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The Power Dynamics of Language: An Analysis of the Positionality of Amazigh Language in Morocco

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The Power Dynamics of Language:
An Analysis of the Positionality of Amazigh Language in Morocco

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ABSTRACT

In 2001, in an unprecedented act, King Mohammed VI of Morocco, stated in a speech that he would take actions to create an organization dedicated to the protection of Amazigh language and culture. A few months later, he issued a royal Dahair that created the Institut Royale de la Culture Amazighe (IRCAM), an organization that was tasked with protecting the Amazigh language and culture, as well as, advising King Mohammed VI on all matters related to Amazigh language and culture. The creation of this institution led to the start of a standardization process, whereby the IRCAM has committed to creating one standardized Amazigh language from the three regional Moroccan dialects of Tarifit, Tamazight, and Tashlhit. The importance of this process was only increased when in 2011, Amazigh became the second official language of Morocco, enshrined in the new constitution. Today, IRCAM continues their efforts to preserve this “endangered” language through standardization and education, but are they doing enough? This paper looks to answer that question, and looks to examine the reasons why Amazigh is thought to be endangered in the first place. This paper will also try to determine whether Amazigh continues to be thought of as worth saving in Moroccan society through the use of personal interviews to various IRCAM officials, Amazigh identifying people, and non-Amazigh identifying people. This study will be supplemented through an in depth analysis of various secondary sources that will hopefully help determine the future of Amazigh languages in Morocco.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	2
Acknowledgements	4
Author's Note On the Question of Relevance	5
Introduction	7
Historical Background.....	9
Literature Review	11
Methodology	19
- Assumptions	(19)
- Methods	(19)
- Acknowledgement of Positionality/Issues Encountered	(21)
Analysis / Findings	23
- Tamazight in Daily Life(23)	
- Aired Grievances(25)	
- The Future? of Tamazight(28)	
- Learning Tamazight(31)	
Conclusion	33
Appendix	35
- Photos(35)	
- Consent Forms(37)	
- Interview Guides(41)	
Bibliography	42

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AUTHOR'S NOTE ON THE QUESTION OF RELEVANCE

I want to start this paper by taking the time to discuss how and why this issue is relevant in today's world and era. In discussing issues where rights are involved, there are a couple important points to remember and acknowledge. The first point being that the entire issue of Amazigh rights, Amazigh language and cultural rights, would be completely irrelevant if we did not live in an age where there is a discourse of human rights. Without the discourse of human rights, Amazigh would be just another language that would slowly die out as it became less relevant. This process of languages dying is not something new or unnatural, but is a process that has happened for centuries – from the time that humans could first communicate through language. Over time, numerous languages have been lost to death – meaning that there are no living speakers remaining. Some examples of this process are some of the ancient languages such as Latin, Greek, and Egyptian. At the height of these empires, these languages were the main form of communication, but as the empire declined, and new ones rose in its place, the languages changed as well, and they eventually died out.

In the past, there was no fuss made about the disappearance of languages. It was something that was just the natural order of things, and therefore, it would be considered weird that today people make efforts to prevent the death of languages that do not necessarily have any economic, political, or social benefit. However, today we live in an era of human rights. This means that there are ideals that exist, and morals that have been defined, that call for all people to be treated equally and to be given equal opportunities in life. Therefore, it has become relevant to become alarmed when a language is not treated equally to other languages, and when it is in danger of becoming extinct. For these reasons, it has become important to save the Amazigh language and culture from extinction. For these reasons, it has become important to give

Amazigh speakers an equal opportunity and chance in life. Without the discourse of human rights, Amazigh would probably die, but we live in an age of human rights and therefore, it is relevant to discuss the process that is taking place to ensure the rights of Amazigh people and the continued existence of the Amazigh language and culture.

Furthermore, I would also like to take the time to point out the importance of living in an era of defined nation-states as the globally recognized political entity. Without having nation-states, the Amazigh language and culture would still be a lost cause, even with the discourse of human rights because without a nation-state, there would be no political entity to enforce the ideals of human rights. And as it should be clear now, without human rights, there is no reason to save the Amazigh language. Therefore, if Morocco as a state, did not exist, and if Morocco, as a nation-state did not take it upon itself to enforce human rights, there would be no reason to write this paper. But, we live in a time where there are both the discourse of human rights, and the existence of nation-states, like Morocco, willing to enforce these human rights, and for these reasons, this issue of Amazigh linguistic and cultural rights is therefore, relevant.

INTRODUCTION

The Amazigh activists in Morocco have been requesting recognition for decades. They finally received it in 2011 through the inclusion of Amazigh as an official language in the Moroccan constitution. This recognition, and the continued work of organizations like IRCAM have helped Amazigh come a long way in Moroccan society with the creation of a standardized Amazigh and a concerted effort to help preserve the culture, but are they doing enough? What are the challenges that Amazigh people, the language, and the culture still face today in Moroccan society? Can the Imazighen overcome these challenges and persevere to have a true future in Morocco? These are the questions I will seek to answer in this paper.

This study looks to explore what it means to be Amazigh in Morocco and the challenges facing this language and culture in an extremely diverse country. Amazigh must contend with not only Moroccan Arabic (Darija), but also Fus'ha, French, Spanish, and English. It is an extremely competitive environment, and although there are many people working hard to solidify the future of Amazigh in Morocco, it is unclear whether their efforts will be enough.

This paper will look to compare and contrast the discourses of the many different parties participating in the revival of Amazigh. I will first provide a historical background to acquaint the reader with the current situation in Morocco. I will then move on a literature review which will provide insight into what authority figures (such as King Mohammed VI), various professors of linguistics, sociology, and others have to say on the standardization of Amazigh and what this means for its future. This section will also provide a background about the already existing literature on this topic.

I will then move on to discussing the methodology used during the fieldwork portion of this study. I will discuss the different issues I encountered while trying to complete this

fieldwork. During this section I will also talk about my hypothesis going into the study and how my focus changed during the initial fieldwork. Also in this section, I will discuss my positionality as a researcher and foreigner within Morocco, and how that may have affected any and all results I have obtained.

The next section will contain results and analysis. In this section I will discuss the information I obtained through interviews with various different groups such as Amazigh people from Oulmes region, IRCAM officials from various departments, and even students and teachers. It is in this section, I hope to address the research questions I have raised. In this section, I will also talk about my process of trying to learn Amazigh, and how that may or may not be relevant to the future of Amazigh in Morocco.

I will conclude this paper by surmising about the future of Amazigh language and culture in Morocco. I will also look to provide concrete suggestions and recommendations based on the input of the various people I had the privilege of discussing this issue with.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

It is believed that the Imazighen (plural of Amazigh) are the original inhabitants of the Maghreb region. They controlled empires and held dynasties long before the invasion of the Arabs in the seventh century. Is it this claim of indigenoussness that highlights the Amazigh language and culture movement in Morocco today. This reason is one of the Imazighen's major claim to legitimacy (Boukous, 2012, p.31) and contributed to the decision of King Mohammed VI of Morocco to create an organization to preserve the Amazigh language.

Following in the footsteps of his late father Hassan II, who in 1994 called for the Amazigh language to be implemented in the Moroccan education system, Mohammed VI called for the creation of an organization dedicated to preserving Amazigh culture and language in a 2001 speech. Months later, he issued a royal decree, or a Dahir, that officially created the Institut Royal de la Culture Amazighe (IRCAM). King Mohammed VI stated that it was the responsibility of IRCAM to "sauvegarder et promouvoir la langue et la culture amazighes dans toutes ses formes et expressions" (IRCAM, *Présentation*). In addition, IRCAM was to take on the responsibility of introducing Amazigh to the education system, standardize the language, and provide counsel to the King on all matters related to Amazigh. To accomplish this goal, the King gave IRCAM financial freedom and legal capacity to fulfill their goals in any manner possible, with his full financial and moral backing (IRCAM, *Présentation*). It is from this date, that IRCAM began to process of standardizing the Amazigh language (photos of IRCAM can be found in the Appendix).

This process was done through creating seven distinct departments within the organization with each department being dedicated to a specific task. The seven departments of IRCAM are the Center for Language Planning, Center for Educational Research and Educational

Programs, Center for Historical and Environmental Studies, Center for Anthropological and Sociological Studies, Center for Artistic Studies, Literary Expressions and Audiovisual Production, Center for Translation, Documentation and Publishing, and the Center for Computer Studies, Information System and Communication. As can be seen from their names, each center is tasked with implementing Amazigh into different aspects of Moroccan society. In order to be as effective as possible, IRCAM as a whole, and individual departments, have partnerships with various ministries of the Moroccan government including the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Higher Education, and the Managers of Scientific Research (IRCAM, *Chronologie*). Through these partnerships, IRCAM hopes to help make Amazigh language and culture a mainstay in Moroccan society.

The work of this organization is especially important after the publication of a report by UNESCO in 2009 called *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger*. This report goes region by region of the world, and determines which languages and cultures are in danger of dying out in the near future. The section titled "North Africa and the Middle East" is where Tamazight is listed as an endangered language. Historically, Tamazight was spoken from the Canary Islands to Egypt, but today, the number of speakers continues to decline (UNESCO, 2009, p.26). It is Morocco that now holds the majority of the Tamazight speaking population with estimates of 60% - 80% of the population speaking Tamazight (UNESCO, 2009, p.27). UNESCO lists that one of the major reasons for the endangerment of this language is that "Tamazight speakers were discouraged from using their own language and government policies were adopted that accelerated its decline" (UNESCO, 2009, p.28). It is for these reasons that Amazigh holds the position of an endangered language in the eyes of UNESCO, and also, contributes to the race against time by IRCAM and Morocco in their efforts to save Tamazight.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Imazighen and Arabs have lived peacefully together in Morocco for centuries. It was not until the French and Spanish colonists arrived in 1912 that major issues began to arise between the two groups. Particularly the French, believed it was in their best interest to use the method of divide and conquer and therefore created separate laws for the “Berbers” and the Arabs to live under during their rule (*Berber Manifesto*, 2000). During the Moroccan independence movement, Arabs and Berbers were equally involved, but upon their gaining of independence in 1956, Arabic was declared as the only official language of Morocco (Boukous,2012). This political action was taken as a conscious effort to unite Morocco with the rest of the Arab nations that were also in the process of throwing off their colonizers. While the Imazighen felt snubbed that their language had not been recognized nationally, they did not question it in order to maintain national unity, and to prevent themselves from being called traitors and lovers of colonialism (*Berber Manifesto*, 2000).

After the violent end to revolts in the Rif region in the 1950s, there was not much action in the public sphere from Amazigh activists for a few decades. During the 1970s, there was the beginnings of a resistance as Amazigh communities began to feel increasingly threatened through the introduction of Arabization programs in public schools. The 1980s saw an increase in the amount of Berber publications that challenged the dominate Arabized historical narrative. The late 1980s and the early 90s saw the first real cohesive Amazigh movement which was signified by the publication of the Agadir Charter in 1991. This document requested the recognition of Amazigh as an official language, as well as, more respect and rights for the Imazighen people of Morocco. The rise of this movement and the publication of this charter led King Hassan II to take action and led to some marginal recognition (Jacobs, 2014).

Action by late King Hassan II pacified the movement, but only temporarily. When the activists saw that no actions were actually going to be taken to accommodate their demands, the movement resumed. This led to the issuing of a second charter, called the *Berber Manifesto*, in 2000 that set out a list of 9 specific demands that included: recognition of Tamazight as an official language in the constitution, economic and infrastructure development for Amazigh areas, it to be required for Amazigh to be taught in schools, and an updated national history that includes the contributions of the Imazighen (*Berber Manifesto*, 2000). The issuing of this Manifesto in 2000 influenced the decision of King Mohammed VI in making a speech calling for the creation of IRCAM in 2001, and later, actually creating IRCAM by Dahir in 2003.

While King Mohammed VI has taken more action than his predecessor, it is unclear if his actions will be enough. Thirteen years now after the creation of IRCAM, and six after the inclusion of Tamazight in the constitution, there are many who feel that once again, actions have only been taken to pacify the activists. It seems now that on all sides, IRCAM officials, Imazighen, and activists alike, are fed up with the lack of cooperation and action from the government in implementing the demands of the Amazigh. Tamazight has been made an official language in the constitution, and it is in the ever-evolving process of being standardized, but the words of those who have the power to spark change are not matching up with the actions they have taken – causing the issue of Amazigh rights to remain relevant in 2017.

Over the decades of Amazigh activism, much has been written about the possible future of the Amazigh language and culture in Morocco, but most of the literature has appeared between 2000 and today. People from various walks of life, have published articles about their opinion on the plausibility of making Amazigh the second language of Morocco – what needs to be done to accomplish that, who needs to take those steps, and the obstacles continuing to face

the movement. It is here that I will provide a summary of those articles before moving on to my own findings and contribute to the continuing discussion of the future of Amazigh in Morocco.

One of the most important works published about this movement is called *Revitalizing the Amazigh Language: Stakes, Challenges and Strategies*. Published in 2012 By Ahmed Boukous, the current head of IRCAM, he provides an in depth analysis of not just the positionality of Iamazighen in Morocco, but also the steps IRCAM has been taking over the past decade to address the situation. While this work can be seen as biased due to his position as head of IRCAM, this book was and remains, one of the works with the most comprehensive data and analysis.

The book is split into two sections named Processes and Effects of Attrition and the Premices of Revitalization. Starting from the beginning, he takes the time to talk about the importance of saving languages in a general sense on the global stage. He then moves on to discussing the history of Amazigh in Morocco, before moving on to describe the step by step process used by IRCAM to standardize the language. Throughout, he provides arguments for and against different methods that could have been used during the standardization and preservation process. Boukous provides invaluable insight into the inner workings of IRCAM, as well as, into the challenges they have faced, and continue to face, as they pursue their goal of making Amazigh the second language of Morocco.

In the first half of the book, Boukous takes the time to make the comprehensive arguments for why Tamazight is a language that is endangered and looks diagnose the current situation of the Iamazighen. Within the country of Morocco, he states that 28 percent of people are Amazighphones – meaning they only speak Tamazight (Boukous, 2012). Boukous then

moves onto stating the six reasons that form the foundation of the legitimacy of Amazigh and they are as follows:

- (i) It is a historical deal that is deeply rooted in the history and civilization of the Maghreb;
- (ii) It is an essential element of the culture and heritage that is common to all the components of the national community;
- (iii) It represents one of the linguistic and cultural symbols of the cohesion of the national community;
- (iv) Its promotion is an important lever in the democratic and modernist society project that the Maghreb aspires to;
- (v) It is a national responsibility to take care of it; and
- (vi) Finally, Amazighness should open up to the modern world to achieve the conditions for its development and sustainability (Boukous, 2012, p.31).

After establishing that Amazigh is indeed legitimate within Morocco as a language and a culture, he spends the next few chapters analyzing its position within society and its situation as an endangered language.

To determine the situation of Amazigh in Morocco, Boukous creates his own method of measurement whereby he looks to determine the metaphorical weight of the numerous languages prevalent in Moroccan society. Based on the 2004 census, Amazigh is the mother tongue for more than 10 million people in Morocco meaning that around one-third of the population speaks Tamazight as their first language (Boukous, 2012). After evaluating Amazigh across many categories, Boukous comes to the conclusion that the weight of Tamazight in Moroccan society is “weak” meaning it is not highly valued (Boukous, 2012, p.62). After determining the status of Amazigh within Moroccan society, performing various studies comparing the literacy of rural and urban children, and examining factors of marginalization, Boukous moves onto providing a complete analysis of the process needed to revitalize the Amazigh language and culture in Morocco.

In the second half of the book, Boukous lays out specific steps that need to be followed for Amazigh to be successfully revitalized. Step one involves a diagnostic evaluation of the various political, social, economic, cultural environments. After diagnosis, strategic planning must take place where a concrete vision must be developed that lays out the concrete steps that must be taken to revitalize Amazigh in all levels of society (Boukous, 2012, Ch. 6). The first step within this plan should involve intense research into the language. It is important that during this phase that Amazigh is studied for the sake of learning more about it – this research phase must be institutionalized (Boukous, 2012, Ch.7).

After a period of research comes the period of normalization and standardization. This is the process whereby the various regional dialects are combined to create one overarching language that can be used by all to communicate cross-regionally (Boukous, 2012, Ch.8). This process can only be completed after the codification of the alphabet. This phase is particularly important as Amazigh is being transferred from a solely oral language into a written one (Boukous, 2012, Ch.9). Once the alphabet has been created, the process can then move onto language planning. This involves formalizing the lexicon and grammar of the language (Boukous, 2012, Ch.11). The final steps can be considered the most important: the language and the revitalization process must have political support, and there must be a concerted effort to change the societal perceptions of the language and culture currently (Boukous, 2012, Ch.12). Without these final steps, all the other phases could go to waste. In conclusion, Boukous states that there must be a reconstruction of Morocco's linguistic landscape if the revitalization of Amazigh is to be successful.

While the work of Boukous is very detailed, most other articles looked at the question of the future of Amazigh languages on a larger scale. One professor, Vikas Kumar, in his

article “The Future of Berber Languages After the Arab Spring”, made two very important points. He pointed out that although the Amazigh language has been recognized by the state, it is also important to remember that the state could be using recognition as a political tool as a way of maintaining peace and support for the regime during periods of instability (Kumar, 2012). Therefore, while the government may have included Amazigh in the constitution, it may not have been just an act of good will, but a carefully calculated move to maintain the support of the Amaizgh population in a time of instability across the North African region.

Kumar’s second important point is in his analysis of Morocco’s choice of using Tifinagh as the script for standardization of Amazigh. Here, he points out that Algeria also recently decided to recognize Amazigh as an official language and standardize it, but they chose to use the Arabic script (Kumar, 2012). While there are probably many possible explanations for this choice, Kumar states that choosing different scripts and creating different standardized languages prevents the numerous Amazigh communities across the entirety of North Africa from being able to create one large linguistic community. This preventative measure could also be seen as a political move used to prevent the creation of a community with common political goals that could disrupt the already formed nation-states of North Africa (Kumar, 2012). These two points are both extremely important and relevant to discussing the future of Amazigh language and culture in Morocco.

Ursula Lindsay continues the discussion on the future of Amazigh language and culture in Morocco with her article “The Berber Language: Officially Recognized, Unofficially Marginalized?” In this piece, Lindsay talks about some of the most difficult obstacles that Amazigh will have to overcome such as the fact that the discourse around Amazigh rights has changed, but no real action has been taken yet. She also talks about the

issues surrounding teaching Tamazight in schools. Although it has been mandated for every Moroccan to learn Tamazight, only twelve percent of Moroccan students actually learn it. This can be accounted for by the lack of teachers who have been trained to teach Tamazight, thereby preventing students from being able to learn Tamazight (Lindsay, 2015).

Other than the issues of resources and accessibility, there are those who are completely opposed to Tamazight being taught at all. Those opposed make the argument that Morocco already has a complex linguistic landscape with students learning Fus'ha and French and that if it is necessary for the students to learn a third foreign language, it should be a global language like English. Additionally, many who are against the teaching of Tamazight believe that it has no real functional value and is only being included in the curriculum as a symbolic move. Lindsay finishes her article by discussing the decision of whether to teach Tamazight and makes the point that teaching or not teaching a language is a political decision. Once again, the theme of politics arises, and it should now be clear that this issue is not just about whether Tamazight should be saved or not, but rather a complex issue shrouded in decisions made for political gain (Lindsay, 2015).

The complexity of this issue and the political side of teaching Tamazight is examined in an article by Mohammed Errihani called "Language Policy in Morocco: Problems and prospects of teaching Tamazight." A theme that runs throughout the entirety of his work is that teaching Tamazight is much more than just a decision to teach a language, but rather a political act: "In other words, what is more important than the teaching of the language itself is the ability of a policy to first change popular beliefs and perceptions about the language, a process that essentially requires the genuine commitment of the state and policy makers to use all resources to bring about such a change" (Errihani, 2006). Errihani believes that in

order for Tamazight to be protected and become the second language of Morocco, it must not only be taught in schools and introduced into society, but the current perceptions and prejudices held about it by society, must consciously be changed. In his own words, many in Morocco see Tamazight as “having no social, cultural, or economic capital...” (Errihani, 2006). If actions are not taken by the policy makers and by the government to change society, then it is fair to conclude that making Tamazight an official language and vowing to teach it in schools was solely a political act that was not meant to be enforced (Errihani, 2006).

Errihani concludes that the biggest challenge facing the preservation of the Amazigh language and culture is the lack of implementation. This includes a lack of trained teachers who teach only Tamazight and a lack of material resources of the students and teachers. In addition, there is a negative social stigma attached to Tamazight that must be removed in a conscious effort. Furthermore, there is a disparity between the research that has been completed by institutions such as IRCAM and the implementation measures that have been taken by the various government ministries. And finally, the entire Amazigh community is not united in their desire for the teaching of Tamazight in schools (Errhani,2006).

All the issues addressed by Errihani and the other authors in this literature review are points that will be addressed in this paper. Many of these complexities, as well as many that were not mentioned by the literature, were brought up by numerous people in formal interviews and in informal discussions about Amazigh rights. Now that there is an established background on the literature that has already been published on the topic of Amazigh rights, the preservation of Amazigh language and culture, and the teaching of

Tamazight in schools, we will now move onto the current situation of these issues in Morocco, the methodology, and my findings.

METHODOLOGY

Assumptions

There were various assumptions that I made about the answers to my research questions before I began. For one, I assumed that the researchers of IRCAM and regular Moroccan citizens would have drastically different views on the process of standardization and preservation used by IRCAM. Furthermore, I assumed that Amazigh identifying Moroccan citizens would be frustrated with the new standardized language because they would not be able to understand it or read it. I also made the assumption that most regular Moroccan citizens, especially those not identifying as Amazigh, would not support the teaching of Tamazight in schools to young Moroccan students. I also assumed that those who supported the teaching of Tamazight and the standardization of Tamazight, would want Tamazight to someday be realized as equal to Arabic in Morocco. And finally, I assumed that the IRCAM researchers would stick to an official script when discussing the preservation process of Amazigh language and culture. Although this is not a comprehensive list of all the assumptions I made at the beginning of my research, they are the ones that proved to be most relevant, most memorable, and most definitely, wrong.

Methods

For this study, I used four different methods to obtain information on this topic. The first was through the reading of various different secondary sources and different literature

on the topic. This method was important as it provided a general background and increased my baseline level of knowledge on the topic. Having this baseline level of knowledge allowed me to participate in the three other methods more effectively. The second method used was informal discussions. Before the start of the formal research period, I spent time discussing different issues of the Amazigh rights movement with various people in Rabat. This included students from Mohammad V University in Rabat, various workers of the Center for Cross-Cultural Learning in Rabat, and different members of my home-stay family. These informal discussions also helped in providing a baseline level of knowledge about Amazigh rights in Morocco. Furthermore, these discussions helped in narrowing down my topic to specifically focus on the issues in Moroccan society facing the implementation of Tamazight as a second language in Morocco today.

The third part of my methodology involved talking to Moroccans and getting the opinions on the status of the Amazigh language and culture in Morocco today through conducting personal interviews. This involved talking to three different IRCAM researchers – two from the Center for Linguistic Planning and one from the Center for Educational Research and Educational Programs. These interviews were important to gauge what the official discourse was on the status of the Tamazight language in Morocco. I also completed six interviews with Moroccans from Tarmilat. Half of the interviewees from this area identified as Amazigh and were from the region. The other three did not identify as Amazigh. These interviews were important as they provided the discourse of Moroccan citizens and their opinions on the position of Tamazight in Moroccan society.

In addition to personal interviews, informal discussions, and secondary research, I also used participant observation. While in the region of Tarmilat, I was able to sit in on an

Arabic class for older Amazigh women where I was able to observe women who were solely Amazighphone learn to read and write Arabic. This was important as these women symbolize the target population that a lot of IRCAM's work is trying to reach.

The final part of my methodology involved trying to teach myself Tamazight by using the materials that IRCAM provided on their website. This was done as an attempt to put myself in the shoes of students being taught Tifinagh for the first time – after already knowing the Arabic and Latin alphabets. Although not a perfect comparison, this provided invaluable insight into the process of learning Tamazight in the educational setting.

Acknowledgement of Positionality/Issues Encountered

Before getting into my analysis, I first want to address my positionality within this study and how it may have affected my results. First, it is important to point out that I am a white foreigner from the West. Because of the existing power structures in the world, even with doing everything in my power to prevent the reinforcement of existing power structures, all my interactions with Moroccans were still influenced by this imbalanced existing power structure. This power structure influenced and formed every single interaction I had with every Moroccan. Therefore, it is fair to claim that every interaction and interview that I talk about in this paper is biased by the existing power structures, especially because I physically resemble the colonizer. It is also important to point out that as a foreigner, Moroccan culture is not my own, and I have only spent the short period of three and a half months here, and therefore my findings and experience cannot be generalized to represent “Moroccan culture” as whole.

Secondly, I want to address the issue of language and how that played into my interactions and interviews in Morocco. English is, of course, my mother tongue, but I am also decently fluent in French, and have achieved an advanced level of proficiency at Fus'ha. In all my interviews with IRCAM officials, French was used for most of the interview with some English being used when possible. Neither French nor English are the first languages of the IRCAM officials and therefore could contribute to their ability to address some issues in their non-mother tongue. On the flip side, French is also not my mother tongue and therefore completing the interviews in French limited my ability to ask the questions with the specific nuances I could have used in English. Therefore, language was an inhibiting factor in the interviewing process, but not to the point where the interviews could not be completed in a successful manner.

For the interviews that I completed in Tarmilat, most were completed with the help of a translator named Hassana. Hassana had learned English at University and had a pretty good grasp on the language. While I could often glean the general idea of what was being said by the interviewees in Darija or Fus'ha, I often needed Hassana to translate the specifics into English – I am sure that there were concepts and ideas that were quite literally lost in translation. In addition to concepts and ideas being changed by translation, it is very possible that the translations were influenced by the ideologies of Hassana herself. Not only did she translate my questions from English or Fus'ha to Darija, but she would also translate the answers back to English. Oftentimes, after hearing an answer from an interviewee, she would ask them a follow-up question or discuss their answer with them before translating what was said. This prevented me from having complete control over the interview and allowed Hassana to influence the interview with her own thoughts. There were also

numerous benefits of having Hassana with me, as she was friends with the interviewees and a local which often put the interviewees more at ease. In conclusion, whether these factors were a positive or negative influence upon my interviews and study, they are extremely important to acknowledge before moving to my analysis and findings.

ANALYSIS/FINDINGS

This section will look to address my initial research questions of whether the actions IRCAM is taking to standardize and preserve Amazigh language and culture is enough and the reasons why that may or may not be. It will also look to address the question of whether Amazigh has a future in Morocco and what different people feel needs to be done to secure the future of Amazigh language and culture in Morocco. To address these questions I will use the information that I received from various personal interviews as well as participant observation and informal discussions.

Overall, most people seem to accept and agree with the fact that Amazigh is finally listed in the constitution as the second language. They also believe that what IRCAM is attempting to do is positive for the Amazigh language and culture, and they believe that Tamazight should be taught in schools, but they struggle to see the words being put into action. Generally, there seemed to be frustration with the inability of the government to actually implement Tamazight as a second language within Morocco. Of course there were people who did not hold these same opinions, but the majority of the people I interviewed felt frustrated at the lack of implementation measures. These issues, and more, will be addressed in the following sub-sections.

Tamazight in Daily Life

Of the nine people I interviewed, six of them identified as Amazigh and spoke one of the dialects of Amazigh. All six, Meftaha, Fatima, Nadia, Hassana, Khalid, and Youtto, had learned the language from their parents. Those who had not learned Amazigh, Abdullah, Fatima, and Mustapha, said it was because they were not taught it in school and their parents did not speak Amazigh. Therefore, the main way that Amazigh is learned and passed from generation to generation, at least up until now, is through growing up with it as a mother tongue. Having this as the sole form of transmission for a language is what has contributed to Amazigh's status as endangered. As the trend of urbanization has continued, less and less young people of the new generation find it necessary to speak Amazigh (Boukous, 2012). This is because Amazigh is seen as solely a language for communication.

When asked the question of what spaces they use each of the languages they speak, every interviewee responded that Darija and Amazigh were communication languages for in the street and in the home. Fus'ha was for the classroom, Islam, and business. French and English are the global languages that allow Moroccans to interact with people around the world and are also the languages for science and medicine. It is this perception of Amazigh that makes it extremely difficult to implement within society as a true second language in Morocco. As Meftaha Aneur, a researcher for IRCAM in the Center for Language Planning explained, Tamazight is still absent from many domains of daily life, even simple aspects such as media, radio, and television (personal communication, April 11, 2017). This lack of visibility prevents Tamazight from becoming more widespread and more accepted in Moroccan society.

Of the people that I interviewed from the rural setting of Tarmilat, those who knew Amazigh, spoke it in the home on a daily basis and communicated with most of their town in

Amazigh. Hassana, a teacher in her mid-twenties, talked about how Amazigh is her mother tongue and she feels most comfortable talking and communicating in Amazigh when she is home (personal communication, April 21, 2017). She said that she only talks in French, English, Fus'ha, or Darija when she is talking to someone who does not know Amazigh (personal communication, April 21, 2017). Hassana's environment is very different from that of someone in the urban setting. In contrast, when speaking to a student of similar age from Rabat, he explained that he only speaks to his grandmother in Amazigh, and in all other interactions he speaks mostly English and Darija (Mohammed, personal communication, March 2017). Amazigh is not widely enough spoken for him to have the need to be fluent in Amazigh nor to conduct his daily life in this language.

Even the IRCAM researchers, Meftaha Ameer, Khalid Ansar, and Fatima Agnaou acknowledged that most of their daily interactions are done in Darija or French as they all speak varying dialects of Amazigh (personal communication, April 2017). This invisibility of Amazigh from Moroccan society greatly contributes to the need for Amazigh to be preserved. The perceptions by society of Amazigh as a language solely for communication and not as a language for science, economics, or schooling has greatly contributed to its lack of transmission from one generation to the next. These are not the only major issues preventing the implementation of Amazigh as the real second language of Morocco.

Aired Grievances

IRCAM researchers and citizens alike voiced various reasons for why the implementation and preservation of Amazigh as the second language of Morocco has been so slow and ineffective. The one major issue that all parties talked about was the lack of human

and material resources for teaching Tamazight in the public school system in Morocco. Fatima Agnaou from the Center for Educational Research and Educational Programs, emphasized this issue in her interview. She emphasized that there are not enough teachers who have been trained to teach just Tamazight, but rather, most teachers who teach Tamazight also teach French or Fus'ha at the same school (personal communication, April 26, 2017). In addition, most schools in Morocco do not even teach Tamazight although it is supposedly Moroccan law and required by the constitution (personal communication, April 26, 2017). The most recent report from the Ministry of Education from 2015 shows that there are 5133 teachers for Tamazight and 597,000 students of Tamazight in Morocco, meaning the teachers are severely overworked (see Appendix).

This lack of implementation and respect of the laws is the biggest inhibitor to the preservation of Amazigh. Fatima explained this issue in more concrete terms and said that there are basically two documents that govern the curriculum of Moroccan Public schools. One is the Charte National d'Education et de Formation published annually by the Ministry of Education which does not require the teaching of Tamazight. The other is called Le Livre Blanche which stated that Amazigh should be taught just like French and Fus'ha are taught in every school in Morocco. These conflicting documents allowed schools to follow whichever they felt was most convenient and provided a loophole for the government and schools to use to explain why they were not teaching Tamazight. The existence of these loopholes in law and the lack of training for teachers and the lack of material resources are all factors that contribute to the lack of emphasis on teaching Tamazight in school (F. Agnaou, personal communication, April 26, 2017). These grievances were held not just by all three IRCAM

officials interviewed, but also by the two directors of a school in Tarmilat as well as two teachers from Tarmilat.

In addition to these shared grievances, many interviewees also voiced concerns over the commitment of the government to the implementation of Amazigh into Moroccan society as the second official language. Youtto, a teacher of Tamazight originally from Tarmilat, was the interviewee who most strongly voiced this complaint. Having taught herself Tamazight in order to be able to teach it to others, she was very well aware of the lack of resources, as well as, the lack of respect and commitment from the government in implementing Amazigh as the second language. She kept repeating the phrase “its just writing on paper” meaning that, yes, Amazigh is officially in the constitution as a second language, but no actions have been taken to actually make Amazigh the second language. She believed that the government up to this point had just made empty promises that they never planned to fulfill in the first place. Furthermore, Youtto felt that putting Amazigh in the constitution could be seen as a political action taken by the government just to silence the Amazigh rights movement and protesters (Youtto, personal communication, April 23, 2017). While Youtto was the most strongly outspoken on this grievance, the majority of the others were in agreement that the government was not doing enough. Interestingly enough, IRCAM was not included in “the government” category. In fact, most felt that if it wasn’t for the work of IRCAM, nothing would have been done at all, and that the little that had been accomplished in implementing Amazigh was due to the hard work of the IRCAM researchers despite the lack of support of the government.

Adding on to this feeling, Meftaha Ameer and Khalid Ansar talked about the amount of work the researchers do on a daily basis. Meftaha Ameer continually mentioned that there

was way more work that needed to be done than was possible for the small staff of IRCAM to complete. In order to deal with the excess of demands, they have created a system to help prioritize what demands they should work on first. Currently they are in the process of creating Tamazight vocabulary for the Judicial sector so that people who only speak Amazigh will be able to be represented in court by a lawyer who speaks Tamazight. Another high priority is the medical sector so that people needing hospital care will be able to have all their needs addressed. Although all very dedicated and putting in long hours, the work of IRCAM on its own does not have the power to implement Tamazight in the way that it needs to be implemented in order to preserve it. For this process, there needs to be complete support from the government – the lack of which can be felt by all levels of society (M. Ameur and K. Ansar, personal communication, April 11, 2017).

One of the less talked about grievances, but one voiced extremely strongly by Mustapha, the director of a boarding school in Oulmes, was the issue of the students being expected to learn the script of Tifinagh – the third script they would have to learn at a very young age. Mustapha felt that Tamazight would be more successfully implemented if it was written with the Arabic script – something the students would be already familiar with (personal communication, April 23, 2017). While none of the other interviewees voiced this concern, this grievance is one that is widespread and is used by directors, parents, and students across Morocco as an argument against learning Tamazight in schools. All of these voiced issues are extremely important to address if there is to be a future of Tamazight in Morocco.

The Future? of Tamazight

Even with the numerous grievances that multiple interviewees listed that are inhibiting Amazigh from becoming the true second official language of Morocco, many remained hopeful about the future of Amazigh language and culture in Morocco. Many saw the fact that Amazigh was now enshrined in the constitution as an official language as proof that Amazigh would continue to survive in Morocco now that it had become officially recognized. Abdallah Brouk, the head teacher at a boarding school in Tarmilat, even pointed out that because of the inclusion of Amazigh in the constitution, it is now a language and culture that is talked about and recognized on the international scale – giving it even more legitimacy within Morocco and increasing the probability of Amazigh having a dignified future (personal communication, April 22, 2017).

In addition to this international recognition, in 2015 the Moroccan government published an updated strategic education plan. The *Vision Stratégique de la Réforme 2015-2030* published by the Ministries of Higher Education, of Education, and of Scientific Research focuses on providing a higher quality education as well as a more equal education. This plan is the first official government document that makes it required to teach Amazigh to all Moroccan students, and therefore, helps to secure a future for Amazigh in Morocco (*Vision Stratégique*, 2015). The plan is too new to be able to tell whether the changes they have made will be successful, but it is positive to see that the government is taking steps in the right direction by making laws to enforce Amazigh as the second official language of Morocco.

One of the biggest issues facing the preservation of Amazigh is the lack of organic laws enforcing implementation. Although it is in the constitution, and King Mohammed VI has created IRCAM, organic laws need to be created in order to force implementation.

IRCAM does not have the power to create organic laws or implement actions. As stated in their founding document, they are only allowed to provide council to the King on all matters related to the preservation of Amazigh language and culture in Morocco (IRCAM, *Texte du Dahir portant création de l'IRCAM*). IRCAM as an organization does not possess any legal power themselves. Therefore, it is very important that the Moroccan government take the initiative, as well as, the council of IRCAM and King Mohammed VI. Currently, there are signs of the government taking action. Fatima Agnaou of IRCAM explained to me that currently in Parliament, an organic law that would protect Amazigh is on the table. This new law would generalize the teaching of Amazigh to all Moroccans and would make it mandatory for Amazigh to be taught in secondary as well as primary school. Fatima expressed her hope that the new government would do the right thing and adopt this law quickly (personal communication, April 26, 2017).

Still, maybe a more pressing concern than the lack of government support for implementation, is the societal perceptions regarding Amazigh language and culture. Amazigh continues to be seen as a language solely for communication purposes and one without a future. All the teachers that I interviewed in Tarmilat explained that the students must continue to learn Arabic and French or English in order to be able to get a job in the future (personal communication, April 2017). Amazigh is not seen as a language with economic opportunities because it is not widespread in Moroccan society. In Amazigh places like Agadir or Oulmes, being solely an Amazighphone still allows one to be able to complete all daily interactions and live a normal life. But if moving to the bigger cities and economic centers of Morocco, one must also know Arabic at a minimum. This means that Amazighphones have limited economic and social mobility. The government needs to make

a concerted effort to insert Amazigh into Moroccan society and make it more commonplace in media and in every aspect of society. If this perception is not changed, then no matter how much effort IRCAM puts into preservation, Amazigh will die.

Learning Tamazight

In this final section I want to talk about my experience learning Tamazight. First, and foremost, I want to point out my positionality within this specific experience. My experience can in no way, shape, or form be expected to represent the same experience of a Moroccan student learning Tamazight for various reasons. The most obvious reason being that I am a foreigner and not a native of Moroccan culture. Secondly, most Moroccan students who learn Tamazight, start at a very young age and are learning it either from Darija or from their regional Amazigh dialect.

Acknowledging this, I still thought that it was important for me to attempt to learn the Tifinagh script in an effort to better understand some of the arguments made against teaching Tamazight – such as Tifinagh being an extremely hard script to learn, and the idea that Tamazight lacks grammatical rules. To learn Tamazight, I used the “Apprendre Tamazight” section on the IRCAM website which offered three interactive websites that had different games and exercises to help one learn the alphabet and basic vocabulary. I was able to get additional resources from Fatima Agnaou who gave me a Tamazight/Arabic/French dictionary and various CDs with listening exercises. All of these resources contributed to my ability to develop an extreme beginner level understanding of Tamazight.

After spending a couple hours a day for a week learning Tamazight, I found that I was able to read and write the script. A copy of the alphabet can be found in the Appendix. I found that learning the sounds that corresponded with each symbol was quite easy to pick up in comparison to Arabic. This was for a couple of reasons – the first being that the Tamazight letters do not change shape based on where they are in the word. There is also no capital or lowercase letters. Each letter has one form and it always maintains that form. Secondly, each letter corresponds with exactly one sound and that sound is always pronounced the same regardless of where it is placed in a word. Because of these rules, I found it quite easy to learn the sounds that corresponded to each letter. While children learning three different alphabets at a young age could be complicated, I feel if done in the right manner it is certainly not only possible, but also probable.

Although I did not get far enough in my study of Tamazight to really grasp the grammar of the language, I am well aware that there are grammar rules. This belief was confirmed by Meftaha Ameer of the Center for Language Planning who, herself, helped develop the grammar rules of Tamazight. Tamazight is structured in a root and pattern system where each word has a three to four letter root that acts as the stem of similar meaning. Each root can be placed into different patterns to give the word different meanings but within the same topic (M. Ameer, personal communication, April 11, 2017). This grammar system is very similar to that of Fus'ha Arabic and therefore, would not be a new concept for Moroccan students to learn. Overall, while the Tifinagh script and Tamazight language may seem daunting at first, they in fact, have strict grammar rules and guidelines that made it a language that is very plausible to learn.

CONCLUSION

There are a few major takeaways from this study, the first of which will address my initial research question of whether IRCAM and the other aspects of the preservation movement are doing enough for Amazigh language and culture in Morocco. While there is no concrete answer to this question, based on my interviews and various readings from my literature review, I would make the claim that no, not enough is currently being done. I do believe that IRCAM has, and continues to do, as much as it possibly can, but they do not have the human capital available to address all the issues that need to be addressed in Moroccan society relating to the issue of Amazigh language. Furthermore, IRCAM, nor the Amazigh rights movement, has the full support of the Moroccan government. While small steps have been taken since the inclusion of Amazigh in the constitution, there still is a lot to be done to fully implement Amazigh into Moroccan society as the true second language.

Moving on to addressing my second question on the issues Amazigh language and culture continue to face in Moroccan society – there are numerous. One of the biggest obstacles is Moroccan society itself and the various perceptions of Amazigh that come along with it. Amazigh continues to be seen as a language solely for communication, and not one that provides a future for youth. Society continues to see Arabic and French or English as necessary for success within Morocco. In order for Amazigh language and culture to become truly engrained in Moroccan society, that perception and reality must be changed. It must become possible for those who are solely Amazighphone to function in all aspects of Moroccan society – and that is not the current reality.

Finally, in addressing the question of whether Amazigh language and culture will continue to have a future in Morocco is probably the most difficult to answer. On one hand,

with putting Amazigh in the constitution, creating IRCAM, and making the new vision for education reform it seems as if King Mohammed and the Moroccan government are extremely committed to ensuring the existence of Amazigh culture. At the same time, other than these large public actions, nothing has really been done on the local and regional levels to ensure the existence of Amazigh language and culture. Actions need to be taken on the local and regional level if Amazigh language and culture is to one day become the true second language of Morocco. I believe that, at least for now, Amazigh language and culture does have a future, because, although the government needs to do much more, the passion of the Amazigh movement and of Amazigh activism remains alive and therefore, will help keep Amazigh alive.

APPENDIX

The Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture (IRCAM)



Data
from
IRCAM
on
Tamazi
ght

المملكة المغربية
وزارة التربية الوطنية
والتكوين المهني

معطيات إحصائية حول تدريس اللغة الأمازيغية
خلال أربع سنوات الأخيرة

2015

Enseignant ECTS e levs

السنة	عدد التلاميذ والتلميذات	عدد المؤسسات	عدد الأساتذة والأستاذات
2014/2015	597.000	4581	5133
2013/2014	594.570	4575	5100
2012/2013	585.300	4525	5060
2011/2012	544.820	4486	4935

2. التكوين الأساس

أحداث شعبة التخصص ابتداء من السنة التكوينية 2013/2012

أربعة المراكز الجهوية لمهن التربية والتكوين في مجال التخصص بإربع جهات: سوس ماسة

درعة، مراكش تانسيفت الحوز، مكناس تافيلالت، الجهة الشرقية

فروع هذه المراكز تقدم بها مصوغات في التكوين في مجال الأمازيغية .

عدد خريجي شعبة التخصص بلغ 294 أستاذا وأستاذة (3 أفواج: ف-1 / 87 - ف-2 / 80 - ف-3 / 127)

عدد التلاميذ المدرسين من طرف خريجي شعبة التخصص، أكثر من 60 ألف تلميذ وتلميذة.

60.000 e levs

3. التكوين المستمر

من اختصاصات الأكاديميات الجهوية للتربية والتكوين، وهناك تباين كبير بين الجهات في إجراءات وتنظيم التكوين المستمر.

4. التاطير والتتبع

جهاز التفتيش يعرف تناقصا كبيرا مع إحالة العديد من المفتشين على التقاعد، حيث انتقل العدد من 75 مفتشا ومفتشة سنة 2010 إلى حوالي 21 مفتشا خلال السنة الدراسية 2015.

نفس الشيء بالنسبة للأساتذة المكونين بمراكز التكوين، حيث تقلص العدد من 60 مؤظرا سنة 2009 إلى حوالي 17 خلال السنة التكوينية 2015.

وزارة التربية الوطنية والتكوين المهني

المركز الوطني للتجديد التربوي والتجريب، 73 شارع صلاي إسماعيل، حسان
الخلية المركزية لارتقاء بتدريس اللغة الأمازيغية الهاتف 0537661253

CPCLAM@men.gov.ma

										Tifinagh
										Script
ⵝ	ⵉ	ⵏ	ⵏⵓ	ⵏ	ⵉ	ⵎ	ⵏ	ⵏⵓ	ⵉ	ⵏ
ya	yab	yag	yag ^w	yad	yad	yey	yaf	yak	yak ^w	yah
a	b	g	g ^w	d	ɖ	e	f	k	k ^w	h
[æ]	[b]	[g]	[g ^w]	[d/ð]	[d ^ɖ]	[ə]	[f]	[k/ç]	[k ^w]	[h]
ⵏ	ⵏ	ⵏ	ⵏ	ⵏ	ⵏ	ⵏ	ⵏ	ⵏ	ⵏ	ⵏ
yah	yac	yax	yaq	yi	yaj	yal	yam	yan	yu	yar
ħ		x	q	i	j	l	m	n	u	r
[ħ]	[ʕ]	[x]	[q]	[i]	[ʒ]	[l]	[m]	[n]	[u]	[r]
ⵏ	ⵏ	ⵏ	ⵏ	ⵏ	ⵏ	ⵏ	ⵏ	ⵏ	ⵏ	ⵏ
yar	yagh	yas	yaş	yac	yat	yaɥ	yaw	yay	yaz	yaz
ɾ	gh	s	ş	c	t	ɥ	w	y	z	z
[r ^ɾ]	[ɣ]	[s]	[s ^ɕ]	[ʃ]	[t/θ]	[t ^ɥ]	[w]	[j]	[z]	[z ^ɕ]

Consent Forms

French:

École de formation internationale
Multiculturalisme et les droits humaines – Rabat
Nom de rechercher : Jessica Schwed

Déclaration de consentement

Titre : Les Hiérarchies de Langue : Une Etude de la position des langues amazighes au Maroc
L'objectif d'étude

Cet étude va examiner la dichotomie créée par la reconnaissance des langues amazighes dans la nouvelle constitution de Maroc. Avec la reconnaissance, il y a aussi une marginalisation de la culture et de la langue amazighe à cause du processus de normalisation de la langue. Alors, je veux faire une comparaison entre le discours utilisé par le gouvernement marocain, et les citoyens qui s'identifient comme amazighe, au sujet de la normalisation de la langue, et aussi leurs pensées sur ce sujet. Cet étude va contribuer à la complétion de mon projet d'étude indépendante pour l'École de formation internationale.

La durée et les éléments d'étude

Cette étude sera dirigée pendant une période de quatre semaines. L'étude inclura les observations et les interventions des participants en incluant leur travail sur terrain.

Les risques

L'étude n'a aucun risque prévisible pour les participants. Cependant, si vous ne vous sentez pas confortable avec le procédé d'observation ou d'interview, vous êtes libre de terminer votre participation.

Compensation

La participation à cette étude ne sera pas compensée, financièrement ou autrement. Cependant, votre aide est considérablement appréciée par notre équipe de recherche.

Confidentialité

Tout effort de maintenir votre information personnelle confidentielle sera fait dans ce projet. Vos noms et toute autre information d'identification seront changés dans la description finale, et seulement connue à l'équipe de recherche.

Participation

Je soussigné,, confirme avoir lu les rapports ci-dessus et compris que ma participation à cette étude est volontaire tout en ayant la liberté de retirer mon consentement à tout moment sans pénalité.

 Signature

 Date

Je vous donne ma permission d'être enregistré pendant cette interview.

OUI _____ **NON** _____

J'ai pris conscience que cette étude puisse comporter les entrevues et/ou les observations qui peuvent être enregistrées et transcrites.

 Signature

 Date

Team de recherche

Les chercheurs peuvent être contactés par E-mail ou téléphone pour n'importe quelle raison ;

Jessica Schwed
jeschwed@vassar.edu
 +212 7 62 69 83 03
 English:

School for International Training Multiculturalism and Human Rights - Rabat

Consent Form

Project Title : The Power Dynamics (Hierarchies) of Language: A Comprehensive Analysis/Study of the Positionality of Amazigh Languages in Morocco

Researcher : Jessica Schwed

Purpose : You are being asked to participate in a research study conducted by Jessica Schwed from Vassar College. The purpose of this study is to examine the dichotomy of recognition and marginalization created by the inclusion of Amazigh as an official language in the new Moroccan Constitution of 2011. I also want to compare the discourse used by the Moroccan state to discuss the standardization process of the Amazigh Language, to the discourse of those who identify as Amazigh and their thoughts on the standardization process. 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 interview and/or group discussion that will be administered to individual participants in Rabat, Oulmes, and Tarmilat. You will be asked to provide answers to a series of questions related to

the current state of Amazigh Language and Culture within Morocco post Arab Spring and post-2011 constitution. With your permission you will be audio recorded.

Time Required

Participation in this study will require 30-60 minutes of your time.

Risks

I do not perceive any risks or more than minimal risks from your involvement in this study. I will allow for my subjects to choose the space of the interview. I will give them the opportunity to review how I use their information. I will give them full confidentiality. They have the ability to withdraw from the research project at any time. I will take the time to answer all and any questions to the best of my ability.

Benefits

There are no direct benefits for the participants in this study. This research project as a whole will contribute to my ability to complete the requirements for the SIT Study Abroad Program. This study could also be beneficial as it provides an additional perspective on an important human rights and multiculturalism issue: the positionality of the Amazigh Language in Morocco's current political climate.

Confidentiality

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.

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: Jessica Schwed

Email address: jeschwed@vassar.edu

Phone: +212 7 62 69 83 03

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 audio taped during my interview. _____ (initials)

Name of Participant

Name of Participant (Signed)

Date

Name of Researcher (Signed)

Date

Interview Guides

A. IRCAM Researchers

1. What is your position within IRCAM?
2. When were you appointed?
3. What are your day to day activities?
4. Are you Amazigh?
5. Do you speak Amazigh? Which dialect? Where did you learn it?
6. What challenges has your department faced in the process of standardization?
7. How are you working to address these issues?
8. Has the government helped or hindered the process of standardization?
9. Is there more that the government needs to do? Like what?
10. What issues does the Amazigh language still face today in Moroccan society?
11. What do you think needs to be done to make Amazigh equal to Arabic?
12. Should Amazigh be considered equal to Arabic in the future? Is that the plan?
13. Do you agree with the choice to use Tifinagh as the script for the standardized language?
14. What is your response to people who say that all Moroccans do not need to learn Amazigh because it is a language that has no economic benefit?
15. Looking back on the process of what has been accomplished so far by IRCAM, are there things you would change?
16. How about going forward? What are things that you would still like to see done?

17. Is there anything you would change about the process as a whole?
18. Do you have any last comments about the Amazigh language and culture and its position within Moroccan culture?

B. Tarmilat and Oulmes Region

1. Have you heard of the IRCAM? What do you think of them?
2. What is your perception of what IRCAM does? Is it good? Bad? Indifferent?
3. What do you think about the inclusion of Amazigh as an official language in the constitution?
4. Did you support/participate in the Amazigh rights movement in any way?
5. Does Amazigh (culture, language) have a future in Morocco? Why or why not?
6. Do you speak Amazigh? How did you learn to speak it?
7. How/What do you use Amazigh (for) in your daily life?
8. Are you able to understand/read the new Amazigh language?
9. If they have kids: do your kids learn Amazigh in school? Which Amazigh? Can they read/write the new standardized language?
10. Do you find the new standardized language useful? (Do you use it?)
11. Do you think it will be useful in the future?
12. Do you think that Amazigh is equal to Arabic in Morocco? Why or why not?
13. What do you think still needs to be done to make it equal?
14. Do you support the process of standardization? Why or why not?

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Notes:

*I received consent from Meftaha Ameer and from Youtto verbally.

**All interviews were recorded by hand with minimal notes taken, therefore, there are no transcripts of the interviews attached to this paper.