

Spring 2018

A Glimpse into Amazighophone Technology Usage An example of the results of short-term ethnography

Garrison Smith
SIT Study Abroad

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalcollections.sit.edu/isp_collection

 Part of the [African Studies Commons](#), [Anthropological Linguistics and Sociolinguistics Commons](#), [Mass Communication Commons](#), and the [Other Linguistics Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Smith, Garrison, "A Glimpse into Amazighophone Technology Usage An example of the results of short-term ethnography" (2018). *Independent Study Project (ISP) Collection*. 2839.
https://digitalcollections.sit.edu/isp_collection/2839

This Unpublished Paper is brought to you for free and open access by the SIT Study Abroad at SIT Digital Collections. It has been accepted for inclusion in Independent Study Project (ISP) Collection by an authorized administrator of SIT Digital Collections. For more information, please contact digitalcollections@sit.edu.

A Glimpse into Amazighophone Technology Usage

An example of the results of short-term ethnography

Smith, Garrison

Academic Director: Taieb Belghazi

Connecticut College

Anthropology

Rabat, Morocco

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for MOR, SIT Abroad, Spring 2018

Abstract

This paper explores the situation of the Amazigh language and its revitalization in Morocco, specifically aiming to shed light on the intersections of language use, technology, and youth, in order to obtain insight into processes that Amazighophone youth both undergo and enact in their lives. Through literature review and an interview, this research provides a glimpse into the use and reality of Amazigh and variants in technological media and an example of the shortcomings of a short-termed fieldwork research project. In all, despite only having one interview with one young woman who attends university and speaks Amazigh, the results provide insight into the situation of the Amazigh language as youth express agency and creativity for bringing awareness and sharing knowledge of Amazigh culture, and as issues of alphabet usage and standardization come up as obstacles. The exploration opens up many possibilities for up-to-date, relevant topics to better assess the realities of many cultural phenomena in relation to human rights, such as the revitalization of the Amazigh language, and it also demonstrates the hope for the Amazigh language as youth use technology to communicate and promote the culture and language.

Keywords: Anthropology (Linguistic); Mass communications; Modern Linguistics

Table of Contents

1. Acknowledgements	3
2. Introduction	4
3. Context: Situation and Literature Review	6
3.1 Human Rights	6
3.2 Morocco and the Amazigh Language	7
3.3 Language Revitalization	10
3.4 Technology and Language	12
3.5 Global Youth	18
4. Methodology	21
4.1 Approach of Research and Fieldwork	21
4.2 Interview	22
4.3 Ethics	23
4.4 Reflections	24
5. Findings	25
5.1 Statistics	25
5.2 Youth	26
5.3 Language	27
5.4 Language and Technology	28
5.5 Amazigh and the Future	30
6. Discussion	33
6.1 Agency: Technology and Youth	33
6.2 Situation and Future of Amazigh in Morocco	37
6.3 Recommendations for Future Projects	39
7. Conclusion	41
8. Bibliography	43
9. Appendices	45
9.1 Appendix A - Interview Guide	45
9.2 Appendix B: Consent from provided by SIT	46

1. Acknowledgements

First, I thank my parents, Kimberly and Garry Smith, for without them I would not have any of the opportunities and resources to pursue my interests, ambitions, and dreams. I appreciate the endless love, support, and advice they have provided me in my life, but especially in my time here in Morocco.

I thank my partner¹, Jean Michael, for his endless love, support, and advice through my successes and struggles, especially during this semester abroad. With him, I learn how to live and think critically with confidence and courage.

I thank our Academic Director of School for International Training's (SIT) Morocco: Multiculturalism and Human Rights, Spring 2018, Taieb Belghazi, for his endless enthusiasm, wisdom, and encouragement throughout the semester. He has taught me valuable lessons about myself and about learning and growing from experiences. I appreciate every conversation he has dedicated to improving my experience and learning here in Morocco. I will remember him as a mentor and role model for years to come.

I thank Professor Said Bennis for his guidance and advice regarding my Independent Study Project.

I thank my participant for her enthusiasm and kindness. With sharing her experience and opinions, I have learned much more about this interesting topic, and I would not have been able to complete this project without her.

I thank my friends for enriching my experiences here through their support, humor, kindness, and adventure. I expect to see more of you all in the future to continue our adventures together.

¹ In this context, I use the term "partner" as a gender-inclusive term for an individual in a relationship.

2. Introduction

In societies worldwide, trends of modernization and globalization appear to put many languages at risk for disuse and devalorization, specifically as technology becomes more accessible and widespread, and youth engage in a global culture that uses such global languages. In the Amazigh movement in Morocco, the Amazigh language and its variants rank lower in the linguistic hierarchy, against national and international languages, such as Spanish, French, English, and Arabic. In language revitalization projects, there often appears to be a disconnect between official or expert actors, like academic and government institutions, and the communities that they supposedly intend to truly, effectively aid. The disconnection often leads to failures of revitalization and losing hope for the language.

The Moroccan government purportedly acts for the benefit of the Amazigh language, such as recognizing it as an official language, integrating the language into the public education system, and creating the Institut Royal de la Culture Amazighe to promote and maintain Amazigh language and culture. These actions by the government, however, have not seemed to fully improve the status and wide-spread usage of the Amazigh language in the public, professional, and educational realms. Within the revitalization project there are many areas that require attention, to understand the language's status, usage, and intergenerational transmission within the linguistic pluralism and hierarchy of Morocco. The scope, however, for a short-termed, field-based project cannot possibly assess every aspect to the status and revitalization of Amazigh. Thus, the objective of this paper is to highlight experiences of individuals and their technology and language usage in order to

better understand the situation of Amazigh as it may compete in technological and modern domains among the generation that appears to carry the future of the Amazigh culture and language.

To achieve better insight into the situation and Amazighophone youth experiences, I ask the following question: “How do Amazighophone youth use technology and language, and what are the implications of such usages for the Amazigh language?” The results and implications of the conducted interview shed light on how individual experiences can inform the actions of institutions who seek to revitalize the language, so that such institutions can better understand the communities of interest and how to implement changes that would actually and effectively benefit the interests and lives of those they seek to help.

Additionally, I present reflections on my methodology and research, citing the shortcomings and incompleteness a short-term fieldwork project done in the ways that I did. In all, the project aims to provide an exploratory glimpse of the intersectional topic between language revitalization, technology, and youth, while also providing an example of shortcomings in such a project fundamentally due to lack of preemptive coordination of research and fieldwork. The overarching goal of the project relates fieldwork research to larger discourses in academia in order to better inform discourses and actions carried out with intentions of improving the human rights of individuals, social groups, and societies worldwide.

3. Context: Situation and Literature Review

In this section, I will review current literature within the main themes of my project. The review will demonstrate what work has already been done, in order to situate my project within the larger context, both within the situation of the Amazigh language with relation to human rights and revitalization projects and within the theoretical frameworks for language revitalization, technology, and youth. At the end, I will highlight how my project will fit into these works and larger debates, while also noting the limits of my project in the same regard.

3.1 Human Rights

As the name of the program states, the research we conduct aims to better understand situations of Multiculturalism and Human Rights. In other words, we seek to better understand how individuals and institutions act within the pluralistic Moroccan state, economy, culture, just to name a few; within the pluralism, however, there exists many inequalities that disadvantage and impede on the human rights of many groups of varying social, legal, and other identities. With regard to the Amazigh language, it is important to understand the larger purpose of this type of research, which first involves situating the issue, language, and people within the legal context of human rights.

In the “Report of the Independent Expert on minority issues” (2012) of the Human Rights Council, Rita Izsak thoroughly outlines many debates around minority issues, describing their states and discussing solutions and recommendations. Izsak makes clear that there exists legal literature which describes and requires language to be included as a legalized human right and which calls for states to take action to make this happen (Izsak

2009: 9.III.B.30,31). From the beginning, we know that within the international, United Nations discourse of human rights, language counts as a right that every human should have. Iszak continues to describe the situations of language as a right in various regions and by their respective charters.

For Africa, she outlines that language is not covered or enforced well, citing that language is highlighted as needing support and promotion against competing languages and discrimination (Iszak 2009: 9.III.B.34,35). The African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights says that language is prohibited grounds for discrimination and that "all peoples *should* have the right to their economic, social, and cultural development with due regard to their freedom and identity (Izsak 2009: 9.III.B.34)."² The discourse for Africa and its constituents thus demonstrates a will and a shift towards language as a human right. However, there is still progress to be done in terms of enforcement and methods of ascertaining accountability for effective implementation of the right of language.

An insight into the situation and discourse of human rights and language emerges by understanding them at both international and regional levels. For Africa, and specifically Morocco, we can see how language may or may not be considered a human right and observe how that plays out in individual cases. For the case of Amazigh in Morocco, we will highlight major trends in the revitalization movement and assess its state.

3.2 Morocco and the Amazigh Language

In this section, I highlight key aspects in the language's recent history and revitalization, in order to clarify the position of Amazigh and my project. To begin, many

² Emphasis is mine.

authors make it clear that the Amazigh language holds various disadvantaged positions in Morocco, whether politically, culturally, or economically. Despite activist and institutional efforts, the language appears to still be ranked lower within the nation's linguistic hierarchy, under French, English, Modern Standard Arabic (MSA, *FusHa*), Moroccan Arabic (*Darija*).

In 1956, Morocco gained independence from France and adopts an Arabic and French bilingualism with hopes of modernizing the country (Ennaji 2014: 94). This bilingualism attempted to bridge the Arabophone Moroccan culture with the Francophone, modern, and perhaps global culture. With this Arabization policy in effect to restore Moroccan nationalism, the Amazigh, its culture, and advocacy for such were viewed as anti-nationalist (Ennaji 2014: 95). Through years of protest and struggle, however, the Amazigh movement began to make strides in the national government.

In August of 1994, King Hassan II gave a speech that clearly and officially acknowledged the existence of Moroccan Arabic and Amazigh languages in Morocco (El Aissati et al. 2011: 211). The next big step followed when the King issued a royal decree, also known as a dahir, in 2001 (El Aissati et al. 2011: 211). The dahir mandated the establishment of the Royal Institute of the Amazigh Culture (IRCAM, *Institut Royal de la Culture Amazighe*) and called for the implementation of the Amazigh language into the public school system (El Aissati et al. 2011: 211). The Institute was tasked with standardizing the language and creating the curriculum to implement it into the school system.

El Aissati et al. (2011) considered the implementation of the language a failure, missing important details and rushing the implementation process. The work cites that for

a successful implementation, it was necessary (1) to choose the alphabet for instruction and use of the language; (2) to decide on the standard to teach, given the three main regional varieties; (3) to prepare the curricula, materials, and resources; and (4) to implement it into schools and to have teachers teach it as a subject (El Aissati et al. 2011: 212). However, this program failed to meet its goal, as the Ministry of Education aimed to have 100% of public primary schools teaching Amazigh by the 2010-11 school year, but instead only achieved 15% by 2009-10 (El Aissati et al. 2011: 224). The work indicates that the main sources for failure were the lack of properly equipped, prepared teachers to teach, speak, and write the language (El Aissati et al. 2011: 225).

Despite this bumpy start, the Amazigh language gained another win in 2011 when the new constitution granted the Amazigh language official status in Morocco (Ennaji 2014: 98). The recognition of the language granted it more prestige within the country, as the language gained grounds also in blogs, state television, translated films and news, newspapers and magazines, and youth poetry and songs (Ennaji 2014: 97-98).

In this section, we see reports on the Amazigh language's progress of revitalization through institutional means and the apparent lack of proper execution of such. There also appears to be a lack of sustained, contemporary evidence of the language's current state of vitality within the revitalization process. Next, we explore language revitalization, focusing on themes of language ideology, technology, and youth, in order to enhance the scope, angle, and approach of my project.

3.3 Language Revitalization

To understand any revitalization project, it is imperative to have a grasp on the notion of language ideology. Sallabank (2013) utilizes McCarty's (2011) summary of language ideology as her working definition, which I will utilize as well:

Ideologies about language are largely tacit, taken-for-granted assumptions about language statuses, forms, users, and uses that, by virtue of their 'common sense' naturalization, contribute to linguistic and social inequality. (Sallabank 2013: 76)

The definition works well as it highlights the naturalized attitudes towards how languages are used and evaluated and how all of those processes combine to produce inequalities between the languages and its users. But, at the foundation, the language ideology is the attitude of an individual, institution, or society towards a language. Sallabank (2013) also coins a term specific to her research project, "attitude shift", which seeks to understand shifts in attitude, or ideology, of a language between generations (79). The term lends a more specific approach to language ideology, focusing on generational attitudes and the subsequent implications on the language and its revitalization process, which will benefit the scope and approach of my project.

Well-discussed and emphasized in language revitalization literature is the connection and mutual understanding between the institutions that seek to help and facilitate the process and the community of interest that uses or will use the language (Eisenlohr 2004: 21). If communication and understanding does not exist between the two, the results of the revitalization project may prove to be ineffective for both parties (Eisenlohr 2004: 22). Within the Amazigh case, Cornell & Atia (2012) seek to understand the different ideologies within the Amazigh movement, by which they mostly juxtapose the institutional (i.e. IRCAM) ideologies and the activist, local ideologies.

Activists view IRCAM as just a simple gesture of the King, and IRCAM does not have its own agency because of the dahir and cannot act on any injustices it sees (Cornwell & Atia 2012: 268). Additionally, the authors cite multiple activists and scholars who left IRCAM due to frustrations with having limited space for reform and progress (Cornwell & Atia 2012: 268). Even after the official recognition of Amazigh as an official language in 2011, the authors in 2012 report a disjuncture between the activists and the institution that is supposed to be fully dedicated to the Amazigh culture and language.

Another disjuncture between the groups is the debate of which alphabet to use for the Amazigh language. The alphabet is important for the Amazigh language, as it was unwritten before being promoted to higher legal statuses, but now with legal recognition, the language enters many domains where written language is obligatory. The debate straddles various ideologies but the choices currently are the Latin, Arabic, and Tifinagh alphabets. IRCAM chooses to utilize Tifinagh, as it represents the culture and its history and is appropriate as it is the “skin of the language”, just as the Latin alphabet is for French and English and the Arabic alphabet for Arabic (Cornwell & Atia 2012: 264-265). Activists and local agree that the Tifinagh alphabet is a vital part of the Amazigh culture and history, but they prefer the Latin alphabet (Cornwell & Atia 2012: 265). They reason that the Latin alphabet is more suited for a modern, technologized society, and the Tifinagh alphabet will only distance Amazigh farther from being incorporated well into daily life (Cornwell & Atia 2012: 266). To use the Latin script also deinstitutionalizes and democratizes the language, and allows for easier usage on phones and the internet (Cornwell & Atia 2012: 266).

Even with just a glimpse into the debate, it is apparent that the local linguistic ideology and the institutional linguistic ideology do not align well with one another, as they

seem to have differing objectives and ideas of usage and presentation of the language. This debate and disjuncture emphasizes the importance for fieldwork research, in order to get a better sense of what is really happening to people who live out these experiences at the hand of larger institutions and how they still live with their language.

3.4 Technology and Language

In this section, I will present works that discuss aspects of technology and language, such as language revitalization, mass media, and “global culture”. The information and theories presented aid my project by informing me of existing frameworks and ideas to work from and to be in conversation with the theories and current academic debates. The main purpose of this section is to better understand the role of technology in language revitalization and the ways language exists in technology as a reflection of linguistic ideologies.

First, Eisenlohr (2004) discusses broader debates and ideas to be wary of when dealing with technology and language revitalization. From the beginning, he makes it clear that in using technology in revitalization projects, those who develop and carry out the project must understand the role and position technology have in the community of interest in order to ensure that the technology will actually be incorporated into the daily lives and language practices (Eisenlohr 2004: 23-25). Specifically, researchers and all involved should think about the relationship of the community to technology, relations of power in technology domains (e.g. from television cable network providers), and how to ensure effective changes of the attitudes for the better towards the language across the generations (Eisenlohr 2004: 25).

For example, many revitalization projects seek to use television programming as means to enhance the status of the language and to make the language more heard, integrated, and accessible to the community at hand. However, there needs to be negotiations with the companies and providers to even be able to produce stations or channels where the language can be broadcasted (Eisenlohr 2004: 25-27). Even so, there would have to be considerations for the economic standing of the community to afford these products, if they do not have them, and considerations for the material to be broadcasted, which could take more efforts to develop and coordinate with the community of interest.

Eisenlohr calls attention to the importance of understanding speech genres³ within the language of interest, as to put an endangered language into use within technology and electronic media often means using the language in new domains (Eisenlohr 2004: 28). Standard modes of language use exist within technology, such as in radio or television broadcasting or in social media usage, and the standards may conflict with the speech genres of the language of interest (Eisenlohr 2004: 28). Integration, thus, of the language to be revitalized needs to take into consideration the communication practices, like speech genres, in order to be realistic and effective.

Near the end of his work, Eisenlohr highlights the larger importance of technology use for language revitalization projects. "To reverse language shift, new avenues of [communication] must be linked to an ideological transformation among speakers,

³ "Language is realized in the form of individualized concrete utterances (oral and written) by participants in the various areas of human activity. . . . Each sphere in which language is used develops its own relatively stable types of these utterances. These we may call speech genres. . . . Special emphasis should be placed on the extreme heterogeneity of speech genres (oral and written)." (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 60; emphasis original). (from GenreAcrossBorders.org, "Speech Genres")"

inducing changes in routine usage of a language, especially when interacting with children and adolescents (Eisenlohr 2004: 35).” If experts and institutions implement the usage of technology into a revitalization project without being able to ensure effectiveness for shifting language ideology and usage, then the project will ultimately fail.

It is critical to focus on the uses of technology and language within the context of language revitalization as modern societies generally utilize more technology, for “... practices of electronic mediation ... both intervene in and become part of ideological constructions drawing links between linguistic practice, social identities, and sociocultural valuations (Eisenlohr 2004: 38).” In a sense, integrating technology into languages that are being revitalized, and vice versa, offers great possibilities for revival within the context of the corresponding society and competing languages, granted that the project successfully integrates the two to produce such results and positively affect ideological change.

Overall, Eisenlohr highlights the importance of technology in language use and language revitalization, emphasizing the necessities of understanding the speaking community in order to produce effective change and aid the community on their terms. Next, I present works that demonstrate how electronic media becomes part of ideological constructions, as stated by Eisenlohr (2004).

The work of Hassa (2012) demonstrates how language planning reflects and reinforces language ideologies from the state and institutions that create the signage. In short, the state conveys a national identity that values modernization as it incorporates French into its signage and still wants to maintain its Arab identity by keeping signage in Modern Standard Arabic and Moroccan Arabic (Hassa 2012: 220). Amazigh makes a few appearances in places like governmental and educational institutions, but there are

opinions and evidence that this representation and implementation is simply symbolic and does not have any practical benefits for the Amazigh community (Hassa 2012: 217). These systems are representative of governmental institutions, but Hassa also highlights advertisements and consumer goods as reflecting language ideologies as well. There appears to be a laissez-faire approach to language planning in these domains, as a likely reaction and attempt at negotiating the cultural and linguistic diversity in Morocco and global economic forces (Hassa 2012: 218-220).

The linguistic landscape of Morocco demonstrates the complicated language hierarchy and reflects the negotiation of various language ideologies. Hassa utilizes a definition by Ricento (2000, p. 209) to describe language planning and its role in society:

[language planning] is concerned not only with official and unofficial acts of governmental institutional entities, but also with the historical and cultural processes that have influenced, and continue to influence, societal attitudes and practices with regard to language use, acquisition and status. (Hassa 2012: 211)

The definition both explains and summarizes her points well. To apply the definition further, I consider technology to be a site of language planning, as the companies and individuals using the products all engage in both co-constructing and reflecting linguistic ideologies.

Companies are institutions that have the resources and power to create products, such as cell phones and social media platforms, and they make the decisions of what languages are available in these spaces. Individuals as consumers and users of these products can reinforce the ideologies put forth by such systems, but they also have the agency to adopt the systems in their own way. For example, there exist people who use the Latin script, which most technology products use as the primary script, for Moroccan Arabic and Amazigh languages. In this way, individuals can influence their surroundings,

even within existing institutions and systems that give otherwise. There is, however, always a debate and negotiation between these two, which is how all parties co-construct the spaces. Therefore, a large component of the research project requires observation of Amazigh speakers' language use, to better understand their linguistic ideology and negotiation of the linguistic hierarchy and its social, economic, and other influences.

Other sources support similar ideas, as Bucholtz (2002) draws connections between youth and technology use. She points out that technology provides new avenues of agency and knowledge, as youth can have access to more, varied information to implement and use in their lives or to find like-minded others in areas beyond their local community (Bucholtz 2002: 541-542). With regards to language revitalization, the increased knowledge and agency can aid or further disadvantage the language. Facilitated communication can be a way for languages to become global and become more widespread in the communities of the endangered language. With the same aspect, individuals can more easily connect to one another and keep the language alive in daily practice in the emerging, seemingly dominating domain of communication.

Ennaji (2014), like previously mentioned, alludes to the success of the Amazigh revitalization by citing its usage in television broadcasting and on blogs (Ennaji 2014: 97). As societies around the world, Morocco included, begin to utilize, operate with, and rely on technology more, it comes important and necessary to analyze and understand technology's impact on us all around, but in this case, on language and linguistic ideology. As Amazigh reportedly becomes a more technologized language, fieldwork to explore the effects of technology on Amazigh speakers becomes necessary in order to gain insight into its revitalization process and to understand whether technology is helping or harming the

Amazigh language. To build upon these ideas, we look to works that inform us on how notions of technology, youth, and language can interact and overlap, especially paying attention to the methodology when dealing with large scale phenomena with individual manifestations or derivations.

With technology comes the systems and linguistic ideologies associated with its usage. As technology facilitates communication, languages and their uses are able to spread more quickly as well. Cook (2002) brings up the topic of language contact caused by technology usage, highlighting that technology brings complex power structures, with political, economic, and cultural relations (Cook 2002: 106). Languages like English or French thus are in prime situations to become “global languages”, due to the accompanying complex power structures and a lack of language planning by governments of language use on the internet (Cook 2002: 106).

With regard to understanding the intersection of technology and language contact, she turns our attention to the common, and perhaps misused, notions of “global” and “local” (Cook 2002: 107). As a parallel, she references literature and theories on global pop culture in order to clarify the “global” and the “local”. Her conclusion about those works is that the notions of a “global [...] culture, as a concept and experience... cease to have meaning” when research and other conclusions deem that “all cultural politics is local” (Cook 2002: 108). Given this lens, Cook indicates that although technology has global reach and impact, it is still necessary to understand local practices as they integrate these larger phenomena into their own systems of meaning (Cook 2002: 108).

Such complex dynamics between global technology and language use requires the understanding of local experiences and linguistic ideologies, in order to gain insight into

larger and local or regional trends in attitude shift. Our understanding of technology's impact on the Amazigh language thus requires insight into individuals' usage and perceptions of language in technology.

Overall, the works elucidate the impacts of technology on language use in various ways. Institutions play large roles whether they be the creators of technology, the gatekeepers of language and alphabet availability, or those who seek to help revitalize a language. Individuals contribute to language ideologies as well, negotiating the systems and institutions and co-constructing cyberspaces, like social media and broadcasting. We must understand these processes of negotiation, influence, usage, and ideology in order to better understand the factors contributing to the state of the Amazigh language.

3.5 Global Youth

This section highlights the youth by examining the notion of a "global youth" and by enhancing our methodology of youth studies. Importantly, both authors critique and improve common understandings of how global trends, like pop culture and technology, impact the "global youth". A better conceptualization of how youth are impacted by global trends will inform the approach of the project, as it seeks to analyze technology and language use of Amazighophone youth in Morocco.

Bucholtz (2002) outlines and reviews many important themes in the context of youth studies, but here are highlighted a few that applies to the project and its scope of interest and methodology. Often times, one of the first mistakes researchers make is the framework with which they analyze and interpret youth and their culture from. The framework they often use puts youth as merely reacting and responding to adults, which

puts the youth and their actions within the context of the norms and institutions of adults (Bucholtz 2002: 532-533).

Bucholtz calls for revisions in this regard as such a framework puts youth under a lens that often describes youth as deviant, which can skew our understandings and outcomes of research (Bucholtz 2002: 533-534). Instead, youth should be studied as their own agents and on their own grounds, and as Bucholtz evidences works on youth and sexuality, the other framework proves to be centered around hegemonic, adult ideologies (Bucholtz 2002: 534). Not only does applying this different framework yield less biased results and understanding, but to perceive the youth and their actions as social violations and societal problems means to ignore and erase that they are agents in an ongoing sociocultural change (Bucholtz 2002: 535). Any project that involves studying youth and their roles in society and culture should pay close attention to ensure that their methodology applies an appropriate, not biased framework.

Next, Bucholtz comments on the influence of technology and global culture on youth and their culture. Her paramount point relates to understanding global culture and its manifestation in youth in various locations.

The global spread of popular culture is often viewed as symptomatic of cultural leveling, yet many scholars have pointed out that how cultural forms are taken up and assigned meanings far from their places of origin is a process that involve creativity and agency, not unthinking acceptance of cultural products. The same cultural resource can be put to use in radically different ways.⁴ (Bucholtz 2002: 543)

Bucholtz's explanation agrees with Cook's (2002) idea about how global culture loses meaning when "all cultural politics is local" (Cook 2002: 108). Similarly, technology has global reach and impact, but the impacts depend on how technology is incorporated into

⁴ Emphasis mine.

their society and integrated into their culture's systems of meaning. Bucholtz suggests themes for exploration, relating to how youth culture negotiates traditional cultural forms and what technologies can offer for youth cultural production and cultural change (Bucholtz 2002: 544). The suggestions have new meaning when considering the case of Amazigh and language revitalization in general, as the project will explore how Moroccan Amazighophone youth utilize technology and the implications for the linguistic ideologies and the situation of the Amazigh language.

Philipps (2018) builds upon notions of youth culture by improving the conceptualization of the youth in a more globalized, technologized, interconnected world. To do so, he problematizes and updates past ideas of generation and youth by sociologist Karl Mannheim. Philipps critiques Mannheim's notions of heritage (i.e. culture) and subsequently youth as having a limited scope, as they are defined as local or regional (Philipps 2018: 3). Heritage and youth nowadays, Philipps argues, are transnational; to be transnational means that histories are tangled up between one another and there is an enhanced interconnectedness of communication, social issues, and resources (Philipps 2018: 3). The transnational, global influences, however, are experienced locally (Philipps 2018: 4), which strongly connects to and reinforces previous ideas presented by Bucholtz (2002) and Cook (2002).

These methodologies provide crucial frameworks to apply to an analysis of youth technology and language usage. A clear conceptualization of global trends in relation to youth and their culture equips the project with a more solid approach with which to examine the local practices and experiences of Amazighophone youth. Examining the youth on their terms and how they encounter these transnational influences and culture will

provide a critical understanding of their experiences and ideologies and an insight into implications for the future of the Amazigh language.

4. Methodology

Here I discuss the methodology and methods of my project. From timeline and preparation to the interview, I present how I conducted the research both in literature and topic review and in the fieldwork. Afterwards I will reflect on the implications of the fieldwork on my research project overall as a demonstration of how short-term fieldwork as an overall process can go wrong for numerous reasons.

4.1 Approach of Research and Fieldwork

Overall, my approach was flawed by lack of preparation and of anticipation of the short time period to execute many tasks. In my initial proposal, I did not have a clear, specific understanding of what my project was going to be. As I sought out literature on the Amazigh revitalization overall, I became interested in other aspects of it, such as the role of youth and technology in revitalization projects overall. As the exploration of new aspects made the scope of my project more refined and specific, it also broadened the research required to triangulate an approach and perspective for my research. During the time period of exploring and enhancing my scope and literature review, I did not make progress in the fieldwork aspect of the project.

For the fieldwork, I knew as an anthropology student that researchers who do fieldwork take months and years to gain insight and strong, positive relationships with the communities that they are working with. In my mind during the research period, however, I did not

know exactly my community of interest until I completed my literature review after the second week. The questions I aimed to answer for my project required participation of urban, Amazighophone youth, solely in Rabat. Thus, going into my third week, I began to try to locate participants through my academic network here in Rabat, consisting of my project advisor and a group of students our academic director had set up. At the same time I began creating my questionnaire guide for interviews.

Due to my naïveté and accidental and situational segmentation of research components, I only interviewed one person. Ideally, I desired to interview at least five individuals in order to gain spread and depth of answers and insight for the topic at hand. As I will present later in the Discussion section, I believe that despite obtaining just one interview, I still learned more about my topic from the field and that there are lessons to be learned from both a content perspective, regarding the topic, and a methodological perspective.

4.2 Interview

For the interview itself, I conducted a semi-structured interview, where I had a guide of questions I wanted to have answered but I also was interested in the potential for other potential relating topics to come up in the moment that I may not have been aware about. The semi-structured interview also allowed for a more conversational, two-way approach and feel to the interview, rather than a “top-down” power structure approach. In this way, the rapport would be easier to establish and maintain, with hopes of making the interviewee feel more at ease and open to share views to me, and if she desired, she could also ask me questions so that we could have a more natural conversation.

It is important to note that the interviewee does speak English at a very proficient level, and she is a student of English studies in Rabat. So, there was confidence in her English that she was very well aware of the consent explanation and the interview. Before the interview began, I made sure to receive her consent to do the interview and to use its results in the report and presentation of my project. To do this, I utilized the written consent form that the program provided us (Appendix B). I took the details of the form and made sure to explain the sections and their points in conversation to the interviewee, so that she understood her participation in the interview, associated potential risks, and how the results would be used, stored, and handled. At the end, I asked that, if she understood her participation, its implications for my project, and my treatment and use of her answers, then I required a verbal confirmation of consent, "I understand and I consent to this interview" in order to proceed with the interview. She did say this phrase, and then we proceeded with the interview.

4.3 Ethics

In my report, I am sure to use a pseudonym for her, as means to protect the anonymity and confidentiality of the interviewee. Like mentioned earlier, I assured the interviewee that I would not use her name or reveal any other information to anyone. I also informed the interviewee that I will not use the data outside of this project and the data stays in my notebook, under my protection for no one else to see or know.

Given the involvement of technology in the research, I made conscious decisions both practically and ethically. I decided to only do research in the form of an interview, as participant observation in depth with the community would have been more time

consuming for both preparation and execution. Due to the rather public and social nature of social media, I made decisions to not add people on Facebook, follow on Instagram, or any other contact. I decided that in this way, their identities were sure to be anonymous as we did not reveal ourselves to each other's social networks within those platforms. Additionally, I desired to establish and maintain professional relations, which I think connecting in such manners via social media would have potentially interfered with.

4.4 Reflections

The results of my methodology and methods raise questions of limitations in my project. I do not believe that the project loses impact and importance due to there only being one interview. The opinion, experience, and insight of the individual still bring explanation and speculation to my research questions, just as any other research project does. The limited results, however, do not allow for connections for conclusions about larger trends or larger disjunctions that exist between Amazighophone, urban youth. One interview still consists of valuable insights on reported experience, opinion, and perception that stands as qualitative data, which is the goal of fieldwork such as participant-observation and interviews.

The methods I utilized for the project could also be better, as I would think is the same for many other, similar projects conducted during the Independent Study Project (ISP) period, which consists of only four weeks. Participant-observation requires investment of time and social rapport in order to obtain more insights and acts as a way to triangulate information between the reported behavior of interviewees and the

observations of their acts to better understand what they actually do and how they perceive themselves.

The scope of my results and analysis are limited due to mistakes that I made early on in the timeframe, but I did not realize until it was too late. Short-term projects that involve fieldwork in any way require a more advanced, aware plan that the researcher commits to and pursues as early as possible. In summary, it is evident that my short-term, fieldwork project, like many others, would benefit greatly from inclusion of more information from people belonging to the community of interest and participant-observation; additionally, the project and its results and insight do not become moot solely because the fieldwork involved one interview, but are instead rather limited in breadth and impact.

5. Findings

As previously mentioned, my project contains only one interview. Here I present the interview, and I organize the findings into sections based on the thematic headings of my questionnaire (Appendix A). In the next section, I will analyze these results within the context of my guiding questions, the context, and the literature review.

5.1 Statistics

Amina⁵ is a twenty-year old university student at Mohammed the Fifth University in Rabat, Morocco. She specializes in English Studies in the Cultural Studies path. Her reasons for deciding on this path involved her skills and options at the time. For example, she

⁵ The name has been changed to a pseudonym, as to protect the anonymity and confidentiality of the subject.

desired to study art, but that option would have required her to study in France. She said that she did not pursue this route due to a lack of funds to travel to France. She was also interested in architecture and economics, but finally made a decision on English. She reported that she chose this specialization because she wanted to read literature in English in its original form, as she is interested in and enjoys literature in various languages. She also reported that she chose it because she was simply good at it, as one must pass through a proficiency exam in English to be accepted into the program.

5.2 Youth

In our conversation, Amina said that she does identify as being part of the youth generation, specifically using terms like “international generation X” and “millennial” to describe her position, though neither of us were sure of the most accurate label (Amina, personal communication, April 26, 2018). Regardless of the label, Amina further described what made her part of the international youth. She gave a few examples for this, citing her upbringing consisting of television shows in various languages, stating “I identify with everyone”, and even describing the youth as “that Disney channel generation” (Amina, personal communication, April 26, 2018).

Aware of the themes of the interview, Amina included technology as part of her explanation. She noted that technology in our generation grew up with us, as it entered our lives and developed as we did. We both listed off technology devices we grew up with, like music playing systems and phones.

5.3 Language

Amina speaks Amazigh, specifically Tarifit, which is the regional dialect spoken in the northern region of Morocco, the Rif. Tarifit is the language she began to learn first, and she says it's the language she feels the most comfortable using. She reports that she speaks it wherever there are Tarifit speakers, citing one of her professors, a few classmates, family members, and others in the streets or markets of Rabat. She also reports using it in poetry and songs she writes or translates. Additionally, she reports using it while speaking on the phone and on various social media platforms, whether writing or reading it. Later, we will see how she does not only use Tarifit in these ways on technology, but rather multiple languages to communicate in these domains.

Regarding Tifinagh, she can read it but says that she is losing her abilities to read and write it. Amina explained that many students were taught in schools, as part of the government's initiative in 2004, but it was not a successful endeavor. She, however, continued to study and learn it well on her own, but due to a lack of continuous usage, she reports that she is beginning to lose the alphabet.

Amina believes that the alphabet does not have to be obligatory to use, but rather individuals should be able to make up their own decisions regarding what alphabet they prefer to use. She refers again to the implementation of Amazigh and the Tifinagh alphabet into the education system, expressing frustration that the government failed but needs to try again by a process of staggering the integration. Later on in the interview, Amina gives an example of a successful revitalization project, the integration of the Celtic language into primary schools in Ireland.

5.4 Language and Technology

When I discussed with Amina her technology and language usage, both from most to least often used, the following list presents the results:

- 1) Cell phone (texting and social media): English, French, Tarifit (in Latin alphabet), Darija, Spanish
- 2) Cell phone (speaking): Tarifit, Darija, English, French
- 3) Laptop (including social media and websites): English, French, Tarifit (in Latin alphabet), Darija, Spanish
- 4) Radio: French, Darija, Tarifit
- 5) Newspapers: Arabic (Modern Standard Arabic), French

Amina also reported television as her least used technology device, but she stated that she barely uses it and does not know how to rank her language usage because there are so many languages and she does not pay attention when the television is on.

In our discussion of the presence of Amazigh on the internet, her reasoning revolved around issues about alphabet usage. In regards to Tifinagh, there is a lack of literacy overall in Morocco. People that do know how to use Tifinagh often do not, as many others would not be able to read posts or content. Amina references how, on Facebook, some people like herself post occasionally in Tifinagh, but then in the comment section below, she or other friends transliterate the post into the Latin alphabet for others to understand.

In regards to the Latin alphabet, she cites its usefulness as it is what many people can read, due to its presence in Morocco from French and English. However, she notes the issues of many different ways to communicate using the Latin alphabet and explains the complications of standard usages versus individual interpretations. She explains that standardizing the alphabet usage in both the Latin alphabet and Tifinagh would help Amazigh be more used and more sustained. For Tifinagh, she reiterates that the

government needs to try to integrate it into the school system but with a more effective strategy so that it will actually work. She says that if schools can get people to write in other languages like French or English, then it should be more than possible for it to happen for Amazigh.

Discussing Amazigh's presence in technology, she discusses different devices and media where she uses and sees Amazigh. In television programs, she knows that there is an entire channel that uses Tifinagh and the speech is all in Amazigh. On phones, like her own, one can download an app that enables the user to select a Tifinagh keyboard. On computers, Facebook had recently integrated and implemented Tamazight as an option. On Twitter and Instagram, she personally has her name in Tifinagh on both. Also on both, she occasionally posts and reads material in Tifinagh. But, like mentioned earlier, the Latin script is more commonly understood and used by Amazigh speakers and social media users.

Coming back to Facebook, as she had mentioned it before I could ask my planned question, I asked her about her opinions about the alphabet and language existing and being integrated into the social media platform. Her first response was that the integration and usage is "really great", and repeated saying "really great" throughout this section of our discussion (Amina, personal communication, April 26th, 2018). She enjoys the change Facebook made because it opens opportunities for more communities, and the change gives a voice to more people to use their own alphabet. Amina does see problems though in the addition of Amazigh and Tifinagh, however, citing that many of the words are not used in Amazigh or many dialects. Many modern terms are new, artificial words that she and many others are not acquainted with, as she and others use words from languages like

Spanish and French when using social media. So, usage of Facebook in the selected, standardized Amazigh is difficult for her, but she still enjoys its presence.

Amina discusses other websites and material that people she knows are producing. She gave me a few websites that offer information on the Amazigh language and culture, such as Tifraznarif.net and Agraw.com, but these focused on Rif history and the Tarifit language(s), as that is where she is from. She cited a friend who publishes on YouTube various videos about makeup tutorials and uses that platform to show traditional Amazigh fashion. She showed me an example of a video where her friend demonstrates a traditional wedding outfit and makeup. In wrapping up this section, she expressed that no matter what alphabet and language, people will still manage to communicate how they want and need, because “technology permits everything” (Amina, personal communication, April 26, 2018).

5.5 Amazigh and the Future

Despite her enthusiasm and optimism in the “Language and Technology” section, Amina expresses concern and worry for the future of the Amazigh language(s) in Morocco. She reports that the languages are declining in usage at a very fast rate, citing reasons like internal migration from rural areas to urban areas and that parents have been choosing to stop teaching the language to their children. She worries that if people lose the language, the culture will lose meaning and the cultural landscape of Morocco will change.

I asked her to expand upon this idea. Amina explained that the languages are associated to the land and regions where they are spoken. As an example, she tells a story where she was visiting her extended family in the Rif region, and her father brought her to

the region where his tribe is from. He demonstrated to her, “You see that mountain? My language is spoken on the mountain behind that one.”⁶ She also gave an example of her uncle and his wife. After marriage, the two moved to a city in southern Morocco near Marrakech. When they had children, the uncle and wife decided to not teach them Tarifit, but to only use Darija from then on out. She explains that the children have difficulty when they all visit extended family in the Rif, and that they are not well-connected to the family nor the land, and do not have much enthusiasm for the land and a sense of belonging.

For the future of the language and culture, she states that there are only two options, either to die or to see the revivance of the Tamazgha, the pan-Amazigh identify in Northern Africa. She sees hope for the revivance of the Tamazgha, explaining that her generation is in the middle of a larger movement to bring about awareness of Amazigh culture and its language(s). Tamazgha, in her opinion, would be a pan-Amazigh cultural phenomena, not an attempt to establish an Amazigh state. Bringing awareness to the history of the Amazigh people across modern-day African states would allow people to be aware of and to connect to their language and identity that had been erased or oppressed by the two waves of colonialism, the Arab/Islam colonization and then the French, or other European, colonization.

To bring about this awareness, she cites examples of research and technology playing important roles in collecting and dispersing knowledge of Amazigh culture. She cites that identity awareness began when men and women could attend university in 1985 and that people moved internally to different areas, where they encountered other regional

⁶ This quote paraphrases the story and reference. I did not record the exact quote, but I did directly write and record “the mountain behind that one” in my notes. For this reason, I do not cite the quotation directly, to imply that it is a paraphrased retelling of the story.

cultures. It was at this point people became more aware of identity, and where cross-cultural research began to be done. Today, many Amazigh people go to university and they do projects about Amazigh culture. She also cites that Twitter is the most popular outlet for Amazigh users to communicate and relate to one another across the Tamazgha, discussing identity, culture, and history. At many universities, too, there are Amazigh student groups that discuss ways to get involved with their culture and the promotion of their identity, e.g. putting on an event where students meet together to share Amazigh poetry. In some universities there are even Masters' programs in Tamazight, like in Oujda, where all instruction and engagement is in Amazigh and Tifinagh. She also told me that she was considering going to this Master's program, but still was not sure of her plans after obtaining her Baccalaureate degree.

As conversation continued, I deviated from the question guide and asked about Tamazight as it competed with international, technologized languages like French and English, wondering about their influence on Tamazight and its usage. At a glimpse, she did not worry that the languages would replace Amazigh. Morocco will stay with Arabic, French, and Tamazight for at least a few more decades, she explained. French, however, loses ground every day, as the international community uses it less and less, and the university education system prioritizes English and often requires it over French. English reportedly will bring more access in the higher education system. She does not worry about French and English, because they are used in higher education and international communication, but French will remain a main language of politics. Tamazight and Darija will last because they always have, and they are the languages of the home, of the familiar, and of the streets and markets. She said that she did not worry about English and French

competing and existing more on the internet because in Morocco there has always been a lot of languages and a mixture between them, so adding English and maybe replacing French would not be something new.

In the conclusion of the discussion, two quotes stuck out to me. First, for the Amazigh to revitalize, both in language and culture, the upcoming generation and their actions need to “remind them who they are” (Amina, personal communication, April 26, 2018). Secondly, “thank God for the internet” (Amina, personal communication, April 26, 2018).

6. Discussion

Now that I have presented the interview with Amina, I will make connections to the literature review and context of my project, highlighting the implications, patterns, and meaning of the interview. Afterwards I will identify areas and opportunities for future research projects, as this project provides an exploratory glimpse into a wide-expanding intersection of important themes in language revitalization.

6.1 Agency: Technology and Youth

From the interview, I improved my understanding of the interactions between youth, technology, and language use, specifically with Amazigh. I identify that there is a pattern of the theme of agency that occurs throughout the interview relating to the intersection of technology, youth, and Amazigh. Bucholtz (2002) identifies that youth take global resources and ideas and implement them in local situations, which is a “process that involve[s] creativity and agency (Bucholtz 2002: 543).” Amina reports about her

experience and knowledge of the experiences of others, which supports this notion by Bucholtz (2002), as Amazigh speakers use technology for the promotion of their culture and language and also for communication.

First, Eisenlohr (2004) describes the details and important areas of technology's role in language revitalization projects and emphasizes the necessity of a keen understanding of this in order to make integration of technology a successful and help tool in the revitalization process. The work appears to describe technology as being integrated into a community by an outside agent like experts or government actors. Through interview and subsequent analysis, the agency of individuals and communities shines as a more likely reality for this case. As Eisenlohr (2004) presents his works, it ignores the agency of the community of interest, just as Bucholtz (2002), Cook (2002), and Philipps (2018) caution of doing. Technology, however, in this case seems to be integrated into the community by the community itself, despite it not being created for Amazigh revitalization causes. Throughout the interview, Amina describes where Amazigh people communicate and post information about the language and culture, such as blogs, websites, and social media platforms.

A majority of this information is in the Latin script, as she cites that not a lot of Amazighophone individuals can read or write using Tifinagh. So, Amazighophone technology users have managed ways to still communicate in their language given the resources and their given structures, i.e. using the Latin alphabet primarily. The Latin alphabet was introduced into Moroccan and Amazigh society through French and Spanish colonization by means of the education systems. The Tifinagh alphabet, however, was not well implemented into the education system, so the result is that more people know the

Latin alphabet. In these ways, Amazighophone youth demonstrate their agency with regards to integrating a global resource and idea into their own communities.

Cook (2002) brings attention to language contact in technological spaces and the negotiation of language hierarchies due to the introduction of technology into the communities of endangered languages. In conversation with Amina, I understand that the interaction of languages and their power structures is complicated, as the languages occupy various domains and sometimes may not be in conflict. For example, Amina cites that she uses English and French primarily on her phone (texting) and on her laptop, which both includes social media and other internet capabilities. Then, when talking on the phone, she primarily uses Tarifit and Darija. These habits reflect the domains that each language is used in, but also the roles of each aspect of technology. For social media, for example, she uses English and French to learn more from international sources and to engage in pop culture. But, in her daily life and communicating with family, friends, and others in public, she communicates using Tarifit and Darija. Amina does not worry about English and French taking over Tarifit or Darija because she describes them occupying separate, not highly overlapping domains. In relation to Cook (2002), it expands upon the ideas she presents, adding the complexities of the expansiveness of technology's capabilities and the various roles it can play in each society. To intersect Cook (2002) and Eisenlohr (2004), the interview and results call for and reinforce the importance of understanding the local culture and how individuals and communities utilize technology and various languages present.

I expanded upon the work of Hassa (2012) to think of language planning as institutions in technology can set the stage and exhibit ideologies through their influence

on technology, like social media and software language capabilities. I also saw an opportunity for the exploration of co-construction of technological spaces like social media, as users are agents within the structures the institutions provide. In this case, like I previously mentioned, Amazighophone youth still utilize social media platforms to communicate in Amazigh with the Latin alphabet. In this way, users express creativity in co-constructing technological spaces. Institutions, like Eisenlohr (2004) expresses, can also provide more resources and opportunities for endangered languages to improve their usage and status.

Facebook's addition of Tamazight with the Tifinagh alphabet was interesting to discuss, as Amina expressed excitement and pride that the company decided to do this, as it was a great step for recognition and promotion of the language on such an international platform. She also expressed, however, that it was difficult for even her to use, an avid advocate for Tifinagh but a community who is aware that others would not be able to understand her posting in Tifinagh. This example provides insight, responding to Eisenlohr (2004) and Hassa (2012), that even when institutions try to help and promote the language, disjunctures are bound to happen when the company does not understand the reality of the community of interest. In this case, the company did not understand the lack of usage of Tifinagh and the language use among Amazigh people.

Through social media and websites, Amazighophone youth appropriate the global resources so they can communicate to one another. Here, they exercise their agency by appropriating and using technology, provided by considerably oppressing societies onto the Amazigh language, for their cause of promoting the Amazigh culture and language and sharing knowledge and resources with other Amazigh speakers and international

audiences. Overall, we see that just one interview with Amina brings agency into the spotlight as Amazighophone youth utilize technology to communicate and share knowledge with one another.

6.2 Situation and Future of Amazigh in Morocco

Alphabet literacy poses an issue in the context of Amazigh usage in modern society, specifically in technological domains, such as social media and television. Throughout the interview, communication in Amazigh in written forms, such as titles on television programming or formatting and presentation of social media platforms and posts, proved to be difficult due to script problems. As Amina discussed, she and a good amount of her friends and acquaintances can read and write decently using Tifinagh, but they do not do so because not all Amazigh speakers are able to communicate in the alphabet. Thus, a large portion of Amazighophone material composed and published by Amazigh speakers ends up being in Latin-scripted Amazigh or in other languages.

A lack of literacy is due to the ineffective instruction of Amazigh and Tifinagh in the Moroccan public education system, which Amina referenced quite often as being a source of problems for the Amazigh language in modern society. As the alphabet is not learned throughout the youth, and more people resort to utilizing the Latin script for Amazigh, the future for Amazigh in technology is worrisome but not hopeless. Due to flexibility, creativity, and agency of young Amazighophone Moroccans, the language still has hopes for surviving in technological domains. However, the uses of Amazigh in technology, as discussed earlier, are limited due to the roles of technology in young individuals' lives and engagement with pop culture and communication practices.

Along the pattern of agency and creativity among youth, there is hope for the future of the Amazigh language as Amazighophone youth appropriate and utilize technology for their own causes, spreading awareness and their culture. As Amina speculated, the current youth play an important role in the survival of Amazigh language, and obligatorily the culture as well through association in identity. Their role, in her opinion and her experience, is to “remind [the Amazigh people] who they are” (Amina, personal communication, April 26, 2018). Though just one line and one opinion, I think that this statement reflects a lot about the individual experience as an insight into collective mentality and interpretation of larger social phenomena experienced through mass electronic media platforms.

As previously discussed, Bucholtz (2002) highlights the importance of understanding youth and their experiences on their own terms in order to relate global trends, like technology usage and multilingual situations, to local culture and phenomena. Relating to the literature, I speculate that her statement and opinions provide insight but not a full, comprehensive overview, of the actions and processes occurring between many Amazighophone youth on the internet, indicating the collective mindset and desire to share and connect with one another.

The presence and usage of Amazigh in technological domains provides also symbolic changes that improve the status of the language, which implies chances of attitude shifts, the idea I draw from Sallabank (2013) in her discussions of language ideology in relation to language revitalization projects. Earlier, works such as Ennaji (2014) and Eisenlohr (2004) present how technology’s presence and use in endangered languages can improve their status and thus the ideologies of users and surrounding societies. Ennaji

(2014) specifically referenced the success of the Amazigh language by citing several examples of Amazigh's presence in television broadcasting and blogs (Ennaji 2014: 97-98). The interview with Amina reinforces and expands upon these notions, as we discussed the importance of Tamazight and Tifinagh on Facebook's platform. Issues of alphabet literacy arise again, but Amina's opinions cite that the representation on such a platform demonstrates openness to change and inclusion and an awareness by the international community to problems that occur around the world. The fieldwork reinforces the ideas of success posed by Ennaji (2014), and also provides evidence for how Amazigh's presence in technological domains enhances the ideology surrounding it and thus giving hope for the future of the language's continued improvements.

The implications of the interview and its relation to the literature review indicate a great hope for the future for the situation of the Amazigh language in Morocco, as Amazighophone youth confront and appropriate the systems of technology and electronic mass media so that they can communicate with one another and spread awareness and promote the Amazigh language and culture.

6.3 Recommendations for Future Projects

The findings of the interview and subsequent discussion provide a great insight into the situation and future prospects for the Amazigh language and culture, highlighting the integration of the language by young technology users into electronic mass media and other technological domains. The research, however, merely explores this unique, modern intersection with relation to broader themes and research areas of globalization and language revitalization. Here, I present some ideas for areas and topics that may be worth

prospects for better understanding the state and future of the Amazigh language and its speakers. The examples I present come from inspirations and reflection on the work I have done, and may not necessarily be feasible within the scopes and timeframes of other ISP projects but they would also not be impossible for this type of research either.

First, the research here could be expanded by doing a digital ethnography, to better understand the polyglossic situation and domains that technology provides. By getting more access to the users' technology and by utilizing participant observation, an ethnography of the technological devices and their roles, with regards to language use, can elucidate better the interactions of languages at local, transregional, and international or global ranges. This approach would shed light on the linguistic situation and future for hopefully all languages in Morocco, to achieve and contribute a more holistic understanding for the Amazigh language.

Second, if the researcher has the technical and practical linguistic capabilities, they could analyze the "purity" of the Amazigh language, to evidence different linguistic processes as sites of change in language and ideology. A technical approach to language contact and language change would provide solid evidence to demonstrate changes in practicality of linguistic pluralism and in linguistic ideology shifts. The research could focus on various topics, such as the modernizing, interlingual lexicon or the influences of alphabet usage and linguistic competency and performance with regards to traditional norms of either phonology or morphology. A study of this type would also challenge notions of linguistic purity and authenticity, to bring a focus on the realities of speakers of Amazigh and its variants, as means to improve and clarify objectives and ideological goals within the Amazigh revitalization project and movement.

Here I presented two different approaches on ways to further explore this intersection of language, technology, and youth, as means to expand understanding of the Amazigh language and variants in the multilingual Moroccan context. There are, however, many other opportunities and possibilities for research in these areas that can bring both valuable expansions to fields and debates within academia and also insights into people's experiences and institutions in order to improve structural issues of inequality and exclusion.

7. Conclusion

In this paper, we explored how Amazighophone youth use technology and language and gained insight into the implications of how technology and youth provide hope for the future of the Amazigh language and its culture. With just one interview, the research better understands factors at play that both hold back and promote the Amazigh language and culture. Alphabet literacy poses troubles for the use and presence of the language in technology. We can only speculate about other troubles for the language in relation to language use and the roles of various aspects of technology in the youth's lives, as indicated in recommendations for future research.

Amidst the worries and pressures of modernization, globalization, and the Moroccan linguistic hierarchy, the findings of the interview and discussion demonstrate how Amazighophone youth express creativity and agency to use technology to spread awareness of their culture and to promote their language. This case demonstrates the importance for the needs of proper, holistic comprehension for both short-term projects, such as this one, and for the experiences of individuals in order to better understand and

enhance the effectiveness of efforts with the goal of improving situations of human rights worldwide.

8. Bibliography

- Bennis, S. (2009). The Amazigh question and national identity in morocco. Arab Reform Initiative,
- Bucholtz, M. (2002). Youth and cultural practice. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 31(1), 525-552. 10.1146/annurev.anthro.31.040402.085443 Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4132891>
- Cook, S. E. (2004). NEW TECHNOLOGIES AND LANGUAGE CHANGE: Toward an anthropology of linguistic frontiers. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 33, 103-115. 10.1146/annurev.anthro.33.070203.143921 Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25064847>
- Cornwell, G. H., & Atia, M. (2012). Imaginative geographies of Amazigh activism in morocco. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 13(3), 255-274. 10.1080/14649365.2012.677471 Retrieved from <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14649365.2012.677471>
- Eisenlohr, P. (2004). LANGUAGE REVITALIZATION AND NEW TECHNOLOGIES: Cultures of electronic mediation and the refiguring of communities. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 33, 21-45. 10.1146/annurev.anthro.33.070203.143900 Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25064844>
- El Aissati, A., Karsmakers, S., & Kurvers, J. (2011). 'We are all beginners': Amazigh in language policy and educational practice in morocco. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 41(2), 211-226. 10.1080/03057925.2011.547289 Retrieved from <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/03057925.2011.547289>
- Hassa, S. (2012). Regulating and negotiating linguistic diversity: Top-down and bottom-up language planning in the Moroccan city. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 13(3), 207-223. 10.1080/14664208.2012.722375 Retrieved from <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14664208.2012.722375>
- Izsak, R. (2012). Report of the independent expert on minority issues. New York: U.N.
- Joschka Philipps. (2018). A global generation? Youth studies in a postcolonial world. *Societies*, 8(1), 14. 10.3390/soc8010014 Retrieved from <https://doaj.org/article/64a2c918cad44d12a4c7798c2783a3d8>

Moha Ennaji. (2014). Recognizing the Berber language in morocco: A step for democratization. Georgetown Journal of International Affairs, 15(2), 93-99. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43773631>

Sallabank, J. (2013). Attitudes to endangered languages: Identities and policies. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Temple, N., & Miller, C. Speech genre. Retrieved from <https://genreacrossborders.org/gxb-glossary/speech-genre>

9. Appendices

9.1 Appendix A: Interview Guide

Stats

1. What is your age?
2. What is your current occupation?
3. Have you attended university?
4. Given 2 & 3, what was your area of study, and why?

Youth

1. What generation do you identify with? For example, do you identify as being a part of the “youth”?
 - a. Who are the “youth”?

Language - Amazigh

1. Do you speak Amazigh or any of its dialects?
 - a. What do you consider your speaking level to be? Fluent, limited to a few areas like home and friends, none, etc.?
2. Where do you use Amazigh?
3. Can you read in Tifinagh? What alphabet(s) do you use to write Amazigh in?
 - a. Why?
 - b. What do you think of Tifinagh? Should people use it, is it important, etc.?

Language & Technology

1. Think about the technology you use, cell phone, television, social media, radio, etc. Can you describe which technology you use?
 - a. Can you please list which devices and media you use, from most to least?
 - b. Next, can you tell me which languages you use for each of these?
2. Why does Amazigh occupy such a small portion of these media? For you? For society?
3. Do you think Amazigh should be used more in the public sphere, with Arabic, French, and English in larger media outlets in Morocco?
4. Are you aware that Facebook, on computers, offers Tamazight alongside English, French, and Modern Standard Arabic? Facebook decided to use the Tifinagh alphabet to write Tamazight.
 - a. What do you think of Facebook’s choices, (1) to include the language and (2) to use that alphabet?

Amazigh and the Future

1. Do you think the status and usage of Amazigh in Morocco are declining? Why?
 - a. Do you worry about the future of Amazigh?

- b. In your opinion / your life, is it important to maintain the language, to keep it alive?
2. How important is the presence and vitality of the Amazigh language for the Amazigh culture and for Morocco?
3. What role do you think your generation plays in the future of the Amazigh language, and the overall language situation in Morocco (given the presence of many languages)?
4. What would need to happen for the Amazigh language to continue to be used and kept alive?

9.2 Appendix B: Consent Form provided by SIT

School for International Training Multiculturalism and Human Rights - Rabat

Consent Form

Project Title:

Researcher:

Purpose:

You are being asked to participate in a research study conducted by *(your name)* from *(your college)*. The purpose of this study is to *(briefly state your research objectives)*. This study will contribute to my completion of my Independent Study Project.

Research Procedures

Should you decide to participate in this research study, you will be asked to sign this consent form once all your questions have been answered to your satisfaction. This study consists of a *(survey, interview)* that will be administered to individual participants in *(location)*. You will be asked to provide answers to a series of questions related to *(state the purpose of study)*. *(With your permission you will be audio or-and videotaped)*.

Time Required

Participation in this study will require ___ minutes/hours of your time. (If the time involved in the study spans over multiple sessions, please be sure to describe each session's required time and try to give an overall estimate for the time expected for participation)

Risks

I do not perceive any risks or more than minimal risks from your involvement in this study

Or (if there are risks involved)

The investigator perceives the following are possible risks arising from your involvement with this study: ... (please describe what you will do to help minimize the risks for your participants).

Benefits

Potential benefits from participation in this study include ... (If there are no direct benefits to the participant, please state this also. However, please do state what the benefits of the research as a whole are.

Confidentiality

(The level of confidentiality you provide will vary depending on your study. The investigator is responsible for clarify how much privacy a participant will retain, and whether their participation is confidential and – or anonymous.)

The results of this research will be documented as an ISP paper and presented orally to the SIT MOR students and staff. The results of this project will be coded in such a way that the respondent's identity will not be attached to the final form of this study. The researcher retains the right to use and publish non-identifiable data. While individual responses are confidential, aggregate data will be presented representing averages or generalizations about the responses as a whole. All data will be stored in a secure location accessible only to the researcher. Upon completion of the study, all information that matches up individual respondents with their answers (including audio – video tapes, if applicable) will be destroyed. (If the data will not be destroyed, please state what will happen to the data upon completion of the study.

Participation & Withdrawal

Your participation is entirely voluntary. You are free to choose not to participate. Should you choose to participate, you can withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. You may also refuse to answer any individual question without consequences.

Questions about the Study

If you have questions or concerns during the time of your participation in this study, or after its completion or you would like to receive a copy of the final aggregate results of this study, please contact me at:

Researcher's Name:

Email address

Giving of Consent

I have read this consent form and I understand what is being requested of me as a participant in this study. I freely consent to participate. I have been given satisfactory answers to my questions. The investigator provided me with a copy of this form. I certify that I am at least 18 years of age.

I give consent to be (*video/audio*) taped during my interview. _____ (initials)

(If applicable, please include this consent box and statement.)

Name of Participant

Name of Participant (Signed) _____
Date

Name of Researcher (Signed) _____
Date