasons. The experience in Tunisia helped me to understand the challenges in recruiting participants, enhancing my preparedness for research in Morocco.

Another contributing factor is related to the timing of the research. The month of Ramadan, observed from April 1, 2022, to May 1, 2022, introduced changes in school activities and personal schedules, impacting the feasibility of research. The general activity shifted during this month, coupled with alterations in personal habits dictated by religious observance, influenced participant attitudes and posed challenges for research in Tunisia. Furthermore, in

June 2022, the conclusion of Ramadan coincided with most university activities being focused on examinations. This necessitated an adaptation in the recruitment process, which previously occurred predominantly during lessons. With the altered dynamics in attendance and student attitudes within universities, the recruitment process in Tunisia shifted to study rooms, university corridors, and cafes adjacent to these places, which were considered less formal. Students during this period might have been more stressed and less inclined to participate in research, or, conversely, they may have viewed it as a welcomed distraction from their studies.

In Morocco, research (except for interviews conducted in different places such as bars, faculty gardens, corridors, etc.) primarily took place within classrooms, either before or after the lessons I attended. The increased formality of the context and the presence of teachers during the research in Morocco may have influenced participant attitudes. All these factors were into consideration during the analysis. They did not constitute negative elements but rather enriched the study with a diversity of contexts, methodologies, and participants, allowing for the analysis of a greater number of elements, processes, and dynamics. The inability to conduct perfectly symmetrical research and comparative analysis was not a hindrance but rather an incentive to critically observe and understand the differences and similarities between the two countries.

Chapter 5 – Analysis and Results – Language-in-education policy and inequalities in Tunisia

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an investigation of language policy within Tunisia's education system and beyond, employing both quantitative and qualitative analysis. The chapter is divided in two parts. In the first part (Sections 5.2—5.4) the multifaceted examination seeks to show the intricate dynamics and interplay among various components, levels, and influencers within the context of language-in-education policy. A primary goal is to discern the relationship between LIEP and the prevalent socioeconomic disparities within Tunisia. The second part of the chapter (Section 5.5) explores the functional dimensions and repercussions of language policy beyond the school environment in Tunisia. It represents a natural extension of the analyses presented in the first part of this chapter. Overall, this analysis allows gives the possibility to answer the research question in the context of Tunisia.

What is the relationship between language policies and inequalities among students in Tunisia?

To offer a more comprehensive understanding of the micro-level LIEP, before the quantitative and qualitative analysis, I begin by briefly outlining Tunisia's macro-level LP. This encompasses a summary of the official policies enshrined in the nation's constitution and other

legislative instruments. These directives serve as the foundation upon which subsequent levels of LP are built.

Directly linked to the macro-level is the description of meso-level dynamics. Here, I examine how national regulations (macro-level) directly shape or influence LP at the level of educational institutions (meso-level). This influence hinges upon the degree of autonomy granted to individual institutions. Through this lens, I investigate the extent to which state-imposed regulations manifest within the policies adopted by various educational institutions. Notably, this analysis discerns pronounced disparities within the meso-level, particularly when comparing public and private educational establishments in Tunisia.

Moving forward, my investigation moves to the micro-level, characterized by the agency of individuals who both represent and actualize the "real" LP. The quantitative and qualitative micro-level analysis have two separate sections and are based on the data collected during field research, facilitating an in-depth exploration of the alignment between official LP and its implementation on the ground.

The second part of the chapter (Section 5.5) explores the functional dimensions and repercussions of LP beyond the school environment in Tunisia. Shifting the focus to the current and future perspectives of these individuals, this chapter examines the implications, consequences, and effects of LP on the future trajectories of university students through thematic analysis of their responses and behaviours.

The focus of this second part is the functional value of different languages in contexts and moments that extend beyond the school, for example in the university, the realm of

employment, and the broader prospects of students. It is important to note that these prospects often encompass a desire and a necessity for socio-geographical mobility, reflecting the changing landscape of opportunities and the role of LP in shaping them. It is important to recognize that the system of inequalities perpetuated by LP does not cease at the school level but extends into the lives of individuals after they exit the school system.

In this second part, I illustrate how sociopolitical conditions and LP dynamics intersect with critical themes, including university course selection, employment sector possibilities, and aspirations and opportunities for emigration. Discriminatory elements can come into play when a student lacks the necessary language skills to apply for specific university courses, job positions, or visa applications. Conversely, students with a diverse multilingual educational background typically enjoy more extensive opportunities for study, employment, and mobility.

5.2 Language-in-education policy in Tunisia – macro level

In the most recent Constitution of Tunisia (2022), which stands as the highest form of national legislation, two important elements regarding LP are embedded. The first, articulated in Article 6, asserts: "Tunisia constitutes a part of the Arab nation. The official language is Arabic". (Article 6, Chapter 6, Tunisian Constitution 2022). This statement serves as the foundational point for all national language planning, influencing practices and ideologies within the country and serving as a cornerstone for both internal and external language planning endeavours.

The second crucial element is found in Article 44, explicitly laying the groundwork for the language and education planning the state provides for its citizens. Article 44 states, "The State

guarantees the right to free public education at all levels. It ensures that the necessary resources are provided for quality education, teaching and training. The State also sees to the rooting of the younger generations in their Arab and Islamic identity and their national belonging. It ensures the consolidation of the Arabic language, its promotion and its generalization. It encourages openness to foreign languages and civilizations. It ensures the dissemination of the culture of human rights". (Article 44, Chapter 2, Tunisian Constitution 2022).

Both articles underscore the primary role of the Arabic language, without specifying a particular variety. This ambiguity, within a context where various Arabic varieties exist, introduces an ideological and strategic element to LP. While Article 6 may hint at a transnational Arab identity, suggesting Standard Arabic or Classical Arabic as potential choices, the lack of precision contributes to a vague definition in LIEP. Article 44 emphasizes the educational role of the state, indicating that the spread of the Arabic language is a primary prerogative of the school apparatus. It is noteworthy that this is the first article of the constitution specifically addressing education, except for Article 21, which underscores the "partisan neutrality of educational institutions."

Article 44 also recognizes the importance of foreign languages as a means of fostering openness. Therefore, based on the 2022 Constitution, Tunisia theoretically embraces a hierarchical multilingualism and LP where Standard or Classical Arabic holds a primary role, while other languages are considered foreign. This hierarchical structure is maintained in the language planning of the public education system, evident in other education policy texts such as the *Livre Blanc* containing the draft reform of the Tunisian education system (Ministry of Education, Tunisia 2016) and the Educational Sector Strategic Plan 2016-2020 (ibid.), both mirroring the elements outlined in the 2022 Constitution.

Figure 3 (adapted from Daoud 2001) illustrates the number of hours per week for each subject in primary school and the languages used to teach these subjects. Notably, the section on the MOI appears somewhat confusing, failing to distinguish between officially established language planning, which excludes Tunisian, and the actual language practices that commonly involve the oral use of Tunisian in various situations. Another noteworthy point pertains to French, which, unlike Morocco, has served as MOI for STEM subjects in secondary school since the 1990s. Additionally, English is taught as a subject starting from the fifth or sixth year of primary school (Boussabah 2007; Smari & Hortobàgy 2020).

Figure 3. Curriculum primary and secondary school in Tunisia

Primary School	Hours per week									
Years *Subjects*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*	*Language variety used*
MSA	11.5	11.5	10.0	10.0	7.0	7.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	MSA
French			9.0	9.5	11.5	11.0	4.5	4.5	5.0	French
English							2.0	2.0	2.0	English
Humanities	3.0	3.0	3.5	3.0	4.0	4.5	5.0	5.0	5.0	MSA/EA/TA
Maths & science	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5	MSA/EA/TA
Other	2.5	2.5	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	6.0	6.0	6.0	MSA/EA/TA/ French
Total	22.5	22.5	30.0	30.0	30.0	30.0	28.0	28.0	28.5	

Secondary School

Hours per week

Common core			Specialisation tracks Years 12–13					
Subjects	*Year 10*	*Year 11*	*Letters*	*E&M*	*Maths*	*Exp. Sc.*	*Tech.*	*Language variety used*
MSA	4.5	4.5	5–4	3–0	3–0	3–0	3–0	MSA
French	3.5	3.5	4–3	3–2	3–2	3–2	3–2	French
English	3.0	3.0	4–3	4–3	3–3	3–3	3–3	English
3rd foreign lang.	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	Foreign lang.
Humanities	5.5	5.5	7.5–11 (1.5)	4.5–7	3.5–4 (3)	3.5–4 (3)	3.5–4 (3)	MSA/EA
Maths & science	8.5	8.5	4.5– (4.5)	4–5 (3)	13.5	14	10 (1.5)	French/TA
Econ. & Mngt				9–9				French/TA
Technology							8–8	French/TA
Other	4	4(2)	2(2)	2(2)	2(2)	2(2)	2(2)	MSA, French or FL/EA/TA
Total	29	33	31–27	32–32	32–29	32–29	34–33	

Figure 1

According to the *Livre Blanc*, the teaching of Arabic is a fundamental part of the transmission of values of identity, while the teaching of foreign languages is a vehicle of openness towards the world. Also, the official programs of the Ministry of Education (Tunisian Ministry of Education, 2017) emphasize that Arabic is the primary language of instruction throughout the school system. At the primary school level, Arabic is designated as MOI for all subjects except foreign languages. Among these languages, French is introduced as a subject of instruction from the third year, and English from the fifth year. At the secondary school level, these languages are taught as subjects, with a differentiation made between students opting for SHAPE studies and those pursuing STEM studies. STEM studies are conducted in French, while for others, the MOI remains Arabic. During secondary school, students can choose to study a third foreign language from options such as German, Spanish, Italian, Russian, and Chinese.

This hierarchy in language education appears to be reflected in programs and ministerial directives applicable to all educational institutions across the national territory. However, the implementation of these programs at the meso level of LIEP can be influenced by the resources available in different regions of the country. Although specific data is not provided, it can be inferred that not all secondary schools may offer instruction in all the mentioned third foreign languages, with availability potentially linked to the resources and services of individual schools.

Private educational institutions, although supervised and approved by the Ministry of Education, enjoy greater autonomy. From a language policy perspective, they may choose to introduce foreign language instruction from the first year of school and may opt to use these languages as the MOI. The choice between attending a public or private institution throughout

part or all of the educational paths can significantly impact proficiency levels and language practice in both Standard Arabic and foreign languages. This distinction may be correlated with the financial capacity of the student's family, potentially contributing to the perpetuation of social and economic inequality.

As described in the preamble and in several articles of Chapter 1 of the Tunisian Constitution, the state guarantees in different ways and in different sectors equity and social justice for all its citizens. Article 17, for instance, outlines the coexistence of the public and private sectors: "The State guarantees coexistence between the public and private sectors and works to ensure complementarity between them on the basis of social justice." (Article 17, Chapter 1, Tunisian Constitution 2022).

The landscape of LP within university education mirrors that of secondary education to a considerable extent. STEM subjects are commonly taught in French, irrespective of whether the institution is public or private. However, in some universities, there are courses of study entirely conducted in English or with specific courses where the MOI is English. The situation is more intricate for humanities and other subjects related to social sciences, political sciences, and law. Typically, the choice of MOI is specific to each course or subject of instruction. For instance, law and Islamic sciences are usually taught in Standard Arabic, but courses related to the international legal field may use French or English as the MOI. Language courses generally follow the main language of study as the MOI, but these situations necessitate individual verification in the field due to the considerable autonomy enjoyed by university institutions.

It is challenging to provide a precise overview due to the autonomy universities have and their continuous efforts to introduce innovations over the years. Moreover, private university

institutions have even greater autonomy than public ones. In private institutions, it is rare for the MOI to be Standard Arabic. This reinforces the complexity of LP in higher education and highlights the need for an examination on a case-by-case basis to understand the specific language dynamics within individual courses and institutions.

5.3 Quantitative analysis

In this section, I propose a quantitative analysis that seeks to uncover the relationship between language-in-education policy and socioeconomic status among university students in Tunisia. The quantitative analysis is grounded in the responses obtained from the questionnaire administered to the students. Each subsection examines a different component and shows the theme that emerged during coding and data analysis The initial step involves categorizing the participants into three distinct social classes: lower, middle, and upper. This classification sets the stage for an examination of language dynamics, shedding light on how the choice of school may vary across different social classes (5.3.1). In the sections on language management (5.3.2) and language practices (5.3.3), the analysis is based on explicit questions posed in the questionnaire. Differently, ideological aspects related to language permeate all subsections, providing an interpretative lens for the findings.

5.3.1 The significance of languages in relation to social class and the type of school attended

Analyzing the data extracted from the questionnaires completed by 204 university students (Table 9), I investigated the relationship between LIEP and the SES of these students. The participants were categorized into different social classes, revealing that the middle class comprises the largest percentage at 54.91%. The middle class also exhibits the highest percentage of students attending a private university, standing at 7.14%. In terms of university attendance, 94.61% of participants are enrolled in public universities, while 5.39% attend private institutions. It is essential to note that these figures might be influenced by the fact that a significant portion of the questionnaires was administered in public universities, which represent most higher education institutions in Tunisia at 89.6% (UUKi 2019).

Regarding gender distribution, most participants overall are female, accounting for 67.15%. This trend holds across all social classes, with a notably higher percentage of females in the lower social class, reaching 77.27%. Social factors such as age and nationality demonstrate similar patterns among the three social classes, and therefore, they are not deemed particularly relevant for this analysis.

Table 9 –DISTRIBUTION OF UNIVERISTY STUDENTS PARTICIPANTS BY SOCIAL CLASS, GENDER, UNIVERSITY TYPE, AGE, AND NATIONALITY IN TUNISIA

SOCIAL CLASS	PARTICIPANTS	GENDER	UNIVERSITY	AGE	NATIONALITY
LOWER	21.56%	F 77.27% M 22.72%	PUBLIC 95.45% PRIVATE 4.54%	23	TUNISIAN 95.45% OTHER 4.54%

MIDDLE	54.91%	F 65.17%	PUBLIC 92.85%	22.02	TUNISIAN 99.11%
		M 33.92%	PRIVATE 7.14%		
		NB 0.89%			OTHER 0.89%
UPPER	23.09%	F 63.82%	PUBLIC 93.16%	23.09	TUNISIAN 97.87%
		M 36.17%	PRIVATE 6.38%		
					OTHER 2.12%
TOTAL	100%	F 67.15%	PUBLIC 94.61%	22.21	TUNISIAN 98.03%
		M 31.86%	PRIVATE 5.39%		
		NB 0.49%			OTHER 1.96%

The correlation between social class and attendance at a private university does not closely align with the figures for attendance at primary and secondary schools. Focusing on primary school attendance (Table 10), 10.24% of students have attended a private school. The social class with the highest percentage of students who attended a private primary school is the upper class, accounting for 19.14%, followed by the middle class at 9.82%, and the lower class at 4.54%.

Table 10 – PERCENTAGE OF PARTICIPANTS WHO HAVE ATTENDED A PUBLIC OR PRIVATE PRIMARY SCHOOL ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CLASS IN TUNISIA

SOCIAL CLASS	PUBLIC	PRIVATE
LOWER	95.45%	4.54%
MIDDLE	90.17%	9.82%
UPPER	80.85%	19.14%
TOTAL	89.75%	10.24%

Nevertheless, this correlation between social class and attendance percentages is not apparent in secondary school (Table 11). In this scenario, the overall percentage of students attending a private institution is nearly halved, standing at 5.85%. The social class with the highest percentage of students attending a private secondary school is the lower class, with 9.09%, followed by the upper class with 6.38%, and the middle class with 4.46%.

Table 11 - PERCENTAGE OF PARTICIPANTS WHO HAVE ATTENDED A PUBLIC OR PRIVATE SECONDARY SCHOOL ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CLASS IN TUNISIA

SOCIAL CLASS	PUBLIC	PRIVATE
LOWER	90.91%	9.09%
MIDDLE	95.53%	4.46%
UPPER	93.61%	6.38%
TOTAL	94.14%	5.85%

This unexpected situation can be attributed to two factors. The first is statistical and relates to the extremely low percentage of students attending a private secondary school, with the lower class experiencing a more significant impact due to having the lowest percentage of students overall. The second factor is linked to the structure of language planning, as outlined in Section 5.1. Major differences between public and private primary schools include LIEP.

Many private institutions provide the option to use French, and less commonly English, as MOI. Standard Arabic is rarely adopted as MOI in these institutions but is more likely to be taught as a subject. This difference becomes less pronounced in secondary schools where, as observed, the MOI is closely tied to the subject and is primarily Standard Arabic and French. It is also assumed that a student who attended a private primary school has already acquired sufficient language skills in French, obviating the need to attend a private secondary institution for further language proficiency.

The aim of the questionnaire was not to establish that students who attended a private school are more proficient in French than those who attended a public school. However, it can be argued that greater use of the French language (both as MOI and in practice) during primary school may facilitate its continued use in subsequent educational stages. Consequently, students who attended a private primary school, belonging more to the upper social class, may have an advantage in terms of French linguistic skills in secondary school and later at the university level. This advantage is significant, particularly considering that the use of French is a highly influential factor in the choice of secondary education paths and university studies. For instance, French proficiency is an evaluative criterion during the baccalaureate examination for students in STEM pathways, who often continue their university studies in STEM subjects, predominantly using French.

One could argue that students with this advantage in French proficiency face a disadvantage compared to students who attended a public primary school, where the MOI is Standard Arabic. However, this argument is weak when considering the socio-economic implications of LP in historical development. Arabization, since the 1960s, has not influenced the LP of private institutions, consistently linked to French and attended by a minority constituted by the highest

social class. Conversely, it has been a public initiative, over the years, primarily addressed to the majority of the Tunisian population, consisting mostly of the middle and lower classes.

Arabic, therefore, is not inherently a discriminatory element if understood as a language in all its varieties, given the assumption that all Tunisians are acquainted with it. The disparity arises when considering different Arabic varieties. While most Tunisians can speak Tunisian, their mother tongue, not everyone can be considered fluent in Standard Arabic. Knowledge of Standard Arabic can thus be viewed as another discriminatory factor, though of lower significance than French, as domains and sectors where Standard Arabic serves as the language of communication are considerably fewer and generally less lucrative. Despite public primary education mandating Arabic as the MOI, intentional ambiguity concerning the distinction between Standard Arabic and Tunisian contributes to a situation where, although students theoretically used Arabic as MOI for about a decade, they often encounter challenges in using the standard variety, both in written and oral communication.

5.3.2 Prevalence of French in teachers language management

The linguistic hierarchy, where French is the predominant discriminating factor followed by Standard Arabic and Tunisian, is rooted in a particular form of planning or management, evident in the human interactions within the educational context (Table 12, Table 13). Most students indicated that their teachers encouraged them to speak French at both the primary level (74.73%) and secondary level (75.81%). Similarly, the percentages for Standard Arabic were 65.07% and 62.43%, respectively. Tunisian, however, is significantly in the minority, with 34.43% and 33.46%. English was also considered, with percentages of 59.41% and 61.46%.

Although there are no substantial differences between social classes, a correlation emerges, once again linking French and English with the upper class and Standard Arabic with the lower class.

Table 12 – UNIVERSITY STUDENTS PARTICIPANTS-REPORTED TEACHER SPOKEN LANGUAGE PREFERENCES IN TUNISIAN PRIMARY SCHOOL, BY SOCIAL CLASS

SOCIAL CLASS	LANGUAGES				
	ARABIC	FRENCH	ENGLISH	TUNISIAN	OTHERS
LOWER	65.45%	69.54%	57.72%	30.45%	0.45%
MIDDLE	64.46%	75.89%	57.85%	37.85%	1.61%
UPPER	61.27%	76.59%	66.38%	31.48%	0%
TOTAL	65.07%	74.73%	59.41%	34.43%	0.78%

Table 13 – UNIVERSITY STUDENTS PARTICIPANTS-REPORTED TEACHER SPOKEN LANGUAGE PREFERENCES IN TUNISIAN SECONDARY SCHOOL, BY SOCIAL CLASS

SOCIAL CLASS	LANGUAGES				
	ARABIC	FRENCH	ENGLISH	TUNISIAN	OTHERS
LOWER	67.27%	66.81%	56.36%	39.09%	2.72%
MIDDLE	65.53%	77.85%	61.78%	32.32%	5.71%
UPPER	54.46%	77.87%	65.53%	31.91%	0%
TOTAL	62.43%	75.81%	61.46%	33.46%	3.43%

This teacher attitude sheds light on several considerations, including the lack of alignment between different levels of LP. Despite macro and meso-LP suggesting Standard Arabic as the primary MOI, teachers, who play a significant role in micro-LP, often prefer French.

In both situations (Table 12, Table 13), the action of the teacher can be influenced by the combination of an ideological aspect and a practical aspect. The will of the teacher reflects only partially the need to apply the LP envisaged. Instead, the factor that determines a higher percentage of French may be linked to the presence of an ideology that sees French as the most formal, prestigious, and elitist language. At the same time, the practice of Tunisian is contrasted because it is surrounded by a negative ideology, which considers it as a language of informal communication, incorrect, and devoid of a grammatical structure.

5.3.3 Prevalence of Tunisian in students (spoken) language practices

As indicated by the following data (Tables 14 and 15), the most spoken language among pupils and teachers is Tunisian, followed by French, Arabic, and English. Similar to the previous data, there are no substantial differences between social classes, yet a correlation exists between Arabic and the lower class, and French and English with the middle and upper classes.

Table 14 – LANGUAGE SPOKEN WITH TEACHERS IN PRIMARY SCHOOL ACCORDING TO UNIVERSITY STUDENTS PARTICIPANTS IN TUNISIA, BY SOCIAL CLASS

SOCIAL CLASS	LANGUAGES				
	ARABIC	FRENCH	ENGLISH	TUNISIAN	OTHERS

LOWER	65.45%	57.27%	40%	65.91%	0.91%
MIDDLE	53.57%	63.57%	41.78%	83.39%	2.67%
UPPER	54.04%	60.42%	43.82%	71.91%	2.12%
TOTAL	56.19%	60.58%	39.81%	76.19%	2.25%

Table 15 – LANGUAGE SPOKEN WITH TEACHERS IN SECONDARY SCHOOL ACCORDING TO UNIVERSITY STUDENTS PARTICIPANTS IN TUNISIA, BY SOCIAL CLASS

SOCIAL CLASS	LANGUAGES				
	ARABIC	**FRENCH**	**ENGLISH**	**TUNISIAN**	**OTHERS**
LOWER	68.63%	60.91%	44.09%	60.91%	2.27%
MIDDLE	54.82%	63.39%	46.25%	74.82%	3.92%
UPPER	53.61%	64.68%	48.93%	70.21%	2.12%
TOTAL	57.07%	62.73%	47.31%	68.68%	3.52%

The language practices observed (Tables 14 and 15) can be comprehended as outcomes of the language management implemented by teachers (Tables 12 and 13). In practical terms, this involves the reaction to a teacher's corrective action or instruction for students to use a language other than the one they are currently employing. At times, teachers may encourage students to speak in a language different from what they use in other forms of social interaction, such as conversations between two or more students. Differently, in Tables 16 and 17, a distinct and more informal dynamic emerges, where there is a more pronounced majority in favour of using Tunisian, the predominant mother tongue.

Table 16 – LANGUAGE SPOKEN WITH CLASSMATES IN PRIMARY SCHOOL ACCORDING TO UNIVERSITY STUDENTS PARTICIPANTS IN TUNISIA, BY SOCIAL CLASS

SOCIAL CLASS	LANGUAGES				
	ARABIC	FRENCH	ENGLISH	TUNISIAN	OTHERS
LOWER	50%	46.36%	38.63%	85%	0%
MIDDLE	33.92%	47.5%	35.17%	90.35%	1.25%
UPPER	35.31%	45.53%	38.29%	85.53%	2.12%
TOTAL	34.14%	45.65%	36.39%	87.71%	1.17%

Table 17 – LANGUAGE SPOKEN WITH CLASSMATES IN SECONDARY SCHOOL ACCORDING TO UNIVERSITY STUDENTS PARTICIPANTS IN TUNISIA, BY SOCIAL CLASS

SOCIAL CLASS	LANGUAGES				
	ARABIC	FRENCH	ENGLISH	TUNISIAN	OTHERS
LOWER	46.36%	53.18%	46.36%	76.36%	0.91%
MIDDLE	29.28%	51.42%	37.67%	95.35%	2.5%
UPPER	33.19%	47.65%	43.41%	87.65%	2.12%
TOTAL	33.46%	50.43%	39.91%	88.09%	2.15%

Considering social classes, it can be observed that, both in the interactions between student and professor and between student and student, the lower class is always the one that uses the least Tunisian and the one that uses the most Standard Arabic. This can be determined by the fact that it is the class that most needs social elevation and that therefore considers the linguistic element as an important factor in the affirmation and promotion of its status. Therefore, in this case, the use of Arabic contrasts with the use of Tunisian, considered as the low variety within a situation of diglossia. Observing the tables relating to practices between students (Table 16,

Table 17), it is seen that there is a significant difference between social classes in the use of Standard Arabic, which is still less than the use of the Tunisian which is distributed similarly among the different social classes.

Written language practices are also investigated. The assessment of language planning for written language is based on data on the language used in written assignments, where practices are influenced by the two other LP elements: ideology and planning. As previously noted, planning can be defined as ideological when it differs substantially from the most common language practices associated with speech. The use of Standard Arabic, French, and English is substantially inferior to the use of Tunisian in terms of speech for all social classes. In contrast, as the data show (Table 18, Table 19), there is greater use of French in writing, accounting for 79.71% (primary school) and 74.34% (secondary school), followed by standard Arabic with 71.51% (primary school) and 70.53% (secondary school), English with 52.68% (primary school) and 57.36% (secondary school), and finally Tunisian with 21.07% (primary school) and 20.58% (secondary school).

Table 18 – LANGUAGE USED IN WRITTEN ASSIGNMENTS IN PRIMARY SCHOOL ACCORDING TO UNIVERSITY STUDENTS PARTICIPANTS IN TUNISIA, BY SOCIAL CLASS

SOCIAL CLASS	LANGUAGES				
	ARABIC	**FRENCH**	**ENGLISH**	**TUNISIAN**	**OTHERS**
LOWER	76.36%	59.54%	46.63%	21.81%	0.45%
MIDDLE	71.96%	72.14%	56.61%	23.75%	1.42%
UPPER	68.51%	74.46%	55.74%	17.02%	2.12%
TOTAL	71.51%	79.71%	52.68%	21.07%	1.56%

Table 19 – LANGUAGE USED IN WRITTEN ASSIGNMENTS IN SECONDARY SCHOOL ACCORDING TO UNIVERSITY STUDENTS PARTICIPANTS IN TUNISIA, BY SOCIAL CLASS

SOCIAL CLASS	LANGUAGES				
	ARABIC	**FRENCH**	**ENGLISH**	**TUNISIAN**	**OTHERS**
LOWER	72.27%	64.09	54.54%	20.45%	0%
MIDDLE	71.07%	75.17%	56.96%	41.42%	7.32%
UPPER	70.21%	78.29%	58.29%	16.59%	2.55%
TOTAL	70.53%	74.34%	57.36%	20.58%	5.19%

The most notable data pertains to Tunisian, which, not expected as a MOI and a written language in this context, has the lowest figures. Interestingly, French appears to be more commonly used than Standard Arabic, even though, especially at the primary school level, it is not employed as the MOI for other subjects. An explanation for this anomaly can be found by considering the different social classes. Within these classes, we observe that the use of French in the lower class is lower than that of Standard Arabic, particularly at the primary school level. This might be related to the fact that a smaller percentage of lower-class students attended a private primary institution where the MOI was French.

5.4 Qualitative analyses

Through the following qualitative analysis, I elaborate on the study of the connection between LIEP and socioeconomic inequalities. The structure of the analysis deals with several elements

that have emerged from the collected data and have been inserted into this narrative. In this chapter, four specific points emerged: the students' perception of multilingualism in education (Section 5.4.1); the negative evaluation of language proficiency and teaching (Section 5.4.2); the perception of Arabic diglossia in education (Section 5.4.3); the revaluation of mother tongues by activists (Section 5.4.4).

The analysis is built on various types of data and includes excerpts from interviews, considerations from focus-groups interactions, as well as notes from field research observations. In this analysis, only those interviews and parts of the interviews considered appropriate to the themes analyzed are considered and reported. The same applies to the two focus-groups that have been carried out and of which only those parts of one of them are analyzed. Context observation notes contribute to enriching the ethnographic narrative. The length of extracts may vary based on content and relevance. Finally, extracts in Arabic and French have been transcribed by me, and the use of different languages is also a subject of analysis.

5.4.1 Multilingual but diverse perception of the linguistic panorama in education

During interviews, participants were asked about their experience with LIEP and invited to share their opinions on the overall situation. The following excerpts (1, 2, 3) reveal that certain participants articulate their experiences in a manner consistent with the official LIEPs. These excerpts are presented together to underscore the diverse perspectives on a singular topic.

(EXC1) Student #1 – Yes, we study in formal Arabic, and we also study some scientific subjects in formal Arabic in primary school then we switch to French in high school, the last 4 years of secondary school.

The linguistic situation described by Student #1 is one of apparent multilingualism in which Arabic has a primary role, and French is the language of science at the secondary level. This is in contrast with Student #2 who introduces English into the multilingual landscape and outlines a hierarchy in language usage. While most studies were in Arabic, English, and French had specific roles, with a noteworthy distinction between Standard Arabic and Tunisian Arabic.

(EXC2) Student #2 - I study English now, but in high school, I studied French, Arabic, and English. Most of my studies were in Arabic, subjects like art, philosophy, then in second place English and French. Standard Arabic not Tunisian Arabic.

Student #6 below further enriches the linguistic landscape by introducing German as an optional course. This emphasizes a broader multilingualism in the educational system, with Arabic and French retaining central roles and English, along with other foreign languages, being incorporated.

(EXC3) Student #6 - I study English. In primary schools Arabic and French. In secondary Arabic, French, English, and German as optional course.

The educational environment, marked by multilingualism and as shown above, could be characterized as an enriched form of bilingualism. Arabic and French, each with distinct roles, occupy central positions, while English and other foreign languages play a supplementary role.

A closer examination of students' perspectives on Arabic reveals instances where the multilingual description of the educational system includes differentiation between various Arabic varieties. While a detailed analysis of this aspect will be undertaken in Section 5.4.3, it is crucial to acknowledge that the terms employed by participants to describe Arabic hold significant, sometimes ideological, value. The presence or absence of differentiation between different Arabic varieties adds another layer of complexity to the linguistic landscape.

5.4.2 Negative evaluation of language proficiency and teaching

The description of the LIEP situation is further enriched by the insights provided by a Professor of Arabic language. Beyond comparing the current LIEP with the past, the professor emphasizes how multilingualism can be perceived as problematic, leading to a degradation of language proficiency. In this context, it becomes necessary to include an excerpt (4) featuring the entire interview response, which offers a comprehensive description and evaluation of the LIEP.

(EXC4) Professor #1 - Dans les années 1970, l'enseignement reposait sur deux langues, l'arabe littéraire et le français, qui étaient enseignées parallèlement dès le début. En dernière année, les étudiants pouvaient choisir entre un diplôme en arabe ou en français. À présent, les étudiants commencent avec le français dès la deuxième année, tandis que l'arabe est enseigné à partir de la première année. Les choses ont évolué, et nous avons intégré davantage de langues, notamment l'anglais, au niveau secondaire. Cependant, depuis les années 1970, l'anglais était déjà enseigné en troisième année du secondaire. À présent, nous proposons également l'enseignement de nombreuses autres langues au niveau secondaire, comme l'italien, l'allemand, etc. Nous avons une grande diversité linguistique, qui est également liée au système

universitaire, où de nombreux départements proposent des langues comme matières principales ou optionnelles. Cependant, ce que je remarque, c'est la pauvreté du niveau linguistique, principalement au niveau primaire, qui influence ensuite le niveau linguistique dans l'enseignement secondaire et supérieur. Je constate une dégradation de la maîtrise des langues. [In the 1970s, education was based on two languages, literary Arabic and French, which were taught concurrently from the beginning. In the final year, students could choose between a diploma in Arabic or French. Now, students start with French from the second year, while Arabic is taught from the first year. Things have evolved, and we have incorporated more languages, including English, at the secondary level. However, since the 1970s, English was already being taught in the third year of secondary school. Currently, we also offer the teaching of many other languages at the secondary level, such as Italian, German, etc. We have a great linguistic diversity, which is also linked to the university system, where many departments offer languages as main or optional subjects. However, what I notice is the poor linguistic proficiency, mainly at the primary level, which then influences linguistic proficiency in secondary and higher education. I observe a deterioration in language mastery.]

According to Professor #1, despite a favorable assessment of the great linguistic diversity at the school level, there is a marked linguistic poverty among students. From a sociolinguistic perspective, the observations made during contextual observations and various stages of the research align more with the concept of linguistic richness than poverty. Multilingualism established through language planning contributes to enriching the linguistic repertoire and language practices of students, frequently involving translanguaging.

Professor #1's perception of linguistic degradation may stem from a traditional ideology that views languages as distinct entities, each with its designated domain of use, and does not

readily embrace translanguaging practices. As a professor of Arabic, the participant could conceive the term "linguistic degradation" as the perceived influence of other varieties in conflict with Arabic. Conversely, students express concerns about the suboptimal quality of language education. I have included two excerpts (6,7) to facilitate a comparison of different viewpoints that converge on a common theme—the perceived deficiency in the quality of language education.

(EXC5) Researcher – What do you think about language education?

(EXC6) Student #8 – It depends on the teacher. In university, my English teacher speaks only English, except after class when she speaks Derja. In primary and secondary schools, they use also Arabic because they think you are still learning, and it can become easier for you to understand. English teachers I had didn't have good pronunciation, good accent; in French are better, French is still the primary language.

Student #8 describes a situation of extreme multilingualism that brings together both planning and practices elements. The student expresses concern about English teacher proficiency and accent. The emphasis on French as the primary language is noteworthy. At the same time, Student #2 below echoes concerns about English teacher proficiency, questioning their academic level and expressing dissatisfaction with the overall quality of teachers in high school.

(EXC7) Student #2 - The teacher, some of them have a good accent, others really suck, and you ask yourselves how they become English teachers. They don't have an academic level, and in

high schools, most of my teachers were not good, especially the accent. I've never met the teacher of my dreams.

Students #8 and Student #2 are students of English and describe their English teachers' preparation as inadequate. This negative assessment can be determined by a widespread ideology and attitude that considers sociolinguistic elements, such as accent and pronunciation, as discriminatory. The issue, therefore, lies not in the accent of these teachers but in the underlying ideology and attitude that lead students to evaluate the quality of education based on these elements.

Moreover, another ideological element contributing to this negative perspective is the association of English with modernity, while the figure of the teacher, influenced by factors like age and role, is seen as more connected to tradition. In contrast, Student #8 highlights the excellent quality of their French teachers, aligning this positive assessment with the primacy of French. French plays a primary role and, among the different elements that emerged in the following extracts (8—10), the change of MOI for STEM subjects between primary and secondary schools was not always positive.

(EXC8) Researcher – Était-ce un problème de passer d'une langue à l'autre au collège ? [It was a problem to switch language in secondary school?]

(EXC9) Student #10 – Non, je veux dire que le problème réside dans l'alphabet, mais le contenu est le même. Nous recommençons depuis le début. Bien sûr, si vous êtes déjà bon en français, vous n'avez pas de problème, mais si vous n'êtes pas bon en français, c'est un gros problème. [No, I mean the problem lies in the alphabet, but the content is the same. We start from the

beginning. Of course, if you are already good at French, you have no problem, but if you are not good at French, it's a big problem.]

Student #10 highlights a specific issue related to the alphabet when switching languages. The student suggests that the challenge is not the change in language itself but the adjustment to a different alphabet. Proficiency in French becomes crucial, posing a potential barrier for those who do not command the language. On the other hand, Student #5 below offers insights into the perceived difficulty of studying in Standard Arabic. The student expresses a preference for studying in French due to its perceived simplicity, emphasizing the challenges associated with Standard Arabic, especially in terms of speaking proficiency. This underscores the impact of the language switch on students' experiences and performance in STEM subjects. As noted in the quantitative analysis (Section 5.3), French and Standard Arabic can therefore be considered a discriminatory element. Knowledge of French can once again be linked to a socioeconomic factor since those who have better knowledge of it can be attributed to attending a private primary school, most frequented by the upper and middle classes.

(EXC10) Student #5 - Il est plus facile d'étudier toujours en français parce que les mots sont plus simples. L'arabe standard est très difficile, plus que les autres langues. J'ai encore des difficultés, je connais l'arabe, mais j'ai des difficultés aussi parce que nous n'avons pas l'habitude de beaucoup parler cette langue. [It is easier to study always in French because the words are simpler. Standard Arabic is very difficult, more than other languages. I still face difficulties; I know Arabic, but I struggle as well because we are not accustomed to speaking this language extensively.]

The use of French as MOI was also analyzed during a focus-group with students who had just completed the questionnaires. The setting was the Faculty of Science at the University of Tunis, and most, if not all, students were studying STEM subjects with French as the MOI. During the focus group, a process of translanguaging occurred, with participants using various linguistic processes and forms. In this case I often used French to introduce myself to the participants. This choice was also dictated by the reflection that French was the main MOI in this faculty. However, during the recruitment process and questionnaires, a minority of students preferred to use French. The most used language in interactions between participants was Tunisian, and in the questionnaires, Arabic was the predominant language. In interactions with me, English was the most used language. Moreover, during focus I observed that most students did not believe there was a connection between educational language planning and inequalities.

The complex language dynamics revealed that although French was the MOI, students did not necessarily consider it their preferred language, highlighting differences in mastery and use among students. Considering that French is more prominent in the language policies of private institutions than in public ones, I directed the discussion toward whether students who attended private institutions had advantages in language skills. A highly participatory student, proficient in French, acknowledged that while this situation might offer advantages, it largely depends on the individual student's willingness. This participant noted that many students face difficulties with French, especially when studying STEM subjects at the university level.

Another recurring element of discussion concerns another aspect of LP within the broader context of educational policies - the issue of outdated school materials and programs. Typically falling under the meso level of language policies, individual institutions have some freedom in choosing textbooks, but they must align with the programs mandated by the ministry. In

Tunisia, however, the state holds a monopoly on the creation of textbooks, as emphasized in the following excerpts (11, 12).

(EXC11) Student #1 – The program is very old, books have maybe more than 20 years, it is not good. At the university is different, but we don't buy books. In schools, the books are always the same, and we pass them on to our younger siblings. From my perspective, language books are super old, and there aren't many topics, more current topics, more helpful to understand the current situation. For example, we still study the history of Tunisia in primary, secondary, and high school. It is a repetition, and it is boring. Books are the same in all schools, except in private schools, and except in universities of course.

Student #1 highlights concerns about outdated school programs and textbooks, emphasizing that the materials, especially in languages, are old and lack relevance to current situations. The repetitive nature of the curriculum is seen as uninteresting and suggests a need for more up-to-date content. Student #5 below confirms the sentiment about outdated programs, emphasizing the generational continuity of outdated materials. The concern about using the same programs across generations raises questions about the adaptability and relevance of the education system to contemporary needs. It is necessary to stress the link between socioeconomic issues and the difference between public and private schools.

(EXC12) Student #5 - Je pense que ce sont simplement les programmes qui sont très anciens. Ce sont les mêmes que ceux que mes parents ont étudiés, et peut-être que mes enfants étudieront les mêmes. [I think it's simply the programs that are very old. They are the same as those my parents studied, and perhaps my children will study the same ones.]

As evident from the following interviews (13, 14), private schools enjoy advantages in terms of resources. While it may not be asserted that the quality of teaching is inherently superior, it is reasonable to claim that greater access to resources can impact the overall quality of teaching and learning, including language education.

(EXC13) Student #9 - Je pense que les élèves des écoles privées ont plus d'avantages en raison de l'environnement, de l'accès aux ordinateurs, etc., tandis que dans les écoles publiques, ce n'est pas le cas. [I believe that students in private schools have more advantages due to the environment, access to computers, etc., whereas in public schools, this is not the case.

Student #9 highlights the perceived disparities between private and public schools, particularly in terms of resources and overall environment and Student #10 acknowledges the advantages of private schools, emphasizing better standards and conditions, especially at the primary level.

(EXC14) Student #10 - Au niveau primaire, oui. Parce que le niveau est plus élevé, les conditions sont meilleures. [At the primary level, yes. Because the standards are higher, the conditions are better.]

While it may not be asserted that the quality of teaching is inherently superior, it is reasonable to claim that greater access to resources can impact the overall quality of teaching and learning, including language education. Assuming that the lower socio-economic class has fewer students attending private institutions, a clear scenario of inequality becomes apparent.

5.4.3 Post-diglossic perception of Arabic in education

The analysis continues with a specific focus on language practices, always considered within the dynamic process that includes planning and ideologies. As previously mentioned, a significant element concerns the ambiguity around the different varieties of Arabic. Arabic is studied as a subject both at the primary and secondary levels, and it is intended to be the major MOI in primary school while serving as the MOI for humanities only in secondary school. As explained by Professor #1 (15), this ambiguity can be associated with the lack of clarity in macro-LP. I would also add that it is tied to the ideology linked to this language planning.

(EXC15) Professor #1 - On peut parler d'une certaine mosaïque linguistique, mais il n'existe pas de politique claire concernant les objectifs et le rôle de ces langues, ni d'orientation générale à leur égard. Il en va de même pour l'utilisation de la langue arabe, qui est un problème polémique et politique. Nous avons besoin d'un débat sur cette question, ainsi que d'une position claire du gouvernement et d'une politique bien définie concernant la nature de cette langue, avec une déclaration nette sur son utilisation, tout comme pour les autres langues. Actuellement, nous ne disposons pas de ce type de réglementations. Il est nécessaire de préciser le statut et le rôle des langues au sein de la société. [One can speak of a certain linguistic mosaic, but there is no clear policy regarding the goals and role of these languages, nor a general orientation towards them. The same applies to the use of the Arabic language, which is a controversial and political issue. We need a debate on this matter, as well as a clear government stance and a well-defined policy regarding the nature of this language, with a clear statement on its use, just like for other languages. Currently, we do not have such regulations. It is necessary to specify the status and role of languages within society.]

The absence of clear regulations contributes to the linguistic ambiguity observed in the subsequent interviews with students (16, 17). These interviews reveal varying conceptions and an underlying uncertainty among students regarding the distinctions between Standard Arabic and Derja (Tunisian).

(EXC16) Researcher – When you say Arabic, you mean Derja?

Student #1 – No, mmm, yes…

Researcher – Do you think there is a difference?

Student #1 – Yes, there is a big difference. They teach how to write in Arabic, but when we speak it's easier speaking in Derja, as well as the pronunciation. If you tell me a story in Derja I can write it in Arabic. It's different when we speak because I speak every day in Derja.

Student #1 shows an initial uncertainty about the difference between Standard Arabic and Tunisian Arabic, called in this case Derja. The initial "no" could be linked to the fact that the LIEP provides that students must use Standard Arabic. I further investigated this uncertainty by asking for clarification on the difference between the two languages. The student emphasizes that the most significant difference lies between the written and spoken forms, assigning specific domains that align with her proficiency in each variety. For this student, Derja is solely regarded as a spoken language and is not recognized as a distinct Arabic variety, which, according to her, pertains exclusively to the written form. In a subsequent excerpt (17), Student #2 provides a clear distinction between various Arabic varieties and introduces an additional one – slang.

(EXC17) Researcher – Did you use Standard Arabic when you had to speak with your teachers?

Student #2 – No, we use Tunisian, but most of the time we had to use Standard Arabic, we must use this language because then the exam is in Arabic. But with my classmates, we speak our slang.

The description of the situation is complex as it reveals distinctions not only in interactions between students and professors or students and students but also in the various modalities of interactions among students and professors. These differences may stem from varying degrees of power dynamics and formality in the interactions. Informal exchanges, such as those between students, are marked by the use of informal language, Derja, and slang. In more formal interactions, likely during academic discussions or oral presentations, students are required to use Arabic, particularly in exams.

The most common oral attitude and practice tend to favor the use of Tunisian. I aimed to explore how these attitudes and practices align or conflict with ideological elements. To do so, I redirected the discussion toward a potential shift in the status and role of Tunisian, including its possible inclusion as the MOI. The following excerpts (18, 19) present a spectrum of opinions on this matter.

(EXC18) Researcher – What do you think about the idea of Derja as an official language?

Student #7 – I think that if Derja is introduced as the language of instruction this can help people who don't know well other languages like French or Arabic, especially in sciences.

Student #7 acknowledges the potential benefits of using Derja as the MOI, particularly for those less proficient in other languages. In addition, Student #2 expresses a strong preference for using Derja in written form, highlighting the significance of the mother tongue in education. Moreover, Student #2 below underscores the challenges of studying in a language different from one's mother tongue and advocates for the use of Tunisian, aligning with the idea of facilitating education through familiar languages.

(EXC19) Researcher – What do you think about the idea of using Darija also in the written form? Do you think that using Tunisian in schools can help people who don't know French for example?

Student #2 – Honestly, I'd love this, because it's my mother tongue and I don't understand we must use Standard Arabic […] I definitely think that it would be better to use Tunisian (as MOI), I mean the more different is the language you use from your mother tongue the more difficult is to study in that language, to adapt, especially when you are a young child.

Students #7, and Student #2 have positive feelings and attitudes towards Tunisian and they clearly emphasize the role that the mother tongue can have in facilitating understanding, learning, and communication. These statements seem dictated by logical and, to some extent, ideological considerations. All these students were students of English, and during the interviews, expressed a strong interest and knowledge in the topic of research. Their attitudes reflected a positive outlook toward openness to other cultures, accompanied by a somewhat negative stance towards traditional values. Consequently, the favourable reception of introducing Tunisian as the MOI or officialising it stems from the perception that it could serve

as a functional element and represent an innovative departure from the traditional system. In contrast, the following extract (20) shows an opposite position, contrary to the introduction of Tunisian as MOI.

(EXC20) Researcher – هل تعتقد أن نظام التعليم في تونس يمكن تحسينه؟ استخدام "العامية" في تدريس الرياضيات

أو مواد أخرى يمكن أن يكون مفيدًا؟

[Do you think that the education system in Tunisia can be improved? Using 'ammiya for teaching maths or other subjects can be helpful?]

Student #4 – La, hetha amr moustahil, n7na ma nqra3 'l-3ammiya, w n7na ma nkteb 'l-3ammiya, nstkhdm 'l-3arabiya 'l-fuṣḥa. Yjeb 'an ykun koll shay' b'il-lugha l-3arabiya ayḍan fi-l-marhalat ath-thaniya w kazalik fi-l-jamiat, li-anna-na b-haja 'ila tahsin wad3i l-lugha l-3arabiya fi-l-3alam, li-tahsin wad3i ash-sha3b l-3arabi. [No, this is impossible. We don't read in colloquial Arabic, and we don't write in colloquial Arabic; we use Standard Arabic. Everything should be in the Arabic language also in the second stage and likewise in universities, because there is a need to improve the state of the Arabic language globally, to enhance the role of the Arabic language in the world, and to improve the condition of the Arab people.]

Student #4 explains the answer through the dichotomy of diglossia, extending the position of the Arabic language outside national borders and linking it to the transnational concept of the Arab community, *al- 'Umma al-'Arabiyya.* An interesting element emerged during this interview and highlights how the perception of the difference between Arabic and the mother tongue is also linked to an ideological element. The interviewee was a student of Arabic and asked to carry out the interview in Standard Arabic. I started asking questions in Standard

Arabic, but I noticed that she was answering me in Tunisian. When I asked her if she was speaking in Standard Arabic or Tunisian she replied simply "*Atahaddath biallughat al-arabiyyah*" [I am speaking in Arabic].

This statement and the subsequent response reveal a specific perception of the Arabic language covering all varieties of Arabic, both Standard and Tunisian. This perception arises from the fact that speakers often do not discern the difference between Tunisian and Standard Arabic during speech. Language practices are characterized by translanguaging where the speaker uses the linguistic resources at his disposal without considering languages as bounded entities. However, when metalinguistic discussions take place, the disparity between languages is emphasized through ideological considerations, partially influenced by the concept of diglossia. This ideology aligns with language planning that does not envision the formalization of the Tunisian language through standardization. Consequently, a negative attitude towards the mother tongue emerges when the mother tongue is considered Tunisian, and a positive attitude when the mother tongue is considered Arabic. These tendencies are also noticeable among other linguistic influencers in the academic realm, such as professors. In the following interview (21), Professor #3 articulates a pessimistic view regarding the incorporation of Tunisian in educational settings.

Researcher (EXC21) – هل تعتقد أن يمكن أن يكون من المفيد استخدام الدارجة في المدرسة؟

[Do you think it could be beneficial to use Darija in school?]

Professor #3– لا، لا بالنسبة للدراسة؟

[To study? No, no.]

Researcher – "لماذا؟"

[Why?]

Professor #3 – لأن هذه اللغة هي لغة البيت، ليست نفس اللغة.

[Because this language is the language of the home, it is not the same language.]

Researcher – Ne pensez-vous pas que lire ou un livre en Darija ou yadrus bil Darija pourrait être plus facile ? [Don't you think that reading a book in Darija or studying in Darija could be easier?]

Professor #3– لا. لماذا؟ لأن الدارجة ليست غنية مثل اللغة العربية. ليس لديها الكثير من الكلمات مثل العربية التي تحتوي على الكثير من الكلمات لكل مجال.

[No. Why? Because Darija is not as rich as the Arabic language. It does not have many words like Arabic, which has a rich vocabulary for every field.]

Researcher – حسنًا، ماذا عن الأشخاص الذين لا يتقنون اللغة العربية الفصحى بشكل جيد؟

[Well, what about individuals who do not master Standard Arabic well?]

Professor #3 – هذه مشكلة. لأنهم يعرفون فقط لغة البيت، يتحدثون بها في الشؤون وفي أحيائهم، لكنهم ليس لديهم حاجة حقيقية للتحدث باللغة العربية الفصحى. أنا أقول إن الدارجة ليست حتى لغة، لا يمكننا أن نسمي الدارجة لغة لأنها ليست لديها قواعد، لا لديها قواعد لغوية. اللغة تحتاج إلى قواعد وقواعد لغوية مثل العربية. نحن نستخدم هذه اللغة ولكن ليس في المحادثات اليومية.

[This is a problem because they only know the language of the home, speak it in their affairs and daily lives, but they don't have a real need to speak Modern Standard Arabic. I say that Darija is not even a language; we cannot call Darija a language because it lacks rules, it does

not have linguistic rules. A language needs rules and linguistic rules like Arabic. We use this language, but not in daily conversations.]

In this interview, Professor #3 expresses a strong stance against the incorporation of Darija (Tunisian) in educational settings. The professor argues that Darija, being the language of the home, is not suitable for academic study, primarily because it lacks richness compared to Standard Arabic. The professor emphasizes the importance of linguistic rules, asserting that Darija lacks the necessary structure for formal education. This perspective reflects a traditional viewpoint that associates academic language with a set of linguistic rules, with a clear preference for Standard Arabic. The interview illustrates the resistance to accepting Darija as a language suitable for formal education, emphasizing the perceived inadequacies and the preference for the established linguistic norms of Standard Arabic.

Through interviews, focus groups, context observation, and informal discussions, it has been noted that a prevailing negative attitude toward the use of Tunisian in schools exists among various stakeholders within the education system. While some students view Tunisian as a potentially beneficial language for enhancing language planning in education, no professors have expressed support for this innovation. The negative stance toward the use of the mother tongue as MOI may be influenced by the roles and ages of teachers. Referring back to EXC4, this negative attitude could be a contributing factor to language degradation, potentially leading to a devaluation of the traditions where higher forms of Arabic are considered to be Standard Arabic and Classical Arabic.

5.4.4 Revaluation of mother tongues: perspectives from activists

The issue of the mother tongue is closely linked to the creation of an unequal system since it is attested that the use of the mother tongue as MOI can facilitate learning. This topic was further investigated through an interview with two members of an association of linguistic activists that promotes the recognition of Tunisian as an official language. In the following words (22) of one of the two interviewed activists, can be seen how an accurate perception of the differences between the different varieties could contribute to the establishment of an official LP more adherent to the real LP.

(EXC22) Activist #1 - Nous souhaitons montrer que le tunisien n'est pas en conflit avec l'arabe littéral, nous voulons démontrer qu'il s'agit de langues différentes. En Tunisie, notamment dans le domaine de l'éducation et de l'enseignement de base, ce conflit existe. Les gens pensent que la langue arabe est la langue maternelle des Tunisiens et que les enseignants devraient corriger les erreurs des élèves qui utilisent le tunisien, considérant le tunisien comme une langue dérivée de l'arabe mais comme une version incorrecte de l'arabe. Nous souhaitons montrer que le tunisien est une langue différente, qu'il provient d'une autre origine, avec sa propre structure et ses mots différents. Bien sûr, il y a beaucoup d'arabe dans le dialecte tunisien, mais ce n'est pas de l'arabe littéral. Accorder de la valeur à notre langue maternelle, c'est accorder de la valeur à notre culture, à notre histoire, à tout ce qui touche à notre identité. [We want to show that Tunisian is not in conflict with Literary Arabic; we want to demonstrate that these are different languages. In Tunisia, especially in the field of education and primary teaching, this conflict exists. People believe that Literary Arabic is the mother tongue of Tunisians, and teachers should correct the mistakes of students who use Tunisian, considering it as a derived language from Arabic but an incorrect version of Arabic. We want to show that Tunisian is a different language, originating from a distinct source, with its own structure and different

words. Of course, there is a lot of Arabic in the Tunisian dialect, but it is not Literary Arabic. Valuing our mother tongue is valuing our culture, our history, everything related to our identity.]

Activist #1 highlights the ongoing conflict between Tunisian and Literary Arabic, particularly within the realm of education and primary teaching in Tunisia. The activist emphasizes the misconception that Literary Arabic is considered the mother tongue of Tunisians, leading to the belief that Tunisian is merely a derivative or incorrect version of Arabic. The activist's goal is to dispel this notion, asserting that Tunisian is a distinct language with its structure and vocabulary. By advocating for the recognition and appreciation of Tunisian as a separate language, the activist connects language value to the broader aspects of culture, history, and identity.

(EXC23) Reseracher - Pourquoi ce conflit entre l'arabe et la langue tunisienne ? [Why is there this conflict between Arabic and the Tunisian language?]

Activist #2 : Parce qu'il existe ce conflit entre la langue élevée, l'arabe littéral, qui a toujours été utilisée dans l'éducation, et la langue tunisienne, qui n'a pas de valeurs reconnues. Lorsque les élèves utilisent le tunisien dans leurs écrits, ils font des erreurs, et on considère qu'ils utilisent le langage de la rue, ce n'est pas l'arabe réel, celui qui a de vraies valeurs. Il y a toujours cette idée de l'arabe classique, celui avec des valeurs, et l'autre, sans valeurs. Les personnes et les politiciens qui maîtrisent l'arabe veulent aussi montrer qu'ils sont supérieurs aux autres. Cela se produit également avec le français. Les langues élevées et les langues populaires reflètent la société et la relation qui existe, c'est un avantage pour les personnes qui maîtrisent les langues élevées, et cela existe depuis la création de la politique linguistique

après l'indépendance. [This conflict exists because of the tension between the formal language, Literary Arabic, which has always been used in education, and the Tunisian language, which lacks recognized prestige. When students use Tunisian in their writings, they make mistakes, and it is considered as using street language, not the real Arabic with true values. There is always this idea of classical Arabic, the one with values, and the other, without values. People and politicians who master Arabic also want to show that they are superior to others. This also happens with French. Formal languages and vernacular languages reflect the society and the relationship that exists; it is an advantage for those who master the formal languages, and this has been present since the establishment of language policies after independence.]

In these last words (23), Activist #2 explicitly articulates the link between LP, socio-economic disparities, and the potential role that Tunisian could assume if recognized as an official language and MOI within the educational system. The activist contends that a linguistic hierarchy exists, mirroring a social hierarchy. This hierarchy designates not only Standard Arabic but also French as occupying privileged positions as the "high languages" within the educational system, being the official languages used in formal situations, including written communication.

In contrast, Tunisian is relegated to the "low" rung of the hierarchy, viewed primarily as a language for everyday communication with seemingly fewer functional implications. Consequently, a mastery of the "high languages" confers advantages to a select few, whereas proficiency in Tunisian, despite being the mother tongue of the majority, is not considered advantageous. The activist highlights the discriminatory nature of language requirements, especially in domains where knowledge of French, Standard Arabic, and, potentially, English is mandated, contributing to socio-economic disparities.

From another perspective, Berber can be regarded as another mother tongue within the Tunisian population, albeit spoken by a minority. In this case, I investigated the topic during an interview with a Berber linguistic activist. While the situation of Tunisian and Berber differs in terms of ideology, practicality, and planning, the following statement (24) emphasizes that the revaluation of the Berber language as an official language aligns with principles of equality and respect for diversity.

(EXC24) Activist #3 - Avant tout, nous avons besoin de la reconnaissance officielle de la langue berbère en tant que langue co-officielle aux côtés de l'arabe. Cela permettrait non seulement d'accorder à la langue berbère le statut légal qu'elle mérite, mais aussi de la rendre accessible dans les institutions éducatives et l'administration publique. De plus, nous avons besoin de politiques linguistiques globales qui allouent des ressources pour le développement de matériels en langue berbère, des programmes de formation des enseignants et des initiatives culturelles. Il est crucial de créer une société inclusive qui valorise la diversité linguistique et soutient les droits de tous ses citoyens, y compris les locuteurs de la langue berbère. [First and foremost, we need the official recognition of the Berber language as a co-official language alongside Arabic. This would not only provide the Berber language with the legal status it deserves but also make it accessible in educational institutions and public administration. Additionally, we need comprehensive language policies that allocate resources for the development of Berber language materials, teacher training programs, and cultural initiatives. It is crucial to create an inclusive society that values linguistic diversity and supports the rights of all its citizens, including speakers of the Berber language.]

Education in the mother tongue brings advantages to students rather than education in a different language (Corder 1983). Initial education and literacy in the mother tongue have also the potential to increase access to education, especially for the most marginalized groups such as minority groups (UNESCO 1953, 2010, 2012). In this case, we saw two types of minorities. The first is represented by a social minority which consists of those who have no command of the "high languages" of the country. The second is an ethnic minority which is deprived of fundamental rights. Through the analysis, however, it is evident that the first of the two minorities, probably constituting most of the Tunisian population, is not recognized as such because of the combination of ideology, planning, and language practices. The efforts of the activists and the rare positive attitudes towards Tunisian are not enough to subvert an unequal system. As for Berbers, however, despite the acclaimed demand, the minority they represent is not strong enough to achieve the desired result.

5.5 Language policy, opportunities and challenges for students

This second part of the chapter explores the functional dimensions and repercussions of LP beyond the school environment in Tunisia. It represents a natural extension of the analyses presented in the first part of this chapter. Here, I examine the implications, consequences, and effects of LP on the future trajectories of university students through thematic analysis of their responses and behaviours. Like in the first part of the chapter, the analysis encompasses both quantitative (Section 5.5.1) and qualitative (Section 5.5.2) findings.

5.5.1 The role of language in shaping opportunities for young Tunisians – quantitative analysis

In Tunisia, as in many countries, language plays a pivotal role in determining the prospects of young individuals. Linguistic barriers, driven by socioeconomic inequalities, can significantly limit young individuals' access to higher education, employment opportunities, and the possibility of pursuing careers abroad. The following findings showcase the multifaceted impact of language on young Tunisians' lives, exploring its influence on their educational paths, career choices and aspirations for socio-geographical mobility.

5.5.1a Language and higher education opportunities in Tunisia

One critical domain where language profoundly affects young Tunisians is higher education. Socioeconomic inequalities have created a divide in language proficiency, with the upper classes often having an advantage in linguistic skills, particularly in French and English, due to better educational opportunities and resources. Moreover, language-related challenges also impact young people's ability to pursue successfully in higher education. As already seen in Chapter 5, many university courses in Tunisia still use French as the primary MOI, making it difficult for students with less developed skills in French to enrol in certain programs.

From the data, the theme of higher education opportunities and language skills emerged significantly, and, following the analysis made in Chapter 5, I bring to light some of the recurring patterns. A discernible pattern that emerges from the analysis sheds light on the correlation between the perceived utility of languages for university courses and students' social class. As illustrated in Section 5.3.1 and in Table 34 below, the consensus among students

is that French holds the highest utility value for attending university courses, garnering a significant 75.91%. Following closely is English, with 71.61%, while Arabic lags at 45.17%, and Tunisian registers at 26.14%.

Table 20 – THE MOST USEFUL LANGUAGE FOR UNIVERSITY COURSE ACCORDING TO STUDENTS PARTICIPANTS IN TUNISIA, BY SOCIAL CLASS

SOCIAL CLASS	LANGUAGES				
	ARABIC	**FRENCH**	**ENGLISH**	**TUNISIAN**	**OTHERS**
LOWER	55%	59.09%	66.81%	25.45%	1.36%
MIDDLE	45.53%	79.46%	71.78%	26.61%	3.21%
UPPER	41.71%	81.27%	76.59%	25.53%	5.11%
TOTAL	45.17%	75.91%	71.61%	26.14%	3.23%

Notably, when we stratify these preferences across different social classes, a clear trend emerges. Students from higher social classes display a higher preference for both French and English, while the prominence of Arabic diminishes as we move up the social class ladder. Several factors contribute to these intriguing findings. Initially, one might attribute this trend to the type of educational institution attended—whether public or private—given that private institutions frequently employ French and English as their MOI.

Moreover, a more detailed examination reveals a compelling correlation between students' social class and their choice of university courses. Specifically, data shows (Table 21) that 43.18% of students from lower-class backgrounds are enrolled in Arabic-centric courses like

BA in Arabic Studies or MA in Teaching Arabic to Speakers of other languages. In contrast, only 15.17% of students from the middle class and a mere 4.25% from the upper class pursue similar Arabic-focused programs.

Table 21 – PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS PARTICIPANTS ATTENDING ARABIC STUDIES COURSES IN TUNISIA ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CLASS

SOCIAL CLASS	PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS
LOWER	43.18%
MIDDLE	15.17%
UPPER	4.25%
TOTAL	18.62%

It is important to acknowledge that the dataset also incorporates responses from students enrolled in other courses where Arabic serves as the primary MOI or remains relevant. In any case, the research was carried out mainly with students attending STEM courses (50.98%), and therefore, the most plausible explanation is that there is a trend that sees lower-class students more inclined to pursue studies where the most useful language is Arabic than middle and upper-class students. In contrast, it seems that middle and upper-class students tend to favor programs in STEM or other subjects that are often delivered in French or English and constitute the majority of courses in private universities.

This observed trend is rooted in economic disparities and differences in linguistic proficiency. Lower-class students frequently contend with limited financial resources, which can hinder their enrollment in private primary and secondary schools that offer French-language instruction. Moreover, pursuing a private university education, which heavily depends on financial means, often results in exposure to curricula taught in French or English.

Consequently, students from lower social classes may feel "compelled" to choose programs taught in Arabic, often categorized under the domain of SHAPE subjects.

The data related to Tunisian may initially appear perplexing, especially when considering that it serves as the mother tongue for most participants. My personal experiences and observations within the university setting further underscore the prevalence of Tunisian, particularly in informal interactions where it consistently emerges as the predominant language of choice. However, the surprising aspect lies in its perceived significance, or lack thereof, among the participants.

In the context of this research, it becomes evident that Tunisian, despite being widely spoken in everyday life, is not regarded as a language of substantial functional importance. This perspective is chiefly attributed to the limited usage of Tunisian, both in written and spoken formal interactions. Consequently, its functional value, as perceived through the lens of our research questionnaire, has been narrowly construed within the realm of formality. This constrained perspective effectively diminishes the genuine functional role that Tunisian plays as a language of informality, bridging social classes in daily conversations. This type of pattern, which reveals the association between social class and the tendency to prefer a specific subject, has also been observed during the analysis of LP in primary and secondary school in the first part of this chapter. Its further confirmation at the university level does nothing but testify that these linguistic and social hierarchies cannot be disentangled within the school path.

5.5.1b The need for better English teaching

In Section 5.3.1 and Section 5.5.1a, data showed how the choice of university courses can be influenced by the linguistic variety that constitutes the primary MOI and the students' proficiency in it, influenced by their primary and secondary education. Indeed, the lower class appears to be more inclined to choose a course with Arabic as the primary MOI. This choice likely stems from the fact that lower-class students have a better command of Arabic compared to French and English due to their educational background. In contrast, the middle and upper classes are less inclined to enroll in Arabic courses because their proficiency in French and English provides them with a broader range of choices. Once again, the proficiency of the middle and upper class in French and English is linked to the education they received.

In the questionnaires, I asked the students which language needed greater improvement in teaching. Enhancing the teaching of a language could lead to improved proficiency and greater freedom of choice in university courses. Examining the data in Tables 22 and 23 reveals other interesting trends.

Table 22 – PERCEPTIONS ON THE NEED FOR IMPROVED LANGUAGE TEACHING QUALITY IN SCHOOLS ACCORDING TO STUDENTS PARTICIPANTS IN TUNISIA, BY SOCIAL CLASS

SOCIAL CLASS	LANGUAGES				
	ARABIC	FRENCH	ENGLISH	TUNISIAN	OTHERS
LOWER	60.91%	66.81%	77.72%	26.81%	6.81%
MIDDLE	58.03%	70.89%	89.11%	26.61%	5.17%
UPPER	61.27%	74.04%	91.06%	29.36%	0%

TOTAL	59.02%	70.04%	88.58%	26.04%	3.33%

The data show a temporary interruption in the usual linguistic hierarchy, where French typically occupies the top position, and this is attributed to the data related to English. In my interpretation, this deviation can be attributed to two principal factors. The first factor reflects the rise in the global significance of the English language. As a dominant global lingua franca, English holds increasing importance in various spheres of life, including education and employment. Secondly, this shift can be linked to the perceived lower quality of English language instruction within the country, which is partly due to its relatively shorter history within the educational system compared to French. This perception is reflected in the questionnaire's responses, where a significant majority of participants, both at the basic school level (88.58%) and university level (85.85%) (Table 23), express the need for improvements in English language teaching.

Table 23 – PERCEPTIONS ON THE NEED FOR IMPROVED LANGUAGE TEACHING QUALITY IN UNIVERSITIES ACCORDING TO STUDENTS PARTICIPANTS IN TUNISIA, BY SOCIAL CLASS

SOCIAL CLASS	LANGUAGES				
	ARABIC	FRENCH	ENGLISH	TUNISIAN	OTHERS
LOWER	53.63%	63.18%	84.09%	19.09%	3.63%
MIDDLE	52.85%	68.75%	88.03%	24.28%	4.11%
UPPER	47.65%	72.76%	87.65%	28.93%	0%
TOTAL	50.82%	67.21%	85.85%	24.29%	3.03%

When examining the data concerning university teaching (Table 23), we do not observe substantial differences across various social classes. However, at the school level, we notice that as social class increases, the percentage of respondents advocating for better English language instruction also rises. This phenomenon might be attributed to the heightened career aspirations of students from higher social classes, who anticipate greater reliance on English in their professional lives. Consequently, their higher expectations regarding English language education could be seen as a reflection of their ambition and demand for quality instruction.

5.5.1c English as the language of the upper-class job market

Middle and upper social classes tend to harbour future aspirations that align more closely with careers requiring proficiency in English. These aspirations encompass a greater inclination to seek opportunities for studying or working abroad, as well as a desire to secure positions within international companies for economic reasons. It is worth noting that many job opportunities demanding English proficiency in Tunisia often involve roles within foreign companies.

Particularly among participants from the middle and upper classes who pursue STEM subjects, the perpetuation of socioeconomic inequalities manifests in the job market. The demand for English proficiency is particularly high in STEM-related fields, and these students are more likely to aim for careers in such sectors, further amplifying linguistic and socio-economic disparities. Conversely, individuals from lower social classes tend to place less emphasis on the importance of English, and to some extent, French, in their career aspirations.

This discrepancy can be attributed to their comparatively less ambitious job aspirations. As previously noted in Table 21, many lower-class students enrol in Arabic courses, possibly to pursue teaching careers. While teaching can provide a dignified livelihood, it often falls short of offering the high salaries associated with more economically ambitious professions. Table 38 shows how this disparity in career aspirations and language requirements underscores the influence of socioeconomic factors on students' educational choices and prospects.

Table 24 – THE MOST USEFUL LANGUAGE FOR FUTURE EMPLOYMENT ACCORDING TO STUDENTS PARTICIPANTS IN TUNISIA, BY SOCIAL CLASS

SOCIAL CLASS	LANGUAGES				
	ARABIC	**FRENCH**	**ENGLISH**	**TUNISIAN**	**OTHERS**
LOWER	52.27%	66.81%	77.72%	26.81%	6.81%
MIDDLE	44.64%	79.46%	83.03%	27.32%	8.21%
UPPER	45.11%	80%	89.36%	27.23%	7.23%
TOTAL	46.24%	77.46%	83.14%	26.63%	7.35%

Lastly, to reaffirm the growing prominence of English over French in Tunisia's future landscape, students were asked to give a more generalized opinion about the language that could play an important role in their future. This question broadens the perspective of previous data regarding specific areas such as university courses and work.

Table 25 – LANGUAGE OF THE FUTURE ACCORDING TO STUDENTS PARTICIPANTS IN TUNISIA, BY SOCIAL CLASS

SOCIAL CLASS	LANGUAGES				
	ARABIC	FRENCH	ENGLISH	TUNISIAN	OTHERS
LOWER	52.72%	53.63%	80%	30%	5.91%
MIDDLE	37.5%	58.21%	86.25%	35.35%	5.35%
UPPER	45.95%	61.27%	89.78%	38.29%	1.71%
TOTAL	42.24%	57.56%	85.85%	34.43%	4.56%

As noted in Table 25, English maintains its dominant position, and this trend correlates with higher social class. French, taking the second spot, mirrors the trend of English. The lower social class continues to show the most favourable disposition towards Arabic (52.72%), while Tunisian consistently occupies the last position (34.43%). This contrast in attitudes towards Tunisian compared to Arabic may hint at underlying diglossia-related ideological considerations.

In summary, these data provide an overview of the functional hierarchy of languages at the university level, where French and English hold significantly higher positions than Arabic. Arabic retains importance primarily within specific courses, particularly for students from lower social classes. Furthermore, the data shows how English has displaced French from its traditional position at the top of the linguistic hierarchy, particularly concerning students' prospects.

However, the quantitative analysis alone cannot capture the full spectrum of these patterns. To investigate deeper and gain a more comprehensive understanding, the following qualitative analysis focuses on the individual educational experiences of some participants. Through this lens, the research aims to uncover nuances within these patterns and explore how students navigate their linguistic choices beyond the university setting. This exploration shows the diverse experiences and viewpoints of participants collected through interviews and focus groups, contributing to a more holistic understanding of the functional dynamics of different linguistic varieties, even after the university phase.

5.5.2 Linguistic disparities and aspirations: challenges faced by Tunisian students – qualitative analysis

In the conducted interviews, the significance of languages, especially English, in the university context frequently surfaced in questions about the student criteria for the choice of specific courses and career paths. This qualitative approach enabled an exploration of the linguistic factors influencing their decisions, as well as insights into their future aspirations. It became evident that many students based their choices on their language proficiency, which, in turn, was primarily influenced by their exposure to the language. Additionally, future aspirations were closely linked to employment opportunities and the desire to emigrate. Both factors are significantly shaped by an individual's socioeconomic status and, as we will see, can be influenced by linguistic elements, sometimes resulting in discriminatory outcomes. The excerpts from the interviews considered in this discussion have been chosen to construct a narrative that encompasses a diversity of opinions while also highlighting the most prevalent

trends and patterns such as: English and its informal educational acquistion (Section 5.5.2a) and the functional value of languages for emigration (Section 5.5.2b).

5.5.2a English as a language of choice: an informal educational path

One of the most common patterns concerns the English language and the informal learning of it. Many students emphasized that their proficiency in English and their positive attitude towards the language were the result of leisure activities, such as watching movies and listening to music, rather than formal education. The issue of future aspirations is fundamental for understanding how a student's linguistic repertoire, acquired during their university education, influences their prospects. The first example (25) concerns a student who has chosen to study English for specific reasons and aspirations.

(EXC25) Student #1: I have studied English at University because I've not been selected for the Business School, it (English) wasn't my first plan. I prefer English to French. My mother teaches French, but my siblings are more interested in English, and I grew up watching movies and listening to music in English.

Researchers: What do you want to do in your future?

Student #1: I don't know but I'd like to study something else, like engineering or other stuff and of course, English will help me a lot.

This student's choice was influenced by a previous failure to achieve a different academic goal. During the interview, it became apparent that this student was highly proficient in English, and that the rejection from the Tunis Business School - the only public business school in the city where all courses are conducted in English - was likely not due to linguistic factors. Moreover, the choice of enrolling in the English course was dictated by two reasons: one linked to her linguistic background and one linked to the functional value of English at university.

In this case, the fluency and interest in English are attributed to media consumption and specific family dynamics that can be contextualized - also thanks to other information that the participant has provided me - in a medium-high socioeconomic environment. For this student, proficiency in English is not the result of her previous educational path but is seen as crucial to her current and future education. Student #1, a first-year undergraduate student, does not yet have clear ideas about her future university, but having this command of the English language, allows her to have a wide range of possibilities. Interestingly, Student 2# (26) described a situation not too distant from the previous one.

(EXC26) Researcher: Why did you decide to study English?

Student #2: I love it. Since I was young, I have been used to listening to music in English, watching movies in English with my elder siblings even if my father is a French teacher and my mother doesn't know English very well.

Researcher: What do you want to do in the future?

Student #2: I want to do a MA in International Relations and after maybe work in an embassy in Europe. I need to know English and also French can be helpful.

Student#2's family background closely mirrors that of Student#1, and in the following part, we see how language proficiency plays a crucial role in their academic and career aspirations. Student #1 and Student #2 emphasized that their language proficiency and positive attitudes toward English were largely shaped by media consumption. This perspective underscores the democratizing aspect of English acquisition. In contrast with the quantitative analysis (Section 5.5.1c), which often linked English proficiency to social class, the interviews reveal the democratizing influence of the media. Interviews reveal that media platforms, the internet, and technological advancements are making English language skills more accessible across different social classes. Factors such as globalized media consumption, social media exposure, and digital communication contribute to breaking down traditional barriers, allowing individuals from diverse backgrounds to enhance their English proficiency. The prevalence and impact of Western media culture have facilitated gradual language acquisition for many students as Students #6 (27) testifies:

(EXC27) Student #6: Even people who don't study English are interested in it, and most of them can speak it, just learning by themselves […] In general, the whole system of English (teaching) is not good.

In Section 5.5.1b, data shows a negative opinion toward the formal teaching of English. On the other hand, here, the combination of this general low quality of teaching and the widespread availability of media resources has paradoxically reduced the socioeconomic gap by providing access to resources of adequate quality to a broader population. Finally, the last extract from

Student #2 (26) is highly relevant for the next topic of discussion. This topic represents an issue of great significance among young Tunisian students, namely the desire for proficiency in English and the aspiration to emigrate, often for work-related reasons.

5.5.2b Language and emigration

Given the limited opportunities and economic hardships, many young students from Tunisia are driven to emigrate abroad in search of perceived better prospects and increased opportunities. However, the lack of language proficiency can become a barrier in the host countries, where proficiency in the national language, mainly French and English, is often required for employment and higher education. As a result, young Tunisians may find it challenging to integrate into the job market or academic settings abroad. Section 5.5.1 has provided a brief overview of the origins of this uncomfortable situation that young Tunisians face today, as is further supported by the following words of a student (28):

(EXC28) Researcher – Que pensez-vous de la situation de la société, notamment des jeunes ? [What do you think about the situation of society, especially the youth?]

Student #5 – Je pense que la situation des jeunes sera très difficile dans les années à venir. Il y a beaucoup de chômage, il n'y a pas de technologies, il n'y a pas de respect dans la société, il y a beaucoup de corruption, de contrebande et de désordre, de barnak. [I think the situation of the youth will be very difficult in the years to come. There is a lot of unemployment, there are no technologies, there is no respect in society, there is a lot of corruption, smuggling, and disorder, corruption.]

Researcher – Pensez-vous que les étudiants universitaires sont dans une meilleure position que les autres personnes ? [Do you think university students are in a better position than other people?]

Student #5 – Oui, je pense que nous avons des avantages, les diplômes tunisiens ont de la valeur, nous avons plus d'opportunités d'emploi que les autres. [Yes, I think we have advantages. Tunisian diplomas are valuable, and we have more job opportunities than others.]

During field research in Tunisia, I was able to observe how this discomfort is extremely widespread in many segments of the population. This sense of discomfort is prevalent among various parts of the population, not limited to young people but affecting all those grappling with unemployment, job insecurity, poor working conditions, rising inflation, and constant political instability. However, it is important to recognize that university students, due to their specific characteristics, may have different aspirations and more advantages compared to other demographic groups, as acknowledged by Student #5.

In this section, however, the data reflects the situation from the linguistic point of view through the voices of the participants who expressed ideas about living abroad. Indeed, by investigating the topic qualitatively, it is possible to notice that among the participating students there are different points of view and elements to take into consideration. While Students #1, #2, and #5 answered my question *"Do you want to live in Tunisia or abroad?"* (In English or French) with simple but effective sentences like *"I don't mind but I want to go …" (29), "I want to leave Tunisia, I like Europe" (30), "I dream to leave Tunisia" (31),* another student, Student #3 (32),

provided a more detailed account of her linguistic journey at the university, driven by the need to escape Tunisia.

(EXC32) Student #3: My license [degree] *was in Arabic, but I chose this MA because I want to go abroad, it's the fastest way to go abroad. I'd like to go to Canada, but it's too hard now. Maybe France, or Italy, because I have my brother. Or Gulf countries, I don't know. When you go everywhere is good, no matter which country. Just go away from Tunisia because the situation is not good and is getting worse.*

This student was pursuing a degree in Teaching Arabic for non-native speakers and believed, influenced also by one of the professors of the course, that numerous opportunities existed abroad in this field. Not going into the merits of job opportunities in this area, I limit myself to saying that this student was not very fluent in English or French. Indeed, she started with "*My license* [degree] *was in Arabic …"* and she told me that her mother does not speak any other language. Maybe also for this reason, her opinion towards the functional value of these languages was, as can be seen below (33), very reflective of a prevalent opinion within the Tunisian society:

(EXC33) Researcher: Do you think that people who know English and French have more advantages?

Student #3: Yes, more job opportunities, but within the (Tunisian) society are not important, they are just skills. French of course gives you more opportunities than English.

In this student's view, French and English are considered skills that, like many others, can provide advantages in the job market. This perspective underscores the student's perception of languages primarily as a means to achieve other goals. It is also representative of the situation in Tunisia, where French still holds greater functional importance than English, but a shift is not excluded in the future. Student #6 (34), who was enrolled in an English studies program, shares a similar sentiment but also acknowledges the growing significance of English among younger generations.

(EXC34) Researcher: Do you want to live in Tunisia or abroad?

Student #6: Abroad. In Tunisia English is not so important, we have French and Arabic. I think that with the new generation things will change.

Other students echoed similar sentiments regarding the increasing importance of English for younger generations, the desire to emigrate, and the necessity of English to fulfil these aspirations. Only Student #4, who was studying Arabic, expressed a preference for living in Tunisia, responding with a firm " "*La, neheb na'ish fi Tounes*" [No, I want to live in Tunisia] (35) when asked about emigration. However, her preference is likely influenced by her linguistic and educational background. She was a student of Arabic, and she was the only student participant who conducted the interview in Arabic, also due to her limited proficiency in English and French. Furthermore, her will to live in Tunisia aligns both with her aspiration to become an Arabic teacher, and her identity belonging to her motherland, but also to her lack of need for fluency in other languages.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has provided an analysis of the relationship between LP and socioeconomic disparities in Tunisian education and beyond. Data from questionnaires underscored significant disparities in language proficiency, with students in private schools exhibiting superior French and English language skills compared to their counterparts in public schools. Socioeconomic status played a pivotal role in this divide, with privileged backgrounds correlating with higher linguistic proficiency, reinforcing the educational inequality prevalent in Tunisia.

Qualitative insights shed light on the lived experiences within the Tunisian education system. Multilingualism, particularly the interplay between Arabic, French, English, and Tunisian emerged as a complex dynamic. Challenges in English language instruction, varying teacher proficiencies, and linguistic negotiation between Standard Arabic and Tunisian added layers of complexity. Furthermore, linguistic activists advocated for the recognition and valorisation of mother tongues like Tunisian and, at a lower level, Berber, positioning linguistic diversity as a potential tool for challenging language hierarchies.

Chapter 6 Analysis and Results – Language-in-education policy and inequalities in Morocco

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I examine language policy within Morocco's education system and beyond, employing both qualitative and quantitative analyses. Like Chapter 5, this chapter is divided in two parts. In the first part (Sections 6.2—6.4) the education sector is analysed, while in the second part (Section 6.5) the focus shift on the period after school and the effect that LP has on it. This analysis gives the possibility to address the research question in the context of Morocco.

What is the relationship between language policies and inequalities among students in Morocco?

The analysis begins by considering the macro-level LP in Morocco. This level encompasses laws, reform plans, and constitutional or legislative policies at the national and official scale. These overarching policies wield significant influence over the meso and micro levels of LP. The meso level, contingent upon the autonomy granted to individual educational institutions, is explored to discern the extent to which state regulations are manifested within the policies of these institutions. Notably, differences at the meso level become more apparent when comparing public and private educational institutions. Subsequently, the micro level, characterized by human agency, represents the frontline implementation of the "actual" LP (Hornberger & Johnson 2007). Micro-level scrutiny relies on field-collected data, offering insights into the alignment or divergence between official LP and LP practices within Morocco.

In summary, this chapter is rooted in empirical data gleaned from linguistic ethnographic research in Morocco, offering a deeper understanding of the relationship between LIEP and socioeconomic disparities, specifically within the country. It is worth noting that a similar analysis for Tunisia has been conducted in the preceding chapter, Given the similarities between the LIEPs of the two countries, some explanations in this chapter may appear similar to those in Chapter 5. However, for consistency of the analysis, I preferred to include them in this chapter too. Finally, the analysis of the two contexts in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 allows for the comparative perspective between the two countries in Chapter 7.

6.2 Language-in-education policy in Morocco – macro level

Language policy plays a crucial role in shaping education systems and language practices within Morocco. Once again, the examination of the macro-level perspective, particularly the Constitution and other policy texts, provides valuable insights into the language-in-education policy system. This section aims to analyse the language policy landscape in Morocco, starting from the observation of the most recent Constitution of 2011 and exploring its implications on language practices and ideologies in education.

The Moroccan Constitution, as the highest form of national legislation, contains important elements related to LP. The Constitution apparently defines a clear policy showing a hierarchy among languages providing indications on the role of Arabic, Tamazight, Ḥassānī and foreign languages in the education system. Article 5 of the Moroccan Constitution states: "The Arabic

language is the official language of the state. The state works for the protection and development of the Arabic language, as well as the promotion of its use. Likewise, Tamazight constitutes an official language of the State, being common patrimony of all Moroccans without exception. An organic law defines the process of implementation of the official character of this language, as well as the modalities of its integration into teaching and into the priority domains of public life, so that it may be permitted in time to fulfil its function as an official language. The State works for the preservation of Ḥassānī, as an integral component of the Moroccan cultural unity, as well as the protection of the speakers [of it] and of the practical cultural expression of Morocco. Likewise, it sees to the coherence of linguistic policy and national culture and to the learning and mastery of the foreign languages of greatest use in the world, as tools of communication, of integration and of interaction [by which] society [may] know, and to be open to different cultures and to contemporary civilizations. A National Council of Languages and of Moroccan Culture [Conseil national des langues et de la culture marocaine] is created, charged with [,] notably [,] the protection and the development of the Arabic and Tamazight languages and of the diverse Moroccan cultural expressions, which constitute one authentic patrimony and one source of contemporary inspiration. It brings together the institutions concerned in these domains. An organic law determines its attributions, composition and the modalities of [its] functioning." (Article 5, General Provisions, Moroccan Constitution 2011).

This provision highlights the significant role of Arabic as the official language of the state and Tamazight as an official language. Regarding Ḥassānī, the story is more complex, extremely political and has been excluded from the analysis. The Constitution emphasizes the importance of Arabic, but it does not specify which variety of Arabic should be prioritized and it is difficult

to understand if it is a transnational or national variety given the continuous insistence on Moroccan culture.

By contrast, the variety of Berber is specified with the term Tamazight. The ambiguity of this definition lies in the fact that it is the most common term and is often used indistinctly to define other varieties as in the expression "Tamazight languages". The other two more widespread varieties, such as Tarifit and Tashelit, could be considered excluded from this definition (Zouhir 2014). The implementations of the policies outlined are coherent as they should be applied and promoted in different areas, particularly through teaching and learning.

Regarding education, Article 31 of the Moroccan Constitution acknowledges the state's responsibility to provide a "modern, accessible education of quality" for all citizens and emphasizes the importance of promoting an "education concerning attachment to the Moroccan identity and to the immutable national constants" (Article 31, Fundamental freedom and rights, Moroccan Constitution 2011). The LP in the Moroccan education system reflects the constitutional provisions, with the exception of Ḥassānī, highlighting the inefficiency of the constitutional statement regarding this language. The National Charter for Education (1999) (Moroccan Ministry of Education, 1999) and the Strategic Vision of the 2015-2030 Reform (Moroccan Ministry of Education, 2014) provide a detailed picture of the country's macro-level LIEP. Arabic serves as the primary MOI in most subjects at all levels of education. While Tamazight is officially recognized, the policy stresses the need to strengthen its teaching, dissemination, and implementation, particularly at the primary school level. Despite the introduction of Tamazight teaching in some schools in 2003, the policy's effects appear to be limited.

The fragility of this maneuver is further confirmed in the reform objectives, specifying that students should master Arabic and at least two foreign languages, with an emphasis on communication skills in Tamazight. The policy underscores that French and English should occupy more significant positions, with French being taught as a subject at all primary levels. French instruction continues at the secondary level, where it is also used as MOI in certain courses, particularly in STEM subjects. English instruction begins from the fourth year of primary education and may serve as MOI for some courses. At the secondary level, students are required to study a third language of their choice, with Spanish being recommended due to available resources. The choice of the third foreign language may vary depending on the school's resources and priorities. Moreover, Figures 4, 5, and 6 (taught from Sanga 2022) give further insights into the subjects taught in primary and secondary schools nowadays, the hours of teaching, and the MOI of these subjects.

Figure 4. Curriculum first cycle primary school in Morocco

Primary School Curriculum			
Subject	1st and 2nd Year	3rd and 4th Year	5th and 6th Year
Islamic education	4 hrs.	3 hrs.	3 hrs.
Arabic	11 hrs.	6 hrs.	6 hrs.
French	–	8 hrs.	8 hrs.
Art and technical studies	2 – 2.5 hrs.	1 – 1.5 hrs.	–
Civics, Hist.-Geo.	–	–	1.5 hrs.
Mathematics	5 hrs.	5 hrs.	5 hrs.
Physical education	2 hrs.	2 hrs.	2 hrs.
Sciences	1.5 hrs.	1.5 hrs.	1.5 hrs.

Recreation	2 hrs.	2 hrs.	2 hrs.

Figure 5. Curriculum second cycle primary school in Morocco

Enseignement Collègial			
Subject	# of weekly hours per grade		
	7th Year	8th Year	9th Year
Arabic	6 hrs.	6 hrs.	6 hrs.
Islamic Education	2 hrs.	2 hrs.	2 hrs.
Social studies	3 hrs.	3 hrs.	3 hrs.
French	6 hrs.	6 hrs.	6 hrs.
Mathematics	6 hrs.	6 hrs.	6 hrs.
Natural sciences	2 hrs.	2 hrs.	2 hrs.
Physical sciences	2 hrs.	2 hrs.	2 hrs.
Physical education	3 hrs.	3 hrs.	3 hrs.
Art (Optional)	1 hr.	1 hr.	1 hr.
Feminine culture or introduction to technology	2 hrs.	2 hrs.	2 hrs.
Music	2 hrs.	–	–
Total	35 hrs.	33 hrs.	33 hrs.

Figure 6. Curriculum secondary school in Morocco

Weekly hours in each year by stream and concentration

	Language Arts					Experimental Sciences			Mathematics				
	Core Curr.	Lang Arts		Langs		Core Curr.			Core Curr.	Option A		Option B	
	1st	2nd	3rd	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd	2nd	3rd
Arabic	5	5	5	5	5	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	1
Islamic Studies	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	1
Social Sciences	4	4	4	4	4	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
French	5	5	5	5	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
2nd Foreign Language	5	4	4	6	6	4	3	3	4	3	3	3	3
Islamic Thought and Phil.	–	2	4	2	4	–	1	2	–	1	2	1	2
Math	2	2	2	2	2	5	5	6	6	7	8	7	8
Natural Sciences	2	2	1	2	1	3	4	4	2	2	–	1	–
Physical science	–	–	–	–	–	4	4	5	4	5	6	5	6
Translation	–	–	–	–	–	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Industrial Design	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	2
Physical Education	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Total	27	28	29	30	31	30	30	32	30	31	31	33	33

LP in private educational institutions may differ from public institutions, as they have greater autonomy. Private schools may introduce foreign language teaching from an early stage and potentially use these languages, French and partially English, as MOI. This autonomy in LP

could contribute to variations in language proficiency and create disparities among students from different socioeconomic backgrounds.

Similar to the secondary education system, LPs in Moroccan universities are diverse. STEM subjects are predominantly taught in French, while SHAPE subjects may have a more varied language of instruction. The choice of MOI in universities depends on the specific course or discipline. Law and Islamic sciences are typically taught in Standard Arabic, but international legal courses may use French or English as the MOI. Language courses generally prioritize the language being studied as the MOI. Private universities in Morocco enjoy even greater autonomy than public institutions and may have their LPs. Standard Arabic is less likely to be the MOI in private universities, emphasizing the influence of institutional autonomy on language choices and considering the greatest vocation towards STEM subjects of private universities and private investments more generally.

LIEP in Morocco, as reflected in the constitutional framework and educational texts, acknowledges the importance of Arabic as the official language while recognizing the value of foreign languages for global engagement. Morocco's LIEP clearly states that the intention is to transfer a theoretical bilingualism to a multilingualism that reflects more the diversity of the country and at the same time grants a greater openness and knowledge of the world. The implementation of LPs in public and private educational institutions and universities showcases variations in language practices and opportunities. Finally, the last thing to note is the total lack of consideration for the mother tongue of most of the population, Moroccan, which, as Tunisian in Tunisia, is the victim of an ideological system that obscures its presence and role (Jaafari 2019; Loutfi & Noamane 2020)).

6.3 Quantitative analyses

In this quantitative analysis, I explore the relationship between social class and various aspects of language and education in Morocco. The dataset, consisting of the questionnaire's responses from 227 participants, provides valuable insights into how language preferences, school attendance, and language practices interact within the Moroccan educational context. The examination begins by focusing on social class and its connection to the type of school attended (Section 6.3.1). Notably, most of the participants belong to the middle social class, which has implications for both public and private school enrolment. Moving forward, I analyse language management within the school environment (Section 6.3.2) and student language practices (6.3.3), specifically the languages students use when interacting with teachers and their peers.

6.3.1 The significance of languages in relation to social class and the type of school attended

Analysing the data from the questionnaires completed by 227 participants in Morocco (Table 26), it is evident that most participants fall into the middle social class, comprising 48.45%. The middle class also has the highest percentage of students attending a private university, accounting for 36.36%. In terms of university attendance, the data shows that 79.29% of participants attend a public university, while 20.71% attend a private university. It is important to note that these figures may be influenced by the larger number of public universities in Morocco, which are generally attended by a higher number of students, 92.2% (Statista.com), and by the fact that most of the questionnaires were carried out in these institutions.

Examining the gender factor, we find that females constitute the majority among all participants, accounting for 74%. This gender majority is consistent across all social classes, with a higher percentage in the lower social class at 80.43%, followed by the middle class at 71.81% and the upper class at 71.01%. The data related to social factors such as age and nationality are relatively similar among the three social classes and therefore not deemed relevant for this analysis.

Table 26 – DISTRIBUTION OF UNIVERISTY STUDENTS PARTICIPANTS BY SOCIAL CLASS, GENDER, UNIVERSITY TYPE, AGE, AND NATIONALITY IN MOROCCO

SOCIAL CLASS	PARTICIPANTS	GENDER	UNIVERSITY	AGE	NATIONALITY
LOWER	20.2%	F 80.43% M 19.56%	PUBLIC 93.47% PRIVATE 6.52%	21	MOROCCAN 97.82% OTHER 2.17%
MIDDLE	48.45%	F 71.81% M 28.19%	PUBLIC 63.63% PRIVATE 36.36%	22.51	MOROCCAN 99.1% OTHER O.9%
UPPER	30.39%	F 71.01% M 28.98%	PUBLIC 21.73% PRIVATE 78.26%	19.78	MOROCCAN 95.65% OTHER 4.34%
TOTAL	100%	F 74%	PUBLIC 79.29%	21.31	MOROCCAN 97.35%

		M 26%	PRIVATE 20.71%		OTHER 0.44%

To investigate the correlation between social class and attendance at private schools, I analyzed the questionnaires responses looking at the data regarding primary (Table 27) and secondary (Table 28) education in Morocco. In terms of primary school attendance, 45.37% of students have attended a private school. The social class with the highest percentage of students attending private primary schools is the upper class at 78.26%, followed by the middle class at 36.36%, and the lower class at 17.39%. This correlation between social class and private primary school attendance is evident.

Table 27 – PERCENTAGE OF PARTICIPANTS WHO HAVE ATTENDED A PUBLIC OR PRIVATE PRIMARY SCHOOL ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CLASS IN MOROCCO

SOCIAL CLASS	PUBLIC	PRIVATE
LOWER	82.61%	17.39
MIDDLE	63.63%	36.36%
UPPER	21.73%	78.26%
TOTAL	54.62%	45.37%

The observed pattern remains consistent when considering secondary school attendance. In this case, the overall percentage of students attending private secondary schools is 29.95% and is lower than private primary. The upper class has, also in this case, the higher percentage with 62.31%, followed by the middle class with 18.18% and the lower class with 6.52%.

Table 28 – PERCENTAGE OF PARTICIPANTS WHO HAVE ATTENDED A PUBLIC OR PRIVATE SECONDARY SCHOOL ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CLASS IN MOROCCO

SOCIAL CLASS	PUBLIC	PRIVATE
LOWER	93.47%	6.52%
MIDDLE	81.81%	18.18%
UPPER	37.68%	62.31%
TOTAL	70.04%	29.95%

These statistical variations between social class and private primary and secondary school attendance may be influenced by multiple factors. It is conceivable that the lower overall percentage of students attending private secondary schools is associated with the discrepancy in language planning, which is more pronounced at the primary level than at the secondary level. Language planning plays a significant role in shaping the differences between public and private education in Morocco. Both primary and secondary private institutions in Morocco, like Tunisia, often offer the possibility of using French, and sometimes English, as the MOI. Standard Arabic, on the other hand, is less commonly used as MOI in these institutions but is more likely to be taught as a subject. However, in public secondary schools, the media of instruction are closely tied to specific subjects and are predominantly Standard Arabic and French. The key distinction is that in public primary schools, French is not used as MOI, while in private schools, it frequently is.

The difference in terms of language planning between private and public schools narrows in secondary school as the difference in percentages of student attendance narrows. Indeed, students who have attended private primary schools in Morocco, predominantly from the upper social class, may have an advantage in terms of linguistic knowledge of French when they reach secondary school and university. This advantage holds considerable significance,

particularly because, like Tunisia, French proficiency plays an important role in determining the secondary education track and university studies.

Very similar to Tunisia, the Arabization policy in Morocco, initiated in the 1960s, has not influenced the language planning of private institutions, which have historically been associated with French and primarily attended by the upper social class. Arabization has been a public policy addressed mainly to the middle and lower classes of Moroccan society (Redouane 1998). Arabic, as a language in all its varieties, is not seen as a big discriminatory element in Moroccan society, as it is assumed that all Moroccans possess knowledge of Arabic. However, the distinction between Standard Arabic and Moroccan can be a significant factor.

Proficiency in Standard Arabic can be viewed as another discriminatory factor, albeit of lesser value than French, as the domains and sectors where Standard Arabic serves as the language of communication are relatively limited compared to those where French is dominant. Despite Arabic being the MOI in primary public education in Morocco, the lack of clarity distinguishing Standard Arabic from Moroccan Arabic contributes to a situation where students, despite theoretically using Standard Arabic as MOI for about a decade, often encounter difficulties in utilizing this standard variety (ibid.).

Furthermore, this policy may be deemed further discriminatory since a significant portion of the Moroccan population does not have Moroccan Arabic as their mother tongue but instead a variety of Berber. While many Berber native speakers are also fluent in Moroccan Arabic, this does not serve as a mitigating factor, especially for Berber children in their initial school experiences, who may not speak Moroccan Arabic (Zouhir 2014). The policy that gradually

reassesses the position of Berber is relatively recent, and satisfactory results are yet to be observed (Buckner 2006).

Moreover, although the LP provides for the teaching of Berber for all Moroccan citizens, private institutions have the autonomy to independently decide whether to implement this teaching (El Aissati et. al 2011). This autonomy can influence the decision of families, particularly those where Berber is the predominant language, in choosing a school where Berber is taught. In conclusion, the difference between students attending private primary and secondary schools can be influenced by language planning, particularly regarding French, Arabic, and to a lesser extent, Berber. This difference contributes to the disparities between the two education sectors in terms of linguistic competencies and opportunities available to students.

6.3.2 Language management within the school context and the primacy of French and Arabic

Similar to the analysis on Tunisia (Section 5.3.2, Section 5.3.3), I explore the language management of teachers in primary (Table 29) and secondary (Table 30) schools in Morocco. The choices of teachers perceived by students can be considered again a sort of language management implemented when teachers ask, order, or correct students regarding the language they are using.

Table 29 – UNIVERSITY STUDENTS PARTICIPANTS-REPORTED TEACHER SPOKEN LANGUAGE PREFERENCES IN MOROCCAN PRIMARY SCHOOL, BY SOCIAL CLASS

SOCIAL CLASS	LANGUAGES					
	ARABIC	BERBER	FRENCH	ENGLISH	MOROCCAN	OTHERS
LOWER	74.34%	17.39%	73.47%	46.95%	43.04%	0.86%
MIDDLE	66.72%	11.45%	76.54%	51.45%	35.81%	2%
UPPER	64.05%	12.75%	80%	52.17%	37.68%	0.28%
TOTAL	66.96%	13.48%	77.79%	50.83%	37.71%	1.14%

When examining language management in primary schools, there is a notable emphasis on French and Arabic. The data reveals that across social classes, most teachers preferred their students to speak French, with percentages ranging from 73.47% to 80%. Arabic is also given significant importance, with percentages ranging from 64.05% to 74.34%. English is another language that receives attention, although to a lesser extent, with percentages ranging from 46.95% to 52.17%.

It is worth noting that mother tongues such as Berber and Moroccan have lower preferences compared to Arabic, French, and English. Once again, this language management action is aimed at correcting everyday linguistic practices that are considered unfair compared to formal ones. Comparing social classes and single languages, it is observed that as social class increases there is a decrease for Arabic while an increase for French and English. As seen in Table 27 and Table 28, this double correlation can be linked to the attendance of a public or private school where LPs are different.

In secondary schools (Table 30), a similar pattern emerges, with French being the primary language preferred by teachers across all social classes. The percentages are higher than in primary schools and range from 76.95% to 87.82%. This increase may be related to the fact

that, unlike in primary education, even in public secondary schools French is used as MOI for some courses. The same could be applied to English. Arabic maintains its significance, with percentages ranging from 60% to 72.54%. Berber and Moroccan have again lower percentages.

Table 30 – UNIVERSITY STUDENTS PARTICIPANTS-REPORTED TEACHER SPOKEN LANGUAGE PREFERENCES IN MOROCCAN SECONDARY SCHOOL, BY SOCIAL CLASS

SOCIAL CLASS	LANGUAGES					
	ARABIC	BERBER	FRENCH	ENGLISH	MOROCCAN	OTHERS
LOWER	62.17%	12.17%	76.95%	56.52%	36.95%	0
MIDDLE	72.54%	10%	81.81%	56.72%	28%	0.91%
UPPER	60%	10.11%	87.82%	57.68%	36.52%	2.02%
TOTAL	66.96%	11.54%	82.29%	56.91%	32.07%	1.05%

6.3.3 Student language practices and the dualism French-Moroccan

When considering language practices as the language spoken between students and teachers in primary schools (Table 31), French remains the most prevalent language in total with 65.37%. Moroccan is the second most used language, with 61.67%, followed by Arabic at 60.62%, English at 40.08%, and Berber at 14.36%.

Table 31 – LANGUAGE SPOKEN WITH TEACHERS IN PRIMARY SCHOOL ACCORDING TO UNIVERSITY STUDENTS PARTICIPANTS IN MOROCCO, BY SOCIAL CLASS

SOCIAL CLASS	LANGUAGES					
	ARABIC	BERBER	FRENCH	ENGLISH	MOROCCAN	OTHERS
LOWER	62.17%	17.82%	62.61%	39.56%	66.52%	0.43%
MIDDLE	61.27%	13.09%	61.27%	35.81%	64.36%	2.54%
UPPER	58.26%	13.91%	75.94%	45.21%	55.07%	1.15%
TOTAL	60.62%	14.36%	65.37%	40.08%	61.67%	2.37%

It is interesting to note how macro-level language policies seem to reflect language practices within the school, and at the same time, how the language practices within the school are in contrast with daily ones. The difference between French, Arabic, and Moroccan is not high, but it exists and can be influenced by several factors. The most formal languages, French and Arabic, are the most used because the interactions between students and professors are probably considered formal by students. Moroccan is, however, present with a substantial percentage, 61.67%, because it is used in less formal interactions between students and teachers, not just in the formal ones.

Considering the different social classes, we find again a correlation between high class and French and English, and a correlation between lower class and Arabic, Moroccan, and Berber. In this case, the linguistic hierarchy thus sees the so-called foreign languages in the first place, and in addition to the usual connection between different LP in public and private schools, it can also be considered that the upper classes could have a linguistic repertoire and a linguistic attitude more inclined toward foreign languages. This element will also be analysed more carefully in the second part of this chapter.

In secondary schools (Table 32), the overall pattern is confirmed, with French maintaining its dominance as the primary language spoken with teachers, at 70.66%, followed by Arabic at 69.77% and Moroccan at 53.56%. Berber and other languages are less commonly spoken. As for social classes, the pattern noted for primary school is also seen at the secondary level, except for English which is most used by the middle class.

Table 32 – LANGUAGE SPOKEN WITH TEACHERS IN SECONDARY SCHOOL ACCORDING TO UNIVERSITY STUDENTS PARTICIPANTS IN MOROCCO, BY SOCIAL CLASS

SOCIAL CLASS	LANGUAGES					
	ARABIC	BERBER	FRENCH	ENGLISH	MOROCCAN	OTHERS
LOWER	62.62%	14.79%	50.86%	43.91%	58.26%	0
MIDDLE	66.72%	11.45%	68.36%	50.54%	54.72%	2.54%
UPPER	51.01%	9.85%	80.28%	47.82%	50.72%	1.73%
TOTAL	69.77%	12.33%	70.66%	49.86%	53.56%	2.02%

When analysing another type of language practice, those among students in primary schools (Table 33), Moroccan is the most widely used language, with 88.81%. French follows as the second most prevalent language, with 44.66%, English is the third with 34.36%, Arabic is the fourth with 32.86%, and Berber with 13.21%.

Table 33 – LANGUAGE SPOKEN WITH CLASSMATES IN PRIMARY SCHOOL ACCORDING TO UNIVERSITY STUDENTS PARTICIPANTS IN MOROCCO, BY SOCIAL CLASS

SOCIAL CLASS	LANGUAGES					
	ARABIC	BERBER	FRENCH	ENGLISH	MOROCCAN	OTHERS

LOWER	40%	13.47%	38.69&	37.39%	88.26%	0.43%
MIDDLE	31.81%	12.54%	38%	33.63%	90.72%	3.27%
UPPER	30.72%	13.62%	59.13%	36.81%	88.41%	2.31%
TOTAL	32.86%	13.21%	44.66%	34.36%	88.81%	2.81%

This form of interaction represents the most informal type, closely aligned with the entirety of everyday language practices. This is evident in the minimal differences between social classes regarding the use of Moroccan. It is also interesting to note that Arabic, the language foreseen by the official language planning, occupies instead the fourth place, even after English. Arabic is again related to the lower social class, while French to the upper social class. The pattern is also reflected at the secondary level (Table 34) with very marginal differences.

Table 34 – LANGUAGE SPOKEN WITH CLASSMATES IN SECONDARY SCHOOL ACCORDING TO UNIVERSITY STUDENTS PARTICIPANTS IN MOROCCO, BY SOCIAL CLASS

SOCIAL CLASS	LANGUAGES					
	ARABIC	**BERBER**	**FRENCH**	**ENGLISH**	**MOROCCAN**	**OTHERS**
LOWER	39.13%	16.08%	42.17%	38.69%	86.65%	0
MIDDLE	33.45%	12.36%	46.54%	36.54%	87.81%	3.09%
UPPER	26.95%	10.43%	60.86%	40%	78.55%	0.86%
TOTAL	32.42%	12.42%	49.42%	39.03%	84.31%	2.21%

Like the analysis conducted for Tunisia (Section 5.3.3), I now analyse the data regarding the language used in written assignments in Morocco in primary school (Table 35) and secondary school (Table 36). The data reveals that in Moroccan primary schools, French is the predominant language used, accounting for 71.89%. This contradicts the official language

policy, which designates Arabic as the primary written language in the context of primary education. Once again, the upper class exhibits a stronger preference for French, potentially indicating the influence of socioeconomic factors and access to private education where French may serve as MOI.

Table 35 - LANGUAGE USED IN WRITTEN ASSIGNMENTS IN PRIMARY SCHOOL ACCORDING TO UNIVERSITY STUDENTS PARTICIPANTS IN MOROCCO, BY SOCIAL CLASS

SOCIAL CLASS	LANGUAGES					
	ARABIC	BERBER	FRENCH	ENGLISH	MOROCCAN	OTHERS
LOWER	70%	12.17%	64.34%	48.26%	30%	0.85%
MIDDLE	73.09%	11.09%	68%	52.54%	26.54%	1.27%
UPPER	66.66%	11.88%	83.76%	51.59%	18.55%	0.57%
TOTAL	70.48%	12.42%	71.89%	51.27%	24.66%	0.96%

In secondary schools (Table 36), French continues to maintain its position as the most prominent language used in written assignments, with 78.85%, followed by Arabic with 71.54%. This reaffirms the significance of French as the primary written language in the secondary educational context in Morocco. The upper class demonstrates a higher preference for French, potentially indicating the influence of socioeconomic factors and access to private education. In this case, the figure might reflect the official PLs because even in public secondary schools French is used as MOI for some subjects. To confirm this, we observe that the overall percentage is higher than in primary school, although it still correlates with higher social classes.

Table 36 – LANGUAGE USED IN WRITTEN ASSIGNMENTS IN SECONDARY SCHOOL ACCORDING TO UNIVERSITY STUDENTS PARTICIPANTS IN MOROCCO, BY SOCIAL CLASS

SOCIAL CLASS	LANGUAGES					
	ARABIC	**BERBER**	**FRENCH**	**ENGLISH**	**MOROCCAN**	**OTHERS**
LOWER	66.95%	11.73%	73.04%	56.08%	23.91%	0
MIDDLE	76.72%	10.54%	75.45%	54.91%	20.72%	0
UPPER	68.41%	9.56%	88.41%	56.52%	17.97%	1.44%
TOTAL	71.54%	10.57%	78.85%	56.38%	20%	0.52%

The data emphasizes the dominance of French and Arabic in written assignments in secondary schools in Morocco, with variations among different social classes. This pattern suggests the influence of language planning and socioeconomic factors on language preferences in the educational system. The low presence of mother languages such as Berber and Moroccan reflects the LP which is ineffective in the implementation of Berber, and which does not consider the use of Moroccan, especially in the written form.

6.4 Qualitative analyses

As for Tunisia (Section 5.4), the qualitative analysis of the data collected in Morocco is aimed at a better understanding of the dynamics and the link between LPs and inequalities. The following narrative underlines various themes. The analysis is based on data collected through interviews with 15 participants, 10 university students and 5 university professors, 2 focus

groups with students, and notes and comments related to the observation of the context (see Section 4.5.2 for more details). Only those parts deemed relevant for the analysis have been reported.

Compared to Tunisia, there are no interviews with linguistic activists. The figure and voice of the students occupy the largest spaces of the analysis, adhering to the principles of empowerment-oriented research where the learner is the central focus. The analysis unfolds through the interpretation of participants' viewpoints on topics related to LIEP, and simultaneously examining the dynamics that occurred during the research.

6.4.1 Multilingual but diverse perception of the linguistic panorama in education

The participants' descriptions of LIEP in Morocco form the starting point of the narrative. Although the questions asked to students varied, the common goal was to investigate the language practices within the educational context. Unlike Tunisia, a more direct approach was employed here, assuming that language planning (*de jure*) is established, and the difference lies in the observed language practices (*de facto*). The following extracts (36—39) from four students have been inserted together in order to illustrate how the situation is perceived and described differently by participants.

(EXC36) Student #2 - It depends on the professor. If he speaks French we use French, sometimes English, sometimes he uses Darija for explaining. Usually, we speak the language which is used for the specific subject.

Student #2 brings attention to the dynamic nature of language use within the academic setting, emphasizing that the language of instruction depends significantly on the individual professor. This flexible approach suggests an adaptation to the diverse linguistic skills of the faculty and, by extension, the students. The mention of utilizing French, English, and Darija underlines the multilingual nature of the learning environment. The choice of language for explanation appears to be tailored to the subject matter, indicating, on the other hand, a common ("usually, we speak the language which is used for the specific subject"), but not absolute, ("sometimes he uses Darija for explaining"), monolingual situation within the same lesson. Student #8 below describes a diverse linguistic environment at school, incorporating French, Arabic, and English, while preferring Darija in informal settings with friends.

(EXC37) Student #8 - À l'école, nous parlons français, arabe, parfois anglais, mais avec mes amis, nous parlons toujours en darija. [At school, we speak French, Arabic, sometimes English, but with my friends, we always speak in Darija.]

The complex picture is one of established multilingualism described in a heterogeneous way by the participants. The only two students who describe an apparent monolingual, but not total, situation are Student #6 (38) and Student #10 (39). Student #6 describes a predominant monolingual French education, reflecting the perceived dominance of French as the primary language of instruction also at the university.

(EXC38) Student #6 - French was introduced to me in primary school and has been the main language of instruction throughout my education.

On the other hand, Student #10 sheds light on a contrasting linguistic landscape, where Arabic takes precedence as the main language of instruction. This perspective emphasizes the significance of Arabic in the educational framework, highlighting a range of different perceptions of the linguistic diversity present in different educational settings. The apparent tension between French and Arabic as predominant languages of instruction underscores the broader sociolinguistic challenges and opportunities within the educational system.

(EXC39) Student #10 - En classe, la langue d'enseignement est principalement l'arabe. La plupart des professeurs utilisent l'arabe pour expliquer la matière et interagir avec les étudiants. [In class, the language of instruction is mainly Arabic. Most teachers use Arabic to explain the subject matter and interact with the students.]

The diversity of opinions and perceptions is an added value only when these perspectives are respected and emerge from personal will. Through the comparison between the macro, meso, and micro-level LIEP, it becomes evident that the varied perceptions of Arabic and language education, in general, result from a lack of both structural elements such as language planning and ideological elements that attribute distinct values and use domains to individual languages. The multilingual situation in Moroccan education was emphasized by three professors, similar to the findings in Tunisia. The interview data presents three distinct viewpoints that illustrate how the promotion of multilingualism grapples with different issues. In the following extracts (40—41), the professors not only describe language practices but also bring attention to structural problems within LIEP. Among these issues, the change of MOI across different grades of school and the overall discontinuity of MOI in various contexts emerge as prominent factors.

(EXC40) Professor #2 - Par exemple, les étudiants qui arrivent à l'université doivent étudier en français, mais ils ne connaissent pas le français, c'est un problème, et donc nous devons utiliser la darija. Un autre problème est l'arabisation, je ne suis pas opposé à cela, mais elle doit être adoptée à chaque étape. Avant, nous avions l'arabe à l'école primaire, puis le français. Maintenant, c'est un mélange, mais nous avons des étudiants qui ne parlent ni arabe ni français. L'État doit intervenir, avec un plurilinguisme efficace au niveau de la politique éducative. Nous devons adopter la même langue, mais tenir compte également des différences, à l'école primaire, nous sommes autorisés à utiliser nos langues maternelles. Le problème réside dans le passage d'une langue à une autre, de la langue que l'on parle à la maison à une autre, de la langue à l'école primaire à celle du secondaire, de l'université. [For example, students who enter university are supposed to study in French, but they don't know French, which is a problem. Therefore, we must use Darija. Another issue is Arabization. I am not opposed to it, but it should be adopted at each stage. Before, we had Arabic in primary school, then French. Now, it's a mix, but we have students who speak neither Arabic nor French. The government needs to intervene, with effective multilingualism in educational policy. We should adopt the same language but also consider differences. In primary school, we are allowed to use our mother tongues. The problem lies in transitioning from one language to another, from the language spoken at home to another, from the language in primary school to that in secondary school, and then to university.]

Professor #2 emphasizes the difficulties arising from a lack of language proficiency, the mix of languages, and the need for a consistent LP that accommodates diverse linguistic backgrounds. In addition, Professor #3 highlights the challenges faced in STEM subjects due to frequent changes in the MOI and the reluctance of students toward the baccalaureate in French, preferring the easier Arabic option.

(EXC41) Professor #3 - Je travaille avec des étudiants de la Faculté des Sciences et Techniques de l'Université de Fès qui étudient des matières scientifiques. Nous utilisons le français (pour les matières scientifiques à l'école), mais avant, c'était en arabe, et nous avions un grand handicap. Ces dernières années, nous avons changé cela en adoptant le système en français. Donc, maintenant, je demande à mes étudiants s'ils ont un diplôme en français ou en arabe, et bien sûr, il y en a plus en français, mais les autres ne comprennent parfois pas ce que je dis [...] ils (les politiciens) ont réalisé qu'il y avait une crise au niveau de l'éducation. C'est pourquoi ils ont réintroduit le baccalauréat en français. Mais il y a aussi un sentiment de réticence de la part des étudiants, car ils préfèrent le baccalauréat en arabe car il est plus facile. Il y a de nombreux facteurs en jeu, de nombreuses responsabilités. Beaucoup de professeurs parlent en arabe, à la fois à l'école primaire et à l'université. Bien sûr, en darija, pas en arabe standard, afin que les étudiants comprennent mieux. [I work with students from the Faculty of Science and Technology at the University of Fes who are studying scientific subjects. We use French (for scientific subjects at school), but before, it was in Arabic, and we faced a major handicap. In recent years, we changed that by adopting the system in French. So now, I ask my students if they have a diploma in French or Arabic, and of course, there are more in French, but others sometimes do not understand what I say [...] they (the politicians) realized that there was a crisis in education. That's why they reintroduced the baccalaureate in French. But there is also a sense of reluctance from students because they prefer the baccalaureate in Arabic as it is easier. There are many factors at play, many responsibilities. Many teachers speak in Arabic, both in primary school and at the university. Of course, in Darija, not in standard Arabic, so that students can better understand.]

Professor #2 and Professor #3 stress the need for a consistent LP that ensures continuity for students. Both professors use French as MOI: Professor #2 teaches French language and literature, while Professor #3 only claims to teach in French. According to them, the lack of continuity is attributed to frequent changes in language planning, leading to a lack of mastery of languages as distinct entities. These professors highlight a conflict between Arabic and French, particularly in the teaching and learning of STEM subjects, where the MOI undergoes more significant changes across different educational levels. They argue that the French language proficiency of students entering university varies, with many lacking adequate skills. Furthermore, they contend that spoken language practices, both among teachers and students, are more inclined towards Derja. This discontinuity, they argue, can result in a lack of proficiency in the formal languages of the school system, namely Standard Arabic and French. In the following extract (42), Professor #4 emphasizes the significance of recognizing and including the Amazigh language in multilingual education for a more inclusive experience aligned with the sociolinguistic reality of Morocco.

(EXC42) Professor #4 - *La maîtrise de l'arabe et du français reste importante, mais il est également essentiel de reconnaître la valeur des autres langues parlées au Maroc, telles que l'amazigh. La promotion du multilinguisme peut contribuer à une expérience éducative plus inclusive et diversifiée pour les étudiants.* [Mastery of Arabic and French remains important, but it is also essential to recognize the value of other languages spoken in Morocco, such as Amazigh. Promoting multilingualism can contribute to a more inclusive and diversified educational experience for students.]

Collectively, the three extracts underscore the challenges stemming from the discontinuity in LP and the impact on students' linguistic competence. The professors' perspectives call for a

holistic language planning approach that considers the continuity of MOIs, acknowledges linguistic diversity, and addresses the practical implications within educational contexts.

6.4.2 Positive attitude towards English

The students interviewed have different opinions about the quality of LIEP, but a common theme emerges. As can be seen from the following excerpts (43—45), the common element is the widespread favourable language attitude towards English, a language not considered in the previous excerpts of professors.

(EXC43) Student #5 - They want to replace the MOI for scientific subjects with English and not French. And I think this is a good idea, because there are a lot of works in English, and people prefer English instead of French and Arabic.

Student #5 expresses support for replacing the MOI for scientific subjects with English, citing the abundance of works in English. The positive attitude towards English reflects its perceived global importance. Student #7, a student of English, expresses dissatisfaction with the current LIEP, particularly concerning the quality of education in French and English. Despite the criticism, there's a recognition of the importance of quality education in these languages, along with Arabic.

(EXC44) Student #7 - It's not good, I think. We have problems with teachers that are not good because they are not prepared. In my experience more for French and especially English [...] It's important to ensure that we receive quality education in both Arabic and French, as these

languages are widely used in our country, but also English now. There are a lot of students who don't know English or who are not good in English for example.

In line with the perspective of Student #7, Student #10 underscores the importance of preparing students for the challenges of the modern world, highlighting the significance of studying foreign languages like English. Moreover, the student emphasizes the need for an Arabic-based education.

(EXC45) Student #10 - We need to prepare students for the challenges of the modern world and it's important to study foreign languages such as English, but our system should be based on Arabic because we are Arab.

Except for Student #7, who expresses dissatisfaction with the current LP, the other students are critical but confident. All of them advocate for increased openness to English, but both Student #7 and Student #10, emphasize the necessity for improved teaching of Arabic. Intriguingly, the widespread positive attitude towards English is particularly pronounced among young people who perceive the language as a crucial key to global access and individual socioeconomic success. Notably, English is not viewed as conflicting with other languages, except for Student #5, a student of Berber, who underscores the prevalence of (academic) works in English, especially in the field of linguistics, particularly Berber linguistics.

Student #10, and to some extent, Student #7, assert that Arabic and French retain significance, not solely for their socioeconomic value but as integral components of the country's cultural identity. Student #10, a student of Arabic, explicitly expresses the imperative of promoting Arabic as a unifying and identity element within a transnational community. This indicates a

specific perspective on language dynamics, with an acknowledgment of the multifaceted roles each language plays within the sociocultural context of Morocco.

6.4.3 English vs French: a generational and social clash

During the research, I observed a prevailing positive language attitude towards English among young people. However, the language-in-education policies that provide for an increase in the teaching of English appear to be in an early stage, and there is resistance to shifting away from French. This resistance might be attributed to the absence of the same positive attitude among older generations, who maintain a closer connection, both ideologically and practically, to the French language.

The interviewed professors, representing an older demographic, align more with French than English. French still holds a place in the collective imagination as an elitist language, as described in the following passage, evoking complex and conflicting feelings associated with colonial and dominance-submission concepts. A transition away from French and towards English may jeopardize the privileged status of a certain social class to which the professors belong and that younger generations aspire to replace, driven by a natural sense of rebellion.

The desire for change towards English among young generations and the hesitation among older generations could be influenced by the inherent fear of losing symbolic status. The privileges associated with specific language practices are still predominantly tied to French. While professors play a role at the micro-LP level, policymakers implementing LP at the meso and macro levels likely belong to a similar social class and may seek to maintain this status.

The following words from a professor (46) illustrate the dynamics of this socio-generational language conflict.

(EXC46) Professor #3 - Students like English, which is the language of the young, of science, and modern. Is more practice. French is considered a snob language, English not, is the language of modernity. There is a link with colonization, dominant-dominated, English has not. Also, when you must write formal things you have to use French, especially at the level of the job market. The image of French, especially, between the young, and disadvantaged class, is the language of domination, is the language of the elite.

A further indication of this can be observed by analyzing the languages used during the interviews. Both in Morocco and in Tunisia, the teachers interviewed predominantly used French, while the students showed more linguistic flexibility, including a greater use of English.

6.4.3a The International University of Rabat – Faculty of Letters at Hassan II Ben Msik case (part 1)

The issue of the conflict between French and English is represented through a comparison between two focus groups. The first focus group involved students of English at the Ben Msik Faculty of Letters at Hassan II University in Casablanca. The faculty, located in a densely populated area, primarily accommodates students from a lower-middle social class. The university's low tuition fees and limited resources, such as overcrowded classrooms (during the lecture I attended, there were more than a hundred students, some of them sitting on the ground

or standing) and a lack of projectors (students were invited to use their mobile phones to view the lesson slides), create challenges for both students and professors. Following a lecture and questionnaire completion, a focus group discussion revealed strong sentiments about socioeconomic inequalities, particularly linked to languages, especially French.

One student, mixing English and Darija, emphasized the evident socioeconomic inequalities related to languages, particularly French. He claimed that the so-called "rich people" enjoy more advantages, given their ability to attend private schools with higher-quality education, including better French instruction. The student appeared very sensitive to the subject, and seemed the spokesman for a malaise, a social injustice spread within among classmates who, with comments and gestures, agreed with him.

Subsequently, another student took the floor, employing a mix of languages - Standard Arabic, Darija, and French. This student argued that many students in public schools struggle with French due to inadequate teaching. Despite this, they are forced to use French as the language for STEM subjects in secondary school. The student contended that the transition from Arabic to French between primary and secondary levels was futile, asserting that French has become irrelevant today. He suggested that studying STEM subjects in English would be more appropriate, emphasizing English as the language of the future.

The second focus group involved students of political sciences at the International University of Rabat, a semi-public institution established in 2010 with the involvement of the King. Based on personal contacts, contextual observations, and questionnaire data, it was evident that most students at this university belonged to a middle-upper social class. In comparison to the previous setting, where the student population was more socioeconomically disadvantaged, the

dynamics at the International University of Rabat revealed significant differences. The class size was around thirty students, all seated at desks, with a requirement to surrender mobile phones at the beginning of the lesson to minimize distractions. Each student had a personal computer to follow the lesson and take notes. Beyond these resource-related distinctions, a notable contrast emerged in language practices.

At this university, the MOI for almost all courses, including the one on Political Discourse Analysis that I attended, was French, with only a few courses offered in English. Throughout the lesson, questionnaire completion, and the subsequent focus group, students exclusively used French in their interactions with both me and the professor. The focus group discussions witnessed active participation from several students, reflecting a positive language attitude towards French. One student emphasized the significance and socioeconomic utility of the French language in Morocco, noting that many publications were in French, and proficiency in the language was essential for academic pursuits. When queried about English, the student acknowledged its utility but maintained that French held greater importance in the Moroccan context.

The diversity in attitudes between the two focus-groups and contexts shows how socioeconomic status can strongly influence language ideology. Language planning acts as a distributor of this ideology, as a plan in which this ideology is propagated and strengthened. Another substantial difference lies in language practices, affirming a discernible disparity between social classes when languages are considered as distinct entities. While the first, more socioeconomically disadvantaged context exhibited more translanguaging practices and a higher reliance on the mother tongue, the second context, representing a more advantaged socioeconomic status, showcased French as the predominant language in almost all situations.

Exceptions occurred during informal interactions, where translanguaging practices and the use of Darija were more prevalent.

This comparison shows that French still represents a strong discriminatory element, while English has the potential to act as a democratizing force, subject to language planning considering a shift between these two languages. However, it is evident that, in the most disadvantaged situations, the process facilitating greater democratization and effective communication is the practice of translanguaging.

6.4.4 Ambivalent attitude towards the incorporation of translanguaging and mother tongue in education

Through the following extracts with students (48, 49), and professors (50, 51), I investigate the perception of translanguaging and explore whether there is a positive view toward its potential incorporation into language planning. To present varied opinions and insights on this matter, I have included diverse segments from interviews with two students and two professors. For clarity, I opted to use the term "mixed languages" during the interviews instead of "translanguaging."

(EXC47) Researcher – Que pensez-vous du mélange des langues dans l'éducation ? Est-ce que cela peut être utile? [What do you think of mixing languages in education? Can it be beneficial?]

(EXC48) Student #1 – Non, lorsque l'enseignement se fait en français, nous devrions utiliser uniquement le français, pas la darija. [No, when teaching is done in French, we should use only French, not Darija.]

Student #1 expresses a preference for linguistic uniformity in educational settings, advocating for the use of the language of instruction (French) without incorporating Darija. Similarly, Student #4 emphasizes the need for continuity in language usage, particularly in primary school. The mention of a shift to French or English at the university level reflects the observed linguistic transitions in higher education.

(EXC49) Student #4 – Je pense que nous devons utiliser une seule langue, en particulier à l'école primaire. Et ensuite, nous devons continuer avec la même langue. Maintenant, lorsque vous arrivez à l'université, tout change, à l'école primaire c'est en arabe, mais ensuite vous passez en français ou en anglais. [I think we should use a single language, especially in primary school. And then, we should continue with the same language. Now, when you get to university, everything changes. In primary school, it's in Arabic, but then you switch to French or English.]

The mention of a shift to French or English at the university level reflects the observed linguistic transitions in higher education. Both Student #1 and Student #4 are students of educational sciences and are opposed to the practice of translanguaging. They perceive translanguaging as unhelpful, contributing to a fragmented and disorderly LP approach. They favour a well-defined LP without interference between language varieties. This preference for clarity does not seem to align with learning needs or adherence to social practices but rather reflects a rigid ideological perspective. In the following extracts (50, 51), we observe the opinion of two professors.

(EXC50) Professor #1 – I think that two languages in primary school are good. Then you can add some languages. For example, in some primary schools you have standard Arabic, Classical Arabic which is the language of the Qur'an, French, English, and Amazigh, that's a lot.

Professor #1, a linguistic and English professor, likely considered the practice of mixing languages more in terms of planning than actual implementation. However, his unfavourable stance regarding the incorporation of more than two languages at the primary level implies that he is not very supportive of a process like translanguaging in education, as discussed informally. Professor #4, in contrast, clearly endorses the practice of translanguaging, stressing a fundamental element that consists in the intentionality of this use, and to the perception of this process.

(EXC51) Professor #4 - Oui, l'utilisation d'un mélange de langues peut être utile pour les étudiants, en particulier pour faciliter leur compréhension de concepts complexes. Cependant, il est important que l'utilisation de plusieurs langues en classe soit intentionnelle et favorise l'apprentissage. [Yes, the use of a mix of languages can be beneficial for students, especially to facilitate their understanding of complex concepts. However, it is important that the use of multiple languages in the classroom is intentional and promotes learning.]

The absence of constraints on the process of translanguaging in Morocco (and in Tunisia) is associated with a particular perception of the mother tongue. This perception, characterized by a lack of standardization and continuous development, incorporates elements from different linguistic varieties, much like the concept of translanguaging. For this reason, I sought to

explore whether a more defined LP, specifically one involving the use of the mother tongue, is viewed favourably. The experiences of three students (53—55) are crucial in understanding the diverse motivations contributing to a generally negative attitude.

(EXC52) Researcher –Pensez-vous que l'utilisation de la darija comme langue d'enseignement, étudier en darija, peut être utile ? [Do you think using Darija as the language of instruction, studying in Darija, can be beneficial?]

(EXC53) Student #3 – Eh bien, pas la darija, c'est simplement une langue pour la communication quotidienne. Arabic is our language ... et nous devons comprendre comment mieux utiliser cette langue dans notre système éducatif, dans nos programmes. Nous devons changer la manière d'enseigner l'arabe. [Well, not Darija; it's simply a language for daily communication. Arabic is our language, and we must understand how to better use this language in our education system, in our programs. We need to change the way we teach Arabic.]

Student #3 emphasizes the need to focus on improving the teaching of Arabic rather than considering Darija as a language of instruction. This reflects a desire for a more formal and structured approach to language education. Student #4 (54) expresses a negative view of Darija, highlighting its limitations in terms of communication on a global scale and its perceived lack of formal grammar and spelling. This perspective aligns with the notion that Darija may not be suitable for educational purposes.

(EXC54) Student #4 – Je ne pense pas que l'utilisation de la darija serait utile. Ce n'est pas une langue qui permet de communiquer avec le monde, elle est seulement destinée à notre

usage. Nous n'avons pas de livres en darija, nous ne pouvons pas écrire en darija, la darija n'a ni grammaire ni orthographe. [I don't think using Darija would be useful. It's not a language that allows communication with the world; it's only for our use. We don't have books in Darija; we can't write in Darija. Darija has neither grammar nor spelling.]

Similarly, Student #5 (55) rejects the idea of using Darija due to its perceived lack of rules. This preference for languages like Arabic or French suggests a preference for languages with established grammatical and orthographic standards. Again, the general attitude is negative. As Student #4, a student of educational science, and Student #5, a student of Berber, observe, the lack of standardization of Darija does not allow it to be considered as a true linguistic variety.

(EXC55) Student #5– No, because it has no rules. I prefer Arabic or French.

The disadvantageous position of Darija compared to French and Arabic, as deeply ingrained pillars in the educational system, reflects the historical and sociolinguistic factors that shape language attitudes. French and Arabic, with established roles in education, are regarded as integral components of cultural identity, further emphasizing the challenge faced by languages like Darija in gaining recognition and acceptance. The professor's statement (56) underscores the deeply rooted ideological elements at play, acknowledging the negative language attitude towards the use of Darija. These attitudes are not merely individual preferences but are ingrained in societal perceptions, making it challenging to address and change these deeply entrenched language biases.

(EXC56) Researcher – Et si l'on introduisait la darija également dans l'éducation ? [What if we also introduced Darija in education ?]

Professor #3 – Il y a des puristes. Une résistance au changement. C'est difficile, il faudrait changer de mentalité. Pour moi, la darija est le moyen le plus efficace de communication, surtout avec les étudiants. Le contraste se trouve avec l'arabe classique, beaucoup de gens ont des difficultés avec l'arabe classique. Je ne veux pas des sciences en arabe classique, même les professeurs ne sont pas capables d'enseigner les sciences en arabe classique. [There are purists, a resistance to change. It's challenging; there would need to be a change in mindset. For me, Darija is the most effective means of communication, especially with students. The contrast is with Classical Arabic; many people have difficulties with Classical Arabic. I don't want sciences in Classical Arabic; even the professors are not able to teach the sciences in Classical Arabic.]

As explained by Professor #3, paradoxically, the younger generations exhibit even greater resistance to change. This is indicative of a deeply ingrained and widely propagated ideology, perpetuated through the educational system. Another corroborating factor supporting the negative attitude and associated ideology towards mother tongues is the lack of student support for teaching Berber in schools. On the contrary, their stance is predominantly sceptical. Even Student #5, a Ph.D. student in Berber, emphasized that his choice to study this language is highly personal, highlighting that most individuals use Berber solely for oral communication, lacking interest or proficiency in its written and reading aspects.

6.5 Language policy, opportunities and challenges

As for Tunisia, here, this second part of the chapter explores the functional dimensions and repercussions of language policy beyond the school environment in Morocco. This section serves as a natural extension of the analyses presented earlier, which focused on the role and dynamics of LP components and influencers within schools, drawing from participants' insights and past experiences. By shifting the focus to the current and future perspectives of these individuals, this section focuses into the implications, consequences, and effects of LP on the future trajectories of university students through thematic analysis of their responses and behaviors.

6.5.1 Language policies and opportunities for young Moroccans – quantitative analysis

LP plays a significant role in shaping opportunities for young people in Morocco. While the recognition of the Tamazight as an official language in 2011 was a positive step, the persistent dominance of Standard Arabic and French in the education system, and French (and to some extent, English) in the more lucrative job market, can be a challenge for young people with less skills in these languages. Proficiency in French has often been a critical factor in securing employment, particularly in STEM-related sectors. Consequently, young individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds, lacking access to quality education or language learning resources, encounter barriers when seeking well-paying jobs or higher education opportunities.

Socioeconomic disparities continue to plague Morocco, with the privileged classes, including their linguistic advantages, enjoying more favourable circumstances. Access to quality education, often featuring instruction in French, is more readily available to those hailing from

affluent backgrounds. This linguistic advantage translates into increased employment prospects in fields requiring proficiency in foreign languages, perpetuating economic inequalities, and reinforcing the perception that specific parts of society possess greater opportunities than others (Chakrani 2017).

The desire for improved job prospects and better socioeconomic conditions continues to drive many young Moroccans to contemplate emigrating abroad (Kassar et al. 2014). However, language proficiency in destination countries often poses a significant hurdle. Numerous countries, particularly those in Europe, demanded proficiency in their official languages for employment or higher education opportunities (Extramiana & Van Avermaet 2011). For young Moroccans who lack access to language learning resources or quality foreign language education, emigrating to these countries becomes increasingly challenging.

The prevalence of French in the education system and job market led to linguistic disparities, with young people from disadvantaged backgrounds facing greater difficulties in accessing opportunities. In the forthcoming analysis, among other things, I describe the emergence of a new linguistic player in Morocco's language landscape, namely English. Unlike French, this language is seen and perceived as a valuable resource across all strata of the population. However, this popular opinion and trend could potentially contribute to maintaining the status quo of the elite.

6.5.1a Elitist French and democratic English

The following quantitative analysis allows us to have an overview of the overall situation which often reflects what I perceived during the field research period. The data unveil a significant

surge in the role of English in everyday language practices and the broader linguistic milieu. Through the observation of the university context, I have had the confirmation that this language is becoming an increasingly indispensable resource for students. This theme certainly appears to be the most present and interesting and constitutes the most important part of this analysis. This evolutionary process that concerns the English language in Morocco determines a succession of dynamics that include other languages. For instance, English is apparently threatening the position of French. Table 37 shows that English is generally the language considered most important by university students for attending their courses (83.25%).

Table 37 – THE MOST USEFUL LANGUAGE FOR UNIVERSITY COURSE ACCORDING TO STUDENTS PARTICIPANTS IN MOROCCO, BY SOCIAL CLASS

SOCIAL CLASS	LANGUAGES					
	ARABIC	BERBER	FRENCH	ENGLISH	MOROCCAN	OTHERS
LOWER	30.43%	13.04%	54.78%	85.65%	22.61%	0
MIDDLE	32%	13.81%	61.45%	85.09%	20.54%	0.54%
UPPER	32.17%	12.46%	84.34%	81.44%	23.18%	0.86%
TOTAL	32.33%	13.39%	67.13%	83.25%	21.58%	0.52%

Among the social classes surveyed, only the upper class considers French (84.34%) more useful than English (81.44%). This pattern finds its explanation in the educational choices made by upper-class participants, where a significant majority (74.36%) attended programs where French served as the primary or exclusive MOI (Table 38).

Table 38 – PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS PARTICIPANTS ATTENDING COURSES WITH FRENCH AS MOI IN MOROCCO ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CLASS

SOCIAL CLASS	PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS
LOWER	30.43%
MIDDLE	38.18%
UPPER	75.36%
TOTAL	47.57%

In Table 37, this difference is even more noticeable, comparing the data with the other social classes which show percentages almost halved compared to the upper class. This correlation between social class and language preference underscores the significance of educational backgrounds in shaping linguistic attitudes and practices. This pattern is extremely symbolic and is linked with a piece of experience described in the following section.

6.5.1b The International University of Rabat – Faculty of Letters at Hassan II Ben Msik case (part two)

Taking up a topic discussed in Section 6.4.3a, an interesting case illustrating the prevailing dominance of French among the upper class has been observed during my visit to the International University of Rabat (UIR). This institution, often regarded as quasi-private due to its steep tuition fees, stands as one of the most prestigious universities in the capital. Here, we not only witness a preference for courses in French over those in English but also a notable absence of Standard Arabic in the institution's LPs. In the informal settings of the campus's common areas, Moroccan takes centre stage, heavily intertwined with a substantial dose of

French. During my attendance at a political science course at this university, I observed the stringent enforcement of a French monolingual LP. This illuminates how the French language maintains its stronghold in elitist educational contexts.

In sharp contrast, my experiences at the Faculty of Letters at Hassan II Ben Msik University in Casablanca offer a different perspective. One of the professors negatively described this institution. He told me that this public institution was situated in a bustling and diverse neighbourhood, boasts minimal tuition fees, and draws a high enrolment rate from the lower strata of society. Notably, entry requirements, including linguistic requirements, at this institution are minimal, making it accessible to many young people who are still searching for their educational path or who have not had the privilege of accessing higher education opportunities.

Fascinatingly, numerous students at this institution opt for linguistics and English language programs, a trend I directly observed while participating in two such courses. During these lessons and during my dialogue with the professor, I understood that many students were beginners in English during their first year and that the course of study practically performs the function that the basic school should perform. These university courses effectively serve as a bridge to empowerment, especially for students who lacked access to quality education earlier in their academic journeys. The choice of these students to enrol in English-focused courses presents a potentially emancipatory opportunity for their future.

A clear parallel emerges between the aspirations of the Moroccan government and the less privileged sections of the population, at least among the participating students—a desire for emancipation from French through English. However, it is vital to recognize that the

democratic expansion of English, if not effectively realized with quality teaching, could inadvertently replicate the effects of past language policies like Arabization, potentially reinforcing the elitist status of French.

The data presented in Table 39 indicates that students from all social classes express strong criticism regarding the quality of English teaching at the school level. Regarding the French language, a correlation is evident between social class and the percentage, revealing that the upper class places a higher importance on improving the quality of French language teaching compared to the lower class.

Table 39 - PERCEPTIONS ON THE NEED FOR IMPROVED LANGUAGE TEACHING QUALITY IN SCHOOLS ACCORDING TO STUDENTS PARTICIPANTS IN MOROCCO, BY SOCIAL CLASS

SOCIAL CLASS	LANGUAGES					
	ARABIC	BERBER	FRENCH	ENGLISH	MOROCCAN	OTHERS
LOWER	64.34%	43.47%	70%	89.56%	29.56%	0
MIDDLE	62.54%	30.54%	74.36%	90.72%	20.18%	5.45%
UPPER	68.98%	41.44%	75.65%	89.56%	30.14%	0.86%
TOTAL	64.84%	37.35%	74.09%	90.13%	24.93%	0.44%

In conclusion, the experiences at these two universities in Morocco vividly illustrate the contrasting linguistic landscapes that exist within the country. Elitist institutions, such as the International University of Rabat, uphold the dominance of the French language, perpetuating a status quo that primarily benefits the upper class. In contrast, public institutions like Hassan

II Ben Msik University, provide opportunities for linguistics and English programs to students from less privileged backgrounds. These programs hold the potential to be instruments of empowerment, offering pathways to education and social mobility for those who may have been previously marginalized. This dichotomy serves as a reminder of the complex relationship between educational settings and linguistic dynamics. While French retains its influence in elite circles, English is emerging as a potential force for democratization, offering hope for greater linguistic equity and opportunities for social advancement among Morocco's youth.

6.5.1c Languages and further opportunities: job and emigration

Keeping in mind the emergent constant dichotomy represented by English and French, an intriguing insight emerges when comparing linguistic preferences across social classes, particularly in terms of perceived utility in future employment. In Table 40, the upper class notably recognizes the functional value of French, with a substantial 84.34% considering it useful for their future jobs. In contrast, the lower class, with 61.73%, exhibits a lower reliance on French for their envisioned career paths. Interestingly, English garners relative uniform recognition for its functional value across social classes, reinforcing the notion of its perceived importance as a practical language.

Table 40 – THE MOST USEFUL LANGUAGE FOR FUTURE EMPLOYMENT ACCORDING TO STUDENTS PARTICIPANTS IN MOROCCO, BY SOCIAL CLASS

SOCIAL CLASS	LANGUAGES

	ARABIC	BERBER	FRENCH	ENGLISH	MOROCCAN	OTHERS
LOWER	33.47%	16.08%	61.73%	92.61%	24.78%	0
MIDDLE	38.54%	15.45%	69.45%	90.54%	19.81%	1.81%
UPPER	40%	13.33%	84.34%	92.17%	25.51%	3.47%
TOTAL	38.14%	15.33%	72.33%	91.11%	22.64%	1.93%

Further underlining the importance of English as an emancipatory language, my investigation into LP impact on inequality in Morocco led me to inquire about students' aspirations to relocate abroad. The data in Table 41 reveals that a significant 70.04% of participants expressed a desire to move abroad, potentially seeking better opportunities and quality of life elsewhere. If we link the data of Table 41 with the recurring theme of English as the emancipation language par excellence for Moroccans, we observe that political factors are also playing a decisive role in the choices of students.

Table 41 – PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS PARTICIPANTS WHO EXPRESSES THE DESIRE TO LIVE ABROAD OR IN MOROCCO, BY SOCIAL CLASS

SOCIAL CLASS	NO	YES
LOWER	28.26%	71.73%
MIDDLE	35.45%	64.54%
UPPER	24.65%	75.36%
TOTAL	29.95%	70.04%

These findings suggest a profound transformation in Moroccan society, primarily driven by political considerations. The relations between France and Morocco, often influenced by issues such as the Western Sahara conflict, visa policies, and economic exchanges have coincided

with increased interactions between Morocco and English-speaking nations like the United States and the United Kingdom. The Moroccan monarchy appears motivated to reduce its dependence on France, leading to an ongoing process of decolonization in which language plays a pivotal role.

While the French language is not yet being replaced entirely by English in educational curricula, the objective of the new educational plan appears clear. The plan currently focuses on expanding English teaching hours and introducing English into more primary schools. However, it is essential to acknowledge the complexity of this process, which precludes an overnight transition. As detailed in subsequent qualitative findings, this shift is generally viewed favourably, but the French language continues to occupy a unique and significant social role in Moroccan society.

6.5.2 Languages functionality for Moroccan students: qualitative analysis

During interviews, the functional aspects of various language varieties often emerged after discussions about education when participants were asked to describe their future aspirations. This approach allowed for a deeper exploration of whether previous LIEPs had effectively prepared students for the post-education phase. The ensuing insights reveal how language functionality is closely tied to specific educational and career contexts. Additionally, they underscore the significant role of language requirements, particularly for young Moroccans and others grappling with the challenges of widespread youth unemployment, especially among the less privileged segments of the population who have limited access to French and English.

6.5.2a Relevance of languages in the job sector

In connection with this problem, we see in fact how the superiority in the functionality of the two "foreign" languages - French and English - over the three "local" languages - Standard Arabic, Moroccan, and Berber - is contextualized both locally - because language requirements in most sectors concern French and English - and globally - for those who want to live abroad. These last three varieties, Moroccan and Berber in particular, were rarely taken into consideration during the interviews because they are not perceived as linguistic requirements due to their deep identity status, their local value, and the foregone knowledge that students have of them. Moreover, as described in the example below (57), what is "foreign" is considered globally functional and the current/future transition from French to English can contribute to address this value to English only, reshaping the status and the perception of French.

(EXC57) Researcher : Quelle est la langue la plus utile pour travailler ? [What is the most useful language for work ?]

Student #1 : Normalment, c'est le français, mais certains emplois nécessitent une langue étrangère, comme l'anglais. [Normally, it's French, but some jobs require a foreign language, such as English.]

The analysis starts with this first example because it describes an interesting perspective of the general job sector linguistic requirement. However, in the following interview (58) it can be observed a more specific situation where the employment sector is linked with the field of

education, and they represent a symbolic perception of the functionality of languages. Student #4, a student of Sciences of Education, describes a situation where specific career aspirations reflect the evolving situation of English but the current predominance of French in this field.

(EXC58) Researcher –Que souhaitez-vous faire dans votre avenir ? [What do you want to do in your future ?]

Student #4 – Je veux travailler dans l'administration pour améliorer la situation de l'éducation. [I want to work in administration to improve the situation of education.]

Researcher –Et dans quelle langue pensez-vous que cela sera le plus utile ? [And what language do you think will be more useful?]

Student #4 – L'anglais, mais actuellement le français est plus utilisé. [English, but currently, French is more commonly used.]

Student #4 articulates a specific career goal related to educational administration, emphasizing a desire to contribute to improving the state of education through administrative roles. The responses of this educational sciences student provide valuable insights into the evolving language dynamics within education. For instance, the student recognizes the increasing importance of English in education while acknowledging the ongoing predominance of French. Importantly, the student also highlights the temporal aspect of this language transition, suggesting that it will be a process completed in the future. As it is explored in the following section, LP can exacerbate inequalities by distributing language skills unevenly across various population segments, consequently influencing access to resources and job opportunities.

6.5.2b Language proficiency and unemployment

Proficiency in French and English is widely recognized as a crucial requirement within the job market, as articulated by the students. Simultaneously, the issue of language fluency, particularly in French and sometimes in English, is considered a key linguistic challenge associated with unemployment. This perspective was commonly shared among the participants, even though most of them were already proficient in at least one of these languages, either French or English. It is conceivable that participants are aware of the advantage they possess over individuals with limited access to these languages, contributing to socioeconomic disparities. The following extracts (60, 61) underscore this viewpoint:

(EXC59) Researcher: Do you think that there is a link between unemployment and languages?
Pensez-vous qu'il y ait un lien entre le chômage et les langues ?

(EXC60) Student #5: Yes, if you don't speak French or English, you don't find a job.

Student #5 asserts a direct link between employability and language proficiency, highlighting the perceived importance of French and English in the job market. Student #9 below emphasizes the impact of language proficiency on employment opportunities, acknowledging the advantages of knowing languages such as English and French in a globalized context. This reflects an awareness of the competitive advantage provided by linguistic skills in the job market.

(EXC61) Student #9 : Oui, la maîtrise des langues a un impact sur les opportunités d'emploi. Dans un monde globalisé, la connaissance de langues comme l'anglais et le français peut être avantageuse. [Yes, language proficiency has an impact on job opportunities. In a globalized world, knowledge of languages like English and French can be advantageous.]

In the discourse surrounding the functional value and status of languages as either local or global, there is a noticeable tendency to overlook the importance of local languages such as Berber and Moroccan. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to argue that Berber and Moroccan, even within the specific contexts the students considered in our discussions, hold significant importance, perhaps even more so than English and French in certain cases. However, students often perceive local languages as inherent and natural abilities, potentially undervalued in terms of job requirements. Consequently, proficiency in Berber and Moroccan is not viewed as a problem or barrier but rather as a transferable skill. Conversely, as implied by the subsequent example (62), one's linguistic repertoire is not seen as a safeguard against unemployment in the context of Moroccan youth facing a crisis.

(EXC62) Student #4 : Je pense que de nombreuses personnes parlent différentes langues mais n'ont pas d'emploi. [I think many people speak different languages but do not have a job.]

The issue of unemployment and its correlation with language proficiency is not a one-size-fits-all problem. The students' perceptions of language functionality can be particularly indicative of a specific segment of society, notably the relatively privileged one. Although it was not necessary to categorize the respondents into specific social classes, the descriptions they provided strongly suggest that they are aware of their privileged status relative to a portion of the population, and language serves as an indicator of this privilege. However, this does not

negate the possibility that university students may still encounter a complex situation. Nevertheless, students do not perceive this situation as the worst-case scenario or as "irreversible". As the analysis elucidates in the subsequent section, their perception of unemployment isn't inextricably linked to the imperative to emigrate, and more precisely to emigrate definitively.

6.5.2c Emigration for educational enhancement

As will be described in Section 7.4, I observed a noteworthy contrast between Morocco and Tunisia concerning the impact of social distress and high unemployment rates on students' urgency to emigrate. In Morocco, I detected a more optimistic atmosphere among participants compared to their Tunisian counterparts. In the following three extracts (64, 65, 66) it can be noted that the main trend of Moroccan students is towards a temporary migration for educational purposes.

(EXC63) Researcher : Beaucoup de gens veulent vivre à l'étranger, qu'en pensez-vous ? A lot of people want to live abroad, what do you think?

(EXC64) Student #1 : Eh bien, s'il y a une opportunité d'étudier à l'étranger, pourquoi pas. [Well, if there is an opportunity to study abroad, why not.]

Student #1 does not clarify whether the decision to emigrate for study will be permanent. In contrast, in the following examples (65, 66), Students #4 and Student #5 emphasize that in the case of a study period abroad, their intention is to return to their homeland.

(EXC65) Student #4 : Je ne suis pas d'accord. Eh bien, j'aimerais aller à l'étranger pour améliorer ma formation, in UK for example, mais ensuite revenir au Maroc. [I don't agree. Well, I would like to go abroad to enhance my education, in the UK, for example, but then return to Morocco.]

Student #4 expresses disagreement with the notion that staying in Morocco might limit educational and career opportunities. The student highlights a desire to pursue education abroad, particularly in the UK, with the intention of returning to contribute to their home country. Student #5 below acknowledges the common aspiration for improved job prospects but expresses a preference for staying in Morocco. While desiring to find a job locally, there's an interest in studying abroad, reflecting a nuanced approach to balancing education and career goals with a connection to their home country.

(EXC66) Student #5: Because most people want a better job or just a job. I prefer to stay here and find a job here, but I'd like to study abroad.

These testimonies may appear contradictory to the data presented in Table 41, where a significant majority of students express their desire to live abroad. This apparent contradiction can be elucidated by several factors. First, data gathered through interviews offers a finer understanding of individuals' intentions compared to data from questionnaires. The latter fails to distinguish between temporary and permanent desires for emigration. Second, linguistic and identity considerations play a role. The three students interviewed were enrolled in programs such as educational sciences (Student #1 and Student #4) and Amazigh studies (Student #5), which exhibit a strong connection to Moroccan culture, territory, and identity. These factors likely influenced their choice of studies and their willingness to remain in their homeland.

In contrast, a significant portion of questionnaire participants (51.1%) were students of English language (or Linguistics where the MOI was English). As previously discussed, one of the primary motivations for students in this program is to empower themselves and access a broader range of opportunities, which may include international mobility. This perspective offers a glimpse into the complexity of Moroccan students' decisions regarding emigration, highlighting their desire for educational enrichment while maintaining a connection to their homeland.

6.6 Conclusion

This section synthesizes the findings from two distinct analytical dimensions, offering an understanding of the relationship between language dynamics and socioeconomic inequalities in Morocco. The overarching analysis encompasses macro-level policy examination, and quantitative and qualitative explorations of LIEP within Moroccan research participants. The quantitative analysis is based on survey-derived data to elucidate the interplay between language proficiency, educational access, and SES within Morocco. The findings underscored a correlation between proficiency in French and access to tertiary education and lucrative career prospects. While proficiency in Standard Arabic also exhibited significance, its impact remained comparatively limited. These findings underscore the pivotal role of language as a determinant of disparities in socioeconomic strata. Notably, the analysis unveiled the existence of a language proficiency gap, most notably in the domain of French proficiency.

The qualitative analysis shifted its focus toward unravelling the intricacies of language attitudes, perceptions, and practices among students and educators in Morocco. This dimension revealed a multifaceted linguistic panorama within the educational sphere. While multilingualism prevails, language practices display variations contingent upon subject matter, contextual factors, and individual preferences.

Indeed, a positive disposition towards English emerged, particularly among the younger population. This group views English as an instrumental key to global opportunities and career advancement (as will be described in Section 7.3). However, a generational and social shift between French and English emerged, with the older generation favouring French and often connoting it with elitism. This shift reflects deeper sociolinguistic tensions rooted in colonial legacies.

Translanguaging practices also came to the fore, with select students and educators acknowledging the potential merits of judiciously employing multiple languages. However, there is steadfast resistance to embracing mother tongues, such as Darija and Berber, driven by apprehensions related to standardization and linguistic prestige. In synthesizing these diverse strands of analysis, it becomes evident that the complex interplay between language dynamics and socioeconomic inequalities in Morocco necessitates a multifaceted interpretation. This will be offered in the conclusion in Chapter 8.

Chapter 7 – Comparative analysis of language policy and inequalities in Tunisia and Morocco

7.1 Introduction

Having examined the individual language policy of Tunisia and Morocco in the preceding Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, I now include a comparative analysis of the two contexts. In the educational landscapes of these North African nations, I unearthed multifaceted language planning strategies, each shaped by historical, cultural, and societal factors unique to their respective contexts. In this chapter, I explore the complex plot of LP and practices, juxtaposing the analysis of Tunisia and Morocco to glean insights into their shared challenges, distinctions, and the profound impact of language on socioeconomic inequalities. Also in this case, the chapter is divided into two parts. In the first, language policies at school are analysed, while in the second their effects in the post-school period are taken in consideration. Overall, this chapter gives the possibility to answer the research question by comparing the two case studies.

What is the relationship between language policies and inequalities among students in Tunisia and Morocco?

The analysis begins by confronting the macro-level terrain of language planning in education. I discuss the constitutional provisions that underpin the educational systems in Tunisia and Morocco, unravelling their stances on official languages, indigenous languages, and the promotion of foreign languages. As I describe this level, I underline the variations in emphasis

and execution, shedding light on how these differences can influence educational ideologies and practices.

Moving beyond the macro view, I continue into the realm of quantitative analysis. By observing data gathered through questionnaires conducted in Tunisia and Morocco, I offer an understanding of the social dynamics within their educational landscapes. I examine factors such as the relation between social class and the choice between public and private education, shedding light on how these variables intersect with language planning and influence the educational trajectories of students in both nations. The analysis then takes a turn towards qualitative analysis. Through the voices of students and professors, I investigate their perceptions and attitudes regarding LP. In the second part, the investigation focuses on the post-school period and observes how LP mechanisms contribute to shaping students' futures. At the end of this comparative analysis, an overall picture of the two cases analysed previously will emerge.

7.2 Macro level comparison

The macro-level analysis of LP in Tunisia (Section 5.2) and Morocco (Section 6.2) reveals some similarities and differences in their approaches to language planning in education. Through their constitutions, both countries prioritize the role of Arabic as the official language, while also recognizing the importance of foreign languages for global engagement. However, there are notable variations in the implementation and emphasis on different languages, as well as the inclusion of indigenous languages.

Tunisia and Morocco recognize Arabic as an official language in their constitutions. The official status of Arabic is emphasized in both countries, reflecting its importance as a national language. However, the constitutions do not specify which variety of Arabic should be prioritized, leaving room for interpretation which could create ambiguity in LP. It could suggest a transnational Arab identity and therefore a transnational variety like Standard Arabic or Classical Arabic. This lack of clarity and precision in LP may impact ideology, planning, and practices.

Tunisia's Constitution does not explicitly mention indigenous languages, while Morocco's Constitution acknowledges Tamazight as an official language specifying its status and importance. The inclusion of Tamazight reflects a commitment to linguistic diversity and acknowledges it as a common patrimony. However, the ambiguity arises from the use of the term "Tamazight," which may not encompass all Berber varieties spoken in Morocco. Despite the constitutional recognition, the implementation of teaching and learning Berber in Morocco has been limited, reflecting the challenges of promoting indigenous languages within the education system.

Both Tunisia and Morocco recognize the importance of foreign languages as tools for communication, integration, and interaction with different cultures and civilizations. French and English are given prominence in both countries' LP that are quite similar in this sense although Morocco appears more inclined to a further promotion of English. French is introduced as a subject of instruction from an early stage in both countries' primary schools, and English is introduced later. In Tunisia and Morocco, both French and English are taught in secondary schools, with French also having a role as MOI particularly in STEM subjects. The

choice of a third foreign language varies depending on resources and priorities, with Spanish being a popular option in Morocco.

While the LP in public educational institutions in both countries reflects the constitutional provisions, private educational institutions have more autonomy in determining their LP. Private schools may introduce foreign language teaching earlier in primary school and potentially use these languages as MOI, which can create disparities in language proficiency and socioeconomic backgrounds among students. Among these languages, French certainly has a specific position because, being the language heir to a precise colonial system, its use and ideology behind it is still the most linked to certain contexts, domains, and social status.

LPs in university education in Tunisia and Morocco are generally similar but exhibit variations within the respective countries. STEM subjects are predominantly taught in French, while SHAPE subjects may have a more diverse language of instruction, with a prevalence of Arabic. In both countries, private universities have greater autonomy, which can lead to further variations in LP and the choice of MOI tends to go towards a foreign language, French more than English.

Both Tunisia and Morocco exhibit a lack of consideration for mother tongue education. The "constitutional" focus on Arabic as the official language, and the emphasis on foreign language learning often overshadow the importance of promoting and preserving the mother tongue within the education system. In conclusion, the comparative analysis of macro-LP in education in Tunisia and Morocco highlights several similarities and a few differences. Both countries prioritize Arabic as an official language, while Morocco additionally recognizes Tamazight as an official language. The promotion of foreign languages, particularly French and English, is

evident in both countries' LPs. However, challenges exist in the implementation of indigenous languages and the neglect of the mother tongue. Differences in LP implementation can be observed between public and private educational institutions, as well as in university education, reflecting varying degrees of autonomy.

7.3 Comparative quantitative analysis – part 1

Before starting this comparative analysis, I want once again to point out that, as described in Section 5.4, some differences between the two countries may be affected by different experiences and circumstances during the two different periods of field-based research. Examining Table 42 below, it is evident that most of the participants in both countries belong to the middle social class, with 54.91% in Tunisia and 48.45% in Morocco. This suggests that a sizable proportion of students in both countries come from relatively stable economic backgrounds. However, there are no more general statistics that allow us to say that the data collected represent the real situation.

Table 42 – DISTRIBUTION OF UNIVERISTY PARTICIPANTS BY SOCIAL CLASS AND UNIVERSITY TYPE IN TUNISIA AND MOROCCO

SOCIAL CLASS	TUNISIA		MOROCCO	
	PARTICIPANTS	UNIVERSITY	PARTICIPANTS	UNIVERSITY
LOWER	21.56%	PUBLIC 95.45%	20.2%	PUBLIC 93.47%
		PRIVATE 4.54%		PRIVATE 6.52%

MIDDLE	54.91%	PUBLIC 92.85% PRIVATE 7.14%	48.45%	PUBLIC 63.63% PRIVATE 36.36%
UPPER	23.09%	PUBLIC 93.16% PRIVATE 6.38%	30.39%	PUBLIC 21.73% PRIVATE 78.26%
TOTAL	100%	PUBLIC 94.61% PRIVATE 5.39%	100%	PUBLIC 79.29% PRIVATE 20.71%

In terms of university attendance, there is a higher percentage of students attending public universities in both countries. In Tunisia, 94.61% attend public universities, while in Morocco, it's 79.29%. This difference is determined by the circumstances of the research and is not representative of the general situation of the two countries that sees 85.86% of students attending public universities in Tunisia, and 92.2% in Morocco (Statista.com). Despite the differences between the data of this research and general data, there is always a strong prevalence of students attending public universities. This indicates that public higher education institutions play a crucial role in providing access to education for most students in both countries.

In Morocco, the upper class has a higher representation among students attending private universities, highlighting their ability to afford private education. Conversely, in Tunisia, there is a less pronounced difference among social classes in terms of attending private universities.

These observations may suggest that, in Morocco, attending a private university is more closely tied to belonging to a specific social class, rendering it a more exclusive option compared to Tunisia.

Table 43 describes the gender distribution among participants in both Morocco and Tunisia. Females constitute the majority of participants, with 67.15% in Tunisia and 74% in Morocco. There is not a clear correlation between gender and social class. These data only partially align with general statistics, which indicate female attendance at around 63% in Tunisia and 54% in Morocco. Nevertheless, the data collectively suggests that females are actively participating in education in both countries. This trend reflects the increasing representation of women in higher education in Tunisia and Morocco (Statista.com 2023). Data on social factors such as age and nationality exhibit substantial similarities between the two countries and across the three social classes, and as a result, are not deemed particularly relevant for the analysis.

Table 43 – GENDER DISTRIBUTION AMONG UNIVERSITY STUDENT PARTICIPANTS IN TUNISIA AND MOROCCO

TUNISIA	MOROCCO
GENDER	
F 67.15%	F 74%
M 31.86%	M 26%
NB 0.49%	

When considering the attendance of public or private primary education, both Tunisia and Morocco indicate a preference for private primary education among students from higher social classes (Table 44). In both countries, the upper class exhibits the highest percentage of students

attending private primary schools, with figures at 19.26% in Tunisia and notably higher at 78.26% in Morocco. This trend suggests that families from higher social classes tend to prioritize private education for their children at an early stage, potentially influenced by perceptions of higher quality or specific educational approaches offered by private institutions. The notably higher percentage in Morocco not only reaffirms the trend observed at the university level but also underscores that access to primary education is more exclusive for the upper class compared to Tunisia.

Table 44 – PERCENTAGE OF PARTICIPANTS WHO HAVE ATTENDED A PUBLIC OR PRIVATE PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CLASS IN TUNISIA AND MOROCCO

SOCIAL CLASS	TUNISIA				MOROCCO			
	PRIMARY		SECONDARY		PRIMARY		SECONDARY	
	PUBLIC	PRIVATE	PUBLIC	PRIVATE	PUBLIC	PRIVATE	PUBLIC	PRIVATE
LOWER	95.45%	4.54%	90.91%	9.09%	82.61%	17.39	93.47%	6.52%
MIDDLE	90.17%	9.82%	95.53%	4.46%	63.63%	36.36%	81.81%	18.18%
UPPER	80.85%	19.14%	93.61%	6.38%	21.73%	78.26%	37.68%	62.31%
TOTAL	89.75%	10.24%	94.14%	5.85%	54.62%	45.37%	70.04%	29.95%

The data suggests that private secondary school attendance is also relatively higher among students from the upper class in Morocco with 62.31% while data for Tunisia shows an unexpected result that has been explained in Section 5.3.1. However, in both countries, there is a reduction in the number of students attending private secondary schools compared to primary schools. Both in Tunisia and in Morocco, the difference between language planning at the level of the primary between public and private is sharper than the secondary. This inclination may

prompt families to opt for private education, particularly during primary school, as it ensures a distinctive educational preparation, often with a preference for the French language.

Furthermore, in both Tunisia and Morocco, teachers underscore the significance of French as the preferred language for student communication in schools, spanning both primary (Table 12, Table 29) and secondary levels (Table 13, Table 30). Such language management in educational settings can be linked to the perception of French as a prestigious and formal language by teachers. A noteworthy trend is the increased preference for French as social class rises in both countries. This could be linked to the higher attendance of private institutions by the upper class, where French is often emphasized.

Arabic retains importance as a favoured language in both primary and secondary schools in both countries, signifying prestige and formality associated with cultural and linguistic purity. This preference for Arabic is observed over mother tongues like Tunisian and Moroccan. English is also given some importance in both countries, although to a lesser extent compared to French and Arabic. The inclusion of English may reflect the recognition of its global significance and the need for students to acquire proficiency in this language.

Although there is not a big difference between social classes, it is noted both in Tunisia and in Morocco, a correlation between the preference for English and the upper class. The smallest difference can be attributed to the relatively limited use and relatively equivalent distribution of this language in public and private institutions. The correlation with the upper class, however, shows that there is still greater use of English in private schools and a consequent more favorable attitude for upper-class members.

The lower preference for the mother tongues language, Tunisian and Moroccan, compared to Arabic, French, and English, suggests a prioritization of these dominant languages in educational settings in both countries. Berber, another language considered a mother tongue for a significant part of Morocco's population, exhibits even lower percentages, indicating challenges in promoting and implementing it through education planning due to ideological incongruency and structural limitations.

The analysis of language practices between students and teachers reveals a difference between Tunisia and Morocco. In Tunisia, the most spoken language is Tunisian (Table 14, Table 15) both in primary and secondary school while in Morocco is French (Table 31, Table 32). This difference can be related, once again, to the disparity of students attending private institutions between the countries. The higher percentage of attendance at private schools in Morocco indicates that French is the most language used in these contexts in interactions between students and teachers. This correlation is further substantiated when examining social classes, revealing a connection between the usage of French and the upper class.

The data concerning Arabic usage also indicates a pattern, with a decrease in its prevalence as social class increases, possibly due to reasons opposite to those explained for French. As per the official language policy in both countries, Arabic is intended to be the primary language in public schools, which generally cater to a larger population of students from lower social classes compared to private schools. In essence, the substantial percentages of mother tongue use, such as Tunisian and Moroccan, among students and teachers underscore the conflict between a planning framework that neglects their incorporation and the prevalent linguistic practices within the educational context.

This conflict (Arabic vs Tunisian/Moroccan) is even more evident in interactions among students in schools in both countries (Tunisia: Table 16, Table 17; Morocco: Table 33, Table 34). Informal language practices between peers are those less subject to the influence of ideologies and planning, rendering them more natural. The data reveals a predominant use of mother tongues, specifically Tunisian and Moroccan, at both primary and secondary levels. Furthermore, the marginal differences across social classes suggest that this practice is not inherently tied to socio-economic factors, portraying it as more democratic. The disparity between these micro-level language practices and the macro and meso components provides a clear framework, illustrating that Tunisian and Moroccan LPs fall short of ensuring equity due to their misalignment with the prevailing language practices within the educational system.

By contrast, the data about the languages used in written assignments (Tunisia: Table 18, Table 19; Morocco: Table 35, Table 36) affirms that the predominant written languages in both countries are French and Arabic, spanning both primary and secondary schools. This form of practice is inherently more formal and subjected to increased scrutiny and evaluation. Consequently, it should align more closely with the macro-level LP, yet it deviates from the more prevalent spoken language practices. Revisiting the social classes in both countries, a dual correlation emerges between Arabic and lower classes, and French and upper classes. This correlation stems from the attendance patterns of public or private institutions and the distinct policies they enact.

In summary, the data indicates that Morocco and Tunisia exhibit numerous similarities in their educational environments, including the preference for French as a formal language and the prominence of mother tongues as an informal medium. Nevertheless, distinctions emerge, notably the conspicuous association between students attending private universities in Morocco

and the use of French. This finding underscores that, in Morocco, private education is more closely associated with the upper class, thereby accentuating the discriminatory role of French in this context compared to Tunisia.

7.4 Comparative qualitative analysis – part 1

This section the link between LIEP and socioeconomic inequalities in Tunisia and Morocco from a qualitative perspective. The analysis compares the qualitative analysis of Tunisia and Morocco, highlighting similarities and differences within the respective research contexts. Extracts from previously analysed interviews and observations are considered, with their original placement in the preceding chapters indicated in brackets.

The beginning of the analysis is always focused on understanding the perception and evaluation of language planning through the words of the linguistic influencers interviewed, both students and professors. In Tunisia and Morocco, the educational system exhibits a multilingual environment, where the dominant languages stand out, and English serves as an additional language with notable positive implications, particularly in Morocco (see Section 6.4.1). What is most evident, however, is that in both countries this multilingualism is perceived and experienced in a complex way. The complexity arises from various factors and manifests through the diverse subtleties of language practices.

A first point that explains this complex situation is the tendency of students in both countries to assert that language practices are contingent on various factors, including the school level, the MOI for the subject taught, the context, and the communicative function (Tunisia: Section 5.4.1; Morocco: Section 6.4.1). Within this network of elements, the data revealed a pattern in

which Arabic is the prevailing language at the primary school level, French is the language of sciences, and Derja is employed for informal communication and to simplify explanations by professors. Except for the use of Derja, this framework aligns with the planning established by the respective LPs.

Students generally do not express a negative opinion about this multilingual planning; rather, they attribute issues to the quality of teaching (Tunisia: 5.4.2; Morocco: Section 6.4.2). The only critical point about planning, observed in Morocco, is the strong support students express for the new emphasis on promoting English at the expense of French (Section 6.4.3). This prevailing attitude can be considered as deriving from an ideological system partially described in Section 6.4.3 and is related to the earlier point concerning the quality of teaching.

The challenges identified are linked to the preparedness of teachers, and in Tunisia, there are additional concerns about the available materials and programs. Participants tend to be more critical (whether positively or negatively) of the language they are studying or using more frequently at the university level (EXC6, EXC7). Notably, there is a prevalent negative trend regarding the quality of English teaching among students majoring in English, while there is a general positive trend toward Arabic among students of Arabic. These two trends can be interpreted cohesively, as these two languages may represent antithetical values in the minds of the students.

Students of English have not only criticized the quality of English teaching but have also expressed discontent with the entire educational system, deeming it backward and obsolete. English, in their view, is not just a language but a conveyor of socioeconomic values like

progress, openness, and globality. It stands in opposition to Arabic, which they perceive as emblematic of the current, traditional, and obsolete local system.

Conversely, Students of Arabic have exhibited a positive attitude towards Arabic, viewing it as a source of identity tied to a community extending beyond local boundaries. These students have not displayed a negative stance towards English or French in Tunisia; instead, they emphasize the importance of solidifying an educational and linguistic system that aligns with their culture and identity. The responses also reflect the influence of professors' professional and generational inclinations, particularly the preference for the traditional bilingual system with Arabic and French (Tunisia: Section 5.4.2; Morocco: Section 6.4.2, Section 6.4.3).

The challenging circumstances and the struggles faced by students, as described by the professors, were subsequently explored through focus groups and contextual observations. In both Tunisia and Morocco, there seemed to be a kind of alignment between the French language, private schools, and the upper class. This connection was more pronounced in Morocco (Section 6.4.3a), where we could compare the dynamics of two vastly different university contexts and observe a strong correlation between LP and social affiliation. In Tunisia (Section 5.4.2), a more thorough analysis of language practices and attitudes was required to uncover this connection. Thanks to the participants' insights, the pattern involving French, private schools, the upper class, and a connection with the domain of STEM subjects was confirmed.

The last element that has been taken into consideration has emerged as one of the most critical and concerns the potential formalization of mother tongues and their use as MOI. This aspect has been identified as triggering the perception of a LP system that is unclear, ineffective, and

at times, detrimental. My investigation into this topic stems from the complex relationship between the different elements that make up LP (ideologies, practices, and planning) and the different layers in which LPs are implemented (macro, meso, and micro).

The theme of mother tongue in education, qualitatively analysed through contextual observations, participant statements, and interpretations of their behaviours, brought to light extremely interesting considerations. In the lectures I attended, I observed that Tunisian and Moroccan are the most commonly used in informal interactions and are occasionally employed by professors during lessons. Notably, my observation revealed a higher prevalence of these languages in public universities compared to private ones. The inclination to use these languages for oral communication, especially informally, stems from the immediacy and ease that speakers experience when using their mother tongue. Furthermore, I observed that teachers' use of Tunisian and Moroccan in more formal interactions, such as lesson explanations, is driven by the necessity for students to better comprehend certain concepts.

Having acknowledged the greater effectiveness of using these languages, it is noteworthy that there is a "paradoxical" reluctance to conceive such languages as a teaching language. Although some participants showed a positive attitude towards using Tunisian as MOI (EXC18, EXC19), the general trend is negative. The motivations of the participants are similar in the two different contexts and can be interpreted through the consideration of ideological elements related to the concept of diglossia and the perception of the Arabic language.

Overall, the participants showed an extreme heterogeneity in the perception of the difference between Arabic and their mother tongue. This perception is fluid and may vary depending on the discourse's subject. It tends to accentuate the differences between varieties when the

speaker wants or needs to express their functions. while it tends to consider the concept of the Arabic language as unitary when the speaker wants or needs to express the values the language represents. When a distinction between the two varieties is quite evident, speakers tend to emphasize that the function of the mother tongue is communicative but cannot serve as educational purpose. This is because, lacking standardization, it is not perceived as a genuine language but as an informal communicative expression that should not and cannot encroach upon the formal domains reserved for real languages, which are standardized. Standard languages are defined using adjectives such as "formal", and "classic", emphasizing contrast with Darija.

In contrast, the Arabic language is perceived as a single entity when the speaker needs to emphasize its belonging to a system of values represented by this language. As described by one participant (EXC20), the system that represents the Arab community unites different "subcommunities" and the respective language varieties under the hat of the Arabic language. However, this system of values has helped to determine a language ideology that perceives the other varieties, namely the mother tongue, negatively and as potential contaminants. Therefore, the potential introduction of mother tongues into the school system is seen as a threat to the traditional system of identity values.

The most evident exception I have identified is represented by Tunisian linguistic activists (Section 5.4.4). They endeavor to shift the concepts of functionality and identity towards the mother tongue. Their initiative involves delineating the boundaries of the two linguistic varieties, emphasizing that, from a communicative standpoint, the mother tongue could yield substantial socioeconomic advantages if formalized and used in formal contexts such as

education. Arabic, on the other hand, is argued to already possess communicative functions in specific situations, such as international or religious contexts.

From an identity perspective, the situation is perceived as more complex, as they attempt to challenge a deeply entrenched traditional system. They do not deny the importance of the Arab component of the Tunisian population and of the Tunisian language. However, they point out that under the hat of Arabic, the population and the nation of Tunisia represent a unique, and the fundamental element of identity self-affirmation lies in the national language, which is Tunisian more than Arabic. Their objective is not to replace Tunisian with Arabic, but rather to promote the role of the former in recognition of its real importance and presence within the country.

A distinct perspective arises when considering the situation of the Berber language. In Tunisia, the interview with the activist highlighted that the absence of official recognition for this language is perceived as more closely linked to human rights issues. The activist's discourse focuses on the notion that the rights of a minority are not being respected, potentially leading to the demise of a language and, consequently, an entire culture. In contrast, in Morocco, the situation of the Berber was discussed with students and professors and the almost homogenous thought that has emerged is that the LP undertaken by the monarchy, including that of the formalization of the Berber and its introduction within the educational system, have been populist maneuvers aimed at keeping a large part of the population believe that their rights will be respected.

7.5 Comparative quantitative analysis – part 2

In comparing the data of the questionnaires about language disparities and opportunities for young Tunisians and Moroccans, several notable patterns emerge. While both countries face linguistic challenges that impact young people's access to education, employment, and opportunities abroad, there are distinct differences in the role of languages and their implications for social mobility.

7.5.1 Language and higher education opportunities

One of the topics analysed in both countries is the functionality of languages at the university level. In Tunisia (Table 20), the data indicate a strong preference for French (75.91%) and English (71.61%) as the most useful languages for university courses. However, a clear divide emerges when considering social class. Upper-class students favour French (81.27%) and English (76.59%) more prominently, possibly due to better educational resources and access to private universities that use these languages as MOI. Conversely, lower-class students, constrained by financial limitations, are more likely to pursue courses in Arabic, reflecting a linguistic and socioeconomic divide in higher education.

In Morocco (Table 37), there is a notable shift in language preferences. French remains important (67.13%) and holds a dominant position particularly among the upper class (84.34%). This is evident in prestigious institutions like the UIR where French serves as the primary MOI. English has gained significant recognition (83.25%) among students from all social classes. This suggests a more inclusive acknowledgment of English as an essential tool for academic advancement. Public institutions, such as the Ben Msik Faculty of Letters, cater to students from more diverse backgrounds, many of whom are willing to enrol in English

courses due to limited prior access. Unlike Tunisia, where French and English align more with the upper social class, Moroccan students from various backgrounds, but especially from the lower class (English 85.65% vs French 54.78%), recognize the utility of English rather than French for their educational pursuits.

Data analysis has also shown that higher education opportunities could be influenced by the quality of language teaching students have received. In both countries, mastering a language such as French and English can be a discriminating factor that affects a student's choice or possibility of enrolling in a specific university course of study. In Tunisia (Table 22), 88.58% of students believe English needs improvement, while upper-class students are more critical of French teaching (74.04%). This underscores the need for better language instruction to bridge linguistic disparities, especially considering that French retains a stronghold among the elite.

In Morocco (Table 39), the dissatisfaction with English teaching (90.13%) cuts across all social classes, indicating a consensus on the need for improvement. French, while still significant (74.09%), is perceived as relatively better taught compared to English. This data highlights the urgency of enhancing English language instruction to meet the aspirations and needs of young Moroccans from diverse backgrounds.

Improving the teaching of English is seen as an urgency in both countries by all social classes and has been also reiterated during the interviews with students in both countries (Tunisia: 5.4.2; Morocco: 6.4.2). This underscores the historical similarities that have characterized the LPs of the two nations. Unlike French, the lack of a colonial link with the English language has hindered the dissemination of quality teaching in both countries, a trend that has only started to change in recent times. The alignment of English with concepts such as modernity,

the future, technology, and the economy, coupled with its recognition as a global language, positions it as the preferred language for young people seeking access to quality education.

7.5.2 Future opportunities and language needs

During the research, I have perceived that both Tunisian and Moroccan students harbour a strong desire to emigrate for better opportunities. In Tunisia, this data was not analysed directly quantitatively as no questions were raised in the written questionnaires. However, during informal chats with local students, I noticed that the desire to emigrate is widespread among young people. For this reason, I tried to investigate this problem during the interviews and the focus groups, and I proceeded to insert a question in the written questionnaire administered in Morocco. The data from Morocco confirms that the desire to emigrate is equally prevalent, with 70.04% of students considering it (Table 41).

The connection between aspirations for emigration and the perceived importance of French and English in international job markets is evident in both countries. A consistent pattern emerges: English is considered the most functional language for the future careers of students, followed by French. In Morocco, English plays a crucial role, with 91.11% of students affirming that it will be the most useful language for their future jobs (Table 40). In Tunisia, this holds for 83.14% of the participants (Table 24). This aligns with the global prominence of English. Although French is still significant, it is generally seen as less crucial (72.33% in Morocco and 77.46% in Tunisia), with substantial differences among the upper class (84.34% in Morocco and 80% in Tunisia) and lower class (61.73% in Morocco and 66.81% in Tunisia).

Both countries demonstrate that language remains a crucial tool for emancipation and social mobility. In Tunisia, the linguistic hierarchy limits opportunities for the less privileged, as access to quality education in French or English is closely tied to socioeconomic status. Conversely, Morocco exhibits a more inclusive recognition of English as an emancipatory language, with students from various social classes acknowledging its importance for their future. This suggests a shift away from traditional elitism associated with French. However, effective implementation is crucial to prevent the entrenchment of linguistic disparities.

In summary, while both Tunisia and Morocco grapple with linguistic disparities that impact young people's opportunities, the analyses reveal nuanced differences. Tunisia experiences linguistic disparities that align with social class, while Morocco is undergoing a transition towards recognizing English as a democratic language of empowerment. These findings emphasize the evolving role of language in shaping the aspirations and opportunities of young people in the two North African nations and the following comparison of qualitative data will give us a further and deeper perspective thanks to the analysis of the interviews and the context observation.

7.6 Comparative qualitative analysis – part 2

Language choices and proficiency significantly influence the educational and career paths of young individuals in Tunisia and Morocco. This comparison of the data describes the landscape of language functionality, encompassing Arabic, French, and English, among students in both countries. It explores the interplay of the linguistic factors and the future opportunities that have emerged in the single qualitative data analysis of the two countries. Themes like family

influence, media exposure, emigration aspirations, local identity, and unemployment are taken into consideration, but the description starts with one of the topics that undoubtedly had the greatest relevance: the growth in the importance of English in the two North African countries.

7.6.1 Transition to English and global relevance

In both Tunisia and Morocco, there is a perceptible shift from traditional colonial languages, primarily French, to English. This transition mirrors the recognition that English holds greater global relevance and offers superior employment prospects. A striking illustration of this transition is found in Student #1 from Tunisia (EXC25) who, despite a setback in their academic journey, turned to English, noting its crucial role in their future.

This shift reflects a broader trend of recognizing the growing importance of English in the Tunisian educational landscape. This shift to English is not solely about pragmatic career choices but also represents a cultural and generational shift. Young Tunisians are increasingly turning to English as a means of accessing global information and participating in global conversations. It reflects their desire to break free from the constraints of traditional linguistic boundaries and engage with a wider world.

In Morocco, Student #1 echoes this sentiment (EXC57), acknowledging that certain jobs now necessitate proficiency in a foreign language, particularly English. This alignment of perspective underscores the shared recognition of English's expanding significance in the professional sphere in both countries. This future local shift toward English in Morocco indicates a broader shift in the global language hierarchy. While French still holds cultural significance, English has emerged as the language of global communication and commerce.

Moroccan and Tunisian students recognize that mastering English is essential for participating in a globalized world which means to have the opportunity both to emigrate and to work for a foreign company in their country of origin.

In both Tunisia and Morocco, family backgrounds and exposure to English-language media exert a profound influence on students' language proficiency and preferences. Two students in Tunisia (EXC25, EXC26) attribute their language skills to the time spent watching English-language movies and listening to music, often outpacing their formal education. This emphasizes the pivotal role of media in shaping language skills among Tunisian youth.

The influence of media and familial exposure to English is not merely instrumental; it reflects the cultural power of English-speaking countries in shaping global entertainment and discourse. Students in Tunisia, like their peers worldwide, are drawn to English because of its association with pop culture and global trends. Moroccan Student #9 (EXC61) recognizes that English and French proficiency can provide a distinct advantage in a globalized world, aligning with the broader trend of valuing English for international communication. This confirms the shared influence of media exposure on language attitudes. Media exposure is a two-way street, as it not only shapes language choices but also reinforces the global dominance of English. As students engage with English-language media, they become part of a broader global conversation that can transcend linguistic, cultural, and social borders.

However, the role that the media have in the transmission of the English language highlights a lack of quality in the teaching of this language. Language learning through the media therefore has positive and negative sides. If on the one hand, the great media diffusion allows a

democratization of the use of the language, on the other, learning the language through the media cannot always guarantee students a high level of proficiency.

Linguistic mastery of non-mother tongues is often determined by LP mechanisms in the educational context and partly in the family context. The mastery of one or the other language can then determine the student's choices and possibilities in the academic and working fields. The choices do not only concern the field of study or the work sector the students want to move towards but also the country in which they want to live.

7.6.2 Emigration aspirations and language proficiency

The data regarding the linguistic influence on the choices made by students show that in Tunisia there is a greater desire to escape compared to Morocco (Tunisia: Section 5.5.2b; Morocco: Section 6.5.2c). Additionally, the data show that those Tunisian students with a higher command of English express a stronger desire to emigrate abroad. While both Tunisian and Moroccan students express a strong desire to seek better job opportunities and living conditions abroad, Tunisians exhibit a greater sense of urgency.

Proficiency in French and English is often perceived as indispensable for realizing this aspiration, with language skills viewed as the key to social and economic mobility. A Tunisian Student #5 (EXC31) conveys the sense of urgency regarding emigration: *"I dream to leave Tunisia"*. Even though this sentence may seem flat on the surface, the behavior of the student during the interview made me feel this sense of urgency. This urgency reflects the challenging socio-economic conditions experienced by many Tunisian youth, motivating them to seek

opportunities abroad. The aspiration to emigrate is a response to the economic challenges faced by young Tunisians. It represents a quest for better opportunities and a way out of a constrained job market. Proficiency in English or French is seen as a passport to these opportunities, and the urgency reflects the pressing need for change.

On the other hand, Moroccan Student #4 (EXC65) expresses a desire to study abroad to enhance their preparation but to eventually return to Morocco. This reflects a more optimistic outlook among Moroccan students, who believe that international education can lead to better opportunities upon their return. Moroccan students' aspirations for international education are not solely about emigration; they also reflect a commitment to contributing to their home country's development. Their willingness to return with new skills and perspectives demonstrates a strong sense of national identity that in the case of student #5 is linked with the Amazigh culture.

7.6.3 The significance of local varieties and identities

The theme of identity belonging is connected to the linguistic one and an intriguing difference emerges concerning the value placed on local linguistic varieties. Moroccan students often hold local varieties, such as Amazigh, in high regard due to their cultural and identity-related significance. These varieties are not perceived as job requirements but rather as intrinsic facets of their identity. Moroccan Student #5 (EXC66) values local linguistic varieties and expresses a preference for staying in Morocco, stating, *"I prefer to stay here and find a job here, but I'd*

like to study abroad." This underscores the profound connection between linguistic identity and place in Morocco.

Local varieties such as Amazigh are not just languages; they are symbols of cultural heritage and identity. For some Moroccan students, these languages are deeply intertwined with their sense of self and their belonging to a particular place. This demonstrates the enduring power of local languages in shaping identity. This element was not detected in Tunisia where the Amazigh community is an extremely minority.

A similar discussion concerns identity, belonging, and the connection with local varieties such as Tunisian and Moroccan. In Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, I have explored how the perception of these two languages within the educational system is influenced by the socioeconomic value that they hold outside the school environment. The lack of consideration towards these varieties in the evaluation of the functionality of the languages only confirms a negative attitude towards local varieties such as Tunisian and Moroccan, even beyond the school period.

Although the research did not extend to work environments other than educational ones, it is reasonable to assume that the situation of these two linguistic varieties is not markedly different in other professional contexts. While Tunisian and Moroccan are likely the most used varieties in many workplaces for oral communication, especially in informal interactions, the overall attitude towards them remains negative. A different situation concerns Standard Arabic. The form of use of this language most present in working environments is certainly the same as that found in school environments, i.e. the written form. From a quantitative point of view, it is difficult to offer an accurate analysis, but thanks to the interviews with the participants and thanks to my experience, I believe it is fair to say that the presence of Standard Arabic in

working environments is lower than in educational environments and is sectorally influenced by the higher presence of French in STEM-related fields. Further future investigation could be aimed at understanding linguistic attitudes in specific work sectors.

7.7 Conclusion

The comparative analysis of LIEP in Tunisia and Morocco has unveiled a rich dynamic of linguistic complexities, challenges, and socio-economic implications. These two North African nations, while sharing historical and geographical proximity, exhibit distinct approaches to language planning in education. The exploration of their macro-level LP highlighted both similarities and differences in their constitutional provisions and priorities.

Both Tunisia and Morocco emphasize the importance of Arabic as an official language, reflecting its national significance. However, ambiguities regarding the specific variety of Arabic and variations in its implementation can create challenges for LP coherence. Morocco stands out by officially recognizing Tamazight as an official language, demonstrating a commitment to linguistic diversity. Meanwhile, both nations prioritize foreign languages, with French and English playing important roles, especially in the realm of higher education. The choice of foreign languages and their prominence vary, showcasing the influence of historical legacies and international trends.

In the socioeconomic landscape, this comparative analysis delved into quantitative data to understand the intersection of social class, gender, and language planning in education. Notably, both countries exhibit a higher representation of students from the middle social class,

and public universities play a crucial role in providing access to education for most students. Nevertheless, disparities emerge, with the upper class in Morocco showing a stronger preference for private education, particularly in the French language.

Qualitative insights from students and professors illuminated the different perceptions of language planning. While both countries boast linguistic diversity in their educational systems, complexities arise from factors such as school level, medium of instruction, and contextual communication. Students generally express support for multilingualism but often critique teaching quality, emphasizing the need for improved pedagogy and resources. Morocco stands out with a positive attitude towards English, portraying it as a symbol of progress and global engagement, challenging the dominance of French.

The analysis also highlighted the complex relationship between the formalization of mother languages and their use as MOI. Despite the prevalence of mother tongues in informal communication, there is a reluctance to formalize them within the education system. Arabic is often seen as the language of identity and values, while mother tongues are relegated to the realm of informality. This paradox underscores the tension between language ideologies and practices. In conclusion, the comparative analysis of LIEP in Tunisia and Morocco has revealed a complex connection between languages, socio-economic disparities, and educational practices. While both nations face shared challenges in promoting linguistic diversity, disparities exist especially in the emphasis on foreign languages, access to private education, and the formalization of mother tongues.

To summarize, both Tunisian and Moroccan students face a myriad of linguistic challenges and opportunities that are deeply intertwined with socioeconomic inequalities within their

respective societies. This analysis sheds light on the complex dynamics surrounding language proficiency and its impact on educational and employment prospects in these North African nations. Linguistic disparities play a significant role in shaping the trajectories of young Tunisians and Moroccans.

In Tunisia, the choice of languages perceived as most valuable for university courses, with French and English favoured by higher social classes, underscores the socioeconomic divide in language proficiency. Similarly, Moroccan students are experiencing a shift in the linguistic landscape, with English gaining prominence as an emancipatory language, although challenges related to equitable access to quality English education persist. The importance of language proficiency in accessing higher education and securing employment is a shared concern among Tunisian and Moroccan youth. Proficiency in French and English is widely recognized as a critical factor in obtaining well-paying jobs, perpetuating socioeconomic disparities within both countries.

The allure of emigration, driven by the belief that proficiency in these languages enhances opportunities abroad, is a common aspiration among young people in both nations. However, it is crucial to recognize that not all students share the same aspirations. Some are committed to staying in their home countries to find employment and contribute to their local communities. This highlights the diversity of perspectives and goals among young Tunisians and Moroccans in the face of linguistic challenges.

Efforts to address linguistic disparities should focus on improving the quality of language education, particularly in English, to level the playing field for all young Tunisians and Moroccans. This entails addressing inequalities in access to resources and educational

opportunities, ensuring that language proficiency does not become a barrier to social mobility. Furthermore, the coexistence of multiple languages, including Arabic, French, English, Berber, Tunisian and Moroccan in the educational systems of Tunisia and Morocco adds complexity to the linguistic landscape. Balancing the promotion of English as a tool for empowerment with the preservation of local languages and cultures is a delicate task that policymakers must navigate.

Finally, the linguistic challenges and opportunities faced by Tunisian and Moroccan students are emblematic of broader socioeconomic disparities within their societies. Addressing these challenges requires a comprehensive approach that prioritizes equitable access to language education while respecting linguistic diversity. Only through such efforts can these nations hope to create a more inclusive and prosperous future for all their young citizens.

Chapter 8 – Conclusion

The study aimed to conduct a comparative analysis of language policies in Tunisia and Morocco and their impact on the creation of inequalities. This research pursued its objectives by analysing the data gathered through field-based research conducted in both countries – Tunisia and Morocco. The project was structured to answer the research question:

What is the relationship between language policies and inequalities among students in Tunisia and Morocco?

The analysis made it possible to answer the question in the context of Tunisia and Morocco and to compare the two cases. In this last chapter, I discuss the main findings and contribution of this research. Specifically, I highlight how the main finding is being able to answer the research question and therefore showing the relationship between language policies and inequalities in these contexts. This has been possible only through the development and critical adoption of a theoretical model and its methodological and analytical application has allowed me to answer the research question.

8.1 Language policy and the maintenance of inequalities

Throughout this thesis, it became evident that within a "political" understanding of language, each language variety carries distinct characteristics and functions in both Tunisia and

Morocco. However, the transmission of this set of elements to individuals is regulated by language policies, wherein components such as practices, ideology, and planning influence both their use and perception (Spolsky 2004).

Given its pedagogical function, one of the primary domains for the transmission of these elements is the educational sector (Tollefson 2002; Skutanbb-Kangass 2006). The unequal distinctions represented by various types of educational contexts, specifically public and private, are key factors contributing to the perpetuation of inequalities. The analysis revealed significant differences between language policies in the public and private educational sectors. The greater decision-making autonomy of the latter allows for a broader range of actions, driven by the necessity to respond to certain market demands and provide offerings aimed, among other goals, at generating profit (Ball 2010). In contrast, the offerings provided by public schools also serve ideological needs, which, from a globalized perspective, may appear to be instrumentally less functional than economic considerations (Farr & Song 2011).

As one might expect, the analysis indicated that in both countries, the upper class tends to enrol their children more frequently in private institutions at all levels, from primary to university. It would be inaccurate to claim that the motivations of these families are exclusively linguistic. Nevertheless, the data and analysis of the educational landscape prompt reflection on the significance of the role of language in the choice of the type of education.

The data revealed a notable distinction between public schools and private schools concerning language policies in the educational sector, particularly in primary school. The key difference lies in a more extensive use of French, rather than Arabic, in the private sector at the primary school level in both countries. This pronounced contrast is evident in the data, indicating that

primary school is the stage with the most significant social gap, where the upper social class shows a greater inclination to enrol in private schools. The disparity diminishes at the secondary school level, where, even within public institutions, the use of French as MOI is prevalent, especially for STEM subjects.

At the university level, the situation can be seen as an outcome of the two preceding educational stages. Firstly, the voluntary nature of tertiary education, in contrast to primary and part of secondary education, must be acknowledged. The decision to pursue university education implies that those who make this choice are already in a privileged position compared to those who lack this opportunity due to economic constraints (Brighouse & McAvoy 2009). Secondly, university institutions generally possess more autonomy in decision-making compared to primary and secondary institutions (with private universities having more autonomy than public ones), and this autonomy extends to the selection of MOI.

However, within this apparent freedom of choice, the prevailing trend in both countries continues to reflect the postcolonial legacy and the policy of Arabization. This trend involves adopting the Arabic language as the MOI for SHAPE subjects, while French remains the MOI for STEM subjects. The use of the terms SHAPE and STEM is a broad generalization but indicative of an education system shaped by a specific capitalist society where certain sectors are deemed more economically profitable (Tytler 2020).

The analysis has revealed that the most significant differences between social classes at the university level are evident in the choice of the institution (public or private) and, in some cases, the selection of the course of study. The pattern observed at the primary level appears to recur, albeit with necessary variations, at university. The lower social class is more inclined to

pursue SHAPE subject courses, particularly those with Arabic as MOI. In contrast, the highest social class tends to enrol in private institutes where the MOI is French, and STEM subjects are often studied.

While economic factors predominantly drive these dynamics in private institutions, I argue that ideological motivations are also present in public institutions. The use of Standard Arabic as the MOI reflects the intention to transmit specific identity values that signify belonging to the national, transnational Arab, and Islamic communities. Despite being intended as a means of strengthening social bonds, the degradation of Standard Arabic's position within the linguistic hierarchy and educational system diminishes its importance in a profit-driven economy. This dichotomy reflects a postcolonial system where, despite Standard Arabic being the official language, French holds higher status and prestige (Redouane 1998).

These patterns are also discernible through the analysis of language practices, constituting *de facto* language policies. The highest social class predominantly uses French at all school levels, while the lowest class predominantly uses Arabic. Differently, mother tongues (Tunisian in Tunisia, Moroccan and Berber in Morocco) are excluded from official language planning but are the most frequently used in informal oral interactions. However, the prevailing ideology contributes to their devaluation. As detailed in the final part of this chapter, the formal and written use of these mother tongues, alongside the informal and spoken use, could serve as a significant equalizing factor, facilitating increased access to resources for the lower classes (UNESCO 1953, 2010, 2012).

Finally, English can be considered as an increasing force in both countries. Its position as an international lingua franca fits within the two different contexts, but the consequences in both

countries could be twofold (Boukadi & Troudi 2017; Errihani 2017). On the one hand, the large distribution and diffusion that this language is about to have through various means, both educational and media, could guarantee relatively democratic learning, which would involve not only the highest social classes. On the other hand, this democratization of English in a context where French is still the most prestigious and economically functional language could increase the elitism and exclusivity associated with the mastery of French.

8.2 Similarities and differences between Tunisia and Morocco

The comparative nature of this thesis showed the differences and similarities between Tunisia and Morocco concerning language policy. The similar linguistic and historical background of the two countries has determined many similarities, but also some differences. Firstly, the fundamentally bilingual structure of the educational systems in both countries is a legacy of the postcolonial period, with significant contributions from deep-rooted historical processes (Redouane 1998; Daoud 2001, 2011; Ennaji 2005). Despite this general similarity, differences emerge in the presence, diffusion, linguistic contacts, and maintenance of languages.

Geographical factors, such as the size and diversity of the territories, contribute to differences in language spread and maintenance. In both countries, geographical barriers reflect linguistic and educational disparities, especially between rural inland areas and urban coastal regions (with many exceptions: Fes, Meknes, and Marrakech in Morocco; Qayrawan in Tunisia). However, Morocco's larger and more diverse territory, with complex geological features like

the Atlas and Rife Mountains, results in a varied distribution of language varieties (Buckner 2006).

A notable example is the presence of Berber languages, which have maintained a significant presence in Morocco but have become a minority in Tunisia. Through the course of history, the geographical isolation of some Berber-speaking populations in Morocco, coupled with a greater territorial extension, has ensured the preservation of Berber languages (Buckner 2006). In Tunisia, the presence of Berberophone varieties is confined to linguistic enclaves like the island of Djerba and mountainous areas in the interior (Gabsi 2022).

At the language policy level, these differences are evident. In Tunisia, Berber can be considered an endangered language (Gabsi 2022). In Morocco, the official recognition of Tamazight and its gradual inclusion in school curricula is contributing to changing and evolving its status (Zouhir 2014). However, the analysis showed how the implementation of this recognition in Morocco is still in its early stages, facing obstacles related to teaching methodologies, new alphabets, and insufficient human resources. Confirming this, the data revealed how there is little consideration for this language both at an educational level and at a functional level in a future perspective.

A further analysis of the connection between Berber and its speakers in relation to socioeconomic inequalities would require a focus on the rural areas of Morocco where the diffusion of this language is more pronounced. In some instances, Berber not only serves as the native language of the speakers but also constitutes the primary component of their linguistic repertoire. Examining this scenario would allow for an observation of how language and educational policies contribute to sustaining a system of inequalities, utilizing the geographical

criterion as a scapegoat. While it is evident that constructing certain structures in more remote contexts poses challenges, the absence of targeted support programs in disadvantaged areas perpetuates the status quo without meaningful change (Buckner 2006).

Historical-geographical elements have also influenced the different diffusion of the French language between the two countries. In Tunisia, the presence of French is stronger than in Morocco. One explanation is historical, relating to the longer colonial presence in Tunisian territory compared to Morocco (DeGorge 2002). Additionally, despite both countries share a similar bilingual system where French holds a significant role, historical disparities in the spread of school structures and the larger rural expanse in Morocco have contributed to a lesser diffusion of French compared to Tunisia. While the French colonial government did extend its influence on urban coastal areas in Tunisia, the country's smaller size facilitated more accessible contact with the French language. The historical-geographical elements influencing the spread of French are intricately linked with the role of the educational sector. It was observed that in the years following independence, Tunisia exhibited a higher literacy rate than Morocco. Although the data does not specify the language of literacy, it is reasonable to assume that bilingual education contributed to knowledge of both languages, French and Arabic (ibid.).

The situation of Arabic is remarkably similar in the language policies of Tunisia and Morocco and within the educational sector, reflecting a shared historical trajectory. Arabic holds a unique set of ideological values, yet its functional role is frequently questioned (Sayahi 2014). Tunisia and Morocco exercise extreme caution when considering political manoeuvres that might disadvantage Standard Arabic. When such decisions are made, there is a concerted effort to convey the notion that Standard Arabic remains a cornerstone of both Tunisian and Moroccan

identity. As discussed in Chapter 3, the excessive symbolism attached to this variety manifests in the formalism of its predominant written use.

Among the younger population, the educational sector serves as a fertile ground for the propagation of the ideology surrounding Standard Arabic. However, the widening gap between the planned role of Standard Arabic and its practical applications underscores its limited effectiveness. In both countries, younger generations perceive the constrained utility of Standard Arabic in specific domains and professional sectors where proficiency in French or English is preferred. Consequently, the enthusiasm and motivation for studying and mastering Standard Arabic diminish. As a result, younger generations tend to view the role of Standard Arabic as confined to formal contexts such as school, literature, and religion.

The perception of Standard Arabic is often located within a diglossic situation in which the varieties of Tunisian and Moroccan occupy an almost opposite role. The symbolism attached to Tunisian and Moroccan languages is ideologically relegated to their informal status. The lack of standardization and the lack of official recognition of these languages complicates the acknowledgment of their functional value (Sayahi 2014).

On the other hand, the recent developments affecting English constitute an important step for the enrichment of the linguistic market of both countries. This thesis has demonstrated that this evolution is more pronounced in Morocco compared to Tunisia. The implementation and expansion of English language instruction within the educational system, coupled with its increased media presence, should be contextualized within a global trend where many countries are taking similar actions.

An observed distinction during the research is that in Morocco, this shift is perceived as a linguistic revolution at the expense of the French language, while in Tunisia, the process appears more gradual. Once again, these differences can be attributed to historical factors and the coexistence of language varieties with distinct prominence and significance in each country. Ultimately, these variations are intertwined with the diverse political relationships that former colonies maintain with France, as well as the two major English-speaking powers, the US and the UK.

8.3 Contribution to the field

This research represents an innovative contribution to the field of language policy research on several fronts. By exploring the relationship between language policies and socioeconomic inequalities, it provides new insights into how language can influence social dynamics and educational outcomes. Furthermore, the various aspects of this thesis that have enriched the study of language policies also suggest promising directions for future research.

Firstly, by addressing the research question, this thesis has illustrated the relationship between language policies and socioeconomic inequalities among students in Tunisia and Morocco. While previous studies have touched upon LP in these contexts, none have explicitly focused on their role in creating and perpetuating inequalities. This focus not only fills a gap in the existing literature but also highlights critical areas for future investigation, such as the impact of language policies on different educational levels and their long-term socioeconomic effects.

Secondly, the theoretical model adopted in answering the research question is noteworthy for its innovation. Specifically, the innovation lies in having developed a critical multi-layered tripartite model in the study of language policies and inequalities. Drawing inspiration from existing literature, this model embraces fundamental principles such as: the necessity of adopting a historical-structural perspective in analyzing language policies (Tollefson 1991); the importance of examining language policy mechanisms (Shohamy 2006) at multiple levels (Hornberger & Johnson 2007); the significance of considering human agency and the role of linguistic influencers (Badwan 2021) as crucial components in language policy analysis; the advantage of conceptualizing language policies broadly but schematically, as a combination of practices, beliefs, and management (Spolsky 2004, 2009). Despite criticisms and perceived incompatibilities among these principles, this thesis demonstrates their effective coexistence and necessity. This theoretical model holds potential for application in investigating the relationship between LP and inequalities in diverse contexts. Among these principles, it is relevant to reimagine the position played by human agency in the dynamics of LP. The definition of influencer fits into a contemporary context in which the dimensions of control and power are extremely fluid, interchangeable and temporary. Considering this nuance on multiple levels and contexts, future research could enrich this perspective by exploring the impact of these influencers in various sociopolitical environments.

Thirdly, the innovative methodology employed in this research is crucial to its success. Notably, I have shown how linguistic ethnography in the study of language policies leads to a constant reconsideration of the various modalities and perceptions of multilingualism which consequently influence the collection and analysis of data. The methodology encourages epistemological reflections, recognizing the complexity of language in sociolinguistic realities and LP studies. The concept of language must be perceived in light of the sociolinguistic reality

in which the research takes place as well as responding to the dictates of the field of study of LP. For instance, multilingualism must be recognized in as many facets as possible and subsequently the researcher has the task of making his perception explicit. Future studies could extend this approach, for example by incorporating longitudinal data collection to capture the evolving nature of language use and policy impact over time.

Finally, it is essential to underline the comparative nature of this thesis. This aspect can also be considered an innovation, given the scarcity of comparative work in this field of study. The comparative nature of the analysis, observing one case through the lens of the other, allowed both cases to be investigated in detail, to summarize the main findings and therefore to enlarge the overall perspective. This comparative approach enabled a more nuanced understanding of the subject matter by contextualizing each case within the broader framework of the research question. By juxtaposing the two cases, I was able to identify patterns, similarities, and differences that enriched the analysis. Furthermore, the comparative methodology facilitated a deeper exploration of the underlying mechanisms and dynamics at play in each case, leading to a more comprehensive interpretation of the findings. Moreover, synthesizing the main findings from both cases provided a holistic view of the research topic, contributing to a broader understanding of the field.

In summary, the comparative nature of this thesis not only filled a gap in existing literature but also offered a novel perspective that advances the scholarly discourse in this area. Future research should broaden the comparative perspective to include other North African countries or countries with similar language policy processes, thereby observing whether similar processes in different contexts produce analogous unequal systems.

8.4 Concluding comments

In this concluding chapter, I aimed to answer the research question that guided this comparative analysis of language policies in Tunisia and Morocco, focusing on their impact on inequalities and the dynamics within the educational sector. Through this double ethnographic exploration, I described valuable insights into the complex mosaic of language policy, socioeconomic status, and the perpetuation of inequalities within these societies through the analysis of university students' experiences. While both countries face similar challenges stemming from their shared linguistic history, their unique geographic, historical, and political contexts give rise to nuanced differences in the dynamics of language-in-education policy.

In order to develop a more sustainable language policy, and spread it at the level of education, both countries must first consider the linguistic diversity within their borders. This can only be achieved if the language policy actions implemented by policymakers are based on principles such as the respect for an extremely rich social and linguistic reality which, not being equally distributed, needs adequate support (Spolsky 2004).

The significance of mother tongue education should be reassessed in Tunisia and Morocco (UNESCO 1953). In the case of Morocco, attention should be given to both the status and preservation of Berber languages and the recognition of the Moroccan variety. The identity and functional aspects of these varieties need to be revaluated. While reforms have been initiated regarding the implementation of Berber language teaching, this research has highlighted that the results have been minimal thus far. Moreover, addressing socioeconomic disparities within regions and urban-rural divides is crucial to ensuring equal access to quality education. The populist origin of these reforms might be reflected in their ineffectiveness. Nevertheless, it is

essential to enhance the quality and effectiveness of reforms that aim for broader dissemination of Berber language teaching across all education levels (Buckner 2006; Errihani 2006; Zouhir 2014).

The primary challenges facing this reform include the shortage of qualified teachers and a lack of interest in learning the language among those who do not already speak it (Errihani 2006, 2008). The issue of teacher training is closely tied to the fact that teaching these languages follows a different model from how they are naturally acquired. Native speakers typically learn the language primarily through oral transmission, while formal education requires a fundamental focus on the study of the written language. The recent development of orthography for these languages complicates the search for qualified teachers and individuals capable of reading and writing the language (Zouhir 2014). Therefore, I contend that in this case as well, language policy in education should align more closely with sociolinguistic reality.

The process of dissemination of teaching of Berber languages in Morocco is, in my opinion, a fundamental element and could serve as an example for the use and formalization of the other majority mother tongue, Moroccan. Indeed, the revaluation of a mother tongue like Berber could bring practical and effective obvious changes, increasing and facilitating access to resources to a greater number of individuals, and consequently reconsidering the role and importance of Moroccan.

This process is likely to be a gradual process, if not more appropriately considered as utopian. However, I believe that a change should be conceived gradually by policymakers, and linguistic and educational influencers. Following and being informed by sociolinguistic studies can help to investigate the best solutions to overcome practical and attitudinal obstacles like those

observed in the case of Berber teaching. Indeed, this analysis showed that there are different opinions about the use of mother tongues within the scholastic system and the same perception of it is extremely heterogeneous. In general, the usefulness of mother tongue education has not been expressed by a considerable number of participants.

A first step towards the implementation of a language policy that supports Moroccan in Morocco, and Tunisian in Tunisia, and embraces translanguaging practices in both countries across various educational settings would involve granting greater freedom and tolerance for the use of diverse linguistic processes (García 2009; Kirsch 2020). This freedom must be tailored and contextualized according to specific educational settings and levels, with the core principle being to provide opportunities for effective and immediate communication (García 2009; García & Flores 2013). In Morocco, although this tolerance is already part of the country's language policy, its consistent application is not always observed. In Tunisia, the idea of such freedom is not explicitly mentioned, yet the analysis reveals widespread use of these languages or linguistic processes at the school level, predominantly in oral communication.

A second step towards the revaluation of these languages would therefore be to transmit basic sociolinguistic knowledge through the school system (Yu 2006). By teaching and studying fundamental concepts such as distinguishing between a language and a dialect and comprehending the complexity of the concept of diglossia, young students can better grasp the benefits of mother tongue education within a multilingual context.

As globalization continues to impact both countries, the complex multilingual setting increases and proficiency in international languages like English becomes crucial (Pennycook 2009). In this regard, Morocco appears more inclined than Tunisia toward a process of reformist

development, driven by various factors, including political considerations. Given the political transformations in the region, language policy should be formulated with a focus on long-term stability. Involving diverse stakeholders, especially teachers and educators, and building consensus among them, can contribute to the sustainability of policies (Cummins 2000). The impact of language policy on economic development should be meticulously assessed. Investments in public education, teacher training, and curriculum development are essential for establishing a sustainable model for language policy (Tollefson 1991).

Ultimately, language policy must evolve to serve as a tool for social and economic empowerment, ensuring that all citizens, regardless of their linguistic backgrounds or socioeconomic status, have equitable access to educational opportunities and resources. By navigating the complex intersection of linguistic identities, local contexts, and global dynamics, Tunisia and Morocco can pave the way toward more inclusive and sustainable language policies that benefit their societies.

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Appendices

Appendix A. QUESTIONNAIRES EMPLOYED IN TUNISIA

English Version

<div align="center">QUESTIONNAIRE FOR STUDENTS</div>

In this <u>anonymous</u> questionnaire, you will be asked to answer various (47) questions about your education, your family, the languages you know and your future aspirations. Please try to answer honestly and ask for help if something is not clear to you.

There will be different types of questions:

- In some questions you will simply write the answer in the empty box or next to the question.

Example:

What is your favorite music?	

Why? ……….

What is your favorite music?	Rock

Why? …………………Because it gives me energy……………………………………………………

- In other questions you will need to mark the correct answer with an X. There can be more right answers.

Example:

What kind of music do you like?	Pop	Rap	Rock	Classic

What kind of music do you like?	Pop ✖	Rap	Rock ✖	Classic

- In some questions you will have to give a grade from 1 to 5 to each option and write it in the corresponding box. Numbers 1 to 5 may indicate levels of quantity, frequency or preference. Remember that in all cases 1 is the lowest and 5 the highest.

Example:

Here the number indicate the frequency, how often I listen to this music.

What kind of music do you listen to?

Music	Pop	Rap	Rock	Classic
Grade				

Music	Pop	Rap	Rock	Classic
Grade	4	2	5	1

- In some questions you will have to answer YES or NOT.

Example

Do you like this kind of music?

Music	Pop	Rap	Rock	Classic
Yes/No				

Music	Pop	Rap	Rock	Classic
Yes/No	Yes	No	Yes	No

Before starting, write the required information in the following table.

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

UNIVERSITY	
UNIVERSITY COURSE	
AGE	
NATIONALITY	
CITY OF BIRTH	
GENDER	

1) DO YOU CURRENTLY HAVE A JOB OR HAVE YOU EVER WORKED?

YES	NO

IF YES, PLEASE EXPLAIN WHAT JOB

……

EDUCATION

2) DID YOU ATTEND PUBLIC OR PRIVATE PRIMARY SCHOOL?

PRIMARY EDUCATION	Public	Private

3) I SPOKE … WITH MY TEACHERS (1 to 5 according to frequency)

Language	Standard Arabic	Tunisian Arabic	English	French	Other (specify)
Grade					

4) MY TEACHER ENCOURAGED ME TO SPEAK (1 to 5 according to frequency)

Language	Standard Arabic	Tunisian Arabic	English	French	Other (specify)
Grade					

5) I SPOKE … WITH MY CLASSMATES (1 to 5 according to frequency)

Language	Standard Arabic	Tunisian Arabic	English	French	Other (specify)
Grade					

6) I USED … FOR ORAL ASSIGNMENTS (1 to 5 according to frequency)

Language	Standard Arabic	Tunisian Arabic	English	French	Other (specify)
Grade					

7) I USED … FOR WRITTEN ASSIGNMENTS (1 to 5 according to frequency)

Language	Standard Arabic	Tunisian Arabic	English	French	Other (specify)
Grade					

8) WHAT WAS YOUR FAVOURITE SUBJECT?
………

9) IN WHICH LANGUAGE DID YOU STUDY YOUR FAVORITE SUBJECT?
………

10) I WANTED TO STUDY A SUBJECT OR MORE USING ANOTHER LANGUAGE:

YES	NO

IF YES, PLEASE EXPLAIN WHICH SUBJECT/S AND WHY

………

11) DID YOU ATTEND PUBLIC OR PRIVATE SECONDARY SCHOOL?

SECONDARY EDUCATION	Public	Private

12) I SPOKE … WITH MY TEACHERS (1 to 5 according to frequency)

Language	Standard Arabic	Tunisian Arabic	English	French	Other (specify)
Grade					

13) MY TEACHER ENCOURAGED ME TO SPEAK (1 to 5 according to frequency)

Language	Standard Arabic	Tunisian Arabic	English	French	Other (specify)
Grade					

14) I SPOKE … WITH MY CLASSMATES (1 to 5 according to frequency)

Language	Standard Arabic	Tunisian Arabic	English	French	Other (specify)
Grade					

15) I USED … FOR ORAL ASSIGNMENTS (1 to 5 according to frequency)

Language	Standard Arabic	Tunisian Arabic	English	French	Other (specify)
Grade					

16) I USED … FOR WRITTEN ASSIGNMENTS (1 to 5 according to frequency)

Language	Standard Arabic	Tunisian Arabic	English	French	Other (specify)
Grade					

17) WHAT WAS YOUR FAVOURITE SUBJECT?
………

18) IN WHAT LANGUAGE WAS YOUR FAVOURITE SUBJECT/S TAUGHT?
………

19) I WANTED TO STUDY A SUBJECT OR MORE USING ANOTHER LANGUAGE:

YES	NO

IF YES, PLEASE EXPLAIN WHICH SUBJECT/S AND WHY

…….

FAMILY

20) PARENTS NATIONALITY and JOB

	NATIONALITY	JOB
MOTHER		
FATHER		

21) MOTHER EDUCATION

MOTHER EDUCATION	PUBLIC	PRIVATE
PRIMARY SCHOOL		
SECONDARY SCHOOL		
UNIVERSITY		
NO EDUCATION		

22) FATHER EDUCATION

FATHER EDUCATION	PUBLIC	PRIVATE
PRIMARY SCHOOL		
SECONDARY SCHOOL		
UNIVERSITY		
NO EDUCATION		

23) MY MOTHER KNOWS (Yes/No)

Language	Standard Arabic	Tunisian Arabic	English	French	Other (specify)
Yes/No					

24) MY FATHER KNOWS (Yes/No)

Language	Standard Arabic	Tunisian Arabic	English	French	Other (specify)
Yes/No					

25) I SPEAKE … AT HOME WITH MY PARENTS (1 to 5 according to frequency)

Language	Standard Arabic	Tunisian Arabic	English	French	Other (specify)
Grade					

26) MY PARENTS ENCOURAGED ME TO SPEAK (1 to 5 according to frequency)

Language	Standard Arabic	Tunisian Arabic	English	French	Other (specify)
Grade					

27) MY PARENTS ENCOURAGED ME TO STUDY (1 to 5 according to frequency)

Language	Standard Arabic	Tunisian Arabic	English	French	Other (specify)
Grade					

LANGUAGE

28) MY LEVEL OF … IS… (1 to 5)

Language	Standard Arabic	Tunisian Arabic	English	French	Other (specify)
Writing					
Speaking					

29) THE LANGUAGE OF CULTURE IS… (1 to 5 according to preference)

Language	Standard Arabic	Tunisian Arabic	English	French	Other (specify)
Grade					

30) THE LANGUAGE OF MY IDENTITY IS… (1 to 5 according to preference)

Language	Standard Arabic	Tunisian Arabic	English	French	Other (specify)
Grade					

31) THE LANGUAGE OF LITERACY IS… (1 to 5 according to preference)

Language	Standard Arabic	Tunisian Arabic	English	French	Other (specify)
Grade					

32) THE LANGUAGE OF PRESTIGE IS… (1 to 5 according to preference)

Language	Standard Arabic	Tunisian Arabic	English	French	Other (specify)
Grade					

33) THE LANGUAGE OF POVERTY IS… (1 to 5 according to preference)

Language	Standard Arabic	Tunisian Arabic	English	French	Other (specify)
Grade					

34) THE LANGUAGE OF RICHNESS IS… (1 to 5 according to preference)

Language	Standard Arabic	Tunisian Arabic	English	French	Other (specify)
Grade					

35) THE LANGUAGE MOST USEFUL FOR MY UNIVERSITY COURSE IS… (1 to 5 according to preference)

Language	Standard Arabic	Tunisian Arabic	English	French	Other (specify)
Grade					

36) THE LANGUAGE MOST USEFUL FOR MY FUTURE JOB IS… (1 to 5 according to preference)

Language	Standard Arabic	Tunisian Arabic	English	French	Other (specify)
Grade					

37) THE LANGUAGE MOST USEFUL FOR LIVING ABROAD IS… (1 to 5 according to preference)

Language	Standard Arabic	Tunisian Arabic	English	French	Other (specify)
Grade					

38) SCHOOLS MUST IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF TEACHING… (1 to 5 according to preference)

Language	Standard Arabic	Tunisian Arabic	English	French	Other (specify)
Grade					

39) UNIVERSITIES MUST IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF TEACHING… (1 to 5 according to preference)

Language	Standard Arabic	Tunisian Arabic	English	French	Other (specify)
Grade					

40) I HAVE ATTENDED OR WILL ATTEND PRIVATE LANGUAGE COURSES TO IMPROVE MY LEVEL

YES	NO

IF YES, PLEASE EXPLAIN WHAT LANGUAGE

……….

41) WITH MY FRIENDS I SPEAK… (1 to 5 according to frequency)

Language	Standard Arabic	Tunisian Arabic	English	French	Other (specify)
Grade					

42) WITH PEOPLE I DO NOT KNOW I PREFER TO SPEAK… (1 to 5 according to preference)

Language	Standard Arabic	Tunisian Arabic	English	French	Other (specify)
Grade					

43) I THINK THAT A LOT OF TUNISIANS SPEAK WELL… (1 to 5 according to preference)

Language	Standard Arabic	Tunisian Arabic	English	French	Other (specify)
Grade					

44) I THINK THAT A LOT OF TUNISIANS DO NOT SPEAK WELL… (1 to 5 according to preference)

Language	Standard Arabic	Tunisian Arabic	English	French	Other (specify)
Grade					

45) THE LANGUAGE OF THE PAST IS… (1 to 5 according to preference)

Language	Standard Arabic	Tunisian Arabic	English	French	Other (specify)
Grade					

46) THE LANGUAGE OF THE FUTURE IS… (1 to 5 according to preference)

Language	Standard Arabic	Tunisian Arabic	English	French	Other (specify)
Grade					

47) THE LANGUAGE OF THE PRESENT IS… (1 to 5 according to preference)

Language	Standard Arabic	Tunisian Arabic	English	French	Other (specify)
Grade					

Arabic Version

استبيان للطلاب

في هذا الاستبيان المجهول الهوية ، سيُطلب منك الإجابة على (٤٧) أسئلة مختلفة حول تعليمك ووالعائلتك واللغات التي تعرفها وتطلعاتك المستقبلية. يرجى محاولة الإجابة بصدق وطلب المساعدة إذا كان هناك شيء غير واضح لك.

ستكون هناك أنواع مختلفة من الأسئلة:

- في بعض الأسئلة ستكتب الإجابة ببساطة في المربع الفارغ أو بجوار السؤال.

مثال:

	ماهي موسيقاك المفضلة؟

لماذا ؟...

	روك	ماهي موسيقاك المفضلة؟

لماذا ؟ لأنه يعطيني الطاقة.............................

- في الأسئلة الأخرى ، ستحتاج إلى تحديد الإجابة الصحيحة بعلامة X. يمكن أن يكون هناك المزيد من الإجابات الصحيحة.

مثال:

كلاسيك		بوب	راب	روك	أي نوع من الموسيقى تفضل؟

كلاسيك	✖ بوب	راب	✖ روك	أي نوع من الموسيقى تفضل؟

- في بعض الأسئلة ، سيتعين عليك إعطاء درجة من ١ إلى ٥ لكل خيار وكتابته في المربع المقابل. قد تشير الأرقام من ١ إلى ٥ إلى مستويات الكمية أو التردد أو الأفضلية. تذكر أنه في جميع الحالات ١ هي الأدنى و ٥ هي الأعلى.

مثال:

هنا يشير الرقم إلى التردد ، وكم مرة أستمع إلى هذه الموسيقى

ما نوع الموسيقى التي تستمع اليها؟

موسيقى	بوب	راب	روك	كلاسيك
درجة				

موسيقى	بوب	راب	روك	كلاسيك
درجة	١	٥	٢	٤

في بعض الأسئلة عليك الإجابة ب نعم أو لا.

مثال

هل تحب هذا النوع من الموسيقى؟

موسيقى	بوب	راب	روك	كلاسيك
نعم/لا				

موسيقى	بوب	راب	روك	كلاسيك
نعم/لا	نعم	لا	نعم	لا

قبل البدء ، اكتب المعلومات المطلوبة في الجدول التالي.

المعلومات الديموغرافية

جامعة	
دورة الجامعة	
سن	
جنسية	
مدينة الميلاد	

جنس	

١) هل لديك حاليًا وظيفة أو هل عملت من قبل؟

لا	نعم

إذا كانت الإجابة بنعم ، فيرجى توضيح الوظيفة
……………………………………………………………

التعليم

٢) هل حضرت مدرسة ابتدائية عامة أو خاصة؟

خاص	عام	التعليم الابتدائي

٣) تحدثت ... مع معلمي (من ١ إلى ٥ حسب التردد)

أخرى	الفرنسية	الإنجليزية	العامية/التونسية	العربية الفصحى	اللغة
					(حدد)

٤) شجعني معلمتي على التحدث (من ١ إلى ٥ حسب التردد)

أخرى	الفرنسية	الإنجليزية	العامية/التونسية	العربية الفصحى	اللغة
					(حدد)

٥) تحدثت ... مع زملائي في الفصل (من ١ إلى ٥ حسب التردد)

أخرى	الفرنسية	الإنجليزية	العامية/التونسية	العربية الفصحى	اللغة
					(حدد)

٦) لقد استخدمت... للتخصيصات الشفهية (١ إلى ٥ حسب التردد)

اللغة	العربية الفصحى	العامية/التونسية	الإنجليزية	الفرنسية	أخرى
(حدد)					

٧) لقد استخدمت ... للتخصيصات الكتابية (من ١ إلى ٥ حسب التردد)

اللغة	العربية الفصحى	العامية/التونسية	الإنجليزية	الفرنسية	أخرى
(حدد)					

٨) ما هو الموضوع المفضل لديك؟

....

٩) بأي لغة درست موضوعك المفضل؟

....

١٠) أردت دراسة موضوع أو استخدام لغة أخرى:

نعم	لا

إذا كانت الإجابة بنعم ، فيرجى توضيح أي موضوع / مواضيع ولماذا

....

١١) هل حضرت مدرسة ثانوية عامة أو خاصة؟

التعليم ألثانوئية	عام	خاص

١٢) تحدثت ... مع معلمي (من ١ إلى ٥ حسب التردد)

اللغة	العربية الفصحى	العامية/التونسية	الإنجليزية	الفرنسية	أخرى
(حدد)					

١٣) شجعني معلمتي على التحدث (من ١ إلى ٥ حسب التردد)

اللغة	العربية الفصحى	العامية/التونسية	الإنجليزية	الفرنسية	أخرى

(حدد)					

١٤) تحدثت ... مع زملائي في الفصل (من ١ إلى ٥ حسب التردد)

أخرى	الفرنسية	الإنجليزية	العامية/التونسية	العربية الفصحى	اللغة
					(حدد)

١٥) لقد استخدمت... للتخصيصات الشفهية (١ إلى ٥ حسب التردد)

أخرى	الفرنسية	الإنجليزية	العامية/التونسية	العربية الفصحى	اللغة
					(حدد)

١٦) لقد استخدمت... للتخصيصات الكتابية (من ١ إلى ٥ حسب التردد)

أخرى	الفرنسية	الإنجليزية	العامية/التونسية	العربية الفصحى	اللغة
					(حدد)

١٧) ما هو الموضوع المفضل لديك؟

....

١٨) بأي لغة درست موضوعك المفضل؟

....

١٩) أردت دراسة موضوع أو استخدام لغة أخرى:

لا	نعم

إذا كانت الإجابة بنعم ، فيرجى توضيح أي موضوع / مواضيع ولماذا

....

الأسرة

٢٠) جنسية الوالدين والوظيفة

	وظيفة	جنسية
أم		
الآب		

٢١) تعليم الأم

تعليم الأم	عامة	خاصة
مدرسة إبتدائية		
مدرسة اعدادية		
جامعة		
لا تعليم		

٢٢) تعليم الآب

تعليم اللآب	عامة	خاصة
مدرسة إبتدائية		
مدرسة اعدادية		
جامعة		
لا تعليم		

٢٣) أمي تعرف (نعم / لا)

اللغة	العربية الفصحى	العامية/التونسية	الإنجليزية	الفرنسية	أخرى
نعم/لا					

٢٤) آبي يعرف (نعم / لا)

اللغة	العربية الفصحى	العامية/التونسية	الإنجليزية	الفرنسية	أخرى
نعم/لا					

٢٥) أتحدث ... في المنزل مع والديّ (من ١ إلى ٥ حسب التردد)

اللغة	العربية الفصحى	العامية/التونسية	الإنجليزية	الفرنسية	أخرى
(حدد)					

٢٦) شجعني والداي على التحدث (من ١ إلى ٥ حسب التردد)

اللغة	العربية الفصحى	العامية/التونسية	الإنجليزية	الفرنسية	أخرى
(حدد)					

٢٧) شجعني والداي على الدراسة (١ إلى ٥ حسب التردد)

اللغة	العربية الفصحى	العامية/التونسية	الإنجليزية	الفرنسية	أخرى
(حدد)					

أللغة

٢٨) مستواي ... هو ... (١ إلى ٥)

اللغة	العربية الفصحى	العامية/التونسية	الإنجليزية	الفرنسية	أخرى
(حدد)					

٢٩) لغة الثقافة هي ... (١ إلى ٥ حسب الأفضلية)

اللغة	العربية الفصحى	العامية/التونسية	الإنجليزية	الفرنسية	أخرى
(حدد)					

٣٠) لغة هويتي هي ... (١ إلى ٥ حسب الأفضلية)

اللغة	العربية الفصحى	العامية/التونسية	الإنجليزية	الفرنسية	أخرى
(حدد)					

٣١) لغة القرائية هي ... (من ١ إلى ٥ حسب الأفضلية)

اللغة	العربية الفصحى	العامية/التونسية	الإنجليزية	الفرنسية	أخرى
(حدد)					

٣٢) لغة الهيبة هي ... (١ إلى ٥ حسب الأفضلية)

اللغة	العربية الفصحى	العامية/التونسية	الإنجليزية	الفرنسية	أخرى
(حدد)					

٣٣) لغة الفقر هي ... (١ إلى ٥ حسب الأفضلية)

اللغة	العربية الفصحى	العامية/التونسية	الإنجليزية	الفرنسية	أخرى
(حدد)					

٣٤) لغة الثراء هي ... (١ إلى ٥ حسب الأفضلية)

اللغة	العربية الفصحى	العامية/التونسية	الإنجليزية	الفرنسية	أخرى
(حدد)					

٣٥) اللغة الأكثر فائدة لدورة جامعتي هي ... (١ إلى ٥ حسب الأفضلية)

اللغة	العربية الفصحى	العامية/التونسية	الإنجليزية	الفرنسية	أخرى
(حدد)					

٣٦) اللغة الأكثر فائدة لوظيفتي المستقبلية هي ... (١ إلى ٥ حسب الأفضلية)

اللغة	العربية الفصحى	العامية/التونسية	الإنجليزية	الفرنسية	أخرى
(حدد)					

٣٧) اللغة الأكثر فائدة للعيش في الخارج هي ... (١ إلى ٥ حسب الأفضلية)

اللغة	العربية الفصحى	العامية/التونسية	الإنجليزية	الفرنسية	أخرى
(حدد)					

٣٨) يجب على المدارس تحسين جودة التدريس ... (من ١ إلى ٥ حسب الأفضلية)

اللغة	العربية الفصحى	العامية/التونسية	الإنجليزية	الفرنسية	أخرى
(حدد)					

٣٩) يجب على الجامعات تحسين بجودة التدريس ... (من ١ إلى ٥ حسب الأفضلية)

اللغة	العربية الفصحى	العامية/التونسية	الإنجليزية	الفرنسية	أخرى
(حدد)					

٤٠) لقد حضرت أو سأحضر دورات لغة خاصة لتحسين مستواي

نعم	لا

إذا كانت الإجابة بنعم ، فيرجى توضيح أي لغة
....

٤١) مع أصدقائي أتحدث ... (من ١ إلى ٥ حسب التردد)

اللغة	العربية الفصحى	العامية/التونسية	الإنجليزية	الفرنسية	أخرى
(حدد)					

٣٢) مع أشخاص لا أعرف أنني أفضل التحدث ... (١ إلى ٥ حسب الأفضلية)

اللغة	العربية الفصحى	العامية/التونسية	الإنجليزية	الفرنسية	أخرى
(حدد)					

٤٣) أعتقد أن الكثير من التونسيين يتحدثون بشكل جيد ... (١ إلى ٥ حسب الأفضلية)

اللغة	العربية الفصحى	العامية/التونسية	الإنجليزية	الفرنسية	أخرى
(حدد)					

٤٤) أعتقد أن الكثير من التونسيين لا يتحدثون جيدًا ... (١ إلى ٥ حسب الأفضلية)

اللغة		العربية الفصحى	العامية/التونسية	الإنجليزية	الفرنسية	أخرى
(حدد)						

٤٥) لغة الماضي هي ... (١ إلى ٥ حسب الأفضلية)

اللغة		العربية الفصحى	العامية/التونسية	الإنجليزية	الفرنسية	أخرى
(حدد)						

٤٦) لغة المستقبل هي ... (١ إلى ٥ حسب الأفضلية)

اللغة		العربية الفصحى	العامية/التونسية	الإنجليزية	الفرنسية	أخرى
(حدد)						

٤٧) لغة الحاضر ... (١ إلى ٥ حسب الأفضلية)

اللغة		العربية الفصحى	العامية/التونسية	الإنجليزية	الفرنسية	أخرى
(حدد)						

French Version

QUESTIONNAIRE POUR LES ÉTUDIANTS

Dans ce questionnaire anonyme, on vous demandera de répondre à diverses (47) questions sur votre éducation, votre famille, les langues que vous connaissez et vos aspirations futures. Veuillez essayer de répondre honnêtement et demander de l'aide si quelque chose n'est pas clair pour vous.

Il y aura différents types de questions :

- Dans certaines questions, vous n'aurez qu'à écrire la réponse dans la case vide ou à côté de la question.

Exemple :

Quelle est ta musique préférée ?	

Porquoi ?………………………………………………………………………………………………………

Quelle est ta musique préférée ?	Rock

Porquoi ? …………………Parce que cela me donne de l'énergie…………………………….

- Dans d'autres questions, vous devrez inscrire un X sur la bonne réponse. Il peut y avoir d'autres bonnes réponses.

Exemple :

Quel genre de musique aimez-vous ?	Pop	Rap	Rock	Classique

Quel genre de musique aimez-vous ?	Pop ✖	Rap	Rock ✖	Classique

- Dans certaines questions, vous devrez donner une note de 1 à 5 à chaque option et l'écrire dans la case correspondante. Les nombres 1 à 5 peuvent indiquer des niveaux de quantité, de fréquence ou de préférence. Rappelez-vous que dans tous les cas 1 est le plus bas et 5 le plus élevé.

Exemple :

Ici le nombre indique la fréquence, combien de fois j'écoute cette musique

Quel genre de musique écoutez-vous ?

Musique	Pop	Rap	Rock	Classique
Note				

Musique	Pop	Rap	Rock	Classique
Note	4	2	5	1

- Dans certaines questions, vous devrez répondre OUI ou NON.

Avant de commencer, inscrivez les informations requises dans le tableau suivant.

INFORMATION DÉMOGRAPHIQUE

UNIVERSITÉ	
COURS UNIVERSITAIRE	
ÂGE	
NATIONALITÉ	
VILLE DE NAISSANCE	
GENRE	

1) AVEZ-VOUS UN EMPLOI OU AVEZ-VOUS DÉJÀ TRAVAILLÉ ?

OUI	NON

SI OUI, VEUILLEZ EXPLIQUER QUEL TRAVAIL

……

ÉDUCATION

2) AVEZ-VOUS FRÉQUENTÉ UNE ÉCOLE PRIMAIRE PUBLIQUE OU PRIVÉE ?

ENSEIGNEMENT PRIMAIRE	Publique	Privée

3) J'AI PARLÉ… AVEC MES ENSEIGNANTS (1 à 5 selon la fréquence)

Langue	Arabe Standard	Arabe Tunisien	Anglais	Français	Autre (préciser)
Note					

4) MON ENSEIGNANT M'A ENCOURAGÉ À PARLER (1 à 5 selon la fréquence)

Langue	Arabe Standard	Arabe Tunisien	Anglais	Français	Autre (préciser)
Note					

5) J'AI PARLÉ…AVEC MES CAMARADES DE CLASSE (1 à 5 selon la fréquence)

Langue	Arabe Standard	Arabe Tunisien	Anglais	Français	Autre (préciser)
Note					

6) J'AI UTILISÉ … POUR LES TÂCHES ORALES (1 à 5 selon la fréquence)

Langue	Arabe Standard	Arabe Tunisien	Anglais	Français	Autre (préciser)
Note					

7) J'AI UTILISÉ … POUR LES TÂCHES ÉCRITES (1 à 5 selon la fréquence)

Langue	Arabe Standard	Arabe Tunisien	Anglais	Français	Autre (préciser)
Note					

8) QUEL A ÉTÉ VOTRE MATIÈRE PRÉFÉRÉE ?
………

9) DANS QUELLE LANGUE AVEZ-VOUS ÉTUDIÉ VOTRE MATIÈRE PRÉFÉRÉE ?
………

10) JE VOULAIS ÉTUDIER UNE MATIÈRE OU PLUS EN UTILISANT UNE AUTRE LANGUE :

OUI	NON

SI OUI, VEUILLEZ EXPLIQUER QUELLE MATIÈRE ET POURQUOI
………

11) AVEZ-VOUS FRÉQUENTÉ UNE ÉCOLE SECONDAIRE PUBLIQUE OU PRIVÉE ?

ENSEIGNEMENT SECONDAIRE	Publique	Privée

12) J'AI PARLÉ… AVEC MES ENSEIGNANTS (1 à 5 selon la fréquence)

Langue	Arabe Standard	Arabe Tunisien	Anglais	Français	Autre (préciser)
Note					

13) MON ENSEIGNANT M'A ENCOURAGÉ À PARLER (1 à 5 selon la fréquence)

Langue	Arabe Standard	Arabe Tunisien	Anglais	Français	Autre (préciser)
Note					

14) J'AI PARLÉ…AVEC MES CAMARADES DE CLASSE (1 à 5 selon la fréquence)

Langue	Arabe Standard	Arabe Tunisien	Anglais	Français	Autre (préciser)
Note					

15) J'AI UTILISÉ … POUR LES TÂCHES ORALES (1 à 5 selon la fréquence)

Langue	Arabe Standard	Arabe Tunisien	Anglais	Français	Autre (préciser)
Note					

16) J'AI UTILISÉ … POUR LES TÂCHES ÉCRITES (1 à 5 selon la fréquence)

Langue	Arabe Standard	Arabe Tunisien	Anglais	Français	Autre (préciser)
Note					

17) QUEL A ÉTÉ VOTRE MATIÈRE PRÉFÉRÉE ?
………

18) DANS QUELLE LANGUE AVEZ-VOUS ÉTUDIÉ VOTRE MATIÈRE PRÉFÉRÉE ?
………

19) JE VOULAIS ÉTUDIER UNE MATIÈRE OU PLUS EN UTILISANT UNE AUTRE LANGUE :

OUI	NON

SI OUI, VEUILLEZ EXPLIQUER QUELLE MATIÈRE ET POURQUOI
………

FAMILLE

20) NATIONALITÉ et EMPLOI DES PARENTS

	NATIONALITÉ	EMPLOI
MÈRE		
PÈRE		

21) ÉDUCATION DE LA MÈRE

ÉDUCATION DE LA MÈRE	PUBLIQUE	PRIVÉE
ENSEIGNAMENT PRIMAIRE		
ENSEIGNAMENT SECONDAIRE		
UNIVERSITÉ		
PAS D' ÉDUCATION		

22) ÉDUCATION DU PÈRE

ÉDUCATION DU PÈRE	PUBLIQUE	PRIVÉE
ENSEIGNAMENT PRIMAIRE		
ENSEIGNAMENT SECONDAIRE		
UNIVERSITÉ		
PAS D' ÉDUCATION		

23) MA MÈRE SAIT

Langue	Arabe Standard	Arabe Tunisien	Anglais	Français	Autre (préciser)
Oui/Non					

24) MON PÈRE SAIT

Langue	Arabe Standard	Arabe Tunisien	Anglais	Français	Autre (préciser)
Oui/Non					

25) JE PARLE… À LA MAISON AVEC MES PARENTS (1 à 5 selon la fréquence)

Langue	Arabe Standard	Arabe Tunisien	Anglais	Français	Autre (préciser)
Note					

26) MES PARENTS M'ONT ENCOURAGÉ À PARLER (1 à 5 selon la fréquence)

Langue	Arabe Standard	Arabe Tunisien	Anglais	Français	Autre (préciser)
Note					

27) MES PARENTS M'ONT ENCOURAGÉ À ÉTUDIER (1 à 5 selon la fréquence)

Langue	Arabe Standard	Arabe Tunisien	Anglais	Français	Autre (préciser)
Note					

LANGUE

28) MON NIVEAU DE… EST…(1 to 5)

Langue	Arabe Standard	Arabe Tunisien	Anglais	Français	Autre (préciser)
Écrit					
Parlait					

29) LA LANGUE DE LA CULTURE EST… (1 à 5 selon la préférence)

Langue	Arabe Standard	Arabe Tunisien	Anglais	Français	Autre (préciser)
Note					

30) LA LANGUE DE MON IDENTITÉ EST… (1 à 5 selon la préférence)

Langue	Arabe Standard	Arabe Tunisien	Anglais	Français	Autre (préciser)
Note					

31) LA LANGUE D'ALPHABÉTISATION EST… (1 à 5 selon la préférence)

Langue	Arabe Standard	Arabe Tunisien	Anglais	Français	Autre (préciser)
Note					

32) LA LANGUE DE PRESTIGE EST… (1 à 5 selon la préférence)

Langue	Arabe Standard	Arabe Tunisien	Anglais	Français	Autre (préciser)
Note					

33) LA LANGUE DE LA PAUVRETÉ EST… (1 à 5 selon la préférence)

Langue	Arabe Standard	Arabe Tunisien	Anglais	Français	Autre (préciser)
Note					

34) LA LANGUE DE RICHESSE EST… (1 à 5 selon la préférence)

Langue	Arabe Standard	Arabe Tunisien	Anglais	Français	Autre (préciser)
Note					

35) LA LANGUE LA PLUS UTILE POUR MON COURS UNIVERSITAIRE EST… (1 à 5 selon la préférence)

Langue	Arabe Standard	Arabe Tunisien	Anglais	Français	Autre (préciser)
Note					

36) LA LANGUE LA PLUS UTILE POUR MON FUTUR EMPLOI EST… (1 à 5 selon la préférence)

Langue	Arabe Standard	Arabe Tunisien	Anglais	Français	Autre (préciser)
Note					

37) LA LANGUE LA PLUS UTILE POUR VIVRE À L'ÉTRANGER EST … (1 à 5 selon la préférence)

Langue	Arabe Standard	Arabe Tunisien	Anglais	Français	Autre (préciser)
Note					

38) LES ECOLES DOIVENT AMELIORER LA QUALITE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT… (1 à 5 selon la préférence)

Langue	Arabe Standard	Arabe Tunisien	Anglais	Français	Autre (préciser)
Note					

39) LES UNIVERSITÉS DOIVENT AMELIORER LA QUALITE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT … (1 à 5 selon la préférence)

Langue	Arabe Standard	Arabe Tunisien	Anglais	Français	Autre (préciser)
Note					

40) J'AI SUIVI OU J'ASSISTERAI À DES COURS DE LANGUE PRIVÉS POUR AMÉLIORER MON NIVEAU

YES	NO

SI OUI, VEUILLEZ EXPLIQUER QUELLE LANGUE

……….

41) AVEC MES AMIS, JE PARLE… (1 à 5 selon la fréquence)

Langue	Arabe Standard	Arabe Tunisien	Anglais	Français	Autre (préciser)
Note					

42) AVEC DES PERSONNES QUE JE NE CONNAIS PAS, JE PARLE… (1 à 5 selon la préférence)

Langue	Arabe Standard	Arabe Tunisien	Anglais	Français	Autre (préciser)
Note					

43) JE PENSE QUE BEACOUP DE TUNISIENS PARLENT BIEN… (1 à 5 selon la préférence)

Langue	Arabe Standard	Arabe Tunisien	Anglais	Français	Autre (préciser)
Note					

44) JE PENSE QUE BEACOUP DE TUNISIENS NE PARLENT PAS BIEN… (1 à 5 selon la préférence)

Langue	Arabe Standard	Arabe Tunisien	Anglais	Français	Autre (préciser)
Note					

45) LA LANGUE DU PASSÉ EST… (1 à 5 selon la préférence)

Langue	Arabe Standard	Arabe Tunisien	Anglais	Français	Autre (préciser)
Note					

46) LA LANGUE DE L'AVENIR EST… (1 à 5 selon la préférence)

Langue	Arabe Standard	Arabe Tunisien	Anglais	Français	Autre (préciser)
Note					

47) LA LANGUE DU PRÉSENT EST… (1 à 5 selon la préférence)

Langue	Arabe Standard	Arabe Tunisien	Anglais	Français	Autre (préciser)
Note					

Tunisian Version

QUESTIONNAIRE LEL TALABA

Fel mouse2la hedhi (meghir esm "anonyme" , bech nas2louk chwaya sou2elet (47) 3ala l 9raya mte3ek , 3ayeltek wel lou8at li ta3rafhom wl toumou7at mte3ek lel mosta9bel .
7awel tjeweb b sara7a w tnajem tas2el (moula l questionnaire) ken fama haja mech wadh7a .

Bech ykoun fama barcha anwe3 mta3 sou2elet :

Fi sou2elet mou3ayna bech tkoun moutalab ennek tjeweb fel sondou9 wala ba7dha l sou2el .

Mithel :

Chniya naw3 l 8ne li tasma3ou w t7ebbou ?	

3lech? ....

Chniya naw3 l 8ne li tasm3ou w t7ebbou ?	ROCK

3lech? .... 3ala5ater ya3tini Energy ....

-Fi sou2elet o5ra bech tkoun moutalab bech t7ot "X" fl jaweb l sa7i7 , ynajem ykoun fama akther men jaweb sa7i7 .

Mithel :

Chniya naw3 l 8ne li tasma3ou w t7ebbou ?	POP	RAP	ROCK	CLASSIC

Chniya naw3 l 8ne li tasma3ou w t7ebbou ?	POP ☒	RAP	ROCK ☒	CLASSIC

Fi sou2elet okhra bech tkoun moutalab ta3ti note men 1 lel 5 3ala kol option w tektebha (el note) fl sondou9 , noumrou 1 w 5 ydollou 3la quantité , 9adeh te3jbek l haja heki wala 9adeh mn marra testa3malha l haja . Ndhakkrek eli fi kol l 7alet noumrou 1 houwa a9al note w 5 houwa a7sen/a3la note .

Mithel :

Lenna , l nwemer tdoll 3la 9adeh men mara tasma3 l 8ne hedha.

Chniya naw3 l 8ne li tasm3ou ?

L 8ne	POP	RAP	ROCK	CLASSIC
L note				

L 8ne	POP	RAP	ROCK	CLASSIC
L note	4	2	5	1

Fi sou2elet okhra bech tkoun moutalab tjeweb b YES (ey) wala NO (le).

Mithel :

T7eb naw3 l 8ne hedha?

L 8ne	POP	RAP	ROCK	CLASSIC
Yes/No				

L 8ne	POP	RAP	ROCK	CLASSIC
Yes/No	YES	NO	YES	NO

9bal ma tabda, ekteb l ma3loumet l matloubin fel jadwel hedha .

Ma3loumet dimo8rafiyya

Esm l'université	
Chniya niveau mte3ek [mithel : 1ére arabe]	
3omrek	
Nationalité mte3ek / Jensiytek	
Win touladt	
Jensek [Male (tfol) / Female (tofla)]	

1)   9a3ed te5dem taw wala 5demt 9bal ?

Yes (ey)	No (le)

Ken ey, a7kilna chniya l 5edma li 5demtha

…………………………………………………………………………………………………..

9RAYTEK

2)   9rit f madrsa Public (teb3a dawla) wala fi madrsa privée ? (7ot 'X' fel bo93a li 9rit feha)

9rit fi madrsa :	Public (teb3a dawla)	privée

3) 7kit bel lou8a el ……….. m3a l mou3almin mte3ek [men 1 lel 5 (akther lou8a 7kit beha=5 / a9al lou8a 7kit beha= 1)]

L lou8a	Bel Derja	Bel arabiyya l fos7a	Bel anglais	Bel français	B lou8a o5ra (ekteb chniyya l lou8a)
L note					

4) Chniya l lou8a li mou3almin mte3ek chaj3ouk bech ta7ki beha (note men 1 lel 5)

L lou8a	Bel Derja	Bel arabiyya l fos7a	Bel anglais	Bel français	B lou8a o5ra (ekteb chniyya l lou8a)
L note					

5) 7kit bel lou8a el ……….. m3a s7abek li ya9raw m3ak (note men 1 lel 5)

L lou8a	Bel Derja	Bel arabiyya l fos7a	Bel anglais	Bel français	B lou8a o5ra (ekteb chniyya l lou8a)
L note					

6) Sta3malt l lou8a …….. bech t3addi chafawi (oral) (note men 1 lel 5)

L lou8a	Bel Derja	Bel arabiyya l fos7a	Bel anglais	Bel français	B lou8a o5ra (ekteb chniyya l lou8a)
L note					

7) Sta3malt l lou8a …….. bech t3addi kitebi (écrit) (note men 1 lel 5)

L lou8a	Bel Derja	Bel arabiyya l fos7a	Bel anglais	Bel français	B lou8a o5ra (ekteb chniyya l lou8a)
L note					

8) Chniyya ahsen matière kont wala mazelt t7eb ta9raha ?

……………………………………………………………………………………………….

9) B ama lou8a 9ritha l matière hedhi elli t7ebha ?

……………………………………………………………………………………………….

10) 7abbit ta9ra l matière hedhi b lou8a o5ra ?

YES (ey)	NO (le)

Ken ey , fassarli chniya l matière wel lou8a lo5ra w 3lech ?

……………………………………………………………………………………

11) 9rit fi collège Public (teba3 dawla) wala fi collège privé ?

9rit fi collège :	Public (teba3 dawla)	privé

12) 7kit bel lou8a el ……….. m3a l profet mte3ek [men 1 lel 5 (akther lou8a 7kit beha=5 / a9al lou8a 7kit beha= 1)]

L lou8a	Bel Derja	Bel arabiyya l fos7a	Bel anglais	Bel français	B lou8a o5ra (ekteb chniyya l lou8a)
L note					

13) Chniya l lou8a li l profet mte3ek chaj3ouk bech ta7ki beha (note men 1 lel 5)

L lou8a	Bel Derja	Bel arabiyya l fos7a	Bel anglais	Bel français	B lou8a o5ra (ekteb chniyya l lou8a)
L note					

14) 7kit bel lou8a el ……….. m3a s7abek li ya9raw m3ak (note men 1 lel 5)

L lou8a	Bel Derja	Bel arabiyya l fos7a	Bel anglais	Bel français	B lou8a o5ra (ekteb chniyya l lou8a)
L note					

15) Sta3malt l lou8a …….. bech t3addi chafawi (oral) (note men 1 lel 5)

L lou8a	Bel Derja	Bel arabiyya l fos7a	Bel anglais	Bel français	B lou8a o5ra (ekteb chniyya l lou8a)
L note					

16) Sta3malt l lou8a …….. bech t3addi kitebi (écrit) (note men 1 lel 5)

L lou8a	Bel Derja	Bel arabiyya l fos7a	Bel anglais	Bel français	B lou8a o5ra (ekteb chniyya l lou8a)

L note					

17) Chniyya ahsen matière kont wala mazelt t7eb ta9raha ?

………………………………………………………………………………….

18) B ama lou8a 9ritha l matière hedhi elli t7ebha ?

………………………………………………………………………………….

19) 7abbit ta9ra l matière hedhi b lou8a o5ra ?

YES (ey)	NO (le)

Ken ey , fassarli chniya l matière wel lou8a lo5ra w 3lech ?

………………………………………………………………………………………

3ILTEK

20) L Jensiyya (Nationalité) mta bouk w omek w chniya ye5dmou

	Jensiyyethom	5edmethom
omek		
bouk		

21) Omek fi chnouwa 9rat (privé wala teba3 dawla)

9rayet omek	Teba3 dawla	privé
Madrsa		
Collège		
Lycée		
Faculté		
Ma 9ratech		

22) bouk fi chnouwa 9ra (privé wala teba3 dawla)

9rayet bouk	Teba3 dawla	privé
Madrsa		
Collège		
Lycée		
Faculté		
Ma 9rach		

23) omek ta3ref ta7ki wala tefhem el lou8a [YES (ey) wala NO (le)].

L lou8a	Bel Derja	Bel arabiyya l fos7a	Bel anglais	Bel français	B lou8a o5ra (ekteb chniyya l lou8a)
Yes/No Ey/Le					

24) bouk ya3ref ya7ki wala yefhem el lou8a [YES (ey) wala NO (le)].

L lou8a	Bel Derja	Bel arabiyya l fos7a	Bel anglais	Bel français	B lou8a o5ra (ekteb chniyya l lou8a)
Yes/No Ey/Le					

25) ta7ki bel …………………. Fel dar m3a 3iltek (note men 1 lel 5)

L lou8a	Bel Derja	Bel arabiyya l fos7a	Bel anglais	Bel français	B lou8a o5ra (ekteb chniyya l lou8a)
L note					

26) bouk w omek chaj3ouk bech ta7ki bel lou8a ….. (note men 1 lel 5)

L lou8a	Bel Derja	Bel arabiyya l fos7a	Bel anglais	Bel français	B lou8a o5ra (ekteb chniyya l lou8a)
L note					

27) bouk w omek chaj3ouk bech ta9ra l lou8a …… (note men 1 lel 5)

L lou8a	Bel Derja	Bel arabiyya l fos7a	Bel anglais	Bel français	B lou8a o5ra (ekteb chniyya l lou8a)
L note					

LOU8TEK

28) El niveau mte3ek fl lou8a … (note men 1 lel 5)

L lou8a	Bel Derja	Bel arabiyya l fos7a	Bel anglais	Bel français	B lou8a o5ra (ekteb chniyya l lou8a)
Fel ktiba					
Fel oral					

29) Lou8a mta3 l ma3rfa 7asb ra2yek hiya … (note men 1 lel 5 7asb ra2yek)

L lou8a	Bel Derja	Bel arabiyya l fos7a	Bel anglais	Bel français	B lou8a o5ra (ekteb chniyya l lou8a)
L note					

30) L lou8a mta3 l houwiyya {l'identité} mte3ek hiya … (note men 1 lel 5 7asb ra2yek)

L lou8a	Bel Derja	Bel arabiyya l fos7a	Bel anglais	Bel français	B lou8a o5ra (ekteb chniyya l lou8a)
L note					

31) L lou8a mta3 l jahl hiya … (note men 1 lel 5 7asb ra2yek)

L lou8a	Bel Derja	Bel arabiyya l fos7a	Bel anglais	Bel français	B lou8a o5ra (ekteb chniyya l lou8a)
L note					

32) L lou8a mta3 ll wahra wel prestige hiya … (note men 1 lel 5 7asb ra2yek)

L lou8a	Bel Derja	Bel arabiyya l fos7a	Bel anglais	Bel français	B lou8a o5ra (ekteb chniyya l lou8a)
L note					

33) L lou8a mta3 l fa9r hiya … (note men 1 lel 5 7asb ra2yek)

L lou8a	Bel Derja	Bel arabiyya l fos7a	Bel anglais	Bel français	B lou8a o5ra (ekteb chniyya l lou8a)
L note					

34) L lou8a mta3 l 8niyyin welli 3andhom l noufoudh hiya … (note men 1 lel 5 7asb ra2yek)

L lou8a	Bel Derja	Bel arabiyya l fos7a	Bel anglais	Bel français	B lou8a o5ra (ekteb chniyya l lou8a)
L note					

35) L lou8a li t3awnek barcha fi 9raytek fel faculté wala ay bo93a hiya… (note men 1 lel 5 7asb ra2yek)

L lou8a	Bel Derja	Bel arabiyya l fos7a	Bel anglais	Bel français	B lou8a o5ra (ekteb chniyya l lou8a)
L note					

36) L lou8a li bech t3awnek barcha fel mosta9bel mte3ek w 5edmtek hiya … (note men 1 lel 5 7asb ra2yek)

L lou8a	Bel Derja	Bel arabiyya l fos7a	Bel anglais	Bel français	B lou8a o5ra (ekteb chniyya l lou8a)
L note					

37) L lou8a li tnajem t3awnek baarcha bech t3ich wala ta9ra w te5dem l barra fel 5arej hiya … (note men 1 lel 5 7asb ra2yek)

L lou8a	Bel Derja	Bel arabiyya l fos7a	Bel anglais	Bel français	B lou8a o5ra (ekteb chniyya l lou8a)

L note					

38) L mou2assaset l ta3limiyya lezemhom y7assnou fl niveau mta3 ta3lim l lou8a … (note men 1 lel 5 7asb ra2yek)

L lou8a	Bel Derja	Bel arabiyya l fos7a	Bel anglais	Bel français	B lou8a o5ra (ekteb chniyya l lou8a)
L note					

39) Les facultés lezemhom y7assnou fl niveau mta3 ta3lim l lou8a … (note men 1 lel 5 7asb ra2yek)

L lou8a	Bel Derja	Bel arabiyya l fos7a	Bel anglais	Bel français	B lou8a o5ra (ekteb chniyya l lou8a)
L note					

40) 9rit mara étude wala des cours privés bech t7assen niveau mte3ek fi lou8a mou3ayna ?

YES/EY	NO/LE

Ken ey , 9olli chniya l lou8a li 9ritha

……

41) M3a s7abek ta7ki bel …………… (note men 1 lel 5)

L lou8a	Bel Derja	Bel arabiyya l fos7a	Bel anglais	Bel français	B lou8a o5ra (ekteb chniyya l lou8a)
L note					

42) M3a 3bed ma ta3refhomch t5ayyer ta7ki bel lou8a el …. (note men 1 lel 5)

L lou8a	Bel Derja	Bel arabiyya l fos7a	Bel anglais	Bel français	B lou8a o5ra (ekteb chniyya l lou8a)
L note					

43) Barcha twensa ya7kiw l lou8a el ….. bel behii … (note men 1 lel 5 7asb ra2yek)

L lou8a	Bel Derja	Bel arabiyya l fos7a	Bel anglais	Bel français	B lou8a o5ra (ekteb chniyya l lou8a)
L note					

44) Barcha twensa ma ya7kiwech l lou8a el ….. bel behi (note men 1 lel 5 7asb ra2yek)

L lou8a	Bel Derja	Bel arabiyya l fos7a	Bel anglais	Bel français	B lou8a o5ra (ekteb chniyya l lou8a)
L note					

45) L lou8a mta3 9bal , l lou8a l 9dima hiya … (note men 1 lel 5 7asb ra2yek)

L lou8a	Bel Derja	Bel arabiyya l fos7a	Bel anglais	Bel français	B lou8a o5ra (ekteb chniyya l lou8a)
L note					

46) L lou8a mta3 l mosta9bel hiya … (note men 1 lel 5 7asb ra2yek)

L lou8a	Bel Derja	Bel arabiyya l fos7a	Bel anglais	Bel français	B lou8a o5ra (ekteb chniyya l lou8a)
L note					

47) L lou8a mta3 l 7adher hiya … (note men 1 lel 5 7asb ra2yek)

L lou8a	Bel Derja	Bel arabiyya l fos7a	Bel anglais	Bel français	B lou8a o5ra (ekteb chniyya l lou8a)
L note					

Appendix B. QUESTIONNAIRES EMPLOYED IN MOROCCO

English Version

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR STUDENTS

In this <u>anonymous</u> questionnaire, you will be asked to answer various (39) questions about your education, your family, the languages you know and your future aspirations. Please try to answer honestly and ask for help if something is not clear to you.

There will be different types of questions:

- In some questions you will simply write the answer in the empty box or next to the question.

EXAMPLE:

What is your favorite color?	

Why? ………………………………………………………………………………………………..

What is your favorite color?	Blue

Why? …………………Because it's the color of the sea………………………………………

- In other questions you will need to mark the correct answer with an X. There can be more right answers.

EXAMPLE:

What are your favorite colors?	Blue	Yellow	Red	Green

What are your favorite colors?	Blue ✖	Yellow	Red ✖	Green

- In some questions you will have to give a grade from 1 to 5 to each option and write it in the corresponding box. Numbers 1 to 5 may indicate levels of quantity, frequency or preference. Remember that in all cases 1 is the lowest and 5 the highest.

EXAMPLE:

Here the number indicate the preference, how much I prefer a color

What are your favorite colors?

Color	Blue	Yellow	Red	Green
Grade				

Color	Blue	Yellow	Red	Green
Grade	4	2	5	1

- In some questions you will have to answer YES or NOT.

EXAMPLE:

Do you like this color?

Color	Blue	Yellow	Red	Green
Yes/No				

Color	Blue	Yellow	Red	Green
Yes/No	Yes	No	Yes	No

Before starting, write the required information in the following table.

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

UNIVERSITY	
UNIVERSITY COURSE	
AGE	
NATIONALITY	
CITY OF BIRTH	
GENDER	

EDUCATION

1) DID YOU ATTEND PUBLIC OR PRIVATE PRIMARY (from year 1 to year 6 of school) SCHOOL?

PRIMARY EDUCATION	Public	Private

2) I SPOKE … WITH MY TEACHERS (1 to 5 according to frequency)

Language	Darija	French	English	Standard Arabic	Tamazight	Others (specify)
Grade						

3) MY TEACHERS WANTED ME TO SPEAK (1 to 5 according to frequency)

Language	Darija	French	English	Standard Arabic	Tamazight	Others (specify)
Grade						

4) I SPOKE … WITH MY CLASSMATES (1 to 5 according to frequency)

Language	Darija	French	English	Standard Arabic	Tamazight	Others (specify)
Grade						

5) I WROTE IN … IN WRITTEN ASSIGNMENTS (1 to 5 according to frequency)

Language	Darija	French	English	Standard Arabic	Tamazight	Others (specify)
Grade						

6) WHAT WAS YOUR FAVOURITE SUBJECT?

………

7) I WANTED TO STUDY A SUBJECT OR MORE IN A LANGAUGE DIFFERENT TO WHAT I USED: (example: YES. I wanted to study Literature in French instead of in Arabic)

YES	NO

IF YES, PLEASE EXPLAIN WHAT SUBJECT/S, WHAT LANGUAGE/S AND WHY

………

8) DID YOU ATTEND PUBLIC OR PRIVATE SECONDARY (from year 7 to year 13 of school) SCHOOL?

SECONDARY EDUCATION	Public	Private

9) I SPOKE … WITH MY TEACHERS (1 to 5 according to frequency)

Language	Darija	French	English	Standard Arabic	Tamazight	Others (specify)
Grade						

10) MY TEACHERS WANTED ME TO SPEAK (1 to 5 according to frequency)

Language	Darija	French	English	Standard Arabic	Tamazight	Others (specify)
Grade						

11) I SPOKE … WITH MY CLASSMATES (1 to 5 according to frequency)

Language	Darija	French	English	Standard Arabic	Tamazight	Others (specify)
Grade						

12) I WROTE IN … IN WRITTEN ASSIGNMENTS (1 to 5 according to frequency)

Language	Darija	French	English	Standard Arabic	Tamazight	Others (specify)
Grade						

13) WHAT WAS YOUR FAVOURITE SUBJECT?

………

14) I WANTED TO STUDY A SUBJECT OR MORE USING ANOTHER LANGUAGE:

YES	NO

IF YES, PLEASE EXPLAIN WHAT SUBJECT/S, WHAT LANGUAGE AND WHY

……….

15) BETWEEN PRIMARY SCHOOL AND SECONDARY SCHOOL, I CHANGED LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION FOR A SUBJECT OR MORE AND I FOUND DIFFICULTIES:

YES	NO

IF YES, PLEASE EXPLAIN WHAT SUBJECT/S, WHAT LANGUAGE AND WHY

……….

FAMILY

16) PARENTS NATIONALITY and JOB

	NATIONALITY	JOB
MOTHER		
FATHER		

17) MOTHER EDUCATION

MOTHER EDUCATION	PUBLIC	PRIVATE
PRIMARY SCHOOL		
SECONDARY SCHOOL		
UNIVERSITY		
NO EDUCATION		

18) FATHER EDUCATION

FATHER EDUCATION	PUBLIC	PRIVATE
PRIMARY SCHOOL		
SECONDARY SCHOOL		
UNIVERSITY		
NO EDUCATION		

19) MY MOTHER KNOWS (Yes/No)

Language	Darija	French	English	Standard Arabic	Tamazight	Others (specify)
Yes/No						

20) MY FATHER KNOWS (Yes/No)

Language	Darija	French	English	Standard Arabic	Tamazight	Others (specify)
Yes/No						

21) I SPEAKE … AT HOME WITH MY PARENTS (1 to 5 according to frequency)

Language	Darija	French	English	Standard Arabic	Tamazight	Others (specify)
Grade						

22) MY PARENTS WANTED ME TO SPEAK (1 to 5 according to frequency)

Language	Darija	French	English	Standard Arabic	Tamazight	Others (specify)
Grade						

23) MY PARENTS WANTED ME TO STUDY (1 to 5 according to frequency)

Language	Darija	French	English	Standard Arabic	Tamazight	Others (specify)
Grade						

LANGUAGE

24) MY LEVEL OF … IS… (1 to 5)

Language	Darija	French	English	Standard Arabic	Tamazight	Others (specify)
Writing						
Speaking						

25) THE LANGUAGE OF THE MOROCCAN CULTURE IS… (1 to 5 according to preference)

Language	Darija	French	English	Standard Arabic	Tamazight	Others (specify)
Grade						

26) THE LANGUAGE OF MY IDENTITY IS… (1 to 5 according to preference)

Language	Darija	French	English	Standard Arabic	Tamazight	Others (specify)
Grade						

27) THE LANGUAGE OF PRESTIGE IN MOROCCO IS… (1 to 5 according to preference)

Language	Darija	French	English	Standard Arabic	Tamazight	Others (specify)
Grade						

28) THE MOST USEFUL LANGUAGE TO FIND A GOOD JOB IN MOROCCO IS… (1 to 5 according to preference)

Language	Darija	French	English	Standard Arabic	Tamazight	Others (specify)
Grade						

29) THE MOST USEFUL LANGUAGE FOR MY UNIVERSITY COURSE IS… (1 to 5 according to preference)

Language	Darija	French	English	Standard Arabic	Tamazight	Others (specify)
Grade						

30) THE MOST USEFUL LANGUAGE FOR MY FUTURE JOB IS… (1 to 5 according to preference)

Language	Darija	French	English	Standard Arabic	Tamazight	Others (specify)
Grade						

31) DO YOU WANT TO LIVE/WORK ABROAD?

YES	NO

IF YES, PLEASE EXPLAIN WHERE AND WHAT LANGUAGE IS THE MOST USEFUL TO KNOW

…….

32) SCHOOLS MUST IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF TEACHING… (1 to 5 according to preference)

Language	Darija	French	English	Standard Arabic	Tamazight	Others (specify)
Grade						

33) UNIVERSITIES MUST IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF TEACHING… (1 to 5 according to preference)

Language	Darija	French	English	Standard Arabic	Tamazight	Others (specify)
Grade						

34) I HAVE ATTENDED OR WILL ATTEND PRIVATE LANGUAGE COURSES TO IMPROVE MY LEVEL

YES	NO

IF YES, PLEASE EXPLAIN WHAT LANGUAGE

……..

35) WITH MY FRIENDS I SPEAK… (1 to 5 according to frequency)

Language	Darija	French	English	Standard Arabic	Tamazight	Others (specify)
Grade						

36) WITH PEOPLE I DO NOT KNOW I PREFER TO SPEAK… (1 to 5 according to preference)

Language	Darija	French	English	Standard Arabic	Tamazight	Others (specify)
Grade						

37) THE LANGUAGE OF THE PAST IN MOROCCO IS… (1 to 5 according to preference)

Language	Darija	French	English	Standard Arabic	Tamazight	Others (specify)
Grade						

38) THE LANGUAGE OF THE FUTURE IN MOROCCO IS… (1 to 5 according to preference)

Language	Darija	French	English	Standard Arabic	Tamazight	Others (specify)
Grade						

39) THE LANGUAGE OF THE PRESENT IN MOROCCO IS… (1 to 5 according to preference)

Language	Darija	French	English	Standard Arabic	Tamazight	Others (specify)
Grade						

Arabic Version

استبيان للطلاب

في هذا الاستبيان المجهول الهوية ، سيُطلب منك الإجابة على (٤٧) أسئلة مختلفة حول تعليمك ووالعائلتك واللغات التي تعرفها وتطلعاتك المستقبلية. يرجى محاولة الإجابة بصدق وطلب المساعدة إذا كان هناك شيء غير واضح لك.

ستكون هناك أنواع مختلفة من الأسئلة:
- في بعض الأسئلة ستكتب الإجابة ببساطة في المربع الفارغ أو بجوار السؤال.
مثال:

ما هو لونك المفضل؟	الازرق	

لماذا ؟ لأنه لون البحر...................................

- في الأسئلة الأخرى ، ستحتاج إلى تحديد الإجابة الصحيحة بعلامة X. يمكن أن يكون هناك المزيد من الإجابات الصحيحة.
مثال:

ما هو لونك المفضل؟	الأزرق	الأصفر	الاحمر	الاخضر
	✖		✖	

- في بعض الأسئلة ، سيتعين عليك إعطاء درجة من ١ إلى ٥ لكل خيار وكتابته في المربع المقابل. قد تشير الأرقام من ١ إلى ٥ إلى مستويات الكمية أو التردد أو الأفضلية. تذكر أنه في جميع الحالات ١ هي الأدنى و ٥ هي الأعلى.
مثال:
هنا تكتب الرقم وفقاً للتفضيل. كم أفضل اللون ما هي ألوانك المفضلة؟

لون	الأزرق	الأصفر	الاحمر	الاخضر
درجة	١	٥	٢	٤

في بعض الأسئلة عليك الإجابة ب نعم أو لا.
مثال
هل تحب هذا اللون؟

لون	الأزرق	الأصفر	الاحمر	الاخضر
نعم/لا	نعم	لا	نعم	لا

قبل البدء ، اكتب المعلومات المطلوبة في الجدول التالي.

المعلومات الديموغرافية

جامعة	

	دورة الجامعة
	سن
	جنسية
	مدينة الميلاد
	جنس

التعليم

١) هل حضرت مدرسة ابتدائية عامة أو خاصة؟

خاص	عام	التعليم الابتدائي

٢) تحدثت ... مع أساتذتي (من ١ إلى ٥ حسب التردد)

أخرى	الأمازيغية	الفرنسية	الإنجليزية	العامية المغربية	العربية الفصحى	اللغة
						(حدد)

٣) أرادني أساتذتي أن أتحدث باللغة (من ١ إلى ٥ حسب التردد)

أخرى	الأمازيغية	الفرنسية	الإنجليزية	العامية المغربية	العربية الفصحى	اللغة
						(حدد)

٤) تحدثت ... مع زملائي في الفصل (من ١ إلى ٥ حسب التردد)

أخرى	الأمازيغية	الفرنسية	الإنجليزية	العامية المغربية	العربية الفصحى	اللغة
						(حدد)

٥) كتبت باللغة ... في الاختبارات (من ١ إلى ٥ حسب التردد)

اللغة	العربية الفصحى	العامية المغربية	الإنجليزية	الفرنسية	الأمازيغية	أخرى
(حدد)						

٦) ما هي مادتك المفضلة عندما ذهبت إلى المدرسة الابتدائية؟

....

٧) أردت دراسة موضوع أو أكثر بلغة مختلفة عما استخدمته: (مثال: نعم. أردت دراسة الأدب باللغة الفرنسية بدلاً من العربية).

نعم	لا

إذا كانت الإجابة بنعم ، فيرجى توضيح أي موضوع / مواضيع و أي لغة و ولماذا

....

٨) هل حضرت مدرسة ثانوية عامة أو خاصة؟

التعليم ألثانوية	عام	خاص

٩) تحدثت ... مع أساتذتي (من ١ إلى ٥ حسب التردد)

اللغة	العربية الفصحى	العامية المغربية	الإنجليزية	الفرنسية	الأمازيغية	أخرى
(حدد)						

١٠) أرادني أساتذتي أن أتحدث باللغة (من ١ إلى ٥ حسب التردد)

اللغة	العربية الفصحى	العامية المغربية	الإنجليزية	الفرنسية	الأمازيغية	أخرى
(حدد)						

١١) تحدثت ... مع زملائي في الفصل (من ١ إلى ٥ حسب التردد)

اللغة	العربية الفصحى	العامية المغربية	الإنجليزية	الفرنسية	الأمازيغية	أخرى
(حدد)						

١٢) كتبت باللغة ... في الاختبارات (من ١ إلى ٥ حسب التردد)

اللغة	العربية الفصحى	العامية المغربية	الإنجليزية	الفرنسية	الأمازيغية	أخرى
(حدد)						

١٣) ما هي مادتك المفضلة عندما ذهبت إلى المدرسة الثانوية؟

....

١٤) أردت دراسة موضوع أو أكثر بلغة مختلفة عما استخدمته: (مثال: نعم. أردت دراسة الأدب باللغة الفرنسية بدلاً من العربية).

نعم	لا

إذا كانت الإجابة بنعم ، فيرجى توضيح أي موضوع / مواضيع و أي لغة ولماذا

....

١٥) بين المدرسة الابتدائية والثانوية ، قمت بتغيير لغة التعليمات لموضوع أو أكثر ووجدت صعوبات

نعم	لا

إذا كانت الإجابة بنعم ، فيرجى توضيح أي موضوع / مواضيع و أي لغة ولماذا

....

الأسرة

١٦) جنسية الوالدين والوظيفة

	وظيفة	جنسية
أم		
الآب		

١٧) تعليم الأم

تعليم الأم	عامة	خاصة
مدرسة إبتدائية		
مدرسة اعدادية		
جامعة		
لا تعليم		

١٨) تعليم الآب

تعليم اللآب	عامة	خاصة
مدرسة إبتدائية		
مدرسة اعدادية		
جامعة		
لا تعليم		

١٩) أمي تعرف (نعم / لا)

اللغة	العربية الفصحى	العامية المغربية	الإنجليزية	الفرنسية	الأمازيغية	أخرى
(حدد)						

٢٠) آبي يعرف (نعم / لا)

اللغة	العربية الفصحى	العامية المغربية	الإنجليزية	الفرنسية	الأمازيغية	أخرى

(حدد)						

٢١) أتحدث ... في المنزل مع والديّ (من ١ إلى ٥ حسب التردد)

اللغة	العربية الفصحى	العامية المغربية	الإنجليزية	الفرنسية	الأمازيغية	أخرى
(حدد)						

٢٢) والداي يريدونني أن أتحدث باللغة ... (من ١ إلى ٥ حسب التردد)

اللغة	العربية الفصحى	العامية المغربية	الإنجليزية	الفرنسية	الأمازيغية	أخرى
(حدد)						

٢٣) والداي يريدونني أن أدرس اللغة ... (١ إلى ٥ حسب التردد)

اللغة	العربية الفصحى	العامية المغربية	الإنجليزية	الفرنسية	الأمازيغية	أخرى
(حدد)						

أللغة

٢٤) مستواي ... هو ... (١ إلى ٥)

اللغة	العربية الفصحى	العامية المغربية	الإنجليزية	الفرنسية	الأمازيغية	أخرى
لكتابة						
التحدث						

٢٥) لغة الثقافة المغربية هي ... (١ إلى ٥ حسب الأفضلية)

اللغة	العربية الفصحى	العامية المغربية	الإنجليزية	الفرنسية	الأمازيغية	أخرى
(حدد)						

٢٦) لغة هويتي هي ... (١ إلى ٥ حسب الأفضلية)

اللغة	العربية الفصحى	العامية المغربية	الإنجليزية	الفرنسية	الأمازيغية	أخرى
(حدد)						

٢٧)اللغة الهيبة في المغرب هي ... (١ إلى ٥ حسب الأفضلية)

اللغة	العربية الفصحى	العامية المغربية	الإنجليزية	الفرنسية	الأمازيغية	أخرى

					(حدد)

٢٨) اللغة الأكثر فائدة للعثور على عمل جيد في المغرب هي ... (١ إلى ٥ حسب الأفضلية)

أخرى	الأمازيغية	الفرنسية	الإنجليزية	العامية المغربية	العربية الفصحى	اللغة
						(حدد)

٢٩) اللغة الأكثر فائدة لدورة جامعتي هي ... (١ إلى ٥ حسب الأفضلية)

أخرى	الأمازيغية	الفرنسية	الإنجليزية	العامية المغربية	العربية الفصحى	اللغة
						(حدد)

٣٠) اللغة الأكثر فائدة لوظيفتي المستقبلية هي ... (١ إلى ٥ حسب الأفضلية)

أخرى	الأمازيغية	الفرنسية	الإنجليزية	العامية المغربية	العربية الفصحى	اللغة
						(حدد)

٣١) هل تريد العيش/العمل في الخارج؟

لا	نعم

إذا كانت الإجابة بنعم ، فالرجاء توضيح أين وما هي اللغة الأكثر فائدة لمعرفتها

....

٣٢) يجب على المدارس تحسين جودة التدريس ... (من ١ إلى ٥ حسب الأفضلية)

أخرى	الأمازيغية	الفرنسية	الإنجليزية	العامية المغربية	العربية الفصحى	اللغة
						(حدد)

٣٣) يجب على الجامعات تحسين بجودة التدريس ... (من ١ إلى ٥ حسب الأفضلية)

أخرى	الأمازيغية	الفرنسية	الإنجليزية	العامية المغربية	العربية الفصحى	اللغة
						(حدد)

٣٤) لقد حضرت أو سأحضر دورات لغة خاصة لتحسين مستواي

لا	نعم

إذا كانت الإجابة بنعم ، فيرجى توضيح أي لغة

....

٣٥) مع أصدقائي أتحدث ... (من ١ إلى ٥ حسب التردد)

أخرى	الأمازيغية	الفرنسية	الإنجليزية	العامية المغربية	العربية الفصحى	اللغة
						(حدد)

٣٦) مع أشخاص لا أعرف أنني أفضل التحدث ... (١ إلى ٥ حسب الأفضلية)

أخرى	الأمازيغية	الفرنسية	الإنجليزية	العامية المغربية	العربية الفصحى	اللغة
						(حدد)

٣٧) لغة الماضي في المغرب هي ... (١ إلى ٥ حسب الأفضلية)

أخرى	الأمازيغية	الفرنسية	الإنجليزية	العامية المغربية	العربية الفصحى	اللغة
						(حدد)

٣٨) لغة المستقبل في المغرب هي ... (١ إلى ٥ حسب الأفضلية)

أخرى	الأمازيغية	الفرنسية	الإنجليزية	العامية المغربية	العربية الفصحى	اللغة
						(حدد)

٣٩) لغة الحاضر في المغرب هي ... (١ إلى ٥ حسب الأفضلية)

أخرى	الأمازيغية	الفرنسية	الإنجليزية	العامية المغربية	العربية الفصحى	اللغة
						(حدد)

French Version

QUESTIONNAIRE POUR LES ÉTUDIANTS

Dans ce questionnaire anonyme, on vous demandera de répondre à diverses (39) questions sur votre éducation, votre famille, les langues que vous connaissez et vos aspirations futures. Veuillez essayer de répondre honnêtement et demander de l'aide si quelque chose n'est pas clair pour vous.

Il y aura différents types de questions :

- Dans certaines questions, vous n'aurez qu'à écrire la réponse dans la case vide ou à côté de la question.

EXEMPLE:

Quelle couleur préférez-vous ?	

Porquoi ?..

Quelle couleur préférez-vous ?	Bleu

Porquoi ? ………………….Parce que c'est la couleur de la mer……………………………….

- Dans d'autres questions, vous devrez inscrire un X sur la bonne réponse. Il peut y avoir d'autres bonnes réponses.

EXEMPLE :

Quelles sont vos couleurs préférées ?	Bleu	Jaune	Rouge	Vert

Quelles sont vos couleurs préférées ?	Bleu ✖	Jaune	Rouge ✖	Vert

- Dans certaines questions, vous devrez donner une note de 1 à 5 à chaque option et l'écrire dans la case correspondante. Les nombres 1 à 5 peuvent indiquer des niveaux de quantité, de fréquence ou de préférence. Rappelez-vous que dans tous les cas 1 est le plus bas et 5 le plus élevé.

EXEMPLE :

Ici le nombre indique la préférence, combien je préfère cette couleur

Quelles sont vos couleurs préférées ?

Couleur	Blue	Jaune	Rouge	Vert
Note				

Coleur	Bleu	Jaune	Rouge	Vert
Note	4	2	5	1

- Dans certaines questions, vous devrez répondre OUI ou NON.

EXEMPLE :

Tu aimes cette couleur ?

Coleur	Bleu	Jaune	Rouge	Vert
Oui/Non				

Coleur	Bleu	Jaune	Rouge	Vert
Oui/Non	Oui	Non	Oui	Non

Avant de commencer, inscrivez les informations requises dans le tableau suivant.

INFORMATION DÉMOGRAPHIQUE

UNIVERSITÉ	
COURS UNIVERSITAIRE	
ÂGE	
NATIONALITÉ	
VILLE DE NAISSANCE	
GENRE	

ÉDUCATION

1) AVEZ-VOUS FRÉQUENTÉ UNE ÉCOLE PRIMAIRE (de l'année 1 à l'année 6 de l'école) PUBLIQUE OU PRIVÉE ?

ENSEIGNEMENT PRIMAIRE	Publique	Privée

2) JE PARLAIS … AVEC MES ENSEIGNANTS (1 à 5 selon la fréquence)

Langue	Darija	Français	Anglais	Arabe Standard	Tamazight	Autre (préciser)
Note						

3) MES ENSEIGNANTS VOULAIENT QUE JE PARLE (1 à 5 selon la fréquence)

Langue	Darija	Français	Anglais	Arabe Standard	Tamazight	Autre (préciser)
Note						

4) JE PARLAIS …AVEC MES CAMARADES DE CLASSE (1 à 5 selon la fréquence)

Langue	Darija	Français	Anglais	Arabe Standard	Tamazight	Autre (préciser)
Note						

5) J'ÉCRIVAIS EN … POUR LES TÂCHES ÉCRITES (1 à 5 selon la fréquence)

Langue	Darija	Français	Anglais	Arabe Standard	Tamazight	Autre (préciser)
Note						

6) QUEL A ÉTÉ VOTRE MATIÈRE PRÉFÉRÉE ?

………

7) JE VOULAIS ÉTUDIER UN SUJET OU PLUS DANS UN LANGAUGE DIFFÉRENT DE CE QUE J'AI UTILISÉ :
(exemple : OUI. Je voulais étudier la littérature en Français plutôt qu'en Arabe)

OUI	NON

SI OUI, VEUILLEZ EXPLIQUER QUELLE MATIÈRE, QUELLE LANGUE ET POURQUOI

………

8) AVEZ-VOUS FRÉQUENTÉ UNE ÉCOLE SECONDAIRE (de l'an 7 à l'an 13 d'école) PUBLIQUE OU PRIVÉE ?

ENSEIGNEMENT SECONDAIRE	Publique	Privée

9) JE PARLAIS… AVEC MES ENSEIGNANTS (1 à 5 selon la fréquence)

Langue	Darija	Français	Anglais	Arabe Standard	Tamazight	Autre (préciser)
Note						

10) MES ENSEIGNANTS VOULAIENT QUE JE PARLE (1 à 5 selon la fréquence)

Langue	Darija	Français	Anglais	Arabe Standard	Tamazight	Autre (préciser)
Note						

11) JE PARLAIS …AVEC MES CAMARADES DE CLASSE (1 à 5 selon la fréquence)

Langue	Darija	Français	Anglais	Arabe Standard	Tamazight	Autre (préciser)
Note						

12) J'ÉCRIVAIS EN … POUR LES TÂCHES ÉCRITES (1 à 5 selon la fréquence)

Langue	Darija	Français	Anglais	Arabe Standard	Tamazight	Autre (préciser)
Note						

13) QUEL A ÉTÉ VOTRE MATIÈRE PRÉFÉRÉE ?

………

14) JE VOULAIS ÉTUDIER UN SUJET OU PLUS DANS UN LANGAUGE DIFFÉRENT DE CE QUE J'AI UTILISÉ :

OUI	NON

SI OUI, VEUILLEZ EXPLIQUER QUELLE MATIÈRE, QUELLE LANGUE ET POURQUOI

………

15) ENTRE L'ÉCOLE PRIMAIRE ET L'ÉCOLE SECONDAIRE, J'AI CHANGÉ DE LANGUE D'ENSEIGNEMENT POUR UNE MATIÈRE OU PLUS ET J'AI RENCONTRÉ DES DIFFICULTÉS :

OUI	NON

SI OUI, VEUILLEZ EXPLIQUER QUEL SUJET, QUELLE LANGUE ET POURQUOI

…….

FAMILLE

16) NATIONALITÉ et EMPLOI DES PARENTS

	NATIONALITÉ	EMPLOI
MÈRE		
PÈRE		

17) ÉDUCATION DE LA MÈRE

ÉDUCATION DE LA MÈRE	PUBLIQUE	PRIVÉE
ENSEIGNAMENT PRIMAIRE		
ENSEIGNAMENT SECONDAIRE		
UNIVERSITÉ		
PAS D' ÉDUCATION		

18) ÉDUCATION DU PÈRE

ÉDUCATION DU PÈRE	PUBLIQUE	PRIVÉE
ENSEIGNAMENT PRIMAIRE		
ENSEIGNAMENT SECONDAIRE		
UNIVERSITÉ		
PAS D' ÉDUCATION		

19) MA MÈRE SAIT (Oui/Non)

Langue	Darija	Français	Anglais	Arabe Standard	Tamazight	Autre (préciser)
Oui/Non						

20) MON PÈRE SAIT (Oui/Non)

Langue	Darija	Français	Anglais	Arabe Standard	Tamazight	Autre (préciser)
Oui/Non						

21) JE PARLE… À LA MAISON AVEC MES PARENTS (1 à 5 selon la fréquence)

Langue	Darija	Français	Anglais	Arabe Standard	Tamazight	Autre (préciser)
Note						

22) MES PARENTS VEULENT QUE JE PARLE (1 à 5 selon la fréquence)

Langue	Darija	Français	Anglais	Arabe Standard	Tamazight	Autre (préciser)
Note						

23) MES PARENTS VEULENT QUE J'ÉTUDIE (1 à 5 selon la fréquence)

Langue	Darija	Français	Anglais	Arabe Standard	Tamazight	Autre (préciser)
Note						

LANGUE

24) MON NIVEAU DE… EST…(1 to 5)

Langue	Darija	Français	Anglais	Arabe Standard	Tamazight	Autre (préciser)
Écrit						
Parlait						

25) LA LANGUE DE LA CULTURE MAROCAINE EST… (1 à 5 selon la préférence)

Langue	Darija	Français	Anglais	Arabe Standard	Tamazight	Autre (préciser)
Note						

26) LA LANGUE DE MON IDENTITÉ EST… (1 à 5 selon la préférence)

Langue	Darija	Français	Anglais	Arabe Standard	Tamazight	Autre (préciser)
Note						

27) LA LANGUE DE PRESTIGE AU MAROC EST… (1 à 5 selon la préférence)

Langue	Darija	Français	Anglais	Arabe Standard	Tamazight	Autre (préciser)
Note						

28) LA LANGUE LA PLUS UTILE POUR TROUVER UN BON EMPLOI AU MAROC EST … (1 à 5 selon la préférence)

Langue	Darija	Français	Anglais	Arabe Standard	Tamazight	Autre (préciser)
Note						

29) LA LANGUE LA PLUS UTILE POUR MON COURS UNIVERSITAIRE EST… (1 à 5 selon la préférence)

Langue	Darija	Français	Anglais	Arabe Standard	Tamazight	Autre (préciser)
Note						

30) LA LANGUE LA PLUS UTILE POUR MON FUTUR EMPLOI EST… (1 à 5 selon la préférence)

Langue	Darija	Français	Anglais	Arabe Standard	Tamazight	Autre (préciser)
Note						

31) VOULEZ-VOUS VIVRE OU TRAVAILLER À L'ÉTRANGER?

OUI	NON

SI OUI, VEUILLEZ EXPLIQUER OÙ ET QUELLE LANGUE EST LA PLUS UTILE DE SAVOIR

……

32) LES ECOLES DOIVENT AMELIORER LA QUALITE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT… (1 à 5 selon la préférence)

Langue	Darija	Français	Anglais	Arabe Standard	Tamazight	Autre (préciser)
Note						

33) LES UNIVERSITÉS DOIVENT AMELIORER LA QUALITE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT … (1 à 5 selon la préférence)

Langue	Darija	Français	Anglais	Arabe Standard	Tamazight	Autre (préciser)
Note						

34) J'AI SUIVI OU J'ASSISTERAI À DES COURS DE LANGUE PRIVÉS POUR AMÉLIORER MON NIVEAU

OUI	NON

SI OUI, VEUILLEZ EXPLIQUER QUELLE LANGUE

……….

35) AVEC MES AMIS, JE PARLE… (1 à 5 selon la fréquence)

Langue	Darija	Français	Anglais	Arabe Standard	Tamazight	Autre (préciser)
Note						

36) AVEC DES PERSONNES QUE JE NE CONNAIS PAS, JE PARLE… (1 à 5 selon la préférence)

Langue	Darija	Français	Anglais	Arabe Standard	Tamazight	Autre (préciser)
Note						

37) LA LANGUE DU PASSÉ AU MAROC EST… (1 à 5 selon la préférence)

Langue	Darija	Français	Anglais	Arabe Standard	Tamazight	Autre (préciser)
Note						

38) LA LANGUE DE L'AVENIR AU MAROC EST… (1 à 5 selon la préférence)

Langue	Darija	Français	Anglais	Arabe Standard	Tamazight	Autre (préciser)
Note						

39) LA LANGUE DU PRÉSENT AU MAROC EST… (1 à 5 selon la préférence)

Langue	Darija	Français	Anglais	Arabe Standard	Tamazight	Autre (préciser)
Note						

Appendix C. STRUCTURE AND QUESTIONS OF THE INTERVIEWS EMPLOYED IN TUNISIA AND MOROCCO

Semi structured interview – Topics to investigate and potential questions

MULTILINGUALISM AND LINGUISTIC BACKGROUND

1) What languages do you speak? Why, where, to whom, which situations etc.?

2) How do you learn target language?

3) Can you describe your linguistic background?

4) Which is the language of your identity? Which language do you consider prestigious?

SOCIOECONOMIC SITUATION

5) Can you give me an overview of socioeconomic situation of your country? (e.g. gap between richest and poorest; young people want to live, work, study abroad)

6) Do you think that there is a link between unemployment, languages and education?

EDUCATION AND LANGUAGE-IN-EDUCATION POLICY

7) Do you work? Which language do you speak/write/use at work (different situations)?

8) Do you think that the politics/government/ministers/religion influence the education?

9) What language or languages should be used more at school and university to reduce the level of unemployment?

10) Do you think that the practice of mixing languages (translanguaging) can be useful or harmful?

11) Do you think that can be useful to use Derja in teaching? Books and etc?

12) Do you think that students that attend private schools have privileges?

13) Do you think there are different between female and male in education and job opportunities? And between students in urban areas and students in rural areas?

14) Have you ever taken language courses or activities designed to improve your language skills? What kind of course/activity? Why did you take these courses/activities? Did you pay for these courses/activities or were they free?

FINAL QUESTIONS

15) Overall, do you think do you have been in a good position in terms of education and language education more specifically? Do you think there are inequalities? Do you think that mastering a specific language can improve your status?

16) What the government, minister, universities, schools, professors can do in order to improve the situation in education, and the in terms of language in education?

Appendix D. RESEARCH PROPOSAL REQUESTED BY THE HOST UNIVERSITIES

PhD Candidate; Giacomo Iazzetta
University of Essex

TITLE: Understanding the role of language policy in the construction and maintenance of inequalities in Tunisia and Morocco

ABSTRACT

Language policy (LP) plays an important role through the education sector especially in multilingual contexts such as Tunisia and Morocco. The discriminatory nature of LP contributes to the construction of the socioeconomic status (SES) of citizens and social inequalities. In the light of the political metamorphosis that took place after the Arab Spring of 2010-2011, this project analyses the political factors that led to the implementation of specific LP and their effects in maintaining and increasing socioeconomic inequalities. Comparing Tunisia and Morocco allow us to understand how countries with similar roots determine different SES of their citizens through the LP process. The project employs a mixed methods approach which includes an analysis of the language practices of universities students and professors and an analysis of the official LPs imposed by the governments of Morocco and Tunisia. This comparative analysis allows for the development of new sustainable models of LPs.

INTRODUCTION

In the globalized capitalist economy, knowledge of languages is a fundamental resource that allows access to the labour market (Heller 2010). The mastery of languages most in demand in the labor market undoubtedly bring socioeconomic advantages (Tochon 2009) while the study of a subject in a language other than the mother tongue causes greatest difficulties leading to poorer results (Zhao 2019). All these language 'mechanisms' are profoundly influenced by LP which mainly through education, can therefore determine individuals' SES based on economic and political factors.

This research seeks to develop a comparative analysis of language practices and the SES of university students analyzing their linguistic and socioeconomic background in relation to the LP of Tunisia and Morocco. By exploring the relationship between micro-sociolinguistic elements and macro-sociolinguistic elements, and the socioeconomic situation, it will be possible to identify the factors that contribute to determine inequalities.

In multilingual contexts like Tunisia and Morocco this situation is even more evident because processes such as colonialism, capitalism and globalization have caused a strong hierarchy of languages which is reflected in the education system and in the SES of their citizens.

Within this hierarchy the mother tongues of the majority of the population in the two countries, Moroccan Arabic, Berber and Tunisian Arabic, occupy lower positions. In contrast, Standard Arabic, French and English are the most prestigious and most used languages in the educational system. These LP are not developed based on sociolinguistic evidence and although they have been modified over the years still led to a highly marked social hierarchy including protected elite groups that had a more prestigious linguistic repertoire and as a result, a higher SES.

The riots in 2010-2011 arose to renegotiate resource distribution, but in both countries there has been an increase in the unemployment rate, a fall in the GDP per capita (IMF, 2021) and the outcomes and attainment in public education is not improved, as measured by PISA

(OECD, 2000, 2018). The low level of public education induces those with the highest SES to attend private courses and private schools where the quality of teaching, and language teaching, is higher (OECD, 2000, 2018). On the other hand, those with a less prestigious linguistic repertoire have a lower SES that reduce their access to resources. This apparent linguistic and socioeconomic hierarchy raises the question whether a more egalitarian LP may enable the creation of a more equitable and sustainable society and the reasons why the Arab Spring did not lead to it.

RESEARCH BACKGROUND AND QUESTIONS

Previous studies on LP have defined theories for the concept of 'Language Policy' (Spolsky 2012) and specific methodologies (Johnson 2013) to investigate and describe issues of identity, language rights, language acquisition, language and media. Since the 1970s, the sociolingustic tradition has considered the socioeconomic aspects of LP and it role in establishing inequalities (Rubin 1971). Interest in educational institutions as the main place of action for LP has increased in recent years (Tollefson 1991), driving the need for ethnographic research that connects language practices within the school environment with the broader analysis of socio-historical context (Cooper 1989). This approach has not paid significant attention to Morocco or Tunisia, and there is also a disparity between the number of studies on Morocco and those on Tunisia, especially after the political turmoil of the Arab Spring. For Morocco there are several studies on Berber languages and on the implications for the country's educational policies (Ennaji 2005), and others referring to language attitudes (Marley 2004). There are fewer sociolinguistic studies on Tunisia and those that do exist mainly examine language practice or dialectal variation (Aouina 2013). However, none of these studies analyse in detail the link between LP and socioeconomic inequalities in these two countries. Scholarship on the socioeconomic consequences of the Arab Spring and its correlation with education in the two countries (Chakrani 2013) has not yet considered LP as a determining factor and there has not been comparative research on Morocco and Tunisia that considers universities as a crucial stage between the end of compulsory education and the integration into the labour market.

My project analyses political factors and the situation of university students in order to carry out sociolinguistic research that may have a utilitarian impact on the language education of Morocco and Tunisia with the creation of new LPs models. The project has the potential to further develop existing theoretical and methodological frameworks of comparative and sociolinguistic research, having an impact on the new directions to be taken in the study of LP. Through this comparative analysis, the project seeks to address the following questions:

1. What economic and political factors influence the LP of Tunisia and Morocco and why they influence it?
2. How do the LPs of the two countries contribute to the SES of their citizens through the education field?
3. How can LP contribute to improvement in the quality of public education and reduce the socioeconomic gap in Tunisia and Morocco?

RESEARCH METHODS

The project will employ a mixed methods approach combining historical-structural (Tollefson 1991), ethnographic (Hornberger & Johnson 2011), empowerment-oriented (Cameron et al. 1992), researching multilingually (Costley & Reilly 2021) approaches. The historical-cultural approach is based on the analysis of legislative documents, and online archives to understand the research context and identify mechanisms of LP in the macro-level. The ethnographic research involves the class observation, the distribution of questionnaires in multiple

languages on linguistic and socioeconomic background to at least 100 students and 10 professors per country selected at universities in Tunisia and universities in Morocco, and interviews with a minimum of 10 students and 6 professors, (15-20) minutes) in the language chosen by the participant. Classroom observations are important for identifying the linguistics reality in relation to the official guidelines. The quantitative and qualitative analysis of the questionnaires will make it possible to identify the correlations between the known languages and the economic situation of the population of the two countries while interviews will provide a more direct insight into the micro-level, identifying which changes in the LP need to be most urgently addressed to reduce socioeconomic inequality. Researching multilingually implies the consideration of the linguistic factors and languages used at every step of the research, starting from the literature review and the analysis of the legislative documents. The empowerment-oriented attitude consists in sharing the research objectives and results with the participants through focus group, making them part and solution of the problem itself.

I have already obtained the ethical approval from the University of Essex. The ethical considerations envisaged by the institution in field research abroad have been considered and I will obtain the necessary permission before starting field research.

Appendix E. PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Understanding the role of language policy in the construction and maintenance of inequalities in Tunisia and Morocco

My name is Giacomo Iazzetta and I am PhD student, studying Sociolinguistics at the University of Essex. Before you decide whether or not to take part, it is important for you to understand why this research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully.

What is the purpose of this study?
The purpose of the study is to understand how language policies influence the socioeconomic aspects and work prospects of university students in Tunisia and Morocco.

Why have I been invited to participate?
You have been invited to participate in this study because you are a student at University in Tunisia or Morocco.

Do I have to take part?
Your participation in this study is strictly voluntary. If you do decide to take part, you will be asked to provide written consent. You are free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason. Withdrawal with have no impact on your marks, assessments, future studies, job. If you choose to withdraw, your data will be destroyed immediately. If you have a question about the ethical nature of this study, please contact the researcher, Giacomo Iazzetta by email: giacomo.iazzetta@essex.ac.uk

What will happen to me if I take part?
This study requires participants to:
. Stage 1 Fill out a questionnaire.
. Stage 2 Attend my lesson normally, agreeing to be recorded by the researcher if I speak.
. Stage 3 Join a focus group, agreeing to be recorded by the researcher if I speak.
. Stage 4 Participate in an interview with the researcher by allowing the recording.

You don't have to decide now which stage you want to participate in, you can decide at the beginning of each stage. Participation in more stages is very welcome!
Your words may be quoted or summarised in the findings of the study. You will not be identifiable as your real names and any personal data will not appear in this study.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?
By participating in this study, the utmost care will be taken that no harm to your psychological wellbeing, physical health values or dignity will be affected.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?
The benefit of this study is that it will further our understanding of the sociolinguistic situation of our country. We will identify some positive and negative effects of our language policy in education and some possible solutions.

Will my information be kept confidential?
Only the researcher and the researcher's supervisor (see name and contact details below) will have access to the data. Your privacy will be respected at all times and all information collected will be anonymous and remain completely confidential. Pseudonyms or numbers will be used to anonymise

participants. All data will be treated as personal under the 1998 Data Protection Act, and they will be secured electronically in my own laptop which contains a secure password.

What is the legal basis for using the data and who is the Data Controller?

Should you agree to take part in this study, you will be asked to sign a consent form before the study commences. The GDPR states that consent must be freely-given, specific, informed and unambiguous – given by a statement or a clear affirmative action. The Data Controller will be the University of Essex and the contact will be the University Information Assurance Manager (dpo@essex.ac.uk).

Ethical approval
This project has been reviewed on behalf of the University of Essex Social Sciences Ethics Sub-Committee and has been given approval.

What will happen to the results of this study?
The results of this study will form part of the report for project at the University of Essex. Please remember that the results are anonymised and therefore participants will not be identifiable. If you choose to participate, a copy of this study can be sent to you upon request.

What should I do if I want to take part?
If you wish to take part in this study, please let me know via email, Giacomo Iazzetta, giacomo.iazzetta@essex.ac.uk by the deadline of 1//12/2022.

Concerns and complaints
If you have any concerns about any aspect of the study or you have a complaint, in the first instance please contact the researcher (see contact details below). If are still concerned or you think your complaint has not been addressed to your satisfaction, please contact the Departmental Ethics Officer (Dr Ella Jeffries, e.jeffries@essex.ac.uk). If you are still not satisfied, please contact the University's Research Governance and Planning Manager, Sarah Manning-Press (sarahm@essex.ac.uk).

<u>Researcher</u>
Giacomo Iazzetta, Department of Language and Linguistics, gi21879@essex.ac.uk; giacomo.iazzetta@essex.ac.uk
<u>Supervisor</u>
Dr Hannah Gibson, Department of Language and Linguistics, h.gibson@essex.ac.uk
Dr Tracey Costley, Department of Language and Linguistics, tcostley@essex.ac.uk

Appendix F. CONSENT FORM (ORAL DATA)

Title of the Project: **Understanding the role of language policy in the construction and maintenance of inequalities in Tunisia and Morocco**

Researcher: **Giacomo Iazzetta** (Department of Language and Linguistics)

Oral consent:

Statements to be read at the beginning of the recording by each participant:

1. **I confirm that I** have read and understand the Information Sheet for the project **Understanding the role of language policy in the construction and maintenance of inequalities in Tunisia and Morocco**. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these questions answered satisfactorily.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without giving any reason and without penalty.

3. 1)Interviews: Participating involves answering questions in a face-to-face interview. The questions are based on the questionnaire filled in above and always cover language, school, socioeconomic and future expectations. 2) Participation of the researcher in the lesson: participating involves performing my class naturally as if the researcher were not present. I agree to be recorded if I should speak during this class. 3) Focus group: participating involves discussing with my classmates and with the researcher of his research. I agree to be recorded if I should speak during the focus group.

4. I understand that the recordings will be securely stored and accessible only to the researcher and supervisor, and that confidentiality will be maintained.

5. I understand that my fully anonymised data will be used in a report, which will summarise the findings of the project. The report will be submitted to the University of Essex as part of coursework.

6. I agree to take part in the study.

Appendix G. CONSENT FORM (WRITTEN DATA)

Title of the Project: **Understanding the role of language policy in the construction and maintenance of inequalities in Tunisia and Morocco**

Researcher: **Giacomo Iazzetta** (Department of Language and Linguistics)

Please initial box

1. **I confirm that I** have read and understand the Information Sheet dated [insert date] for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these questions answered satisfactorily.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without giving any reason and without penalty.

3. Participating involves answering the questions of the questionnaires that concern my language knowledge, my socioeconomic situation, my education, and my expectations for the future.

4. I understand that the identifiable data provided will be securely stored and accessible only to the researcher and supervisor, and that confidentiality will be maintained.

5. I understand that my fully anonymised data will be used in a report, which will summarise the findings of the project. The report will be submitted to the University of Essex as part of my coursework.

6. I agree to take part in the above study.

Participant Name   Date   Participant Signature

_____   _____   _____

Researcher Name   Date   Researcher Signature

_____   _____   _____

Appendix H. ETHICAL APPROVAL (Application and Decision)

Ethics ETH2122-0677: Mr Giacomo Iazzetta
Date Created 10 Jan 2022
Date Submitted 13 Jan 2022
Date of last resubmission 31 Jan 2022
Academic Staff Mr Giacomo Iazzetta
Category Postgraduate Research Student
Supervisor Prof Hannah Gibson
Project understanding the role of language policy in the construction and maintenance of inequalities in Morocco and Tunisia after the Arab Spring
Faculty Social Sciences
Department Language and Linguistics
Current status Signed off under Annex B

<u>Ethics application</u>
Project overview
Title of project
understanding the role of language policy in the construction and maintenance of inequalities in Morocco and Tunisia after the Arab Spring
Do you object to the title of your project being published?
No
Applicant(s)
Mr Giacomo Iazzetta
Supervisor(s)
Prof Hannah Gibson
Dr Tracey Costley
Proposed start date of research
07 Apr 2022
Expected end date
26 Apr 2024
Will this project be externally funded?
No
Will the research involve human participants?
Yes
Will the research use collected or generated personal data?
Yes
Will the research involve the use of animals?
No
Will any of the research take place outside the UK?
Yes

Project details
Summary of the project
This project will employ a mixed methods approach that will analyze the ways in which the socioeconomic status (SES) is shaped in and through language policy (LP) in education in the Moroccan and Tunisian post-revolution contexts. I will identify the political factors influencing the LP and the SES of the two countries' population with a focus on the higher education field.

My intention is to examine how the political metamorphosis that took place after the Arab Spring of 2010-2011 affects the LP of the two states through a focus on university system. I will investigate the ways in which the LP established by the Moroccan and Tunisian governments influence the language practices of university students and professors and thereby contribute to the construction of their SES. The comparison between Morocco and Tunisia will help us to understand the processes through which two countries with similar historical and language roots lead to form different SES of their citizens through the LP process in the post-revolution period. The final aim of this comparative analysis is to identify new models of language policy that can be adopted by the two countries to reduce the inequalities that have increased since the Arab Spring.

Will the participants, either the subjects or the investigators, be involved in any activities that could be considered to be unlawful in the UK?

If the project is being undertaken outside the UK, will the participants, either the subjects or the investigators, be involved in any activities that could be considered to be unlawful in the country overseas?

Participant details

Who are the potential participants?

University students and professors from the University of Tunis and from the Mohammed V University of Rabat.

How will they be recruited?

Thanks to my personal contacts, I was able to get in touch by personal email and text message with some professors from the host universities interested. They have granted me their participation in the research (questionnaires and interviews), the opportunity to participate in their classes, and the possibility to ask their students if they are interested in taking part in the research (questionnaires, interviews, focus groups).

Recruiting materials

Will participants be paid or reimbursed?

No

If yes, please provide details and justification for this payment.

How much will the participants be paid?

Could potential participants be considered vulnerable?

No

If yes, please explain how the participants could be considered vulnerable and why vulnerable participants are necessary for the research.

Could potential participants be considered to feel obliged to take part in the research?

No

If yes, please explain how the participants could feel obliged and how any possibility for coercion will be addressed.

Will the research involve individuals below the age of 18 or individuals of 18 years and over with a limited capacity to give informed consent?

No

Is a Disclosure and Barring Service (DBS) Check required?

No

If yes, has the DBS check been completed?

If your project involves children or vulnerable adults but does not require a DBS check, please explain why.

Participants will be over18.

Informed consent

How will consent be obtained?

Written

If consent will be obtained in writing, please upload the written consent form for review and approval.

If consent will be obtained orally, please explain why.

While for questionnaires written consent will be obtained, for interviews oral consent will be obtained. This mode has been chosen for practical reasons and for different ways of participating in the research (written for the questionnaires and orally for the interviews). Oral consent will be recorded as part of the interview at the beginning of it. Also for the participation in the classes and for the focus groups will be required oral consent and this will be recorded at the beginning and will be part of the registration itself.

Please upload a copy of the script that will be used to obtain oral consent.

If no script is available to upload please explain why.

Who will be obtaining and recording consent?

I will obtain and record written and oral consent. Recordings and questionnaires will only be analyzed by me. My supervisors will be able to view the questionnaires and listen to the recordings.

Please indicate at what stage in the data collection process consent will be obtained.

Before data collection. Written consent for the completion of the questionnaires will be obtained before the submission of the questionnaires. Oral consent for my participation in the classes, the focus groups and the interviews will be obtained before the beginning of them and will be part of the recordings.

If informed consent will not be obtained, explain why.

Please upload a participant information sheet.

Have you reviewed the information provided by the REO on participant information and consent?

Yes

Confidentiality and anonymity

Will you be maintaining the confidentiality and anonymity of participants whose personal data will be used in your research?

Yes

If yes, describe the arrangements for maintaining anonymity and confidentiality.

In the questionnaires the researcher will keep the anonymity and confidentiality of the participants since they will not have to enter their personal data (name, surname, date of birth, email, etc.). In the data processing each participant will be indicated with a number. In stages that include a recording (participation in classes, focus groups, interviews) participants will not have to declare their personal data (name, surname, email, date of birth, etc.), and if they pronounce them, it will be audible only by the researcher and omitted in every transcript.

If you are not maintaining anonymity and confidentially, please explain your reasons for not doing so.

I am going to maintain anonymity and confidentiality.

Data access, storage and security

Describe the arrangements for storing and maintaining the security of any personal data collected as part of the project.

In order to ensure the security of each personal data collected on paper document I will insert the data in my PC (protected by a password) in a file protected by a password of my knowledge only. Also the data collected by recording will be inserted in a password protected file of my PC.

Please provide details of all those who will have access to the data.

The only one who gets a chance to see data will be me. My supervisors will have the opportunity to view the data collected after I have checked that there are no personal data of the participants.

Risk and risk management
Risk Assessment documents
Are there any potential risks (e.g. physical, psychological, social, legal or economic) to participants or subjects associated with the proposed research?
No
If yes, please provide full details and explain what risk management procedures will be put in place to minimise the risks.
As described in detail in the Risk Assessment document, the only risk is related to COVID-19. In order to prevent any type of exposure and contagion, General Protection measures will be taken outside and inside (wearing the task, frequent hand sanitization, 2-metre social distance). In addition will be forbidden to participate in the activity in cases of symptoms within 10 days, have had contact with symptomatic people. It is recommended to take a covid test before and after the activity. In addition to these general measures of protection, the measures impose by the governments of Morocco and Tunisia and by the Universities where the research will be carried out will be respected.
Are there any potential risks (e.g. physical, psychological, social, legal or economic) to the researchers working on the proposed research?
Yes
If yes, please provide full details and explain what risk management procedures will be put in place to minimise the risks.
As for the participants, the only risk for the Researcher is related to COVID-19. The Protection measures I will take are the same described above and in the Risk Assessment Document. In line with the guidelines of the University of Essex, I will complete a Travel Application Form at least two weeks before departures. During my two trips I will be covered by an insurance provided by UMAL and Canopius. It will provide me with: emergency travel and medical assistance, travel security advice and alerts, health information, destination guides. My familiarity with travel destinations makes me aware of the behaviors that must be had and the behaviors that must be avoided in certain situations such as local travel, participation in public events and in general in everyday activities. According to the Drum Cussac's Risk Monitor for travellers, the two destinations, Morocco and Tunisia, are not currently high risk locations, but I will continue to track the situation through the Drum Cussac's Risk Monitor, the local and the UK government Travel advice websites and the NHS country specific advice website. If the situation should change, I will complete the required Overseas Travel Assessment Form.
Are there any potential reputational risks to the University as a consequence of undertaking the proposed research?
No
If yes, please provide full details and explain what risk management procedures will be put in place to minimise the risks.
Are there any other ethical issues that have not been addressed which you would wish to bring to the attention of the reviewer(s) of your application?
No.

Decision
31/01/2022
Mr Giacomo Iazzetta
Language and Linguistics, Language and Linguistics

University of Essex
Dear Giacomo,
Ethics Committee Decision
Application: ETH2122-0677
I am writing to advise you that your research proposal entitled "understanding the role of language policy in the construction and maintenance of inequalities in Morocco and Tunisia after the Arab Spring " has been reviewed by the Ethics Sub Committee 3.
The Committee is content to give a favourable ethical opinion of the research. I am pleased, therefore, to tell you that your application has been granted ethical approval by the Committee.
Please do not hesitate to contact me if you require any further information or have any queries.
Yours sincerely,
Ella Jeffries